

THE CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE IN JERSEY



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The Chalcolithic and Bronze Age in Jersey

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Preface

The archaeology of islands is concentrated, and Jersey is no exception. A rich variety of archaeological remains survive above and below ground in Jersey, along its shoreline, and within its waters.

As a British Crown Dependency outside the United Kingdom and European Union the Island is beyond the reach of national heritage management frameworks and funding but strives to comply with international best practice. In 2022 the Island's first Heritage Strategy charted a course to develop the infrastructure in which archaeology is managed, including legislation, funding, the development of an historic environment record and expert posts to support it as well as an historic environment research framework.

Commissioned by Jersey Heritage and led by Dr Peter Chowne, the framework has been a partnership project involving local experts and international scholars over several years in seminars, discussions and consultation to produce a shared view of the current state of knowledge and the questions which can be asked of our archaeological resource. It comes at a time of growing pressure on those resources through development but also of new opportunities to improve management of this significant but vulnerable aspect of our heritage and identity.

I am delighted to be able to thank Peter, the Advisory Board and Resource Assessment authors and to welcome the publication of the framework, which will be of use to planners, contractors, Jersey Heritage staff, researchers, local groups and a growing number of university partnerships. For all of us it will be a platform for further research, greater understanding, valuing, conservation and enjoyment of our historic environment.

Jonathan Carter
Chief Executive
Jersey Heritage

Introduction

The Research Framework for the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age of Jersey is divided into three principal sections. This introduction summarises the history of research and provides some background on chronology, environment and seafaring capabilities. Second is a Resource Assessment which provides an overview of current knowledge for the Bronze Age of the island; this also involves some new synthesis on our part. It looks in turn at material culture; funerary and ritual evidence; occupation evidence; and food, farming and fields. Third is a Research Agenda and Strategy which presents a series of themed research objectives aimed at addressing current lacunae, resolving some of the key uncertainties, and looking forward to future possibilities.

A variety of published and unpublished resources were drawn upon for the assessment. The great majority of the published information comes from the *Annual Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise*. Unpublished information relates to recently discovered hoards and single metal finds (inf. Peter Chowne, Perry Mesney and Jersey Heritage) and research by the former Société Jersiaise Field Archaeologist, Robert Waterhouse, primarily relating to field systems and associated remains. Jersey's online HER was also consulted.

History of research

Antiquarian interest in archaeological sites in the Channel Islands has been documented from the 17th century onwards but lifted off with the founding of the Société Jersiaise in 1873. This prompted the investigation of a number of megalithic monuments.

Between 1874 and 1883, the Société excavated five sites of Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Bronze Age date under the direction of E.K. Cable, a retired civil engineer, and Rev Bellis: Beauport Dolmen, Ville-ès-Nouaux, La Hougue de Vinde, La Moye Dolmen and Les Cinq Pierres. Some of these monuments were already in a ruinous state prior to their investigation and La Moye and Les Cinq Pierres have now completely disappeared. As is typical of the time, these investigations were undertaken in a manner that compromised the quality of the data recovered and the accuracy of the stratigraphic recording. Of these early investigated sites, Beauport, Ville-ès-Nouaux and La Hougue de Vinde are considered here to have yielded evidence relevant to the period considered here.

After the early 1880s there was a lengthy hiatus before more systematic exploration got underway in the 1910s and 1920s, now no longer focused solely on burial monuments. The sites were mainly in good condition at the time of investigation and included various Neolithic funerary sites, three of which yielded a little Chalcolithic or Bronze Age material: Le Mont Grantez, La Hougue des Géonnais and La Hougue Bie. Other funerary sites regarded here as Chalcolithic or Bronze Age, or possibly so, are the 'Ossuary', La Hougue des Platons and La Hougue des Millais. Also investigated at this time was the cist cemetery of La Motte (Green Island) which has been considered by some to fall within our date bracket. A significant addition was the recognition and investigation of Bronze Age occupation sites. Small investigations took place at Les Blanches Banques, Maîtresse Île in Les Minquiers, and Icho Islet in St Clement's Bay, and these were followed in the 1930s by Major Godfray and Father Burdo's long and thorough campaign of excavation on the multi-period site at Le Pinnacle which had been recognised a little earlier. Although their understanding of the stratigraphy and recording methods can now be seen to have been flawed (Patton *et al.* 2001; discussed below), this was a ground-breaking programme which still has few parallels amongst Jersey prehistoric sites.

At the same time Jacquetta Hawkes was undertaking research for the first synthetic monograph on the archaeology of the Bailiwick of Jersey. It was published in 1938, ten years after the monograph on the Bailiwick of Guernsey by T.D. Kendrick. While this two-volume set provided a comprehensive overview of Channel Islands archaeology and remains an invaluable compendium of the evidence then available, it is now approaching a century out of date.

Following the Second World War there was another interlude before excavations were undertaken at the settlement sites of La Moye (I and II) and Les Blanches Banques (again), both in St Brelade, and at the promontory fort of Le Câtel de Rozel, Trinity. These yielded important evidence relating to settlement, enclosure and subsistence practices. Other excavations re-investigated the Beauport 'dolmen' and targeted potentially Bronze Age field systems. Occasionally Chalcolithic or Bronze Age evidence came to light in the course of excavating later sites (e.g. Mont Orgueil). As before, work tended to focus on individual sites that were studied in isolation, although the importance of a wider buried landscape of the period was beginning to be appreciated at Les Blanches Banques. No large developer-led investigations have been undertaken in Jersey to date and this severely limits any consideration of multi-period inhabitation on a landscape scale. In recent decades information on the Bronze Age has however been supplemented by metal-detector finds including a number of bronze hoards and scatters.

HISTORY OF RESEARCH

The accounts of the archaeology of the Channel Islands by Kendrick and Hawkes were followed in the late 20th century by synthetic publications by David Johnston, Peter Johnston, Barbara Bender (with Robert Caillaud) and Mark Patton (Johnston 1981; 1986; Bender 1986; Patton 1987a, 1993, 1995c, 1997). Patton's publications have done much to further interest in the prehistory of the Channel Islands. He was also responsible for some of the more recent excavations mentioned above. This side of the millennium, Heather Sebire's publication covered both the historic and prehistoric periods in the Channel Islands (Sebire 2005), while David Bukach's doctoral research focused on the Neolithic in the archipelago, as did Duncan Garrow and Fraser Sturt's recent project *Stepping Stones in the Sea* including excavations at L'Erée in Guernsey (Bukach 2006; Garrow and Sturt 2017). These works have brought the Islands' maritime interactions to the fore for the Neolithic. The nature of connectivity and sea connections in the subsequent Chalcolithic to Bronze Age remains less well-explored, partly due to the more limited evidence available. Wide-ranging research by Driscoll (2011) on the Chalcolithic to Bronze Age of the Channel Islands has been instrumental in providing a broad framework for this period, but has also highlighted the many uncertainties posed by the current evidence.

Any understanding of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age is hampered by various factors. There was no obvious type-site that attracted early attention, such as megalithic tombs for the Neolithic. The evidence for the period has thus come to light more haphazardly and was sometimes neglected because it was not that of primary concern, as happened to some extent with the later 'urnfield' at Ville-ès-Nouaux (Oliver 1870, 63–65). Moreover, there has been considerable uncertainty over the extent to which material culture in the Channel Islands mirrored that in north-west France or, alternatively, was largely insular in its trajectory. This results in significant chronological ambiguities with repercussions for the dates of sites and the basic chronological framework. It also compounds the problem of disentangling different period evidence when, as is often the case, site taphonomy leads to much re-incorporation of earlier material in later contexts. Another factor is that the few sites that have been discovered and explored enough to determine their character have proved to be diverse; while diversity may simply be due to the small number thus far explored, it does not help with structuring the archaeological record.

Summary of chronological frameworks in Jersey

Past typo-chronological approaches have tended to fit the Channel Islands into external schemes, particularly those developed for north-west France for the obvious reason of geographical proximity. This is understandable given the virtual absence of independent dating for Island sites.¹ While there are clearly important similarities to the French and to some extent the southern British material, some evidence suggests that the islands followed their own trajectories in part. It is thus vital that new research is directed towards creating a bespoke Channel Islands chronology which stands on its own. Until then, the north-west French chronology is most likely to offer the best approximation and the most appropriate terminologies (Fig 1).²

There has been no consensus over the chronological span of the period in the Channel Islands. Right at the beginning there is uncertainty as to whether a distinctive Chalcolithic period can really be defined since it is not obvious that there was a discernible break with Late Neolithic cultural traditions (the evidence mainly being in the funerary sphere). Nevertheless, Beaker pottery is fairly well represented on the Islands and the first metal objects appear on the scene. Jersey Bowls are considered by some researchers to be largely contemporary with Beakers and, taken together, these two ceramic categories and certain lithic novelties (barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, stone bracers) constitute a new material culture 'package'. While Patton has seen the Chalcolithic starting as early as c. 2850 BC (Patton 1995c, 64), this was based on early rather imprecise radiocarbon measurements and it is now established that the appearance of Beaker trappings is unlikely to precede 2500 BC in this corner of Europe.³

The transition to the Bronze Age is also plagued by fundamental uncertainties, for example, are Jersey Bowls Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age, or both, or indeed Late Neolithic. The disparate starting dates given for the Bronze Age by Patton (2250 BC) and Bukach (2000 BC) are the result of such uncertainties, the lack of useful radiocarbon dates and the absence of critical associations between diagnostic object and context types. For the Early Bronze Age there are no helpful associations between burials, settlements or pottery and diagnostic Early Bronze Age artefacts such as metalwork or faience beads. In neighbouring regions the beginning of the Early Bronze Age is best dated in Britain, to the 22nd century BC (Needham *et al.* 2017), and it is probably much the same for Armorica where dating evidence is sparser.

At present, internal divisions within the Bronze Age can only be applied with any confidence to bronze metalwork because of its conformity to international type-ranges. Until very recently, the detection of temporal patterns amongst domestic cultural material or categories of site was fraught with difficulty. The date span for the Middle Bronze Age was just as disputed as the Early phase (Briard 1986; Patton

¹ The first good quality date for the period has recently been obtained for a bronze spearhead, reported on below. Otherwise, very few sites have seen any radiocarbon dating and the dates that exist suffer from large standard deviations giving calibrated ranges spanning several centuries; moreover, the determinations are on unidentified charcoal giving the inherent risk of age-offset due to use of mature wood. A small body of radiocarbon dates from paleoenvironmental samples such as recent investigations by Jones *et al.* and Campbell do not directly assist the dating of the cultural sequence (Jones *et al.* 1990; Campbell *et al.* 2001).

² Correlations with north-west France and southern Britain are made more complicated by the choice of different horizons to start the *Bronze Final*/Late Bronze Age respectively (see Fig 1). The beginning of the Middle Bronze Age is a complex issue; in much of France it is aligned with central European chronology where the Early/Middle transition (Reinecke A/B) is currently put at c. 1700 BC. North-west France however seems to be broadly synchronised with Britain in terms of major cultural attributes; the proposed start date of 1600 BC may prove to be a little conservative.

³ There are not many radiocarbon dates for Beaker contexts in north-west France, but the date offered is based on the wider European picture including the transmission of Beaker culture to Britain as late as 2450/2400 BC.

SUMMARY OF CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS IN JERSEY

Date (BC)	NW France			S Britain			Date (BC)
	Period	Main pottery elements	Metalwork Assemblage	Metalwork Assemblage	Main pottery elements	Period	
2500–2150	Chalcolithic	Beakers (+ domestic ware)	Copper	Moel Arthur	Early Beakers (+ domestic ware)	Chalcolithic	2450/2400–2150
2150–1800/1750	Bronze Ancien	<i>Urnes à décor plastique:</i> Urns with cordons/lugs/ arcuate handles; Vases à Anses; Lightly carinated vessels	Keranou/Kervrazet	Brithdir, Mile Cross	Late Beakers; Food Vessels	Early Bronze Age	2150–1950
1800/1750–1600			Escalles	Willerby	Food Vessels; Collared Urns		1950–1800/1750
1600–1400			Muids	Arreton	Collared Urns; Biconical Urns; Trevisker Ware		1800/1750–1600
1400–1275	Bronze Moyen	<i>cf Biconical Urn, Trevisker & D-R Wares:</i> Urns with cordons/lugs/ arcuate handles/ <i>cannelures</i> ; Globular vessels; Tubs	Tréboul	Acton	Biconical Urns (early on); Trevisker Ware; Bucket Urns; Globular Urns; Tubs	Middle Bronze Age	1600–1400
1275–1150	Baux-Ste-Croix		Taunton	1400–1275			
1150–1000	Rosnoën		Penard	1275–1150			
1000–850/800	Bronze Final	<i>cf Plainware (+ RSFO influence):</i> Shouldered jars; Carinated bowls; RSFO cups; Assiettes	St Brieuc-des-Iffs	Wilburton	<i>Plainware:</i> Shouldered jars; Carinated bowls; Cups	Late Bronze Age	1150–1000
850/800–600	Vénat/Plainseau		Ewart	1000–850/800			
850/800–600	Premier Age de Fer	<i>cf Decorated Ware:</i> Sharp tripartite profiles; Situla jars; Bowls/cups; Assiettes	Armorican socketed axe	Llyn Fawr	<i>Decorated Ware:</i> Sharp tripartite profiles; Situla jars; Bowls/cups	Earliest Iron Age	850/800–600

Figure 1. Overall chronology of the material culture of neighbouring land-masses. Ceramic sequences in particular are simplified

and Finlaison 2001; Sebire 2005). There is however more consensus on the end of the period, around 800 BC, largely based on comparisons with the wider north-west European evidence; new styles of both metalwork and pottery seen in the Channel Islands conform to those seen in the larger landmasses flanking the Channel and define the beginning of the first part of the Iron Age, sometimes called the Earliest Iron Age, c.800–600 BC. Driscoll is the latest researcher to have put forward an overall chronological framework for the Channel Islands (2011, fig. 12.15) but this is bound to be open to considerable debate and revision given the problems outlined. Hence we have refrained in Figure 1 from offering a Channel Islands-specific chronology.

The sea, maritime travel and connectivity

The substantial sea-level rise of the Holocene period was largely complete by the middle of the 3rd millennium BC so the coastline of Jersey was already close to that of today by the start of the Chalcolithic (Keen 1981; Keen 2001, 12; Garrow & Sturt 2017, 10 fig 1.05). Much of the inshore seabed around the west, south and east sides of the island, however, was shallow (Fig 2). One consequence is a broad intertidal zone, another is that whenever the sea level did rise a little more there was greater land loss here than on the north coast. While further loss of land to the sea was small-scale, it can nevertheless be documented, for example, probable later prehistoric ditches were found in the intertidal zone at Le Hurel Slip (Waterhouse, unpublished). Secondary effects of the main, earlier rise and subsequent minor oscillations may be seen in peat growth and/or alluviation in areas just behind the coastline due to backing up effects, as for example at the St Helier Gasworks site (Wedgewood & Mourant 1954). A more significant environmental factor for the Bronze Age was sand blow caused by destabilisation of vegetation cover. Large deposits of blown sand built up to bury previous land surfaces and in some cases engulf standing structures, as at Ville-ès-Nouaux, The Ossuary and La Moye. This was especially a problem in the west of the island where it resulted in large areas of relatively infertile land, but it occurred elsewhere too. Sand-dune areas were a major cause behind the land still unenclosed in 1795 (Hibbs 1986, fig 1). Significant sand blows should not be seen as marking particular chronological horizons (Driscoll 2011, 87); there may nevertheless be temporal oscillations in its likelihood or intensity governed by a combination of climatic and human causation.

Early accounts of the Channel Islands sometimes described them as 'isolated', 'insular' or 'detached'. Kendrick postulated that on the one hand the comparative isolation of an island could result in a 'retardation of cultural progress' or even 'a sheer backwardness', but on the other hand the relative security of an island could lead to 'accelerated cultural development' (Kendrick 1928, 3). Islands can also be viewed as fostering open and dynamic systems (e.g. Evans 1973). The proximity of the Channel Islands to north-west France likely encouraged interaction throughout time. Indeed, for Jersey contact could have continued overland during the Mesolithic and earliest Neolithic due to the surviving land-bridge and may never have been lost when the rising tide finally severed the island from its hinterland (Garrow & Sturt 2017, 10 fig 1.05). Such slow, progressive changes are generally coped with by communities even if folk-memory remembered that they had happened.

For all later communities on Jersey, however, the topographic and geographic reality was an island-cum-seascape and the sea had to be negotiated if total isolation was to be avoided. Maritime travel to and from the Channel Islands was not always straightforward and could be fraught with peril; the strength of currents and the presence of sharp rocks fringing the islands created challenges. Specialist knowledge and technical expertise would have been essential to navigate safely. The southern coast of Jersey is subject to strong tides making maritime movement hazardous and difficult to undertake. Conversely, despite its forbidding appearance, the north coast offers a calmer environment and several sheltered harbours suitable for the landing of prehistoric craft. These would have provided protection against storms, particularly the prevailing south-westerlies.

Although the sea can impede the regularity and frequency of island-mainland and inter-island interactions, the technological developments in boat construction documented in north European waters early in the Bronze Age (e.g. Wright 1990; Clark (ed.) 2004; Van der Noort 2006) would have made seagoing a more reliable pursuit. At present the existence of cross-sea contact with and within the Channel Islands can only be surmised from similarities in material culture and site structures to those in other regions. The only possible evidence for waterborne transport is an as yet undated log

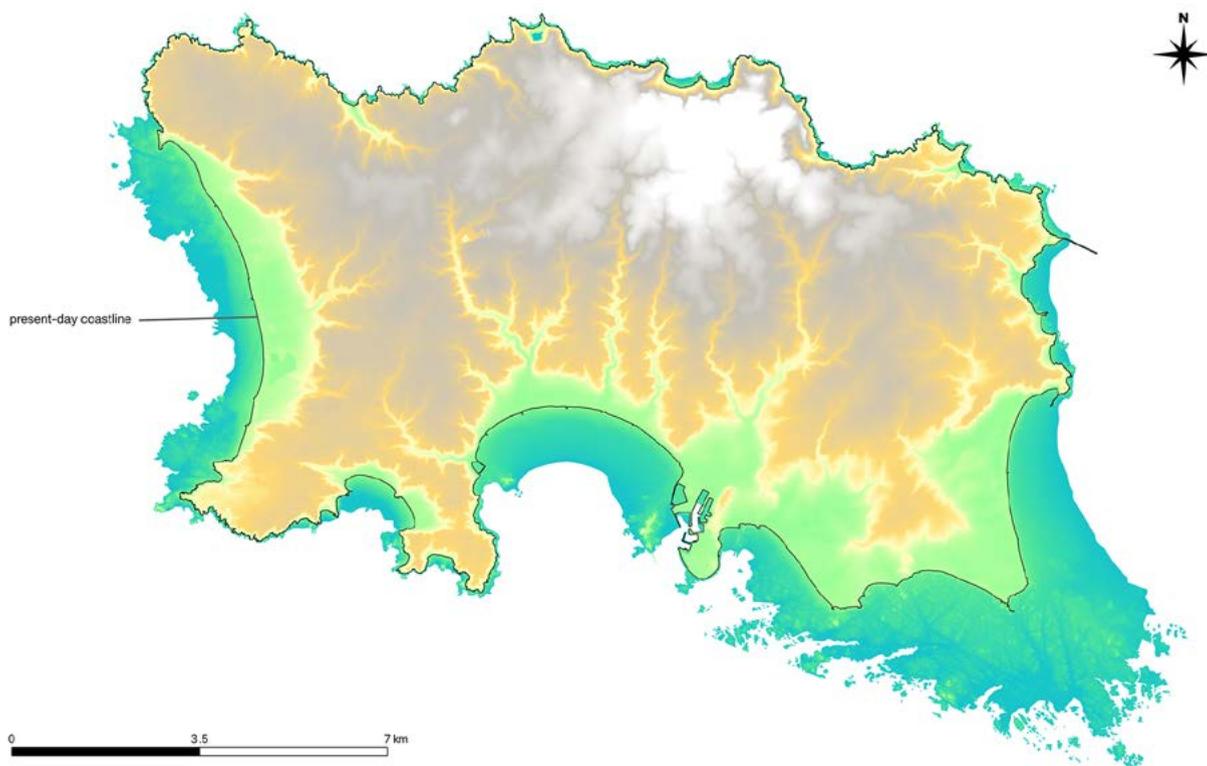


Figure 2. Map of Jersey using Lidar imagery and showing the different character of inshore parts of the surrounding seabed. The coastline shown by a black line is that of the present day which approximates to that of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age

boat from a marsh in St Peter Port, Guernsey, which happens to be close to a Bronze Age settlement at the Royal Hotel (Sebire 2005, 93–94). The sea has been perceived as a highway linking various land masses (Rainbird 1999, 230), and islands can operate within more expansive networks than landlocked zones (also Needham 2017). The term ‘maritory’ has been coined to cover specific maritime interaction networks that develop between coastal and island communities, sometimes over large distances (Needham 2009). Such regular connectivity can lead to greater cultural coherence between the participating communities, but need not necessarily do so.

Resource assesement

Chalcolithic and Bronze Age material culture

Ceramic assemblages and typo-chronologies

The detailed review of the existing evidence will begin with material culture, especially the pottery. This is essential because, as already intimated, there is still considerable uncertainty over the dating of some of the main classes of ceramics and this in turn repercussions on the dating of the sites.⁴ Fortunately, five sites are starting to fill in the picture for the Chalcolithic/Bronze Age ceramic sequence of the Channel Islands with stratified groups giving relative chronologies - Les Blanchés Banques and La Tête des Quennevais, Jersey, L'Érée and Jerbourg, Guernsey, and Tanquerel Fields, Sark. While it should not be assumed that all the islands shared identical pottery repertoires, it is likely they would have had a considerable amount in common so the three non-Jersey sequences will be drawn upon below.

Beakers

Mark Patton listed 12 sites in the Channel Islands that had yielded Beaker pottery (Patton 1995c, 160) and there are a few other sites based either on identifications by Hawkes or subsequent discoveries. Patton thought that this represented a 'surprisingly dense concentration', presumably in relation to the size of the islands, although often the type is only represented by one or a few sherds. They come from a mix of funerary-ritual and other contexts. On Jersey, Beaker pottery is documented at nine sites: Ville-ès-Nouaux, Beauport, Mont Ubé, Les Monts Grantez, Le Pouquelaye de Faldouet, Le Pinnacle, Les Blanchés Banques, Le Petit Port and possibly La Hougue Bie (Fig 3). However, only at Ville-ès-Nouaux were complete pots certainly present. A set of sherds from a single location within La Hougue Bie's main chamber may represent a complete vessel, but the vessel may be better interpreted as of a different class.⁵ It is not therefore clear that the deposition of whole pots, whether with burials or not, was a very common practice, even if Beaker ware was the exclusive pottery in use for a given period.

While Beaker pots internationally are often highly decorated, at least a third of those from the Channel Islands were plain and, when decorated, they have simple bands filled with diagonals, herringbone, lozenges or triangles, or simply horizontal lines (Fig 4; Patton 1995c, 160-1; Salanova 2000, 67). These factors led Laure Salanova to treat them separately from the Armorican Beaker assemblage, although the degree of difference was exaggerated by her inclusion of Jersey Bowls as a part of the Beaker tradition. Following on, Driscoll suggested that 'the islands incorporated Beaker material culture into an island society in a way that was different to Armorica...' (Driscoll 2011, 141). Long chronologies have been suggested in the past for Beakers, from the early third millennium BC through into the second millennium BC (Kinnes & Hibbs 1988; Patton 1995c, 64; Driscoll 2011, 137-139). This always seemed at odds with the relative homogeneity of Beakers in north-west France and the Channel Islands alike (Salanova 2000). There is little of the style diversification that happens over a few centuries in Britain (Clarke 1970; Needham 2005). In theory, a limited range could imply conservatism in ceramic production over time, but the more likely explanation is a limited time-span in both the Channel Islands and

⁴ Driscoll's doctoral thesis (2011) synthesised the Bronze and Iron Age pottery sequence of the Channel Islands but it was only one of many elements in his broad-ranging research.

⁵ Hawkes describes the Hougue Bie find as 'numerous fragments of well smoothed fine red ware, probably representing a plain bell-beaker' (Hawkes 1938, 204 fig 53a, 205 no 11); her illustration shows an atypical profile for insular (and Armorican) Beakers, one that is much better paralleled in Guernsey Vases.

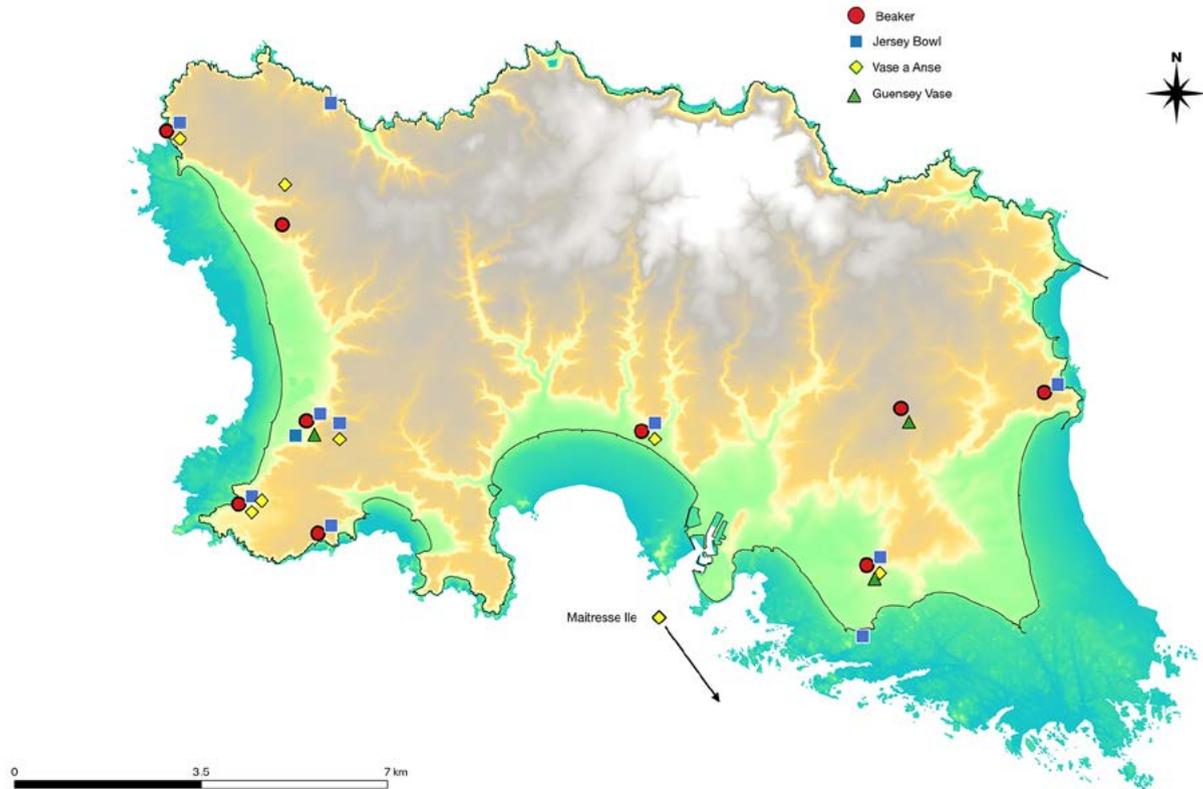


Figure 3. Map of recovery for Beaker, Jersey Bowl, Guernsey Vase and Vase à Anse pottery in Jersey

Armorica. While there is still no close dating evidence from the Islands, the best interregional parallels would now suggest that they belong mainly to the third quarter of the third millennium BC, the time of the 'maritime' Beaker style and, further east, of Low-Carinated Beakers with other decorative schemes.⁶ One reason for a short chronology for Beakers in the Islands could be their temporal relationship with Jersey Bowls but this is difficult to clarify because of the poor dating of the latter.

Jersey Bowls

The name of this ceramic type has turned out to be a misnomer since at least five sites on Guernsey have now produced the type (Hill 1990; Patton 1995c, 161; Driscoll 2011, 140; Cooper 2017). Jersey Bowls are generally distinguishable from Beakers by the combination of their broad proportions, well defined carinations and especially their style of decoration, which is restricted to a band above the carination but not higher or lower (Fig 5; Salanova 2000, 67). The decoration band is also often (though not universally) intermittent - an alternation of decorated and undecorated panels. Nevertheless, a typo-chronological connection to Beakers has generally been assumed by recent researchers.

Although this class of pottery is best known for its well-made thin-walled vessels, sherd material from various sites shows that there was a matching coarser ware element, as seen for example at Les Blanchés Banques (Fig 6), and it should perhaps not be assumed either that decoration was always present (e.g. Fig 5k). The familiar fine decorated bowls are relatively standardised and it must be suspected that these are just one component of the given life assemblage that was preferred for use in funerary and other

⁶ There is now a considerably better radiocarbon dataset, especially in Britain (e.g. Parker Pearson *et al.* 2019).

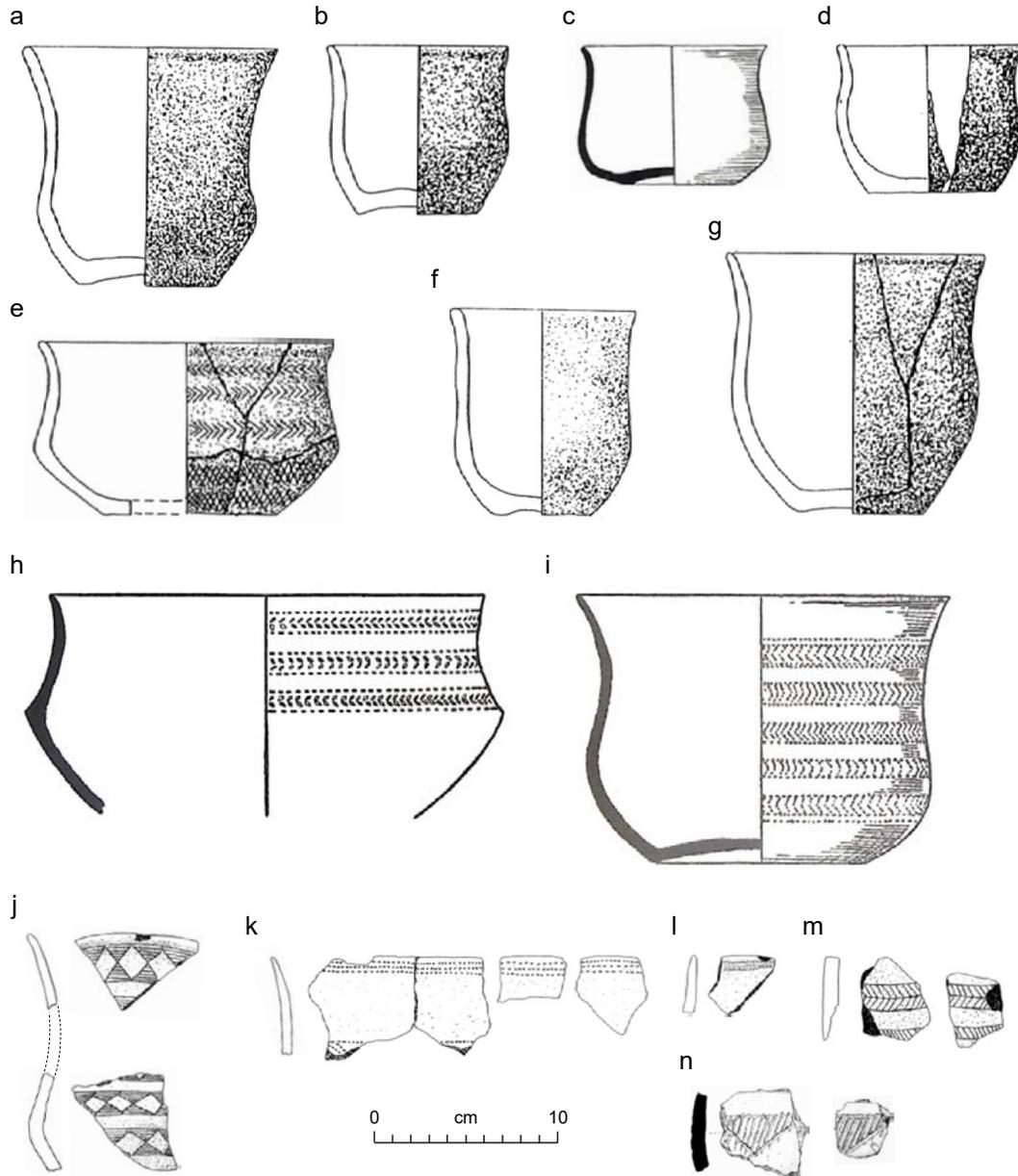


Figure 4. Beaker pottery: a-g, i-l) Ville-ès-Nouaux gallery grave; h) Mont Ubé; m) Pinacle; n) Les Blanches Banques (chance finds). After Patton 1995c (a, b, d-g, j-m); Hawkes 1938 (h-i); Patton & Finlaison 2001 (n); the suggested profile reconstruction of (j) is by the present authors

ritual contexts. They are represented in ‘occupation sites’ as well, but the character of these sites has yet to be established properly.

As for Beakers there is effectively no independent dating evidence for Jersey Bowl pottery and, being an insular type, there is only circumstantial help from external regions. Salanova considered them integrally with Beakers in her detailed study even though she had recognised that the decorative schema is quite distinct (Salanova 2000, 54-68). Driscoll, while accepting a likely relationship, questioned that integrated approach not only on the basis of form and decoration, but also due to their coming from a different range of contexts relative to Beakers (2011, 141), although it is not clear this is actually the

case. Like Beakers, Jersey Bowls are found in a range of contexts including domestic sites (La Motte, Le Petit Port, Les Blanchés Banques and Mont Orgueil), ritual contexts (Le Pinnacle), megalithic graves (Beauport, Mont Ubé, Hougue des Géonnais and Ville-ès-Nouaux), cists (The Ossuary) and mounds (La Tête des Quennavais) (Fig 3). Five of these sites have produced both classes of pottery: Le Pinnacle, Ville-ès-Nouaux, Mont Ubé, Les Blanchés Banques and Beauport (Patton 1995c, 161), but these could represent sequential use in either order, partial overlap or total contemporaneity.

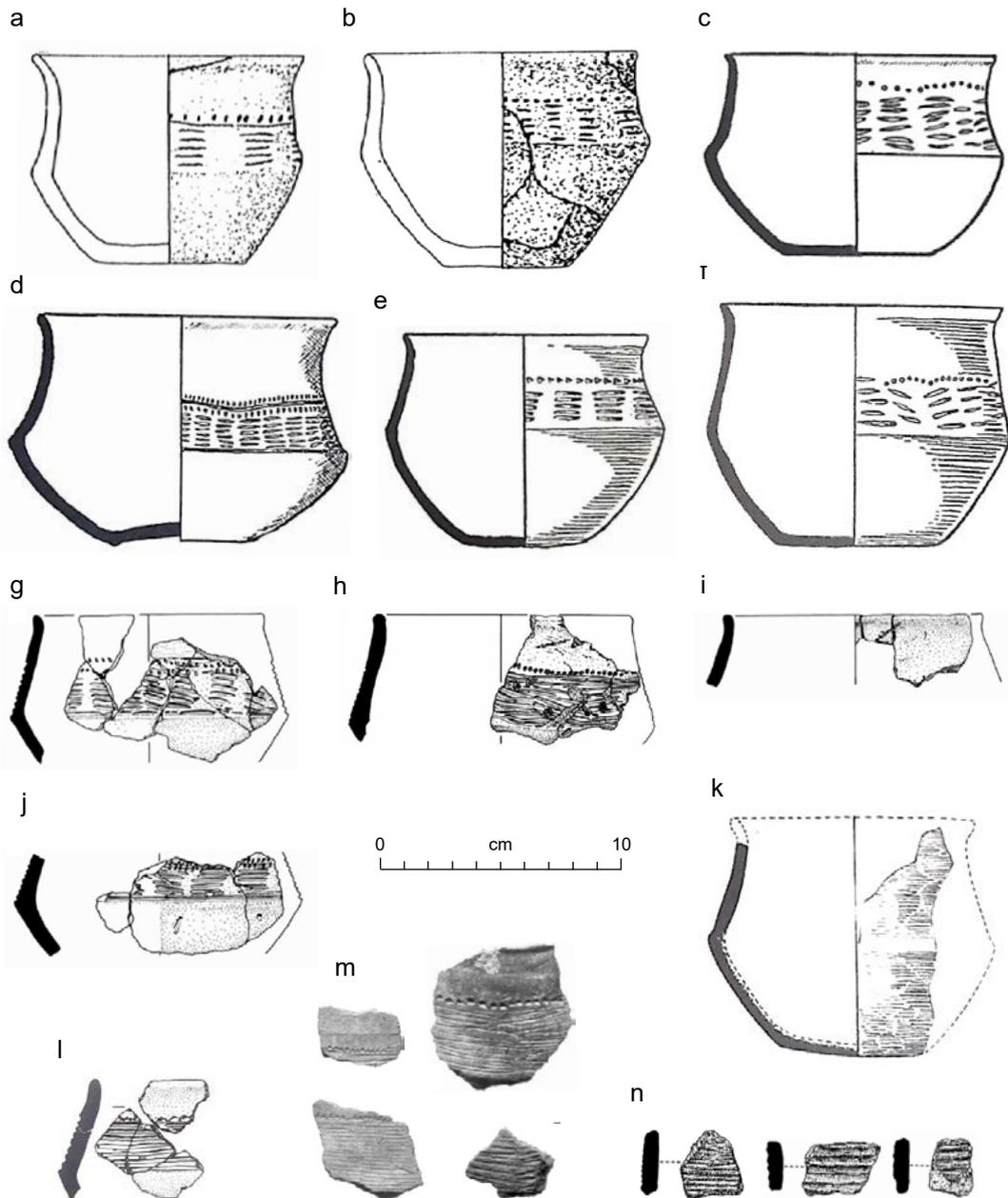


Figure 5. Jersey Bowl pottery: a-b) Ossuary; c) Mont Ubé; d-f) Ville-ès-Nouaux; g-j) Tête des Quennavais; k) Beauport; l) Hougue des Géonnais; m) La Motte midden; n) Pinnacle. After: Patton 1995c (a-b); Hawkes 1938 (c-f); Patton & Finlaison 2001 (g-j); Johnston 1972 (k); Patton 1992 (l); Marett 1912 (m); Patton et al. 2001 (n)

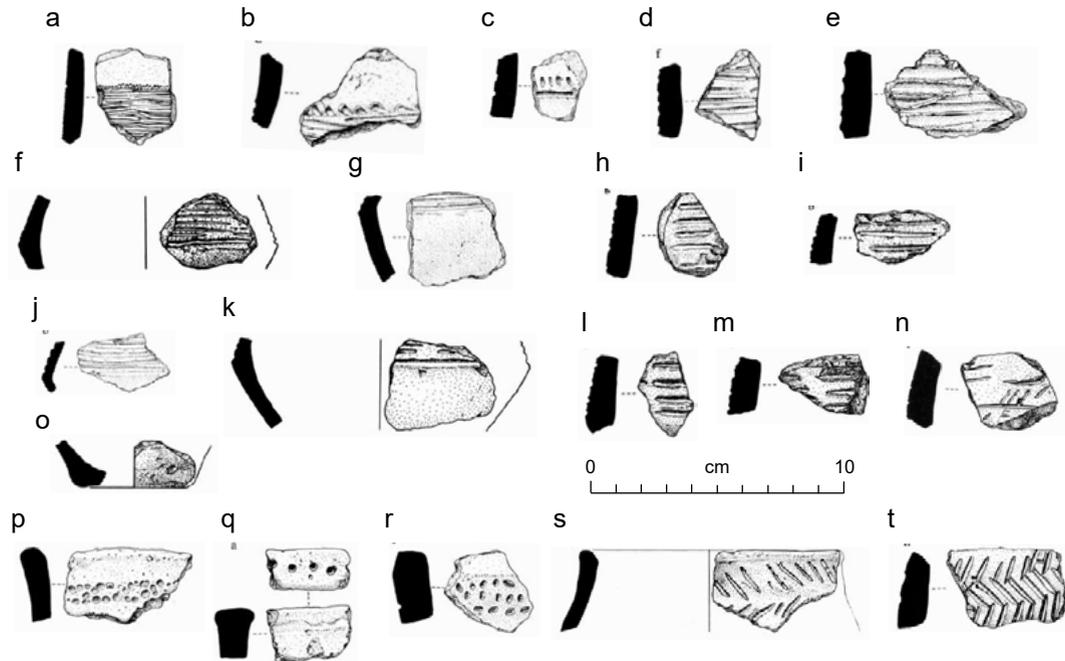


Figure 6. Jersey Bowl and near-contemporary pottery from Les Blanchés Banques: Prisoner of War Camp site 1922 (b, e, s, t); chance finds (c, g, j); survey area 2 (a, d, p, q, r); old land surface/sand interface, 1979 excavation (h, i, o); buried soil, 1979 excavation (f, k, l, m); buried soil 1980 excavation (n). See also Figs 8 and 12. After Patton & Finlaison 2001

A radical alternative is that they are an earlier ware dating to the later Neolithic; this would be consistent with the radiocarbon dates from La Hougue des Géonnais.⁷ The basic form of the Bowls along with their restricted decoration has some resemblance to Kerogou pottery in Brittany, mainly found along the south coast (L'Helgouach 1979, 252–6; see also Neolithic resource assessment). Similar undecorated, flat-based and carinated vessels characterise the Quessoy tradition further north in Brittany (L'Helgouach 1979, 281–3). If Jersey Bowls are a regional expression of this family, then some of the funerary sites considered below would have been constructed in the Neolithic before the arrival of Beaker people and influences. The main ramifications would be that The Ossuary and Beauport were Late Neolithic, the latter with later Beaker and Bronze Age insertions, and the mounds at La Tête des Quennavais might be this early but need not necessarily be so.

⁷ Patton & Finlaison (2001, 95) publish two radiocarbon dates for charcoal from a 'horizon with Jersey Bowls' at La Hougue des Géonnais; these were evidently obtained after Rault & Forrest's interim report but are presumably for their phase 6 deposits at the entrance to the passage including charcoal and three Jersey Bowl sherds (Rault & Forrest 1992, 700; Patton 1992, 703). The dates are 4130 ± 80 BP (Beta-53127) and 4050 ± 100 BP (Beta-53126) calibrating to 2865–2490 cal BC and 2885–2305 cal BC respectively. In the absence of a final report it is impossible to know the full range of material in the context in question (layer 4H) and the formation process responsible for it. This and the possibility of age-offsets for charcoal urges caution as to whether these give good dating for Jersey Bowls. Jersey Bowl pottery at Guadinerie Fields, Sark, has been suggested to be in an early context (Cunliffe & Durham 2019, 207–33). The Jersey Bowl and other potentially contemporary pottery including a flat-based pot (no 149) are from a rubble mound, whereas Middle Neolithic evidence including three radiocarbon dates relates to underlying features. The surviving mound is oval in plan but is probably plough-truncated on one or both sides. The Jersey Bowl and related pottery clearly cannot be close in date to the late fifth millennium cal BC and it seems likely there was a substantial interlude between two phases of activity despite the appearance of a rapid succession.

The above suggestion shows how vital it is that secure independent dating is obtained. Until then we tend to agree with most other researchers that Jersey Bowls are a Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age type. David Bukach had ventured they might have developed out of the early Maritime Beakers in the later third millennium BC (Bukach 2006, 161) and this is eminently reasonable typologically despite their insular particularities. Their inspiration would have come from carinated forms of Beaker and this actually includes carinated bowls within the repertoire, such as the Jersey examples from Ville-ès-Nouaux and Mont Ubé (Fig 4e & h). Similar carinated bowls, albeit undecorated, occur in Brittany (e.g. Salanova 2000, 221, 265–7) so bowls are known to be part of the Beaker repertoire in this part of Europe. Well-defined carination is also a regular feature of Armorican Vases à Anses of the Early Bronze Age, as seen in the Mont Ubé example (Fig 7f), and some of these vessels can be quite squat (Briard 1984, chapter 6). Jersey Bowls could thus be a distinctive variant within a broader regional family that emerged from Beaker ware around the Golfe de St Malo.

It is worth drawing attention to the pottery assemblage from the Beauport entrance grave (Johnston 1972, 413–4). Four of the vessels represented had thin walls and Johnston related them to Beakers and Jersey Bowls on the basis of both profiles and fabrics (Appendix 1). Pot ‘C’ (Fig 7a) has an S-profile with a vestigial carination midway; this is not the typical Low-Carinated or Low-Bellied form of the Islands but is nevertheless Beaker-like on a broader scale. It is also not dissimilar to pot ‘F’ on the site which is essentially a Jersey Bowl lacking the characteristic decoration (Fig 5k). Meanwhile, Johnston identified an uncontexted sherd with a gentle rounded belly, or perhaps a slight carination (his fig 6f) as probably from a Beaker, and a base sherd with an omphalos (fig 6d; from topsoil) as from a Beaker or Jersey Bowl. This small group could well be illustrating a phase of transition between Beakers and Jersey Bowls. The lost sherds from location ‘B’ in the passage might perhaps be from a similar vessel to ‘C’ or ‘F’ to judge from Cable’s illustration of a rim sherd (Cable 1877, fig 3). At the same location was the butt end of a Grand Pressigny dagger; as an early to mid-3rd millennium BC type, this might point to an early foundation for the tomb, but such a conclusion is tempered by it being a single fragment. In addition there were two base-portions from urn-like vessels (‘A’ and ‘E’).

If a Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age dating for Jersey Bowls is broadly correct, there are still issues to resolve regarding their longevity as well as their relationship to the *Vases à Anses* finds from the island. Are these two traditions essentially contemporary and yet contrasting representatives of ‘local’ and ‘foreign’, or does the latter succeed the former?

Vases à Anses

Vases à Anses are distinctive pots represented at six or seven sites in Jersey: La Hougue des Millais, Mont Ubé, La Tête des Quennavais, Ville-ès-Nouaux, Le Pinnacle, La Pulente, Port Petit (Figs 3 & 7; Hawkes 1938, 112–4; Godfray & Burdo 1954, 177; Patton 1991; Driscoll 2011, 148–9). There is probably another from Maîtresse Île; the ‘lug’ just under the rim of an illustrated biconical vessel may be a broken handle (Fig 7j; Clarke 2009, fig 6a). This modest representation may be an underestimate. When identified from sherds, it is the distinctive strap handle that is most recognisable; future study needs to be directed towards identifying corresponding body sherds.

As well as being present elsewhere in the Channel Islands (Fig 8), a few *Vase à Anses* are also known in central-southern England, although the examples there are diverse in form and not all need be imported pots as such (Tomalin 1988). The label ‘*Vases à Anses*’ is preferred here to English-language versions because they obviously relate very closely to the well-represented Breton series in which body profiles actually vary between sharply biconical and globular (Briard 1984, chapter 6; Nicolas *et al.* 2015, 132–8). The term ‘biconical urns’ risks confusion with the defined type in southern England, the Low Countries and northern France, ‘Biconical Urns’. These are however at least partially contemporary and a stylistic

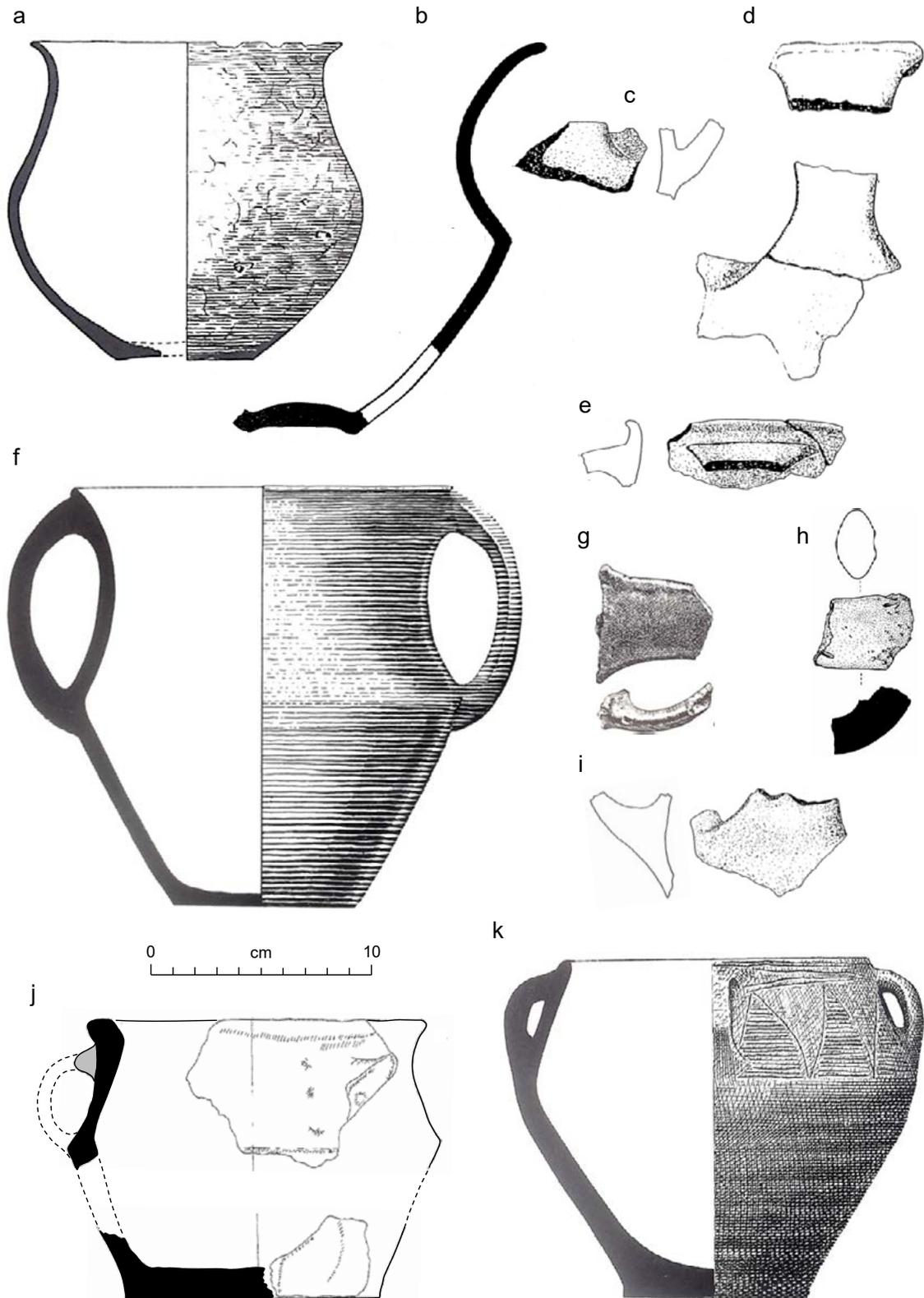


Figure 7. Vase à Anses and related pottery from Jersey: a) Beauport pot 'C'; b-c) Pinacle; d) Ville-ès-Nouaux; e) Petit Port; f-g) Mont Ubé; h) Tête des Quennavais; i) La Pulente; j) Maîtresse Île; k) Hougue des Millais. The Maîtresse Île reconstruction is that of the authors. After Johnston 1972 (a); Godfray & Burdo 1950 (b); Patton 1995c (c, d, e & i); Hawkes 1938 (f, g & k); Patton & Finlaison 2001 (h); Clarke 2009 (j)

relationship is probable. Also related is the Trevisker Ware of south-west England, the one region in Britain that applied strap handles to pots regularly in the Early Bronze Age and also often substituted lugs (Patchett 1944; 1950; Quinnell 2012).

The dating of *Vases à Anses* is in part at least well documented. Of the Breton examples, a fair number are associated in graves with bronze daggers which, when in good enough condition, are consistently of the Bourbriac type dating to the final stage of Bronze Ancien (Briard 1984; Needham 2000, 163–7). This particular series of graves (Series 5) can now be backdated to c. 1800–1600 BC, but it is suspected that it marks a change in regional funerary practice - namely, putting pots alongside daggers for the first time - rather than dating the beginning of the pot tradition as such. There are many other undated graves with such pots that lack daggers and some may well be earlier, a point supported by some particular vase/tomb type correlations (Cogné & Giot 1951, 434–5; Needham 2000, 152 fig 1, 166). How much earlier is still the moot point. Nor can it be totally ruled out that the same basic form continued into the Middle Bronze Age, although now the handles tend to be rope-like or boss-like, rather than strap-like, as also seen in Normandy (e.g. Marcigny *et al.* 2007, 260 fig 23.5) and in most southern British Globular Urns. The type defined as *Vases à Anses*, with strap/ ribbon handles, is essentially Early Bronze Age.

Specialised cups

A small vessel from Mont Ubé is entirely different from any other pottery from the Channel Islands, being nodulated all over (**Fig 8d**). Both Hawkes and Piggott made comparison with the limited series of Early Bronze Age ‘grape cups’ in southern Britain (Piggott 1938, 73–5; Hawkes 1938, 86–7), although its flared vase-like profile is distinct from virtually all known examples. Another distinctive feature is a set of four deep cavities pressed into the sides of the pedestal base.⁸ If it is related the Mont Ubé example does not appear to be an import from Britain; indeed, the flared profile might be seen to reflect some of the smaller ‘flowerpot’ vessels from the islands (below) and it is better seen as a locally produced imitation. British grape cups date to c. 1950–1750 BC.

A handled vessel from La Roche qui Sonne,⁹ Guernsey (Fig 8e), also deserves mention in terms of its international connections (Kendrick 1928, 164 G80, pl XIV; Patton 1995c, 103–4 fig VI.11b). The vessel is small, 84mm tall, with a single handle and a sinuous S-profile ending in a strongly everted rim. While it may have some relationship to *Vases à Anses*, single handles in that tradition are not frequent and the profile is atypical. Nor is it like local Beaker forms, even without the handle. Instead, this vessel has much more in common with the north-west European ‘precious cups’ known in gold, silver, amber and shale (Needham *et al.* 2006), the only deviation being that it has a wider flat base than any in that series. Four of the shale and amber cups from southern England have narrow flat bases and similar profiles to La Roche qui Sonne. The ruddy burnish of the vessel may have been intended to resemble amber. Parallels in pottery are few in the Channel Zone and tend to be larger vessels, such as those from Hellen, Cléder, Finistère, and Ballard Down, Studland G9, Dorset; less similar are examples from Juno Bella and Esquibien, both Finistère (Briard 1984, 117 fig 67.1, 123 fig 72; Tomalin 1988, 209–10 fig 4.4). The precious cups have been argued to have been inspired ultimately by central European ceramic cups (Piggott 1938, 83; Needham *et al.* 2006, 53) and date to c. 1900–1600 BC.

⁸ It has been suggested that this vessel is not securely provenanced to Mont Ubé having passed through a dealer’s hands between excavation and museum acquisition. However, Patton’s argument (1995c, 98 footnote 1) that this vessel along with a ‘flowerpot’ tub (see below) and a faience bead acquired at the same time would be more in place in a southern English funerary context is untenable since neither of the pots can be matched in detail in southern England and, moreover, the faience bead was watercolour-sketches by Lukis, presumably before it left the Islands (Hawkes 1938, 229 no ix).

⁹ Alternatively, La Roque or La Rocque qui Sonne.

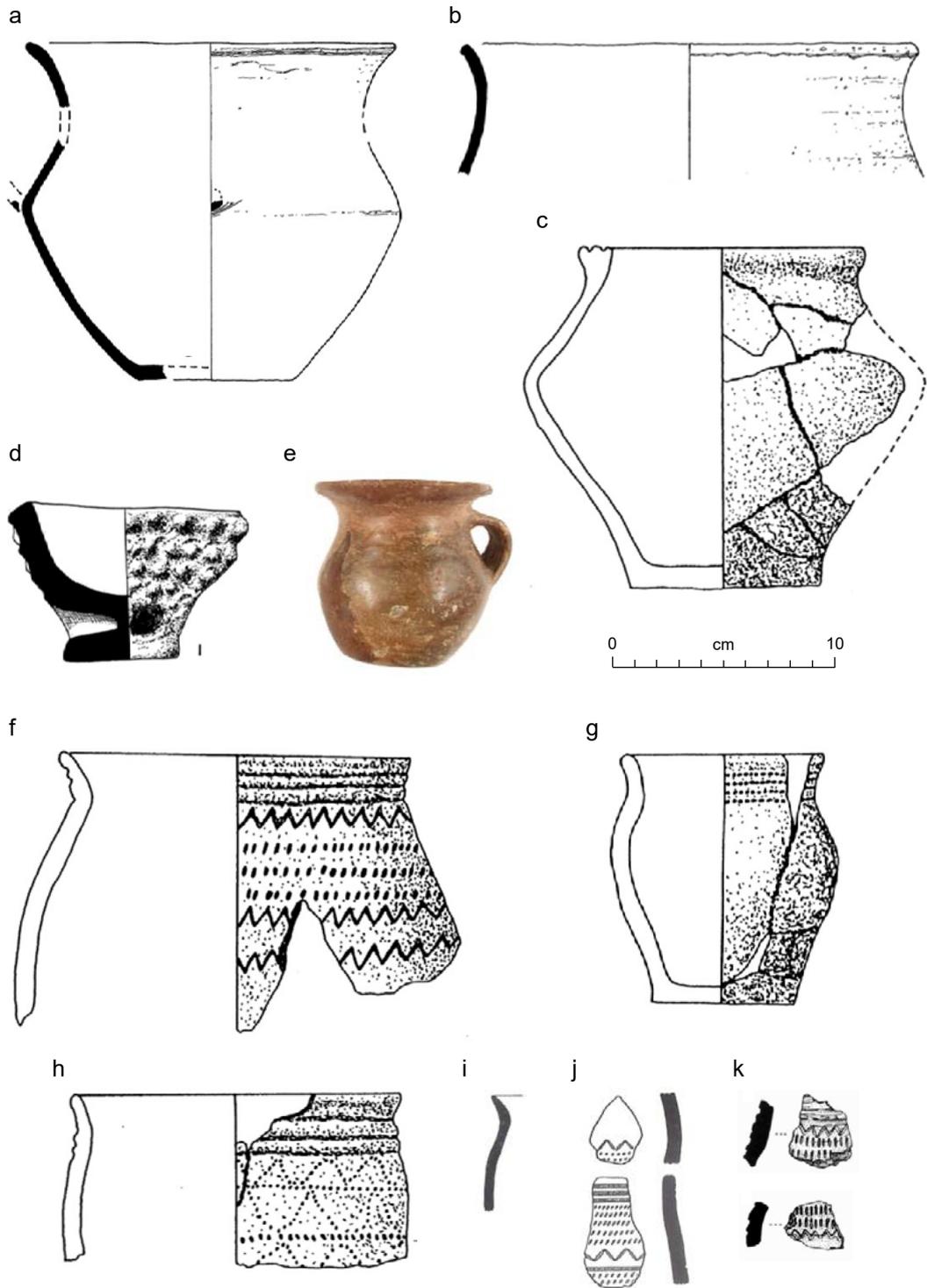


Figure 8. Early Bronze Age pottery from the Channel Islands - Vase à Anses and related (a-c), cups (d-e), Guernsey Vase pottery (f-k): a-b) Tanquerel Fields, Sark; c) La Varde, Guernsey; d) Mont Ubé; e) La Roche qui Sonne, Guernsey; f-h) La Varde; i) Hougue Bie; j) Mont Ubé; k) Blanches Banques. After Cunliffe & Durham 2019 (a & b); Patton 1995c (c & f-h); Hawkes 1938 (I & j); Patton & Finlaison 2001 (k). Image (e) courtesy of Philip de Jersey, Guernsey Culture & Heritage

Guernsey Vases

This type is best known from the rich assemblage at La Varde tomb, Guernsey (Fig 8f-h), but it is represented in Jersey by three sherds from Les Blanchés Banques (Patton & Finlaison 2001, 95), two at Mont Ubé (Hawkes 1938, 219 nos 9 & 10, 221 fig 61d) and possibly also by the crushed vessel at La Hougue Bie (footnote 5; Fig 8i-k). The more complete profiles at La Varde reveal ovate bodies surmounted by a short neck and gently everted rim (Kendrick 1928, pl XI, 113 fig 41). The neck has multiple grooves or other motif-rows and the upper body is usually decorated with combinations of horizontal bands of vertical or diagonal strokes and single or multiple zigzag rows; one pot also has rows of small annular motifs. While most bodies are smoothly convex at least one is carinated. One has small handles just below the neck. These vessels could owe something in form, decoration schema and motifs to Beaker pottery further east, especially within Clarke's East Anglian and Northern Series (Clarke 1970); there are also links to Armorican *Vases à Anses* in motifs, the predominant restriction of the decoration to the upper tier and, in some cases, the profile. In their particular formulation however they are again a Channel Islands creation, probably emerging at the beginning of the Bronze Age.

'Flowerpot' or urn-style pottery

So-called 'flowerpot' pottery is a loosely defined class based on straight or gently bowed profiles with simple flattened or rounded rims tops and most often with lugs or cordons applied to the upper wall. Greater uncertainty has surrounded the dating of 'flowerpot' pottery than even Jersey Bowls. The dilemma is similar: is the appropriate comparison with Late Neolithic pottery, this time the Seine-Oise-Marne (SOM) and Gord traditions, or with Bronze Age urn-style assemblages, or are both relevant? In reality 'flowerpots' are probably only one segment of a broader form range that happens to have been favoured for funerary-ritual purposes, but we will deal with them separately first because of the historical background.

'Flowerpot' pottery comprises two main forms: i) small vessels ('tubs') with straight or bowed walls, flared or vertical, the majority provided with between two and eight lugs or bosses¹⁰ which are occasionally perforated; ii) larger 'urns' with straight or bowed profiles - again these can have lugs or bosses (round to oval) high on the wall, but alternatively have one or two cordons instead. For the most part lugs and cordons are exclusive of one another; however, a small weakly carinated tub from Mont Ubé is unusual in combining a finger-impressed cordon with lugs (Fig 10i; Maret 1912, 224 fig 9).¹¹ Decoration is rare and minimal when present. Complete or near-complete examples occur at seven sites in Jersey - Hougue des Platons, Hougue de Mauger, Ville-ès-Nouaux, Mont Ubé, Hougue des Géonnais, Blanche Pierre, Overdale - and there is the greater part of the profile of a similar vessel at Le Câtél de Rozel and perhaps Le Pinacle (Figs 9-11).¹² At Les Platons the two vessel sizes are together in the cist and both are probably also represented at Hougue des Géonnais (Figs 10f, 10h, 11a & 11d). The group at Hougue de Mauger are varied in size (Fig 10a-c). Although numbers are small, it is noteworthy that 'flowerpots' are significant along the northern coastline where the various pottery styles considered so far are scarce.

Hawkes saw 'flowerpot' pottery as an insular version of southern British Deverel-Rimbury pottery (Hawkes 1938, 120), dated to the Late Bronze Age at the time she was writing but subsequently backdated to the Middle Bronze Age (current dating c. 1600-1100 BC). However, she had already suspected that the origins of cordoned vessels lay in the Beaker assemblage and also pointed to their presence in the tomb

¹⁰ Bosses are gently domed protuberances; lugs are more projecting and angular.

¹¹ A large urn from La Varde, Guernsey, has both an under-rim cordon and lugs (Kendrick 1928, 117 fig 44 G25). See also footnote 8.

¹² Godfray & Burdo's illustration of a complete vessel (1950, fig 32) is a reconstruction based on an uncertain proportion of the profile.

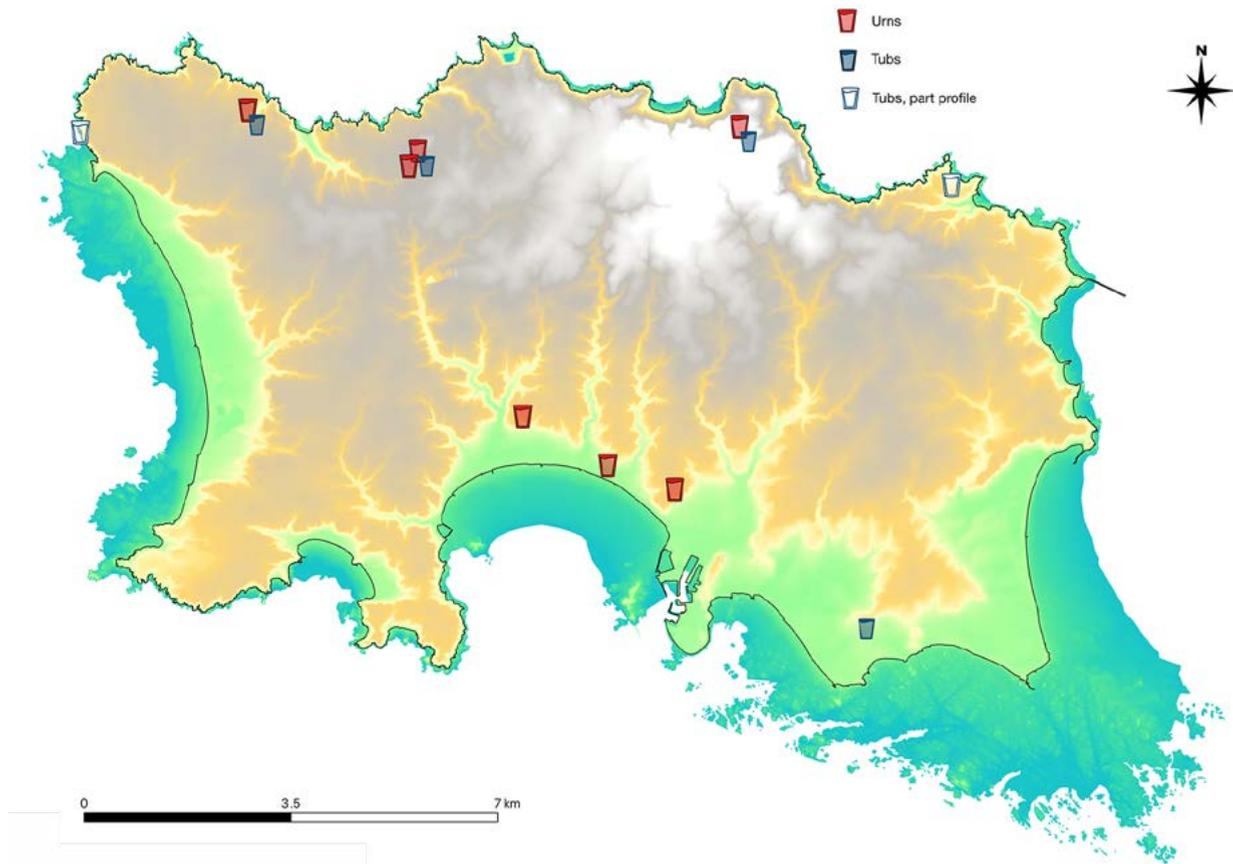


Figure 9. Map of recovery for 'flowerpot' vessels (urns and tubs) with complete or near-complete profiles. Note that there are sherds at a number of other sites that are likely to represent urn-style pottery

at Lannilis, Finistère (Hawkes 1938, 115–6). Much later Johnston and Briard made further comparisons with occasional pots in Armorican Early Bronze Age tumuli (Johnston 1981, 33; Briard 1986, 40). At the same time, Briard's detailed overview of the Armorican Early Bronze Age highlighted sherd assemblages containing urns with cordons, either plain or finger-impressed (Briard 1984, 170–3). There is also the knobbed vessel from Ligollenec, Finistère, found under a small mound¹³ and an unknobbed tub from Saint-Evarzec, also Finistère, in a tomb with two further small vessels both of these having handles. The latter have weakly carinated profiles and are plain (Briard 1984, 118 fig 68); they are not the striking and often decorated *Vases à Anses* familiar from Early Bronze Age graves.

By the late 20th century, Patton was instead making comparisons with French Late Neolithic traditions, influence from which was being identified as far west as Brittany (e.g. L'Helgouach 1979, 283–6); he was dismissive of Hawkes's Deverel-Rimbury link (Patton 1987, 93, 97–8; 1995c, 159–60; also Kinnes & Hibbs 1988, 5). This re-dating was questioned to some extent by Driscoll, who now had the benefit of important new discoveries in Normandy, especially that from Île Tatihou, but he still erred towards an intermediate date at the beginning of the Bronze Age, c. 2200–1700 BC (2011, 145–7, 178, 180 fig 11.30). Driscoll cautioned that vessels attributed to the 'flowerpot' category may not all be the same thing, a point to be kept in mind. If there was genuinely a long time-span, or two separate spans, then this needs to be established by material in secure and well-dated contexts.

¹³ The associated radiocarbon date (?on charcoal) is worthless for any fine chronology (3500 ± 130 BP).

Given that ‘flowerpot’ vessels have a fairly basic (although actually quite varied) form, dating ultimately depends on contexts specific to the region in question. At present the two best-dated contexts on Jersey itself are pots containing Late Bronze Age bronze hoards, that at La Blanche Pierre (Finlaison 1981) and a much newer find from Overdale (Figs 11b & g). Both hoards contain diagnostic material of the St Briec-des-Iffs metalworking tradition, c. 1200-1000 BC. These two urns, the former with bosses, the latter with a finger-impressed cordon, fall within the ‘flowerpot’ definition and show that such pots can be as late as the middle of Bronze Final in the French chronology (Fig 1). Plenty of evidence for urn-style pottery comes from the radiocarbon-dated assemblage at Tanquerel Fields, Sark (see further below) including a small convex tub with eight perforated bosses (Fig 10k; Durham 2019, 122 fig 85.2; see also Appendix 2) and a number of cordoned vessels of bucket/flowerpot shape (e.g. *ibid.*, 124 fig 86.23, 129 figs 89.96 & 103; Figs 11e & f). Also represented are simple urns lacking evidence for applied features (Fig 10j). There is little doubt then that bucket/flowerpot pottery was current on the Islands between 1600 and 1100 BC and the outstanding questions therefore are how much earlier might it have emerged and were there any temporal trends in form. This chronology is unsurprising in the context of the wider Channel Zone. Urns and smaller tubs frequently with bosses/lugs or cordons¹⁴ are a widespread feature of Bronze Age assemblages in Normandy (e.g. Marcigny & Ghesquière 2003; Chancerel *et al.* 2006; Marcigny *et al.* 2007), northernmost France (e.g. Buechez *et al.* 2017) and southern England (e.g. Calkin 1962).

The Bronze Age domestic ceramic assemblage

Until recently the Bronze Age ceramic repertoire of the Channel Islands was rather poorly represented. Even the assemblages from Les Blanchés Banques, La Tête des Quennevais and Jerbourg had only modest numbers of diagnostic sherds with limited profiles and there were no associated radiocarbon dates. The situation has been much improved by the addition of the assemblages from L’Érée and, especially for the second half of the period, by the large assemblage from Tanquerel Fields, Sark. The latter demonstrates that the full range of domestic pottery is considerably greater than that seen in specialised funerary-ritual contexts, a point also apparent from the Normandy evidence (e.g. Marcigny *et al.* 2007). Not only is the pottery from Tanquerel Fields abundant, but many of the sherds are large. In addition, the sequence is associated with eight radiocarbon dates spanning part of the Middle and more or less all of the Late Bronze Age (Cunliffe & Durham 2019). We will refrain from describing the assemblage and its contexts in detail and merely note here that two major stratigraphic groups were discerned within the feature complex thus giving rise to an ‘early’, c. 1400–1150 cal BC, and a ‘late’ assemblage, c. 1150–800 cal BC.¹⁵ Emma Durham summarised the difference between the two as the early phase being dominated by ‘bucket urns and barrel-shaped jars’ and the later more by ‘carinated jars and wide-mouthed jars’ (Durham 2019, 144). There is also in the later group a good number of fine bowls with either weak to moderate carinations or convex walls and often with fine bead-defined rims; these do not appear in the early group.

The radiocarbon determinations at Tanquerel Fields only date a few of the many contexts with useful pottery groups and the site appears to represent a longer-term palimpsest of activity. Durham felt that some pots represented were earlier than the radiocarbon date spans (*ibid.*) and we have suggested in Appendix 2 the context groups for which this is likely to be the case. For example, two of the urns are distinctly biconical (*ibid.*, 127 figs 87.94 & 95; Fig 11f) and could well be late versions of Biconical Urns, *sensu stricto*, dating close to the Early/Middle Bronze Age transition. At the other end of the span, some of the pottery in the late group could on typological grounds be considered to be very late, namely

¹⁴ Sometimes with bosses as swellings at intervals within a cordon.

¹⁵ The start date of 1250 cal BC given in the publication for the late-phase on this site is skewed by a single date on charcoal (OxA-30220); the pottery from this context is in fact better grouped with the earlier assemblage (or at least intermediate) and the feature, ditch terminal F144, does not need to be later.

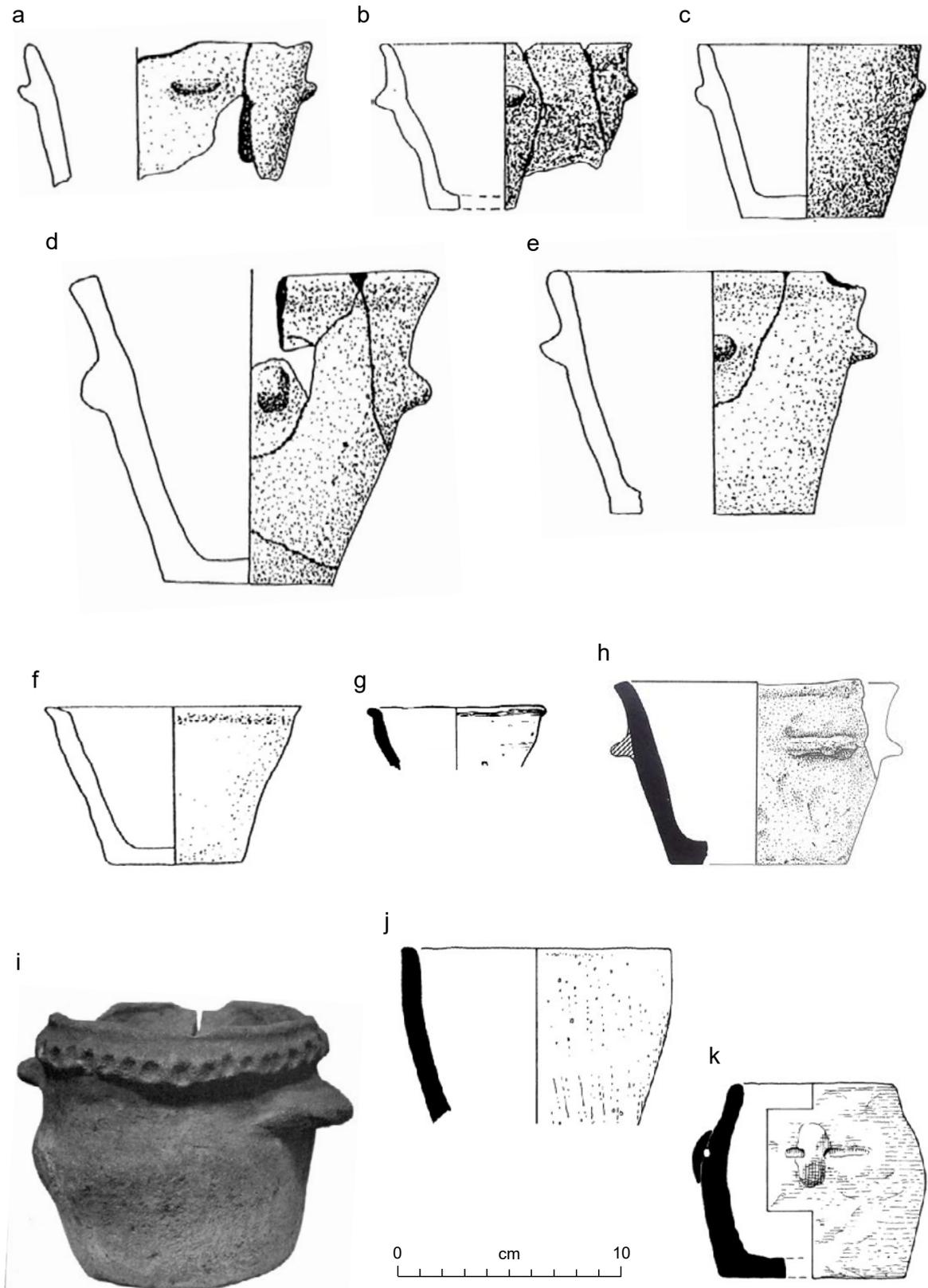


Figure 10. Smaller 'flowerpot' pottery (tubs) from Jersey and Sark: a-e) Hougue de Mauger; f) Hougue des Platons; g) Câtel de Rozel; h) Hougue des Géonnais; i) Mont Ubé; j-k) Tanquerel Fields, Sark. After Patton 1995 (a-f); Cunliffe 1992 (g); Patton 1992 (h); Marett 1912 (i); Cunliffe & Durham 2019 (j-k)

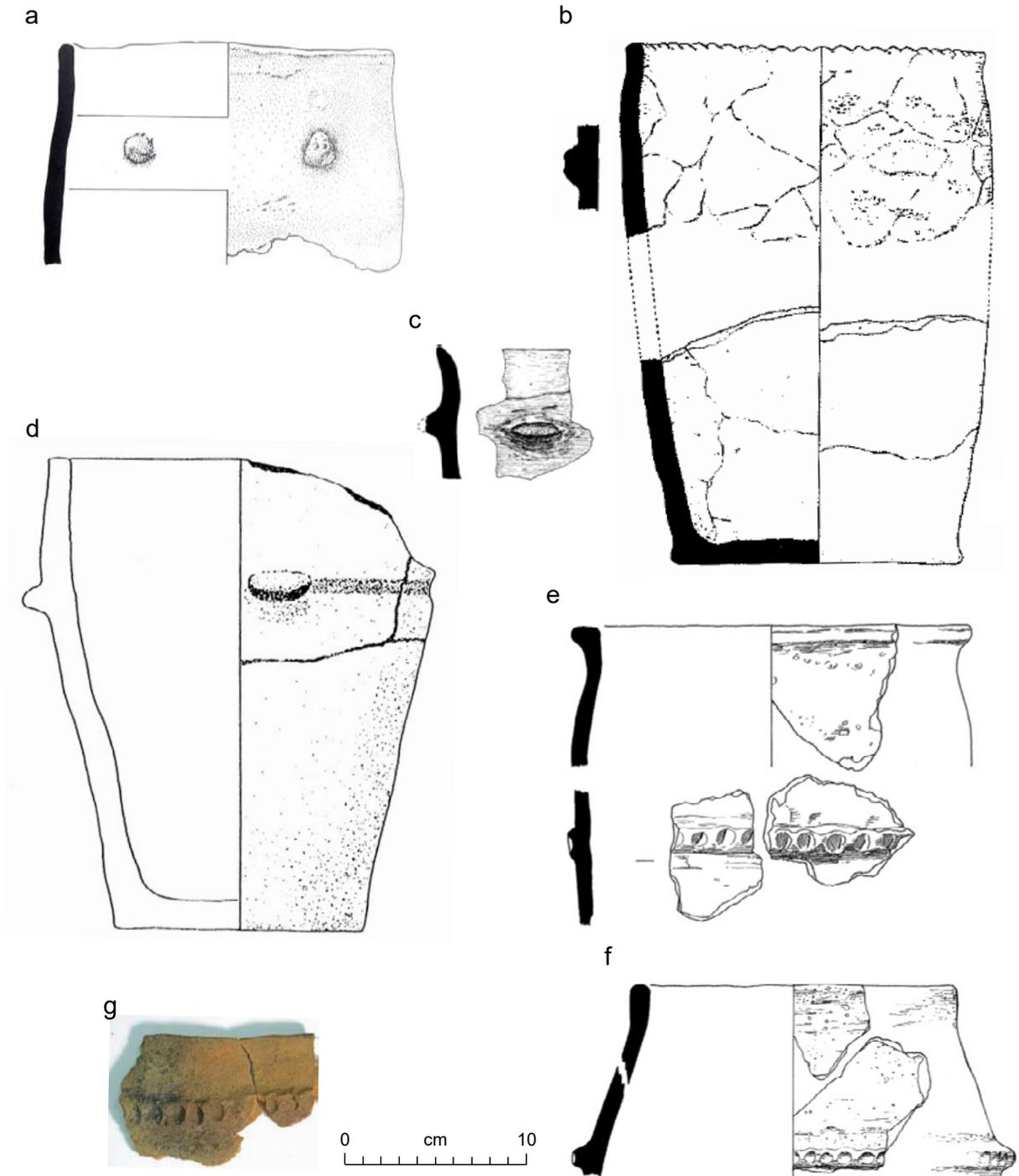


Figure 11. Larger 'flowerpot' pottery (urns) from Jersey and Sark: a) Hougue des Géonnais; b) Blanche Pierre; c) Jerbourg, Guernsey; d) Hougue des Platons; e-f) Tanquerel Fields; g) Overdale. After Patton 1992 (a); Coombs 1988 (b); Burns 1988 (c); Patton 1995c (d); Cunliffe & Durham 2019, (e-f); image courtesy of Jersey Heritage Trust (g)

around the Bronze/Earliest Iron Age transition, 9–8th century BC. Tanquerel Fields has to be regarded for the moment as a master-assemblage for the post-1600 BC period, invaluable for cross-comparisons.

For earlier pottery, the assemblage excavated at L'Erée, Guernsey, is now perhaps the best key. The site has a deeply stratified sediment sequence incorporating three buried soils (Garrow & Sturt 2017). A large assemblage of Chalcolithic to Early, or perhaps Middle, Bronze Age pottery was recovered, although one limitation is the lack of any independent dates in association. The pottery in question occurs in the 'upper buried soil' and 'lower buried soil'.¹⁶ The artefactual material is believed to be occupation related and the sherds, although numerous, are generally small and worn. They could represent a long period of activity even for each of the soil profiles, moreover, there are the usual dangers of redeposition and undetectable intrusions that will diffuse genuine stratigraphic trends. Taking account of not just the published pottery but also that documented in the archive certain trends can be identified. In particular, Jersey Bowls are predominantly associated with the lower buried soil, as too appear to be vessels with finger-impressed cordons (Fig 12f-g; Table 1). In contrast, sherds with lugs or plain cordons are more frequent in the upper buried soil. It would appear that on this site most urn-style pottery was later than the Jersey Bowl horizon but finger-impressed cordons were not. Whether this apparent sequence was a fortuitous product of the material surviving is difficult to know. By the Middle Bronze Age both plain and impressed cordons appear to be present together to judge from the Tanquerel Fields assemblage. Another possible correlation at L'Erée, based on just three occurrences, is that sherds thought to come from 'necked ovate jars' (none illustrated) were all from the upper soil; these probably match vessels in Bronze Age contexts elsewhere in the islands including some of the Guernsey Vases. Beaker pottery is too scarce and uncertainly identified to be related closely to this sequence.

Material from Les Blanchés Banques is well stratified in the sense that early wind-blown sand sealed a land surface some time around the Early Bronze Age. The land surface would have been open to activity for millennia beforehand so archaeological material incorporated within the associated soil profile could be wide ranging in date. Finds come from investigation in 1915, 1922 and 1974–80, and in addition there are chance finds (Sinclair 1916; Hawkes 1938; Patton & Finlaison 2001). The earlier finds include material of a fairly wide date range and these can no longer be related to the stratigraphy (Patton & Finlaison 2001, 50). Patton and Finlaison divided the later-excavated material into three stratigraphic groups: i) finds from the 'land surface' (i.e. buried soil profile); ii) finds from the 'interface' (i.e. on top of the soil and below the sand); iii) finds from the overlying sand layer. The sherds from context (iii) are small but included simple rims, either rounded, flattened or slightly everted, and a number of plain cordons; the assemblage was dominated by fabric 4b with a little of 4a. They likened this assemblage to 'Middle Bronze Age' pottery from Jerbourg (*ibid.*, 94), but the comparison is unconvincing and an Early Bronze Age date seems just as likely. In the areas excavated in 1978 and 1979 the assemblage from the buried soil profile (i) was dramatically different in terms of fabrics; fabric 4b was totally absent and fabric 1a was dominant. Diagnostic sherds included those of several Jersey Bowls (Fig 6); a plain cordoned sherd is also illustrated (*ibid.*, 96 fig 7.14). The 1980-excavated soil profile had a different assemblage, one much more similar to that in overlying context (iii) in both fabric and form. The fabric range is a little different in that 4a now exceeds 4b, but plain cordons are present and rims are similar (*ibid.*, 96 fig 7.15). There are also two sherds of Guernsey Vase (Fig 8k). Context (ii) in between unsurprisingly had a mix of material including sherds of Jersey Bowl and cordoned vessels, and one of Guernsey Vase (*ibid.*, 94–5). One Beaker sherd present in this assemblage might be residual; a few came from the less well stratified assemblages. Interestingly, the lugs that are fairly well represented at L'Erée seem to be absent or rare at Les Blanchés Banques.

¹⁶ The third soil, the 'basal buried soil', is associated only with Middle Neolithic material.

CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL CULTURE

Table 1. The stratigraphic distribution of the pottery from L'Érée, Guernsey, based on Cooper's published catalogue and the archive (Cooper 2017). Multiple sherds with the given feature in a single context/grid square are counted as a single occurrence.

Pot type/feature	Lower buried soil		Upper buried soil	
	Catalogued sherds (cat. no.)	Total number	Catalogued sherds	Total number
Jersey Bowl	29, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 39	8 + ?2	37	1 + ?6
Beaker	31	1 + ?3	30	1 + ?2
Other decorated	34, 42	2		4
Lug/boss	23	3 + ?8	24, 25, 26	8 + ?7
Plain cordon		5 + ?1	43, 45	14 + ?3
Finger-impressed cordon	44	5		1
Beaded rim	20	5		4
Flattened rim	23	6	24, 26, 27, 43	10
Strap handle	46	1	47	1 + ?3

An anomalous vessel at Blanchés Banques has a fairly slack tripartite profile and gently flaring mouth (*ibid.*, 43 fig 5.1d). Driscoll noted a close parallel at Ville-ès-Nouaux (2011, 156). There is no close match in the Tanquerel Fields assemblage, vessels like nos 207, 209, 210 & 280 having less tall mouths (Durham 2019, figs 92 & 94). The similarity to Iron Age tripartite vessels may be fortuitous or, alternatively, this may be a genuinely late discard on the site; it is apparently not closely stratified.

At Jerbourg the two later of three successive prehistoric stratigraphic groups are probably largely re-deposited material for rampart construction (Burns 1988, 7). While analysis (using a revised stratigraphic matrix - Appendix 3) suggests there is a temporal trend across the three groups, this still leaves the problem of how this trend relates to the earthwork sequence given the likelihood of redeposition. Urn-like profiles are certainly represented amongst the Jerbourg assemblage but are difficult to quantify due to the small size of most sherds.¹⁷ The most probable examples are the bossed sherds from the phase 1 and 2a assemblages (Appendix 3; Fig 11c; Burns 1988, nos 1–3, 92), and the sherd with a vestigial cordon (no 63; phase 2a). Some of the flat-topped and thick-walled sherds are also likely to be from urn-like vessels. In the absence of radiocarbon dates absolute dating is uncertain; Burns ascribed the earliest assemblage to the Late Neolithic–Early Bronze Age (Burns 1988, 7, 9) but it comes from a long-open land surface with associated features. Although the handled sherd (no 4) has a strap-like handle, its compactness is more reminiscent of later handled vessels than *Vase à Anses*.

The sharply carinated body sherds (nos 12 & 13) are fairly thin-walled and do match many *Vase à Anses* as for example at Mont Ubé and Tanquerel Fields no 9. There is also a sherd with a line of pricked impressions (no 62) which may be a post-Early Bronze Age form of decoration; a few similarly decorated sherds occur in the assemblage incorporated into the second rampart (phase 4). In phase 4 there are also two sherds with a distinctive club-profile rim which can be matched in several rims at Tanquerel Fields. The horizontal rilling (or fluting; French *cannelures*) seen in that Jerbourg phase and also present

¹⁷ Driscoll's illustrations of the Jerbourg pottery (2011, app 3.29 & 3.30) should be disregarded; he has portrayed many body sherds as if they possess rims and has restored diameters for sherds that are too small.

Table 2. A provisional chronology for stratified ceramic assemblages in terms of the most frequent or seemingly most diagnostic features; the estimated date spans are largely based on external evidence but are aided by the radiocarbon dates from Tanquerel Fields.

Provisional ceramic 'horizon' & estimated date range	L'Erée	Jerbourg	Tanquerel Fields	Les Blanches Banques	La Tête des Quennevais
?1. Beaker 2500–2200	-	-	-	1978-79 trenches	-
2. Chalç/EBA 2300–2000	LBS: Jersey Bowl Finger-impressed cordons	<i>Ph 1-2a:</i> Plain carinated bowl Multiple horizontal strokes (?Jersey Bowl) Lugged vessels		BSP: Jersey Bowl Fabric 1a	BSP [5]: Jersey Bowl Finger-impressed cordon Fabric 2 1 st mound [4]: Jersey Bowl (re- incorporated) Fabric 2
3a. EBA 2200–	UBS: Plain cordons (URC) Lugged vessels Necked ovate jars (Guernsey Vase?)		<i>Ph 1:</i> Vase à Anses Plain cordons (URC)	BSP: Plain cordons (URC) Guernsey Vase Fabric 4a (+4b)	
3b. EBA –1600			Biconical urns	Wbs: Plain cordons Fabric 4b (+4a)	SoM [2]: Vase à Anses Thick flat rim Fabric 4b
4. MBA 1600–1150		Stab/prick row Out-turned rims Compact strap handle	<i>Ph 2:</i> Biconical urns Plain buckets Contracted-mouth/bowed vessels In-turned mouth vessel (rilled) Hollow-necked thin-wares Rilling Lugs/bosses Plain cordons Finger-impressed cordons Everted rim with internal bevel Slashed rims Finger-tipped rim top		
		<i>Ph 2d-4:</i> (see below)			

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<p>5. LBA 1150-800</p>		<p><i>Ph 2d-4:</i> Multiple horizontal strokes (?Jersey Bowl) Rilling Rope handle Beaded rim Stab/prick rows Out-turned rims In-turned rims Thickened rims Lid Slashed rims Openwork geometric decoration</p>	<p><i>Ph 3:</i> Weak-moderate shouldered jars Bowed-wall jars, out-turned rim Weakly/moderately carinated bowls – bipartite or necked Convex bowls, in-turned mouth Round-shouldered bowls Bead-rim bowls Angle-everted mouths (internal bevel) Lids/assiettes Out-turned rims In-turned rims Thickened oval-profile rims T-rims Omphalos base Rilling/multiple grooves Finger-printed shoulders Piecrust on rim exteriors Slashed rim Openwork geometric decoration Combed geometric decoration</p>			
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Key: LBS – lower buried soil; UBS – upper buried soil; BSP – buried soil profile; WBS – wind-blown sand layer; SoM – sand layer overlying mounds

on one phase 2 sherd (no 78), occurs on at least four Middle to Late Bronze Age sherds from Tanquerel Fields,¹⁸ while at Île Tatihou, Manche, it is a feature at the mouths of some urns in phase 1, around the Early/Middle Bronze Age transition (Marcigny & Ghesquière 2003). Rilling is a regular feature of Deverel-Rimbury Globular Urns in southern England. The openwork geometrically incised decoration of Jerbourg nos 71–75 can be paralleled in Tanquerel Fields sherds 56, 57, 180, 205, 231 and 232, all of the late phase. Similarly, diagonal slashing is shown on four Tanquerel Fields rims (nos 31, 41, 166, 309) and vertical slashing on another (217). This technique and rilling appear therefore to be used locally from at least the later Middle Bronze Age, whereas openwork geometric incision may be a late addition to the repertoire.

La Tête des Quennevais is the fifth site with some stratigraphic information. The site yielded 193 sherds, over half of which came from the soil profile buried beneath the first of two mounds (context 5). In this context identifiable pottery was mainly decorated Jersey Bowls and predominantly of fabric 2 (Fig 5 g-j; Patton & Finlaison 2001, 163–4) and the assemblage from the make-up of that mound (context 4) was identical, almost certainly because it was made of turves from the surrounding land surface (Patton 1991). A single sherd with a finger-impressed cordon from [5] seemed anomalous at the time, but the association with Jersey Bowls is now matched in the lower buried soil at L'Érée. The pottery in a layer [2] overlying both this mound and a secondary addition is instead of fabric 4b and there were no decorated sherds and no Jersey Bowls represented. A strap handle from a Vase à Anses (Fig 7h) and a thick rim with flattened top suggest an Early Bronze Age date (Patton & Finlaison 2001, 168).

Comparing these five sequences, a provisional relative chronology can be suggested as in Table 2. Only occasional sherds of Beaker appear in these assemblages and these may all be residual. Although Beaker pottery is moderately well represented in the Channel Islands, it remains to be seen whether there was ever a definable phase during which only Beakers (and their associated coarsewares) were in use. Ribbon-handled Vase à Anses are also only occasionally present in these five assemblages (especially horizon 3), but the possibility that they are under-recognised has been raised above. The 'necked ovate jars' Cooper notes at L'Érée are probably similar to the Guernsey Vases of La Varde (Kendrick 1928, 113, pl XI), Mont Ubé and Les Blanches Banques (Fig 8 lower), but are perhaps undecorated versions. While cordons were probably a feature of some pottery throughout the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age, there may have been an important shift in their position on the pot (Fig 12). Early cordons, as at L'Érée and Les Blanches Banques are placed just below the rim, *under-rim cordons*, just as seen on some Beaker pottery. At Tanquerel Fields there are two comparable examples (nos 7 & 214), one at least of which is in an early context, whereas there are nine profiles on which the cordon is lower, often emphasising the girth of the pot (20, 23, 39, 94, 95, 96, 103, 154, 247); those in contexts for which a date can be suggested are Middle Bronze Age (Appendix 4). For six other illustrated sherds position cannot be determined. The cordons on Earliest Iron Age jars can return to a high position, often sited within a concave neck (e.g. Hawkes 1938, pl X, i).

The famous site of Le Pinnacle also had stratified deposits, but Mark Patton has exposed major problems with regard to Godfray and Burdo's attribution of finds to layer contexts and it is no longer possible to sequence all of them securely (Patton *et al.* 2001). An additional problem is the lack of understanding of formation processes. There are notionally two phases of activity of interest for this chapter - a Chalcolithic one and a more diffuse Bronze Age one. Despite the overall quantity of material of all phases from the site, there was only a modest amount of Chalcolithic pottery and even less Bronze Age pottery (*ibid.*). Patton's important re-evaluation of the stratigraphy and archive records identified the making of a platform between the rock outcrop and a revetment wall; he dated this to the Chalcolithic on the basis of finds in the upper part of the make-up, Godfray and Burdo's gravel layer (horizon 2)

¹⁸ Most notably, pot no 83 from radiocarbon-dated ditch F144, c. 1400–1200 cal BC (App 4).

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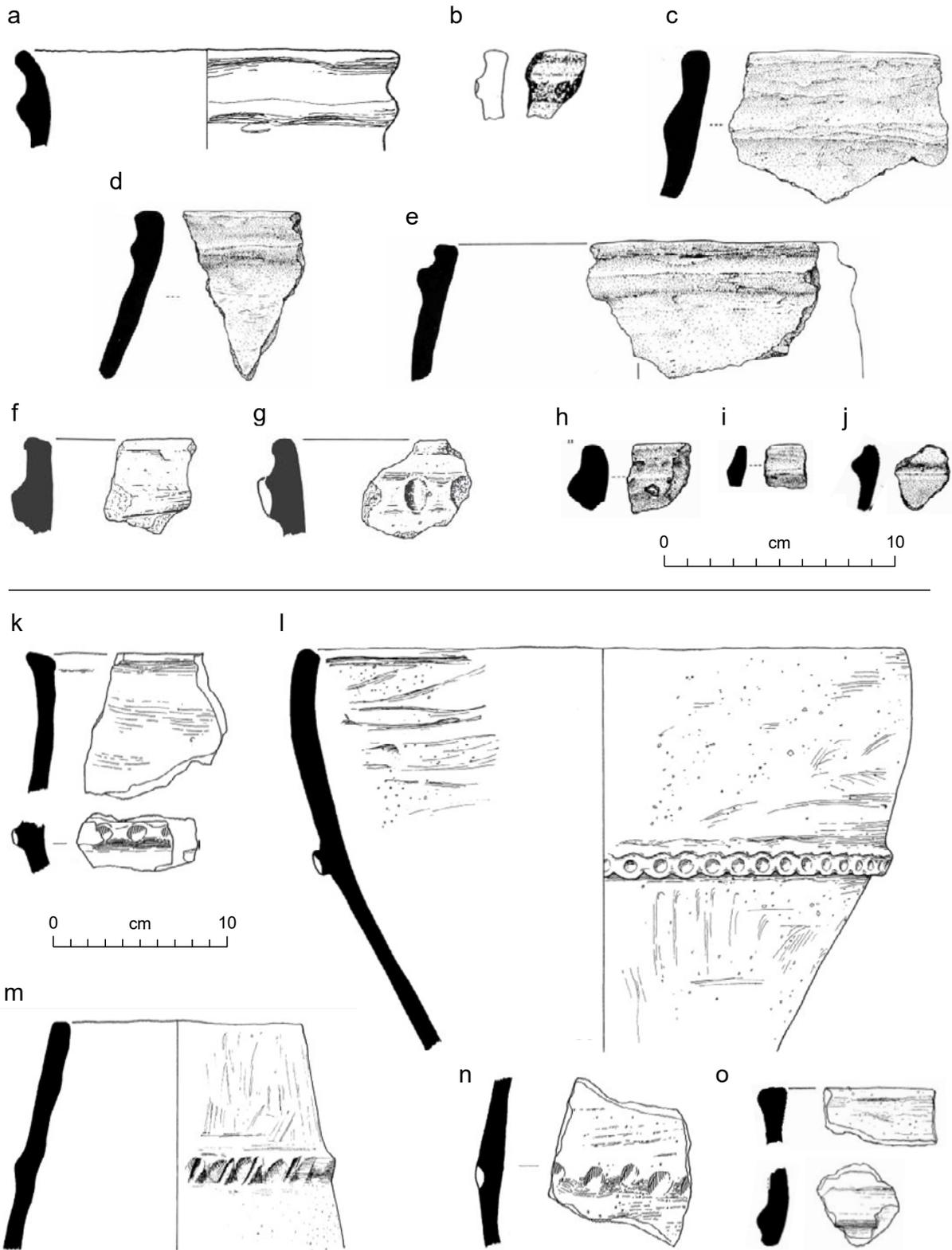


Figure 12. Cordon positions on Bronze Age pottery of earlier (a-j) and later (k-o) phases: a) Tanquerel Fields, Sark; b-e) PoW Camp site (1915 & 1922); f-g) L'Erée, Guernsey; h-j) Les Blanchés Banques (1979) old land surface/sand interface; k-o) Tanquerel Fields, Sark. After Cunliffe & Durham 2019 (a, k-o); Patton 1995 (b); Patton & Finlaison 2001 (c-e, h-j); Cooper 2017 (f-g)

which was up to 0.5m thick. He suggested the gravel was redeposited Head dug from the base of a ditch outside the revetment (*ibid.*, 6; Fig 27a). While the pottery included Beaker and Jersey Bowl sherds and the flintwork included a large amount of contemporary material, especially barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, there were also more urn-like vessels represented (*ibid.*, 35, illus. 16). Patton, in keeping with his inclinations regarding 'flowerpot' pottery, compared them with French SOM pottery and thus saw them as consistent in date but this needs to be kept under review given the discussion above. It is not known whether the Chalcolithic finds were concentrated towards the top of the gravel or distributed more evenly through it, but the fact that Godfray and Burdo evidently found only Neolithic material (re-deposited) in the lower part of the terrace make-up (the 'dark layer', Patton's horizon 1b) suggests that they may have infiltrated from the top surface. The radiocarbon date for burnt horse/celtic beans given below shows that this terrace surface was still being used in the middle of the Bronze Age. In terms of pottery sequence, it therefore cannot be established whether there was any temporal separation or trend between the Beaker, Jersey Bowl and urn-like material and these should not necessarily be taken to belong to a limited-phase assemblage.

Patton summarised the Bronze Age assemblage as including flat-rimmed pots, some with lugs, knobs, handles or applied rings (Patton *et al.* 2001, 44–5). Some also had double cordons under the rim and there are examples with horizontal rills at the girth or neck (Hawkes 1938, 167–70; Godfray & Burdo 1950, 206–8); parallels for rilling have been noted above at Jerbourg and Tanquerel Fields. This assemblage comes from horizons 3 and 4, a brown sand layer, presumably colluvial in origin, spreading down the slope and filling the ditch at the foot of the revetment but not spilling onto the terrace surface (Fig 27). Hence, there is a temporal relationship between the brown sand and the terrace make-up, but as already noted this does not extend to objects that had originally been deposited on the latter's upper surface, potentially over a long period of time. Patton concluded that activity during the Bronze Age was sporadic and long-lived (Patton *et al.* 2001, 45). Other datable material from horizon 3/4 included a Middle Bronze Age basal-looped spearhead and the aforementioned concentration of horse/celtic beans, one of which is radiocarbon-dated to 3170 ± 110 BP, 1735–1125 cal BC (95.4% probability) or 1600–1280 cal BC (68.3%). These are useful in confirming Middle Bronze Age activity but do not offer any refined dating for the pottery or activity phases, especially given the likelihood of some material having been reworked over time.

A number of further Bronze Age assemblages in Jersey have features such as upright necks, cordons, bosses and flat-topped or slightly thickened rims - in essence urn-style pottery. Some of the pottery features noted at Le Pinnacle were present at Patton's own excavation of La Moye I, notably flat-topped rims and under-rim cordons (Patton 1988). Patton dated this assemblage to the Early Bronze Age on the basis of a few Breton sites where similar material had been incorporated into Early Bronze Age tumuli, as discussed above. The cordons here are a mix of finger-impressed and plain. Only plain ones seem to occur in the Blanchés Banques/PoW Camp site, La Pulente and Maîtresse Île assemblages (Patton & Finlaison 2001; Hawkes 1938; Driscoll 2011, app 3.23, 3.39, 3.45 & 3.48), whereas at Icho Islet, Le Pinnacle, Overdale, Mont Ubé and Ville-ès-Nouaux they are impressed (Hawkes 1938; Godfray 1929; Driscoll 2011, app 3.28 & 3.50). As already discussed, there is no straightforward progression from decorated to plain cordons, or vice versa, and only when more well dated sequences exist will it be possible to see if there were changing preferences over time or indeed between islands.

The assemblage from the Câtel de Rozel promontory fort, a combination of surface collected and excavated material, presents a different range of forms. Barry Cunliffe was cautious about the dating of the material he excavated due to the dearth of first millennium BC pottery from Jersey at that time; he erred towards it being Iron Age, although he thought a single rim sherd from the rampart make-up could be Late Bronze Age (Cunliffe 1992, 35–6). While little more has come to light in Jersey in the thirty

plus years that have elapsed since publication, much more is understood of later Bronze Age pottery on both sides of the Channel.

Viewed from a southern British perspective most of the features present at C atel de Rozel can be paralleled in the Late Bronze Age Plainware assemblage. Meanwhile, development-led archaeology in Normandy since 2000 has revealed a comparable Late Bronze Age ceramic assemblage to British Plainware, exemplified for example at Malleville-sur-le-Bec, Eure (Mare *et al.* 2018, 153–5 figs 113 & 115). Indeed, some elements of the C atel de Rozel assemblage can already be seen in those of the late 2nd millennium at L' toile and Mondeville Z1 (Chancerel *et al.* 2006, 122–8, 154– 60). A detailed comparison with north-west French assemblages is beyond the scope of the current review but will be essential future research. Closer to home, we now have the Tanquerel assemblage as a yardstick.

Two pots from C atel de Rozel need to be set aside. Although the one containing the 1883 coin hoard is a coarseware bowl (Cunliffe 1992, 34 fig 12.32), it is not close in form to anything in the rest of the assemblage and need not therefore be relevant. The second is the hollow-necked bowl sherd which Cunliffe compares to 2nd and 1st century BC forms in Brittany (Cunliffe 1992, 36 no 9). It was in ploughsoil in trench 4 well away from the contexted groups to be discussed next; again there is no reason to assume contemporaneity with them.

A good proportion of the remaining illustrated sherds (all featured sherds were illustrated) are thin-walled, < 8mm, and yet some of these come from large vessels (**Fig 13** nos 10, 15, 20, 22, 23). Surfaces of the coarser wares are often not very even and feature finger-smearing and dimpling, and base angles are often roughly pinched out feet (24, 26–28), these being recurrent features on Plainware coarsewares.

Meanwhile, the smaller vessels 'were all made in even fabrics with fine grits and had well burnished surfaces' (Cunliffe 1992, 36). Rim tops are simple, either rounded or flattened and occasionally with external (16, 25, 31) or internal (1) lipping. Decoration is infrequent, just one sherd with an impressed cordon and one with a finger-tip row immediately below the rim (11 & 3). One sherd appears to have a plain cordon (5) and the small flared cup (31; unstratified) has a similar profile to the smaller 'flowerpot' vessel from Les Platons (Fig 10f-g). The in-turned rims/upper bodies of 4, 7, 8, 18 and possibly 29 are very much at home in the Late Bronze Age repertoire, as is the thick 'rope' handle (12). Even the gently flared mouth on a cylindrical upper body (10) can be matched. Where shoulders are present, they are mainly obtuse (1, 15, 17, 29) and even the most pronounced one is not especially angular (23). Overall it seems better to place the bulk of the excavated C atel de Rozel pottery in the Late Bronze Age and perhaps extending into the Earliest Iron Age.¹⁹ This re-dating of course has implications for the site contexts which will be considered below.

Earlier fieldwalking on the site had produced pottery for which Matthews suggested a Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age date (Matthews 1986, 192). Concentrations of pottery were located in two places, one just to the north of Cunliffe's trenches 5 and 8, the other to the east on the other side of a spring head. The pottery is 'all handmade and of coarse fabric, though of varying thickness... generally reddish-brown in colour, sometimes blackened, and sometimes with a smooth exterior' (Matthews 1986, 190). Rim sherds have flat tops and are upright or slightly out-turned with a fairly deep neck and evidence that the bodies below swelled outwards (Fig 13a-e); one sherd has a moderate carination or shoulder (Fig 13j). There is a sherd with a pinched out foot and others bear bosses or finger- impressed cordons (Fig 13f-h); the pottery 'finger' (Fig 13k) might be part of a long rope handle and the base with a very obtuse angle (Fig 13i) is clearly from a bowl. While the range of features is not identical to that in the excavated

¹⁹ There are some individual comparisons to be made with profiles in the large Les Huguettes assemblage, Alderney, but there is less similarity at the assemblage level.

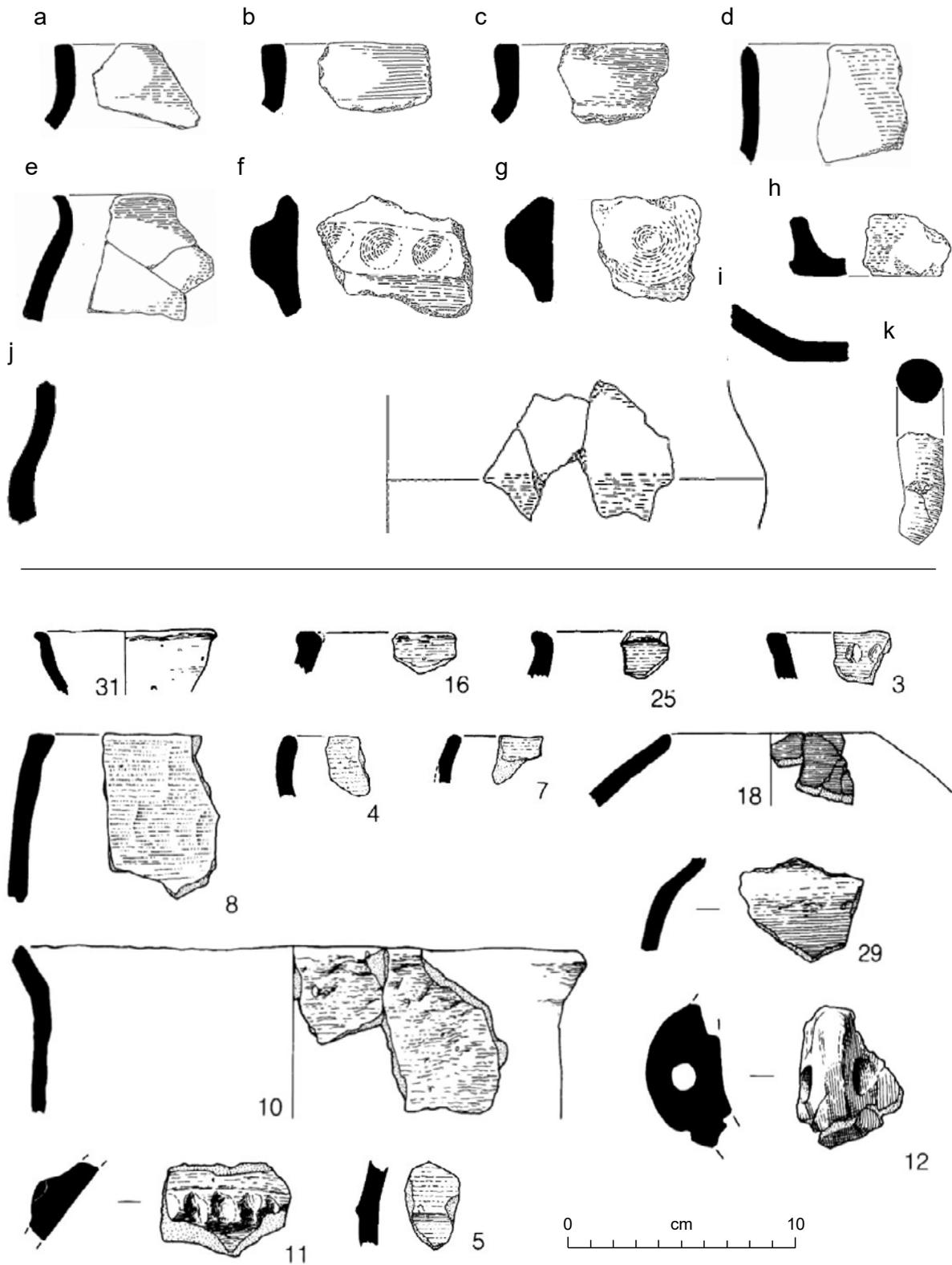


Figure 13. Le Câtél de Rozel pottery from fieldwalking and excavation trenches 1, 2 and 5: a-k) fieldwalking; nos 1-7) trench 2; no 8) trench 1; nos 10-30) trench 5; no 31) unstratified; identification numbers are those of the original report. After Mathews 1986 (a-k) & Cunliffe 1992 (1-31)

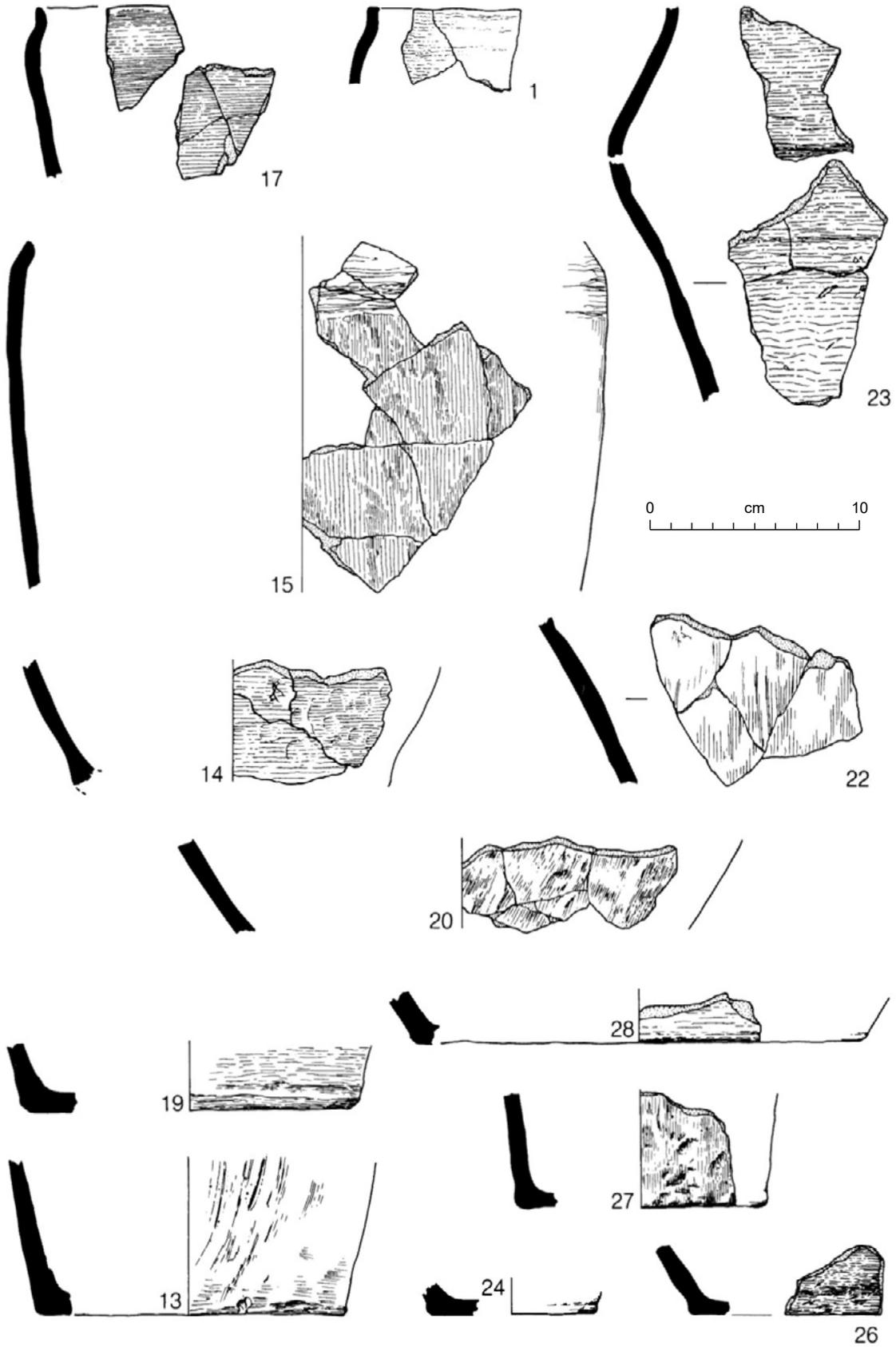


Figure 13 (continued). Le Câtel de Rozel pottery

Table 3. Parallels for C atel de Rozel pottery in the Tanquerel Fields assemblage

Description	C�atel de Rozel		Tanquerel Fields
	Excavated	Fieldwalked	
Fairly thick rim with modest external bulge (not beaded, not smoothly out-curved)	16, 25		5, 10, 66, 92, 102, 118, 124, 126, 136, 185, 215, 219, 274, 312
Finger-printed row below flat rim	3		44
Flared cup with small out-turned rim	31		?294, ?319, ?320
Plain cordon	5		7, 85, 214
Finger-impressed cordon	11	8d	20, 23, 39, 95, 96, 103, 153, 154, 247, 286, 287, 288
Strongly contracting mouth; thin walled	18		48, 168, 205, (238), (269)
Incurving rounded rim	4, 7		(6), 14, 67, 96, 114, 149, 159, 231, 315
Bucket-like (upper) body with flat (or flattish) rim, vertical or slightly in-turned	8		5, 6, (19), 21, (26), 28, 29, 36, 38, 43, 58, 78, (91), 96, 101, 103, 188, (189), 255
Rope-like handle	12	?8b	?248
Cylindrical upper body with obtusely flared mouth	10		90, 93, ?122, (157), 167, ?243
High plain rounded shoulder with small neck and slightly out-turned rounded rim	17		111, (173), 181, 221, 230, 281, (308), 317, (320)
High slack shoulder with short upright neck to flat rim	1		28, 30, (38), 91, (104), 126, 156, (308), 307, (316)
Jar with shoulder (but not especially angular)	23		?135, ?164, ?183, ?311
Jar with high weak-angled shoulder	15, 29	7g	?111, 126, ?139, 168, ?202, 237, 280, 305, 307
Bossed sherd		8e	2, 21, 150, 238, 248
Contracted vessel with upright thickening mouth to flat rim		7a, 7d, 7e	?10, (29), 119, ?122, (225), 229, 307
Contracted vessel with tall upright mouth		7f	?3, ?25, 27, 79, ?88, ?189, 250, 309
Bowed upper body with short neck and out-turned rim		7b	?33, 104, 111, 137, ?202, 306, 307

assemblage, there are elements in common. It is apposite that all the features found on pottery from Le C atel de Rozel can be matched within the Tanquerel Fields assemblage (Table 3).

There are a number of sherds of Bronze Age character from Mont Ub e, some evidently from thick-walled urns and two with finger-impressed cordons, but it is impossible to know how closely contemporary the group is (Hawkes 1938, 219–21 nos 11–12, 17–20, 23). A vessel with a complete profile is a thin-walled bowl with a simple bipartite profile, the carination set high, and a simple rim; the fabric is gritty (*ibid.*, 218 fig 59c, 220 no 15). This is most likely later Bronze Age rather than earlier or later.²⁰ Vessels of comparable profile are found at Tanquerel Fields (nos 84, 139, 184) and another comes from Robert Waterhouse's excavation at Le Catel et, St John (unpublished).

At  le Agois the high-shouldered jar with finger-impressed shoulder *could* precede the Bronze/Iron Age transition, but certainly does not have to (Finlaison & Holdsworth 1986; Driscoll 2011, app 3.24). Most

²⁰ Patton dated bipartite vessels from La Varde and Le Dehus, Guernsey, and Le Pinnacle, Jersey, to the Late Neolithic (Patton 1995c, 159).

other finds from the site point to its main use in the Iron Age and after. La Moye II yielded little pottery and the only sherds with features were a finger-impressed sherd and an upper contracting body with an upright mouth, like those from the Câtel de Rozel fieldwalked assemblage; Patton likened them to the late assemblage at Ville-ès-Nouaux and the pottery from Les Huguettes, Alderney (Patton 1987b, 391). It is possible that some of the pots from the Ville-ès-Nouaux ‘urnfield’ date to the end of the Bronze Age rather than the Earliest Iron Age, as Driscoll implies (2011, app 3.50), but this remains to be refined by detailed sequencing.

One important change in the ceramic repertoire in terms of form at the end of the Bronze Age, though not necessarily representing an abrupt transition, is the creation of clearly tripartite profiles. This profile is a significant feature of Earliest Iron Age assemblages, c. 850-600 BC,²¹ and is found on both smaller finewares (bowls) and larger coarsewares (jars) as exemplified in the Channel Islands by the large assemblage at Les Huguettes, Alderney (Wilson 1983; 1986), most of the late ‘urnfield’ pots at Ville-ès-Nouaux (Hawkes 1938, pl XX i-j; Driscoll 2011, app 3.50) and probably by the pot containing the Trinity hoard, Jersey, although this has unfortunately lost its uppermost tier (Jersey Heritage archive note; Table 4; Fig 20). A tripartite vessel at Les Blanchés Banques has already been mentioned. Bipartite and slacker profiles are also present in these assemblages and there is a significant rise in thin-walled fineware bowls, as is the case more generally in the Channel Zone. Amongst the larger jar series, the presence of high shoulders is a dominant theme (‘situla jars’) irrespective of whether the shoulder is angular or rounded.

In summary, what can be said at present is that none of the Channel Islands contexts for urn-style pottery, imprecisely dated as most are, demand a considerably earlier date, namely Late Neolithic. Until compelling evidence indicates otherwise, it may be best to see this pottery as the insular equivalent of the Norman sequence and dating primarily to a large span of the Bronze Age with elements of style, especially larger vessels with under-rim cordons, originating in Beaker domestic assemblages. Early assemblages, prior to the middle of the 2nd millennium BC, are still very poorly dated, but where a reasonable number of sherds comes from a non-funerary activity site, as for example at L’Erée and Les Blanchés Banques, they appear to present a quite limited ‘urn-style’ range with the standard applied features but little or no formal decoration. These are supplemented by vessels of more specific types - Jersey Bowls, Guernsey Vases and *Vases à Anses*. While Guernsey Vases and *Vases à Anses* appear to be just minor components of the ceramic repertoire, Jersey Bowls are much more frequent, especially if it is accepted that the tradition may include undecorated examples.

The early assemblage at Tanquerel Fields is not appreciably different from that preceding but already shows signs of diversification. However, after the 12th century BC urn-style pottery effectively disappears and is replaced by a much expanded form range with varied profiles, functionalities and qualities of ware. In this context it is of interest that the more archaic ‘urn’ form was used for the deposition of two Late Bronze Age bronze hoards, perhaps a continuation in a different ritual mode of their use for earlier burial deposits, with or without human bones.

Metalwork

Metalwork finds from the Channel Islands do not pose the same chronological difficulties as the pottery. Metalwork types from small islands are rarely specific to that island. Exceptions to this rule are known for slightly larger islands, such as the Werrar type palstave found largely on the Isle of Wight. For the most part, however, small-island metalwork assemblages conform to that of much broader regions including larger landmasses. This is the case for all known finds from Jersey which fit generally within a

²¹ The evidence from the wider Channel Zone suggests this assemblage was developing before the end of the ninth century BC.

north-west European metalwork koine, although the strength of directional links may change over time. The closer dating provided by metalwork through its typology and, increasingly, directly associated radiocarbon dates can however only be transferred to sites and wider cultural assemblages when in secure association. This is only really the case for the three hoards and their containing pots discussed above, and to some extent the broad-butted (presumptively copper) flat axe from Le Pinacle.

Driscoll considered the metalwork finds then known in some depth (Driscoll 2011, 94–136) and we will focus instead on some of the main interpretative issues here. However, there are some important newer discoveries including several further hoards or scatters and a radiocarbon-dated spearhead. While the latest phase bronze metalwork discussed here is strictly speaking of Earliest Iron Age date, it is useful to keep it in our frame in order to assess continuity or otherwise over the transition.

The copper/bronze metalwork known from Jersey covers most of the identified stages from Chalcolithic to Earliest Iron Age, although some are very thinly represented. The number of hoards and scatters is impressive for a small island but they are very weighted towards the latest stages, after 1200 BC (Table 4). For the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age only a few single finds are known²² and for the Middle Bronze Age the main finds are a pair of flanged axes from Bellozane beach and a small hoard from Le Grand Clos de la Sergenté (Fig 14). To judge from the early accounts, this latter hoard was in a fascinating context which will be described later. The surviving axes clearly belong to the Tréboul/Acton Assemblages of Armorica and southern Britain respectively, c. 1600–1400 BC. By far the densest concentration of the parallels is in Britain while in France they are actually more frequent in the Seine Basin than in Brittany (Williams 2023, 277 fig 9.22). Alan Williams sees Acton Assemblage shield-pattern palstaves as integrally linked to copper of Great Orme origin (north Wales) and as a key marker for the outward distribution of that metal. Some of the shield-pattern axes on the Continent, and indeed in eastern England, may differ a little morphologically from those nearer the source, but Williams argues that local production in external regions such as Brittany is feasible and likely (*ibid.*, 277).

Looking at overall period representation from the perspective of the whole Channel Zone, the most curious anomaly is the dearth of objects belonging to the Taunton/Baux-Sainte-Croix Assemblage, c. 1400–1250 BC. This was a period of super-abundant metal on both sides of the Channel resulting in deposition on a large scale. Yet on Jersey there is only the Pinacle basal-looped spearhead, considered by Hawkes to be an import from Britain (Hawkes 1938, 105).²³ The same dearth of copper-alloy material is a feature of the succeeding Rosnoën/Penard Assemblage, c. 1300–1100 BC,²⁴ the date of two probable shipwreck assemblages off the English coast near Salcombe and Dover which confirm that large consignments of metal were being shipped by sea (Needham *et al.* 2013). The impurity composition of this material makes it clear that the copper now ultimately came from Continental sources, a reversal in aggregate flow across the Channel that started with the preceding Taunton/Baux-Sainte-Croix metalwork.

The Rosnoën/Penard phase is, however, the date of the remarkable St Helier gold torc (Fig 15), one of a select group of massive torcs weighing 750g or more which are distributed from Ireland to Pas-de-Calais (Northover 1989; Louboutin 2004). Finds of flange-twisted torcs are most common in Britain and Ireland, but there is a scatter of finds across northern France, now bolstered by the finds from Pas-de-Calais and a pair from the seabed off Sotteville-sur-Mer, Seine-Maritime (Eogan 1998, 71 fig 32; Louboutin 2004; Billard *et al.* 2005; Needham *et al.* 2013, 131–3). Two fragments also come from the Salcombe seabed find. Given the distinctive and complex fabrication of the Guînes twisted torc, Pas-de-Calais, it is reasonable

²² An association of two halberds was found at Chateau L'Etoc on Alderney (O'Connor *et al.* 2010).

²³ Elsewhere in the Channel Islands there is a bracelet of Bignan type from Sark (Cunliffe & Durham 2019, 79–80 fig 55).

²⁴ An incomplete rapier from St John parish is of this date (HER: 0500281).

CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL CULTURE

Table 4. Summary of bronze hoards and other possible metalwork associations from Jersey

Site	Context	Metalwork Assemblage	No of objects	Key references	Summary contents
Bellozane foreshore , St Helier (2005 & 2019; metal detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: two objects found on separate occasions approximately 250m apart, one near the high-tide line, one lower down the beach	earliest <i>Bronze Moyen</i>	2	HER nos 0401569 & 0401590	2 complete flanged axes of slightly different but broadly contemporary types.
Le Grand Clos de la Sergenté , St Brelade (1851; after ploughshare struck top of stone)	Hoard: beneath upright(?) stone within a mound (?barrow)	Tréboul/Acton	5	Ahier 1852; Hawkes 1938, 104 fig 25, 300; Driscoll 2011, UID 7	3 palstaves; 1 bar-stop axe; a 'pointe de javelot' lost – perhaps a spearhead, dirk or other pointed blade.
Field L788, Clos de la Blanche Pierre , St Lawrence (1976; swimming pool construction)	Hoard: most remained <i>in situ</i> for archaeological excavation; in upright pottery urn; hoard probably first put in bag or wrapped in cloth	St Brieuc-des-Iffs	115	Finlaison 1981; Northover 1987; Coombs 1988; Driscoll 2011, UID 3, app 4.1	A wide variety of mainly scrapped items & metalworking waste: tools, weapons & accoutrements, ornaments, anvil, casting jets.
Overdale , St Helier (2021; archaeological evaluation)	Hoard: in pottery urn; ring-ditch nearby	St Brieuc-des-Iffs	2	McAtominey 2021 & Jersey Heritage	Terminal of tongue chape & waste metal piece; the chape could conceivably be from a short chape which would make date slightly later.
Field S446, La Hougue Bie (N of) , St Saviour (one in 1996, 3 in 2018; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: 3 fragments 'found close to each other', the 4 th from the same field previously	St Brieuc-des-Iffs	4	HER nos 1100415 & 1100427	Four fragments of sword blade, possibly all from a single St Nazaire sword.
Field O1772; La Rue de la Campagne , St Ouen (2001; metal-detector find)	Apparently a single deposit; subsequent excavation on the site yielded no cut feature or other contextual information; a later find from the field probably belongs (0900501)	Vénat-Plainseau	200+	Aubin 2003, 304; Driscoll 2011, 112–113, UID 2, app 4.3; HER nos 0900229 & 0900501	A wide variety of mainly scrapped items & metalworking waste: tools, weapons, ornaments, fittings, sheet metal, casting jets, Ewart swords.
Field MY341; La Rue de Crabbe ('Cadoret'), St Mary (1995; metal-detector find)	Metalwork Scatter: recovered over a series of weekends; the objects were spread across the field; a sword blade fragment was found later in the same field (0800246)	Vénat-Plainseau	225	Burgess and O'Connor 2004, 197; Driscoll 2011, UID 1, app 4.2; HER nos 0800146 & 0800246	A wide variety of mainly scrapped items & metalworking waste: EBA flanged axe, tools, hammers, weapons & accoutrements, ornaments & fittings, sheet metal, casting jets, ingots, articulated spit, Urnfield type bracelets; Vénat type sword pommel.
La Moye Semaphore , St Brelade (1921)	Possible association from 'a bed of stiff clay, at a depth of about 7 feet' near a spring	Vénat-Plainseau (?)	2	Hawkes 1938, 107-8 fig 26a	A perforated razor and a hog-backed knife.

Site	Context	Metalwork Assemblage	No of objects	Key references	Summary contents
Field B896, Les Mans , St Brelade (June 2017 and after; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: from a single field; presumably found on multiple occasions	Vénat-Plainseau	13	HER nos 0100487, 495, 498, 499, 503, 506, 516-521	Includes fragments of Carp's Tongue swords and probably also of Ewart swords, 2 axe fragments, casting jet and 2 pieces of casting waste.
Field T959, Victoria Village (E of) , Trinity (2023; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: 2 objects found on different dates in 2023	Vénat-Plainseau	2	HER nos 1200378, 379	One Carp's Tongue sword blade fragment, one spearhead mid-blade fragment (undiagnostic but could be contemporary).
Field T1220, La Croix (S of) , Trinity (2017 (2 undated); metal-detector finds; sherd found at same time)	No spatial details documented but presumed Metalwork Scatter	Vénat-Plainseau	13	HER nos 1200331, 333-338, 340	Diagnostic pieces (sword blade fragments) are Vénat-Plainseau, others (jet, raw metal, potsherd) could be contemporary.
Fields T1433 & 1434, Câtel de Rozel , Trinity (1982; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: six objects from two adjacent fields (another sword fragment was from another field to the north-west, T1427)	Vénat-Plainseau(?)	6	Matthews 1986, 198	Fragments of sword, knife and spearhead; three other objects not certainly contemporary.
Field L864, Les Grandes Fosses orchard, Mainlands , St Lawrence (1871; by workmen)	No further information	Vénat-Plainseau / Earliest Iron Age	72	Hawkes 1938, 106-7, pl VIII; Driscoll 2011, 119, 121-2, UID 4, app 4.4	A wide variety of mainly scrapped items & metalworking waste: tools, weapons, casting jets, ingots 10 Armorican axes present, both normal size and diminutive; mostly complete.
Fields C163 & C163a, La Rocque , St Clement (2021 onwards; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: a large number of metal objects recovered by metal detectorists on multiple occasions spread across two fields (C163 & C163a); the finds range from Late Bronze Age to medieval in date. An earlier find of an Armorican axe (Couville type) from 'La Rocque' (Briard 1986,43) may perhaps have come from the same site	Vénat-Plainseau / Earliest Iron Age	>50	HER no 0200260; inf. Perry Mesney	50 mainly fragmentary objects can be attributed firmly to the Bronze Age – these are mostly from socketed axes & swords, also 3 end-winged axes, 1 gouge, 1 hammer, 2 spearheads, 2 bracelets; at least 5 are Armorican axes. Around 40 other objects may be contemporary; in addition there are many pieces of waste, some of which could belong. Some of the later pieces look like votive Roman objects and there must be a possibility that the BA material was re-deposited on a Gallo-Roman temple site. However, LBA/EIA activity is attested nearby at St Clement's church.
Field O215, Vinchelez (N of) , St Ouen (one found in 2020, two in 2021; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter	Vénat-Plainseau / Earliest Iron Age	3	HER nos 0900407, 416, 439	Three fragmentary objects: Carp's Tongue blade piece, Armorican socketed axe, curved bar of diamond section – possibly from a bracelet or similar.

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Site	Context	Metalwork Assemblage	No of objects	Key references	Summary contents
Field MN140a, Rozel Mill (NE of) , St Martin (one found in 2021, others earlier but after 2015; metal-detector finds)	Metalwork Scatter: no documentation of locations or exact dates of finding	Earliest Iron Age (& earlier?)	3	HER nos 0700410, 411, 416	An Armorican socketed axe is definitively dated; a spearhead fragment and piece of raw metal are not closely dateable.
Field T1224, Rue du Presbytère , Trinity (2012; archaeologically excavated after having been discovered by a metal-detectorist)	Hoard: in pottery jar 30cm below present ground surface; axes nearly all neatly packed, blades downward; the pot was in the edge of a pit or ditch, sitting within a thick midden deposit, which contained large quantities of pot sherds, charcoal, daub and heat reddened stones	Earliest Iron Age	25	Jersey Heritage archive note; <i>BBC News</i> . 10 October 2012	Armorican axes only; XRF analysis showed very high lead content. The mouth of the jar had been removed by ploughing.
Town Mills , Trinity Hill, St Saviour (1836; digging foundation trenches)	Hoard (presumed): found 5 feet deep, 'two feet below the stratum of black earth'	Earliest Iron Age	88, most lost	Hawkes 1938, 108; Driscoll 2011, UID 5	Probably Armorican axes only, more than half being of the diminutive types.
Field G702, Radier Manor , Grouville (2013; metal-detector find, followed by archaeological excavation, then non-archaeological stripping by mechanical excavator)	Hoard & Metalwork Scatter: initial discovery of 4 larger axes recorded very close together; later stripping produced all remaining items and some of later date, but no locations were recorded; it also revealed a ditch and postholes/pits one of which is said to have contained sherds of BA/IA pottery at its base. The sword blade fragment (0300402) is from the same field presumably found on a separate occasion	Earliest Iron Age	20(?+)	Inf: Jersey Heritage (report by Perry Mesney) HER nos 0300421 & 0300402	4 complete Armorican axes, plus 13 incomplete or fragments thereof; 2 fragments of 'torc' – hollow tubes; sword blade fragment. Most objects may have been found scattered and were perhaps plough-dispersed.
Field J1109, Sion , St John (2015; metal-detector find)	Metalwork Scatter: found by a metal-detectorist scattered along the southern edge of the field, which is under cultivation	Earliest Iron Age	10(?+)	HER: 0500287 (report by Perry Mesney); possibly also nos 0500280, 289, 290.	9 or more fragmentary Armorican axes; one small unidentified fragment.

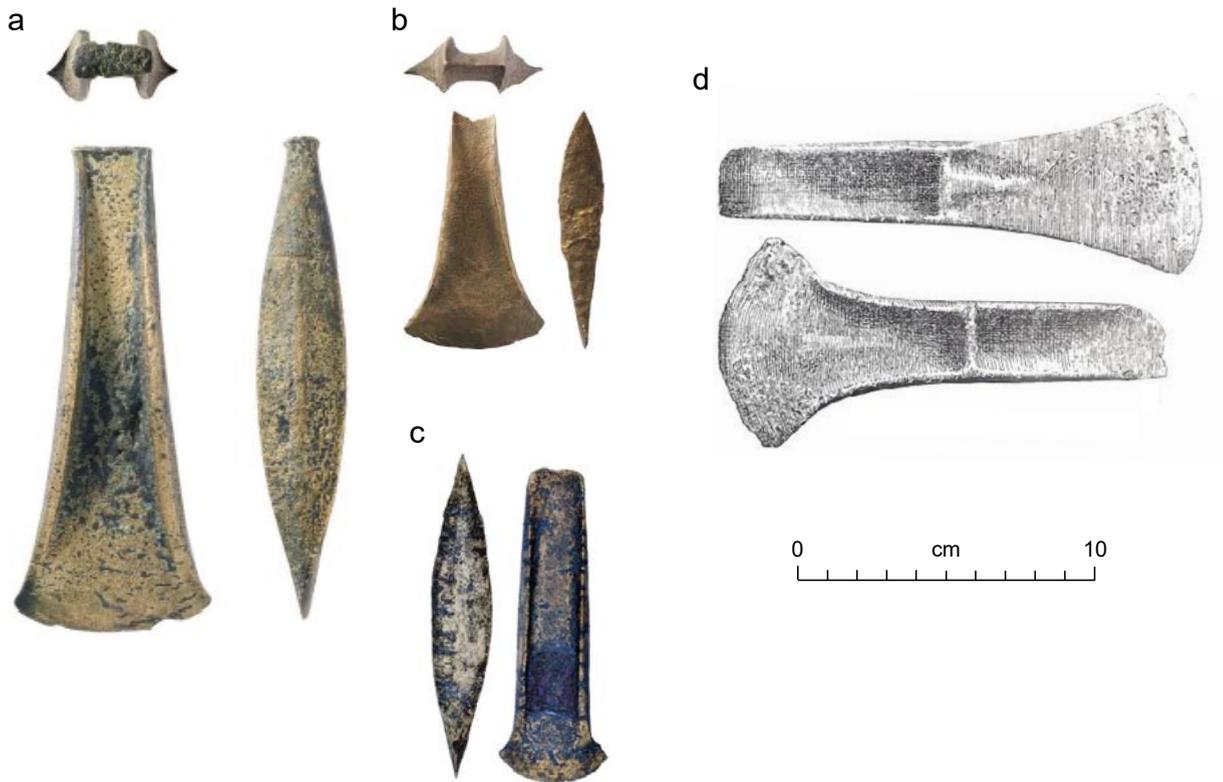


Figure 14. Bronze Moyan metalwork: a-b) Two flanged axes from Bellozane beach found on different occasions at locations approximately 250m apart; c) flanged axe from La Moye; c) two of the axes from Le Grand Clos de la Sergenté. Images (a-c) courtesy Jersey Heritage; d) after Hawkes 1938



Figure 15. The St Helier gold torc. Image Peter Chowne

to see this class of object as having also been manufactured south of the Channel within an allied goldworking tradition.

One important new single find from the island is an exceptionally large spearhead, 395mm long,²⁵ from Gorey beach, Grouville (Fig 16). Not only is this of a rather specialised type, characterised by a very short socket and a long tear-drop blade widest close to the base, but it also contained the tip of its wooden shaft. Radiocarbon dating of this wood remnant has yielded a date of 2900 ± 30 BP (Beta-578089), calibrating to 1210–1000 cal BC (95.4%) or 1125–1020 cal BC (68.2%). This is in line with expectations for the type, belonging broadly to the St-Briec-des-Iffs Assemblage. Two long spearheads with short sockets but slightly different blade shapes found in the River Thames have comparable dates of 2850 ± 50 BP and 2825 ± 50 BP, while another with a more similar blade but a long socket gave 3025 ± 55 BP (Needham *et al.* 1997, DoBs 8, 37, 39).

This is not the place for an extended discussion of parallels for the Gorey beach spearhead but some of the closest in form are from the River Seine and have been called Type Parisien (Mohen 1977, 144–5 figs 465–472; Briard & Mohen 1983, 129–30). At least two spearheads in the Blanche Pierre hoard have very squat sockets. One is overall a very short weapon but the other is a fragment which may belong to a blade fragment with a broad, flame-shaped blade; reconstruction suggests this would have been a long spearhead (Fig 16c). The Gorey beach example is one of a limited number of long ‘ceremonial’ spearheads which come in various types. It, the possible parallel in the Blanche Pierre hoard, the several sword pieces there, and a group of contemporary sword fragments from near La Hougue Bie would likely be the trappings of an elite who liked to parade flashy armaments.

Single metalwork finds, or rather those not obviously from associations, are mainly fragmentary and not very noteworthy, but there is an intriguing recurrent feature amongst them. Setting aside the material in associations (Table 4),²⁶ there are 18 finds of short segments of sword blade or, in one case, rapier

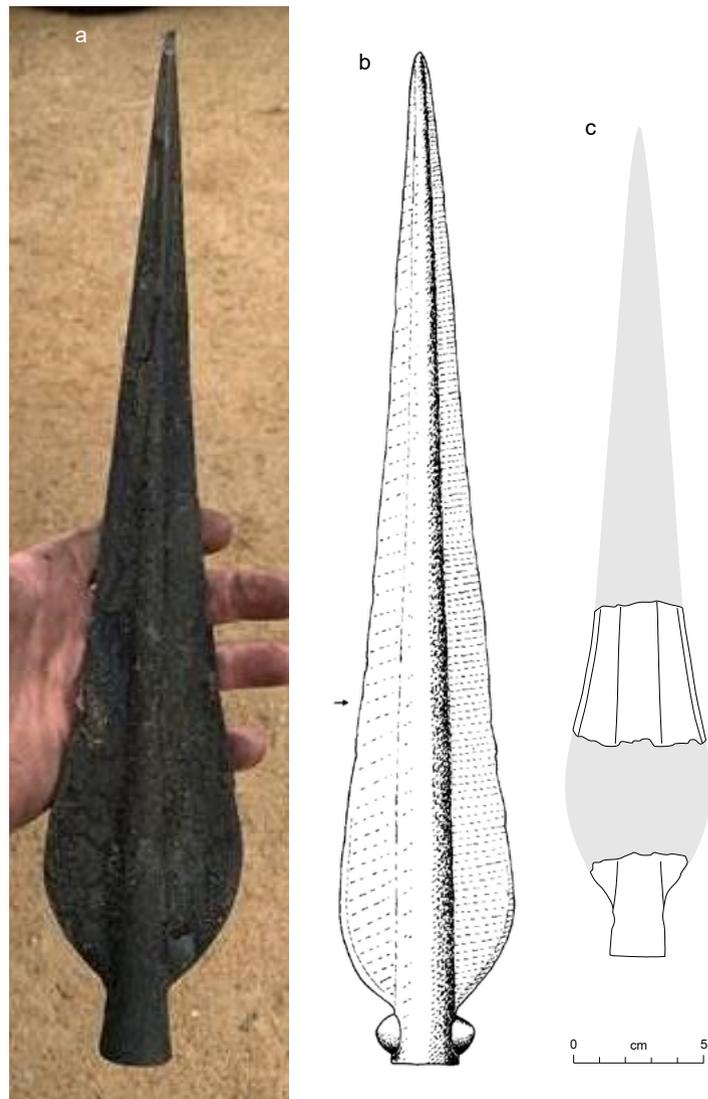


Figure 16. Spearhead from Gorey beach (a), a close parallel from the River Seine at Essonne (b), and reconstruction of a possible parallel from fragments in the Blanche Pierre hoard (c). Image a) courtesy of Jay Cornick; b) after Mohen 1977; c) first author's drawing based on Coombs 1988

²⁵ This allows for a small bend at the tip; the actual length is 392mm, width 68.3mm, weight 319.7g

²⁶ These have not been examined with regard to this proportion.

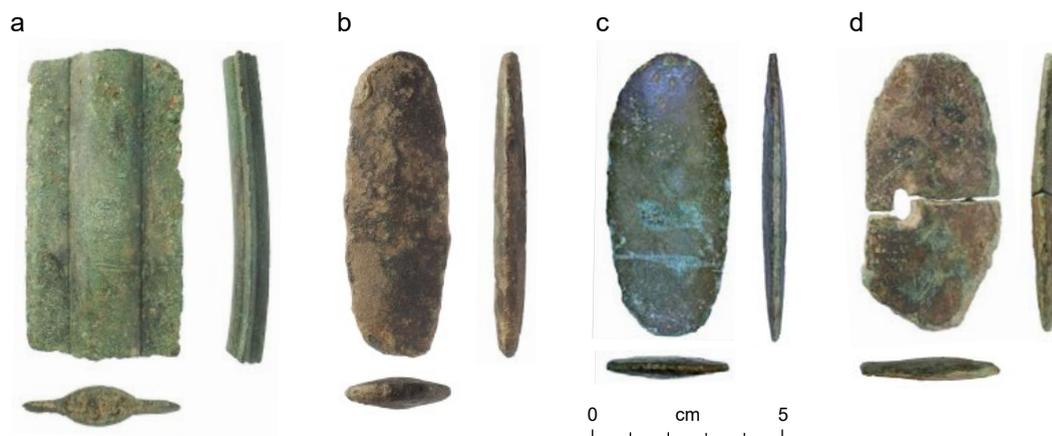


Figure 17. Swords into scraper-knives: a) sword blade fragment from Rue de Crabbe, St Mary (HER: 0800246); b) sword blade reworked into an oval scraper-knife from near Route du Marequet, St Ouen (HER: 0900465); c) sword blade reworked into an oval scraper-knife from near St Lawrence village, St Lawrence (HER: 0600315); d) bespoke hog-backed knife from La Rue de la Campagne, St Ouen (HER: 0900501). Images courtesy of Jersey Heritage

Table 5. Occurrence of hog-backed knives and oval scraper-knives in Channel Islands metalwork associations

Hoard/scatter	Hog-backed knives	Reworked sword fragments	Reference
Rue de Crabbe, St Mary	1 complete; 1 half	3 complete; 2 halves	Driscoll 2011, 295 UIDs 199-200, 301-2 UIDs 218-222
Mainlands, St Lawrence	-	?3 halves	Driscoll 2011, 441 UIDs 597-8, 600
Rue de la Campagne, St Ouen	1 in two halves	2 halves	Driscoll 2011, 375 UIDs 423-424; HER no 0900501 (later find from same field)
La Moye Semaphore, St Brelade	1 complete	-	Hawkes 1938, 108 fig 26a
Longey Common, Alderney	1 complete; 2 halves	2 halves	Driscoll 2011, 471-2 UIDs 487-489, 481-2 UIDs 717-718

blade. Of these as many as nine appear to have been reworked into what might be termed *oval scraper-knives* with thinned edges all round, a form similar to the bespoke ‘hog-backed knife’ known in three Jersey finds (as well as the Alderney hoard of Longey Common; Fig 17; Table 5). There are up to 12 further oval scraper-knives in four Jersey associated finds (Table 5). There was obviously a habitual practice of turning portions of scrapped swords into a small handy tool for scraping and cutting, assuming they were functional. Whether this was simply driven by practicality requires detailed study; consideration should also be given to it being done for sentimental or symbolic reasons, these converted portions perhaps being an evocation of a former valued sword. A further point is that island communities were potentially creating a distinctive and distinguishing object out of the pan-regional metalwork assemblage.²⁷ It is noteworthy that the four bespoke hog-backed knives from Jersey all potentially come from associated finds, whereas 43% of the oval scraper-knives seem to be ‘single’ finds.

²⁷ It is suspected that this phenomenon of conversion is not a regular feature of the neighbouring mainlands, but this needs to be confirmed with future research.

In terms of content, the Late Bronze Age hoards are typical of their type in north-west Europe - a good mix of object categories, much fragmented material and evidence for a connection with metalworking in the form of metal waste, ingot pieces and occasional metalworkers' tools. Complete tools or weapons do occur but tend to be a very minor component. Amongst the categories present are personal ornaments and ornamental gear, including horse bridle equipment. This ornamental component, often referred to as bric-à-brac, is a well known feature of parallel hoards on the French side of the Channel and is less frequent in southern Britain; other regional differences of composition (specifically for Carp's Tongue hoards) have been discussed by Brandherm and Moskal-del Hoyo (2014, 30-2). In general, however, the Jersey hoards fit well within a trans-regional phenomenon that spreads south down the Atlantic coast to the Gironde, east along the Channel and round to the Wash on the east English coast (*ibid.*). This particular zone of intensive interaction in turn interacted with networks further afield with the result that some objects came to be far-travelled, for example the South Welsh/Stogursey axes in the Rue de la Campagne, Mainlands and Longey Common hoards (Driscoll 2011, 350 UID 347, 419 UID 543, 452 UID630), or the Urnfield type bracelets in the Rue de Crabbe hoard (Driscoll 2011, 277 UIDs 148-149).

However, little is understood about how material, either individually or en masse, moved around in this network and whether it was driven solely by the practicality of shunting metal to wherever it was needed, or whether other, less economic considerations played a part (Brandherm & Moskal-del Hoyo 2014). In other words, when confronted by an individual 'exotic' object such as the fragment of rotary spit in the Rue de Crabbe hoard (Driscoll 2011, 303 UID 223), is its appearance in the Channel Islands just an incidental, indeed perhaps inevitable, product of the prodigious exchange flux? The larger the hoard, the greater chance that an object of distant origin will be present and, if it is fragmentary, did it arrive already as scrap? This is a cautionary point so as not to over-interpret some of the individual members of these scrap hoards. The distance travelled by an individual item and the direction it came from might be fairly random in terms of the wider exchange network. The important point about the hoards is that they represent this wider network and its associated phenomenon. Moreover they show that Jersey played an active part within it in a way that Guernsey, which lacks any such hoards despite the practice of metal-detecting on the island, seemingly did not.

To downplay the individual significance of the geographical links of far-flung objects does not however mean that unusual objects would not be treated as something odd, curious or alien. Depending on the attitudes of the islanders, such objects might be a priority selection for inclusion in permanent deposits simply because they helped to reflect the character and reach of the network. This assumes that hoard contents are indeed a selection or abstraction from a bigger stockpile and not just a random collection that happened to have accumulated (e.g. Needham 1990, 130-40). Even 'scrap' hoards may have been placed purposefully with ritual intent. The general diversity of the object categories in hoards could, from this perspective, be seen as a deliberate characterisation of the network. Just as far-flung objects might be high priorities for deposition, so too might be older objects that had been re-found, albeit they would represent time depth and ancestry rather than spatial range. A flanged axe in the Rue de Crabbe hoard, St Mary, must be at least 600 years older than the hoard (Driscoll 2011, 262 UID 106).²⁸

Another key question prompted in particular by scrap objects is whether metalworking was actually taking place on Jersey. This may be a reasonable assumption to account for the fact that after 1200 BC the island community seems to have been importing at least some of the objects already as scrap unless, bizarrely, scrap was being imported simply to be deposited. If the islanders themselves were breaking up

²⁸ Driscoll's suggestion that it spent this enormous length of time above ground seems less than likely (2011, 96). That this axe is not from outside the immediate region is suggested by a very similar axe from Bellozane beach, one of the pair in Figure 14 (HER no 0401921; Driscoll 2011, UID 56).

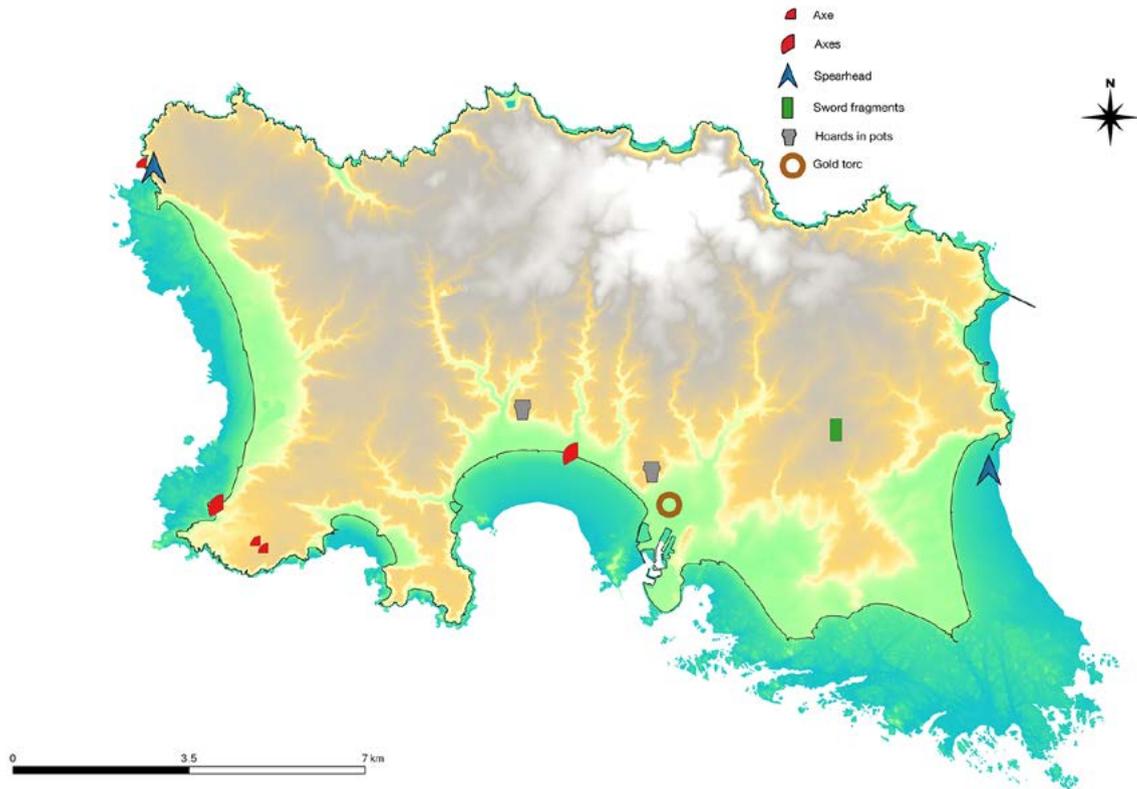


Figure 18. Map of recovery of earlier metalwork hoards, scatters and complete objects (pre-1000 BC)

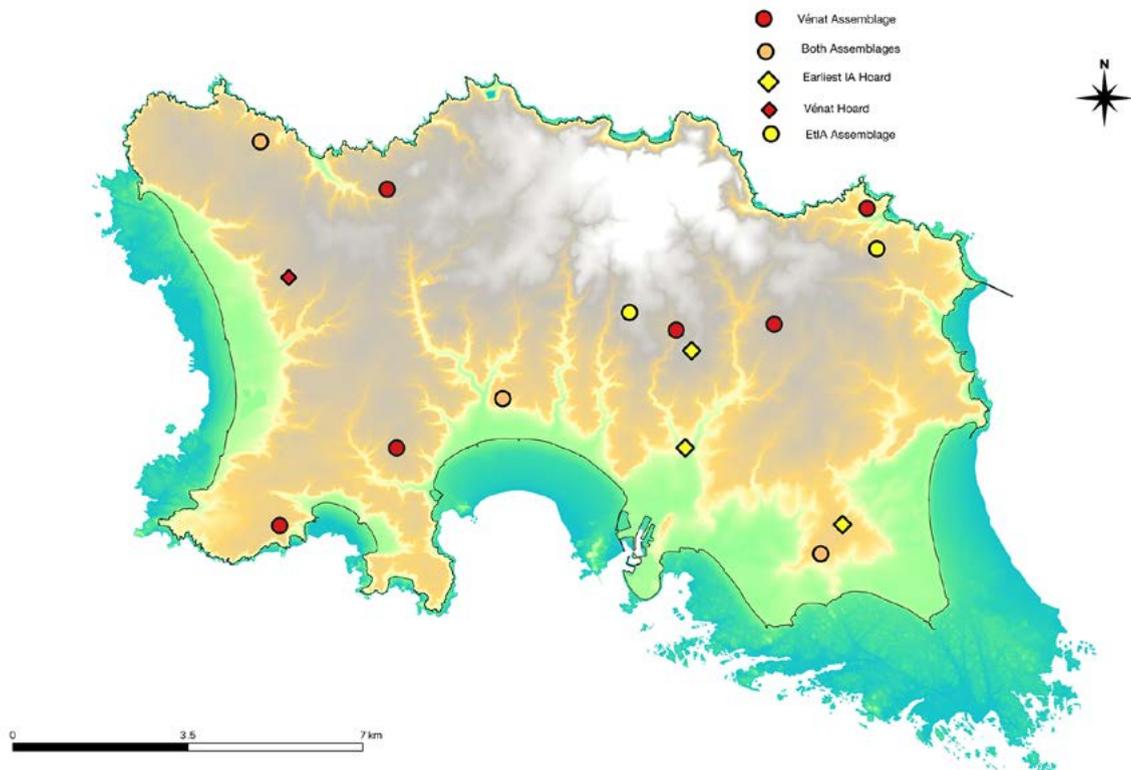


Figure 19. Map of recovery of later metalwork hoards and scatters (post-1000 BC)

redundant objects that had been in use locally, that too would imply the presence of metalworkers providing that standard metalworker techniques of fragmentation seen elsewhere were being deployed (Knight 2019). A definitive answer on insular metalworking will only come when/if metallurgical debris is found, notably crucibles and moulds.²⁹ The small number of metalwork finds in the Channel Islands for the period preceding 1200 BC does not in itself mean that there was no metalworking taking place locally. It is entirely possible that the amount of metal in circulation was limited and it was being systematically recycled by local smiths when objects needed to be replaced.

Complete metal objects and concentrations of fragments (in either hoards or scatters) are fairly widely distributed across the island but not yet represented in the centre-north (Table 4). Distance from the coast is variable. There is however a changing pattern over time. Virtually all finds prior to c. 1000 BC come from close to the south, west and east coasts (Fig 18): the single finds of flat axes (Le Pinnacle, La Moye), flanged axes (La Moye), spearheads (Le Pinnacle, Gorey beach), gold torc (St Helier); and the associations from Bellozane, La Sergenté, La Blanche Pierre and Overdale. Only the group of four sword fragments from north of La Hougue Bie is more inland.³⁰



Figure 20. Rue de Presbytère hoard, Trinity; the axes were packed tightly inside the pot. Images Peter Chowne & Jersey Heritage

The later finds of hoards and scatters have a much more inland emphasis and a wider spread, including in the north (Fig 19) This begs the question of whether a northward shift in deposition and perhaps metalworking activity was associated with the emergence of the promontory sites strung out along the north coast. One metalwork scatter actually comes from the interior of Câtel de Rozel including a

²⁹ A 'small crucible with traces of copper residue' said to have been found at Clos du Pont, Castel, Guernsey (Sebire 2005, 90), is doubtful (inf. Philip de Jersey).

³⁰ It is possible these all come from one sword.

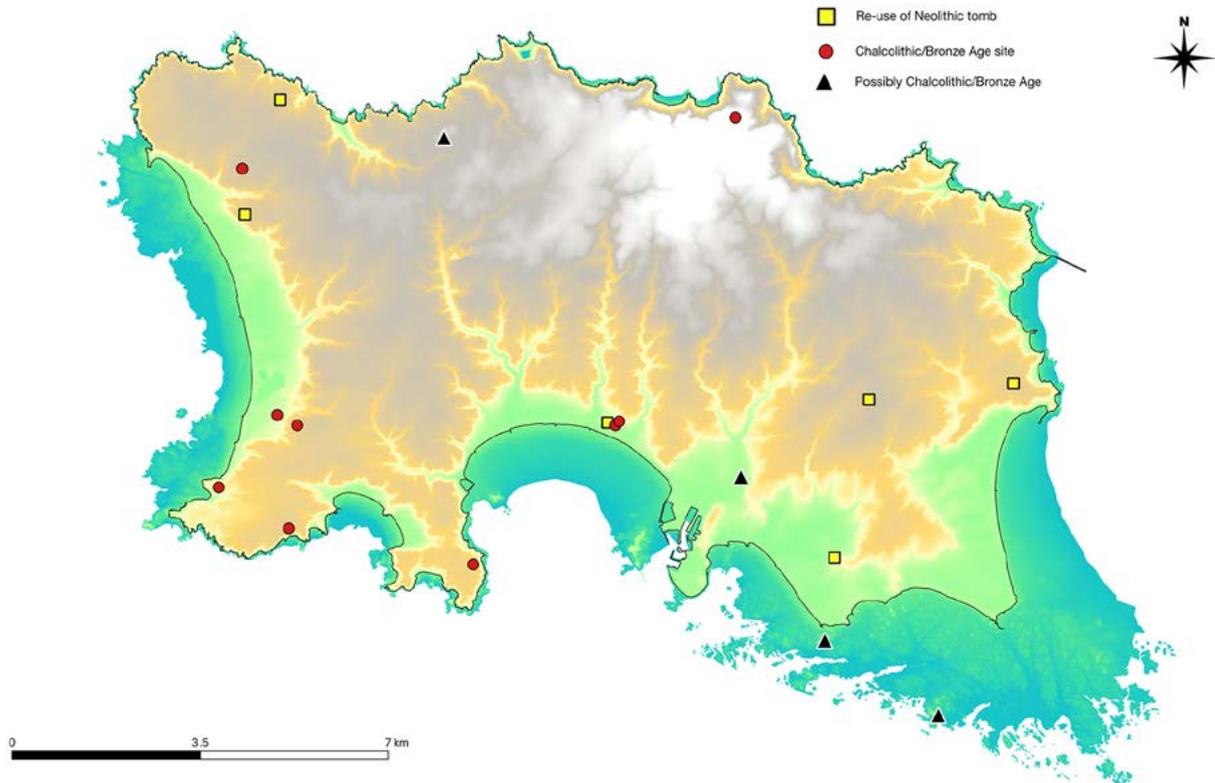


Figure 21. Map of funerary-ritual sites likely dating to the Chalcolithic or Bronze Age, or yielding material of those periods; for sites see Appendix 4, A-C

spearhead tip, a Carp's Tongue sword blade fragment and a second sword blade with a wide lenticular section (Matthews 1986, figs 11a, d & f). A narrower double-edged blade is likely to be from a knife rather than a rapier as it is thin (fig 11g). An angled thin-walled fragment with incised lines may be from a vessel or a large ornamental object and might be Bronze Age but is not necessarily so (fig 11e). There were also 'a number of bent or twisted pins' (*ibid.*, 191; fig 11c). Just to the south near Rozel Mill is another small scatter (Table 4). It is possible that the hoards and scatters of Earliest Iron Age date have a more easterly distribution than those of Vénat-Plainseau Assemblage. Some finds have both assemblages represented but most of these are scatters and even Mainlands, usually taken to be a hoard, is not actually documented as being a closed find. The Earliest Iron Age hoard from Rue de Presbytère, Trinity, is noteworthy in that 25 Armorican socketed axes had been packed carefully in a large pottery jar with their blades downwards (Fig 20). Moreover, the pot had been deposited amidst much occupation debris described as 'a thick midden deposit'.

Funerary evidence and ritual monuments

The evidence for funerary activity in Jersey during the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age is mired in difficulties. The issues for many sites include whether unburnt bone has decayed, whether artefacts or human remains are Chalcolithic/Bronze Age or some other period, and whether earlier sites have been re-used. Several clear examples of the last issue are evident from the presence of Beakers, Jersey Bowls and other related material within explicit Neolithic tombs (Patton 1995c). No Beaker or Early Bronze Age 'single-grave' burials have been definitively identified in Jersey or the other islands though

this may be due to bones having decayed in some cases (see the potential bracer burials below).³¹ A small number of round barrows are known, but few have been investigated archaeologically and their dating usually remains uncertain especially given that Neolithic tombs were most often under round mounds (Sebire 2005, 91–92). More distinctive typologically are the ‘cist-in-circle’ monuments, often seen as an indigenous Channel Islands tradition, but their exact dating is still much debated and they are also actually scarce in Jersey, more being known in Guernsey and Herm. Other types of funerary-ritual site which probably date to this period are varied in character. The distribution of known sites is fairly widespread across the island but notably absent in the centre, presumably due to a long history of cultivation there (Hibbs 1986; Fig 21).

In adjacent mainland regions inhumation is the almost universal burial rite associated with Beakers, but there are significant differences in the sites chosen for burial. In many parts of Britain it usually takes the form of individual crouched burial in ‘single graves’ in new locations in the landscape, although in the south-west peninsula, closest to the Channel Islands, there is little evidence for any burial during the Chalcolithic (c. 2450–2150 BC). The neighbouring part of France is more pertinent being not only much closer geographically but also the direction from which the Beaker culture was initially spreading. Beaker burials there were consistently placed in pre-existing megalithic tombs. Where bones survive, skeletons are sometimes only partly articulated or are entirely disarticulated, although later disturbance may be a contributory factor. The single graves in France nearest to the Channel Islands are a small group in the Lower Seine valley extending west to the River Orne (Salanova 2011, 126 fig 73).

By the Early Bronze Age (c. 2150–1600 BC) round barrows and their stone-rich equivalents, cairns, had become regular features of the built landscape in the neighbouring regions. In parts of southern Britain they were extremely dense on the ground by the end of the period (Woodward 2000). Barrow mounds are very varied in make-up, size and, to some extent, morphology; the associated burial structures and contents can be equally varied. Cremation practices were introduced during this period and became dominant over inhumation in Britain around 1950 BC, whereas in Armorica inhumation is presumed to have remained the main rite.³² In Britain cremation continued to be the predominant funerary rite through the Middle Bronze Age, the burials occurring both in urns and without pottery. They could be placed in groups (urn cemeteries) of varied size and often on the site of Early Bronze Age barrows. In Jersey only La Hougue des Platons may be comparable at this date and this may reflect the comparative rarity of similar burials in Brittany and Normandy.

Relatively few human remains of Chalcolithic and Bronze Age date have been retrieved in the Channel Islands. This is probably in part due to the often acidic nature of the soils, as in Brittany. This dearth of evidence may in itself suggest that unburnt bones were most often deposited since well-burnt bone should have survived (though may sometimes have escaped the attention of antiquarian excavators). There are only two or three possible cremations on Jersey, but two do not specify the presence of burnt bone. At Ville-ès-Nouaux, Pot deposit ‘B’ of uncertain date was described as accompanying a ‘heap of ashes’, while at the Hougue des Millais ‘a thick bed of ashes’ was reported in the drystone chamber which probably yielded an Early Bronze Age *Vase à Anses* (Appendix 4). The bones from La Hougue des Platons were stated by the excavator to be unburnt, but later researchers thought they were mistaken (Hawkes 1938, 296–9; Patton 1995c, 80). Burnt human bones were amongst the finds from one of a group of round barrows on L’Ancresse Common, Guernsey, when investigated by Percival in 1947, but they

³¹ An account of a cist-enclosed burial found in 1853 on Raz Island, Alderney, describes a crouched skeleton with a bronze dagger on the ribs; unfortunately the dagger does not appear to have survived (Kendrick 1928, 247).

³² Acidic soils have generally dissolved the unburnt bones there.

were evidently already disturbed by earlier intrusions and remain undated (Percival 1947; Sebire 2005, 91).

The passage grave of La Varde in Guernsey contained the remains of many pots including ‘flowerpot’ vessels and Guernsey Vases as well as a large quantity of human bones, some burnt others not (Lukis 1844; Kendrick 1928, 75). However, there is no way of telling whether any of the bones were Bronze Age rather than Neolithic. The burnt bones in the lower stratum of deposits were said to be in the centre of the chamber, whereas the unburnt bones were to east and west. This might suggest later deposits of cremations with earlier inhumed remains being pushed aside, but this cannot be easily linked to the presence of ‘two large Bronze Age cinerary urns’ (*pace* Kendrick 1928, 75) since the upper stratum of deposits, according to Lukis, only had unburnt bones. Indeed, Lukis’s illustration of a Guernsey Vase surrounded by bones includes a complete skull which has clearly not been put through cremation; however, it is difficult to decide how faithful this artistic representation is. A likely Early Bronze Age crouched skeleton from Raz Island, Alderney, has already been noted in footnote 31. Back in Jersey, unburnt bone is no more frequent and only well attested at The Ossuary and, perhaps, La Hougue des Platons (Appendix 4). In addition, ‘a white layer of decalcified bone’ was found under the cairn on La Motte, but this is of unknown date. Unburnt bone did not survive at Ville-ès-Nouaux but the soil around a Beaker bracer lying in the centre of the chamber was discoloured ‘as if with decomposed bone’ (Bellis & Cable 1884, 424). This observation may give support to the hypothesis that some Chalcolithic and Bronze Age material in earlier monuments accompanied unburnt bodies or bones, but a real possibility is that some were deposited without any human remains.

Re-use of Neolithic tombs

Most of the recorded 59 megalithic monuments on Jersey and Guernsey were constructed in the Neolithic, but the presence in some of later material culture, principally pottery of Chalcolithic and Bronze Age date, indicates continuing or re-activated use. Chalcolithic or Bronze Age material is documented at six Neolithic tombs in Jersey: La Hougue Bie, La Hougue des Géonnais, Mont Ubé, Le Pouquelaye de Faldouet, Ville-ès-Nouaux and Les Monts Grantez (Appendix 4. A). Human remains were present in five of these six sites (all except Ville-ès-Nouaux) and, while it is possible that some were associated with the later artefacts, none are recorded as being so. We are left with the already mentioned stain around the bracer at Ville-ès-Nouaux.

The report for Ville-ès-Nouaux makes another important observation. The gallery grave evidently had two floors 9 inches (23cm) apart. The lower floor saw relatively little exploration apparently because of the expectation that any pottery would have been destroyed or badly fragmented (Bellis & Cable 1884, 433). The good number of complete pottery vessels or substantial crocks recovered, some ‘preserved more or less perfect’, came from the upper floor and seem to have all been Beakers and Jersey Bowls (Hawkes 1938, 259–69). This could well mean that this floor was actually laid in the Chalcolithic period and thus had sealed any earlier material below, namely the ‘few limpet-shells... with fragments of rude pottery deposited on a basement of sea-pebbles’ (*ibid.*). Hawkes deduced that the upper floor was also a ‘paving’ (Hawkes 1938, 262). It appears that the gallery had been refurbished for use in the Chalcolithic and all the finds from the upper level are consistent with that conclusion (*ibid.* 263).

Up to 27 vessels have been documented from surviving finds from the gallery grave, 13 of them whole or nearly so and the others represented by sherds or portions (Table 6). Of 16 inside the tomb most seem to have been complete vessels; they were recorded as having been ‘in sets of three’, with nine ranged along the north side. Unfortunately it is not known which pots went together in the ‘sets’. In one case a smaller vessel was inside a larger one and ‘all these urns when discovered were surrounded by flat stones placed vertically around and above them, so as to form small kists’ (Bellis & Cable 1884,

CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL CULTURE

Table 6. Summary of Beaker, Jersey Bowl and potentially contemporary pottery from the Ville-ès-Nouaux gallery grave, found in 1869 and 1883. Based on Hawkes (1938, 265-9) and Appendix 5

		Inside tomb (1869)		Location X (1883)		Unknown location (1883)	Totals
		Whole	Fragment	Whole	Fragment	Fragment	
Beaker	Plain (or uncertain)	6	0	0	0	0	6
	Decorated	1	3	0	3 or 4	0	7 or 8
Jersey Bowl	Plain (or uncertain)	0	0	0	1	3	4
	Decorated	6	0	0	0	0	6
Unclassified	Plain (or uncertain)	0	0	0	1	2	3
Totals		13	3	0	5 or 6	5	26 or 27

424). If these pots had accompanied earlier successive inhumations, then they had later been carefully moved to the north wall and provided with protective enclosures. The alternative is that they and their contents were placed in the gallery as offerings rather than accompanying bodies. It is noteworthy that all but one of the more classic decorated Beakers only survive as part-vessels or sherds, this reflecting the fragmentary state of such Beakers elsewhere on Jersey. The intact vessels are instead *plain* Beakers and *decorated* Jersey Bowls (Table 6).

Whether any other Neolithic tombs were modified in the Chalcolithic or Early Bronze Age is more difficult to determine. Some have internal cists or compartments that do not look like an integral part of the original design but could nevertheless still be Neolithic modifications. For example, although chamber B at Le Déhus, Guernsey, looks to be a later addition to the original tomb, dating of one of the skeletons it contained suggests a Late Neolithic date of use (Schulting *et al.* 2010, 161 table 1).

La Hougue Bie, the best preserved passage grave in the island and one of the largest megalithic monuments in Europe (Mourant 1974; Patton and Finch 1992, 632; Patton 1995a; 1995b; Nash 1997, 1998, 1999) was open until at least the Chalcolithic. Part or all of a plain Beaker or Guernsey Vase represented by numerous sherds was against the north-west wall deep inside the main chamber. Any closure of the entrance so complete as to prevent access to the interior must have taken place later. The Jersey Bowl sherd, amongst other finds, from passage blocking material provides only a *terminus post quem* for closure, as also do the late 4th to early 3rd millennium radiocarbon dates from stratigraphically late contexts (Patton & Finch 1993, 129; Patton 1995b; Nash 1998, 325-7).

Jersey Bowl sherds were also present in the passage entrance at La Hougue des Géonnais (Rault & Forrest 1992, 700). The radiocarbon dated charcoal from the same context (footnote 7) may again point to the sherds being incidentally incorporated debris. Although the blocking of Neolithic tombs is a well documented practice through Atlantic Europe, it did not necessarily happen universally or synchronously. A lugged 'flowerpot' vessel from this tomb was stated by Godfray and Burdo (1950, 213) to have accompanied a 'burial', but earlier accounts make no mention of a burial or any other context and the only bone recorded from the site was a jaw-bone (Baal 1930; Hawkes 1938, 119 fig 31, 227 no 5); they may have assumed that artefacts found inside Neolithic tombs were always accompaniments to

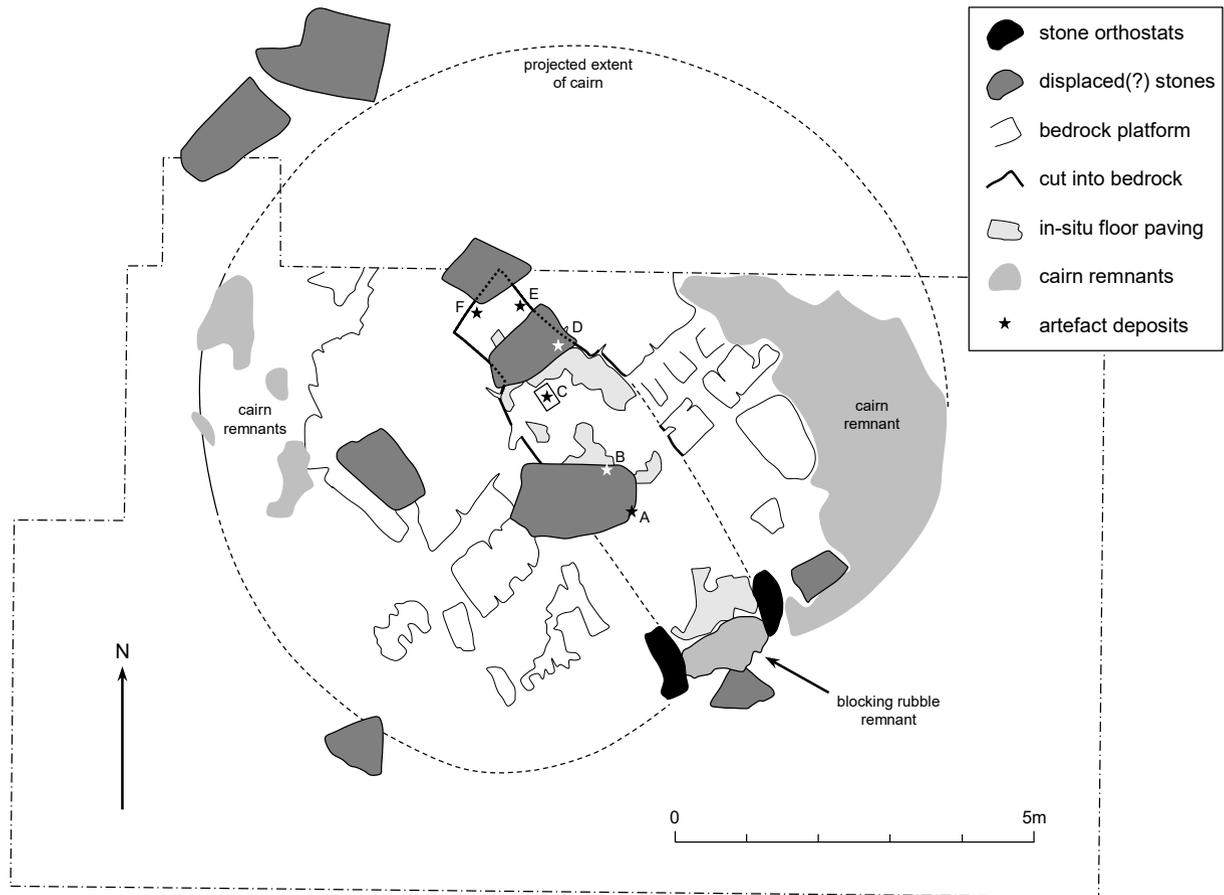


Figure 22. Simplified plan of Beauport entrance grave as interpreted by Johnston. First author's drawing based on Cable 1877 and Johnston 1972

burials. Patton's interim report on the pottery from both the 1929 and 1985-89 excavations indicates that much dates to between the Late Neolithic and earlier Bronze Age (Patton 1992).

The three remaining instances of Chalcolithic or Bronze Age pottery from Neolithic tomb sites are all without context; in one there is a single sherd, in another just two sherds (Appendix 4.A). In summary, notwithstanding the problem of bone decay, the current evidence does not give good grounds for assuming all of this post-Neolithic pottery (and any contemporary lithics) was deposited as grave goods. It may be noted that the radiocarbon-dated bones of four individuals from Le Déhus, Guernsey, whose contents included a copper tanged dagger and three Beakers, were all Neolithic, although one was very late in the period, 2875–2585 cal BC (Schulting *et al.* 2010, 161, table 1).

New-build in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age

New funerary-ritual sites of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age are largely characterised by round mounds of various sizes, stone cists and pot deposits (Fig 21; Appendix 4.B). Some 9 sites can be dated to this period with reasonable confidence, although some of these have multiple structures and/or deposits. A further five sites may date to this era (Appendix 4.C). The number of barrows or tumuli known in Jersey is modest but very few have been securely dated or even investigated. The number is not large compared to the proliferation of barrows in north-western France and especially southern Britain (e.g. Briard 1984; Woodward 2000). There may have been more; Driscoll has listed potential barrows using the

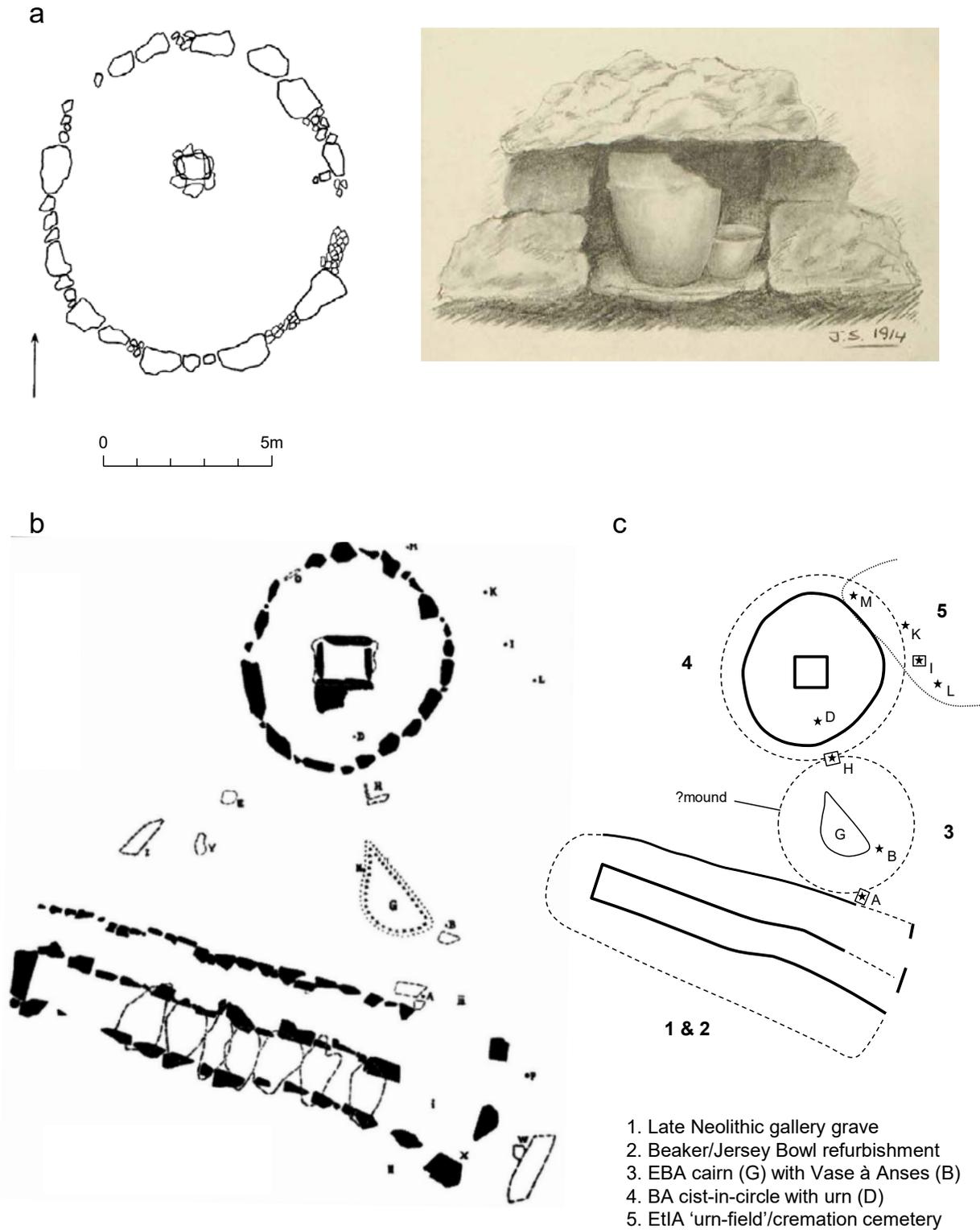


Figure 23. Cist-in-circle sites: a) La Hougue des Platons, including Joseph Sinel's drawing of the vessels in situ in the cist; b) the Ville-ès-Nouaux complex and c) suggested sequence of monuments/deposits; d) La Hougue de Vinde. After Baal & Sinel 1915a (a); Bellis & Cable 1884 (b); Marett & de Gruchy 1914 (d)

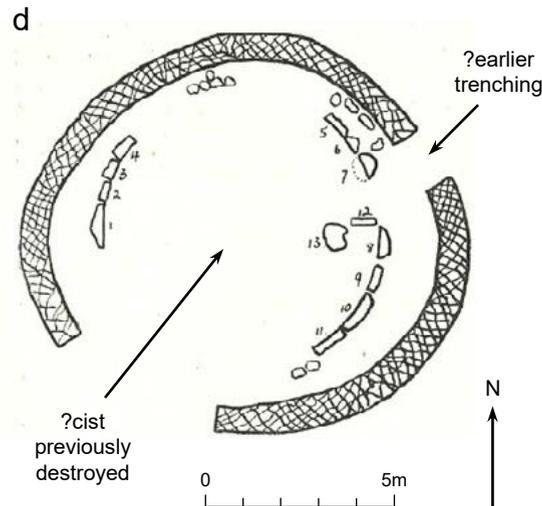


Figure 23 (continued)

Jersey Archaeological Sites Schedule 2007; he argued that Bronze Age barrow building in the Channel Islands did not start until after 1750/1700 BC, but this conclusion rests on scant evidence (Driscoll 2011, 84) and is countered by the Beauport site, to be discussed next. 'Hougue' is a common place-name in Jersey, derived from Haugr which is early Norse for 'a mound', but hougue-named places will not of course refer exclusively to Bronze Age mounds.

The remains at Beauport were already badly damaged before Cable's excavation in 1877 and suffered further depredations before re-excitation by Johnston in 1970. This limits confidence in the full plan of the structure (Fig 22), but Johnston's work clarified some key points: i) some of the megalithic blocks planned by Cable were natural boulders or outcrops; ii) aside from the portal structure at the passage entrance in the south-east there was little evidence for orthostatic stones; the base of the chamber walls had instead been created by cutting the floor down into the bedrock; iii) there was evidence on the eastern side for a circular cairn with an extrapolated diameter of c. 9m. It was suggested that the upper chamber walls might have been of drystone construction made of the excavated rock; two or three large stones near the centre could have been displaced capstones. The partially in-situ paving of the chamber and gallery noted by Cable was confirmed. The possibility of a side chamber was raised by Johnston but rests on slender evidence as he himself acknowledged. In its most minimal form the monument appears to have been a small 'undifferentiated passage grave' in the terminology of the 1960s, or alternatively an 'entrance grave' (Johnston 1972, 416). As Johnston noted, this form can be paralleled in the Irish wedge tombs, but also in Scillonian/Penwith entrance graves (Jones & Thomas 2010).

Johnston's reassessment of the pottery from both excavations argued that all could be seen as Chalcolithic or Bronze Age (Johnston 1972, 413-4). The group has already been described above (see also Appendix 1). Of the two potentially latest pots represented, the urn-like ones, one comes from the passage and one from the north-east corner at the end of the chamber. Meanwhile, the butt end of a Grand Pressigny type flint/chert dagger, typologically the earliest artefact, is from the passage. There is thus no clear spatial pattern with respect to chronology and the whole space seems to have been accessible through to at least the Early Bronze Age. The pot found at 'E' was heat-affected and had residue adhering; analysis showed that it contained traces of charred bone ('not incinerated') and other animal matter (Bull 1877).

There are up to eleven cists listed in Appendix 4.B & C from nine sites, though some are very small boxes serving simply to enclose a pottery vessel (also seen around the Chalcolithic pots in the Ville-ès-Nouaux gallery grave). Most distinctive are the cist-in-circle monuments (Fig 23). They are small monuments, the square or rectangular cist placed centrally within a circle of stones of between 5m and 10m in diameter. Most cist-in-circles had been disturbed and because of their ruinous states and early excavations they are poorly understood. At L'Islet in Guernsey a cist-in-circle complex comprised five conjoined stone enclosures, some with internal cists (Kendrick 1928, 169 fig 73). Tracing the development of the complex is hampered by the lack of dating evidence which is confined to possible Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age pottery.³³

³³ The large irregularly shaped central enclosure appears to have filled in a gap between two pre-existing small circular settings lacking internal cists (A and E).

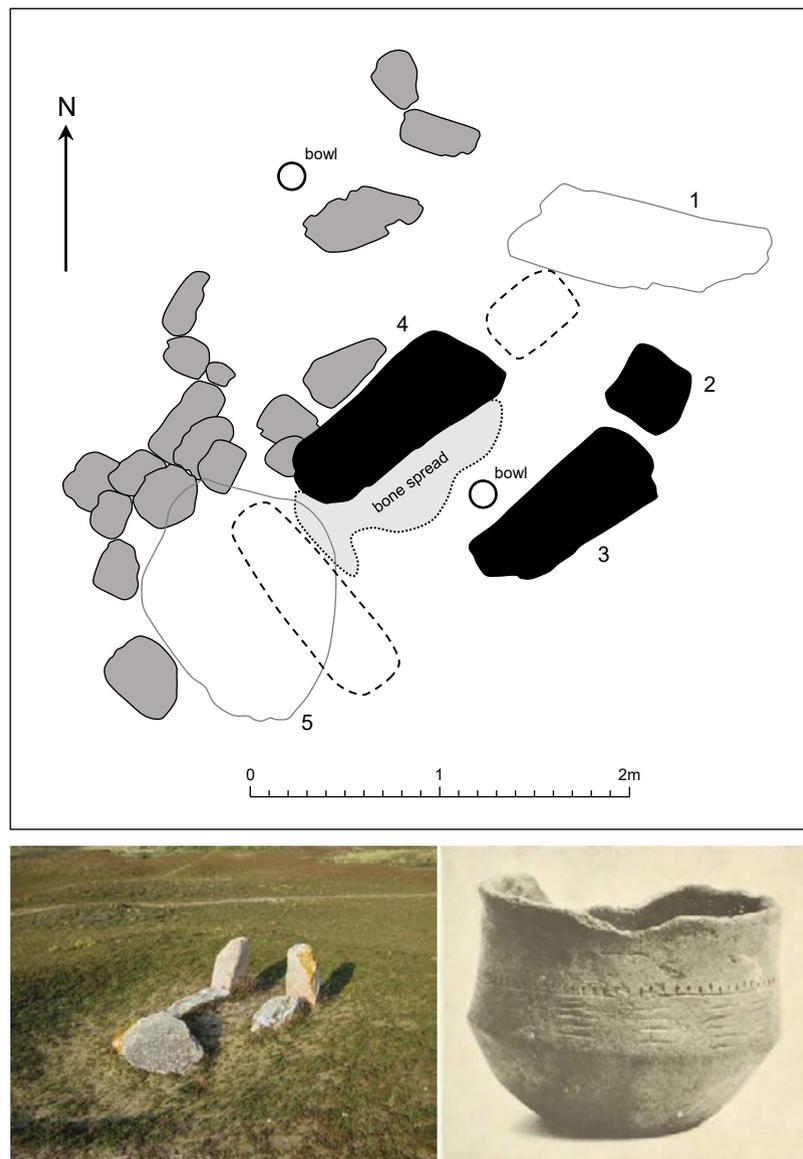


Figure 24. The cist at The Ossuary with suggested reconstruction and one of the contained bowls. Plan: Stuart Needham based on Hill 1924; image: Peter Chowne

At La Hougue des Platons in Jersey the near-central cist was under a mound comprising layers of fine-textured clay likely deriving from decayed turves. It contained a barrel-shaped lugged urn with a smaller vessel, both within the 'flowerpot' definition (Fig 23a). The urn had part of the mouth missing and 'was completely filled with human bones which had been broken into small pieces' but aside from one or two fragments which bore slight traces of calcination, 'the bones bore no trace of the action of fire.' (Baal & Sinel 1915a, 55). Despite this seemingly definitive statement, Hawkes thought they would have been burnt (Hawkes 1938, 297) and Patton says the few preserved fragments are certainly burnt (Patton 1995c, 80). The stone-boulder ring was about 6m in diameter and the mound about 8m. There were also fragments of bone in the buried soil under the mound.

The central cist at Ville-ès-Nouaux was completely empty despite having been sealed by a clay mound and a later sand layer (Fig 23b; Bellis & Cable 1884, 429–31; Hawkes 1938, 262); it may have contained unburnt bones that had decayed; indeed the internal space (1.2 x 1m) could have accommodated a crouched inhumation. Stratigraphically above the southern side of the circle at location 'D', and perhaps inserted into the mound, was a barrel-shaped urn (Hawkes 1938, 267 no 23, pl Xh) probably of Bronze Age date; there is no record of its contents.

La Hougue de Vinde, one of two mounds excavated on the Noirmont peninsula in the late 19th century, may be a variant cist-in-circle (the second site, Les Cinq Pierres, is covered below). The mound of rubble and earth was at the time of the first of two excavations about 18.3 by 15.3m across and 1.2 to 1.5m high. This initial excavation found that the site had previously been disturbed but revealed an annular rubble wall, or ring-cairn, 11.9 by 10.5m in external diameter under the mound (Fig 23d). Later excavations found segments of a second stone ring inside, roughly concentric and 6.1m in diameter (Bellis & Cable 1882; Marett and Gruchy 1914; Hawkes 1938, 292–4). The latter was made of contiguous orthostats and may have been topped with drystone walling, its intermittent nature perhaps due to the earliest disturbance. Both in diameter and constructional technique it bears comparison with the cist-in-circle enclosures and the 1881 record of four displaced stones on the surface is consistent with there having been a central cist. The presence of the second wall outside is suggestive of more than one phase of construction. Finds were few and undiagnostic. Annular rubble walls are known within Breton tumuli (Briard 1984, 39–41) and are a frequent component of Bronze Age barrows in upland Britain (ring-cairns) and small stone-fringed mounds are also frequent in the latter area (kerb-cairns).

Although discussed here as potentially Bronze Age monuments, the dating of cist-in-circles is still uncertain. Patton made a strong comparison with two monuments which had yielded Early to Middle Neolithic assemblages and yet, despite much damage, were evidently not passage graves - Grosnez Hougue, Jersey, and Le Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, Guernsey (Patton 1995c, 50–2). It is possible that both had originally comprised a central chamber or cist within a stone ring of modest diameter (c. 12m and 6m). It remains to be established whether this is a long running mode of monument construction in the Islands.

One of the most important of the other sites is a stone chamber known as 'The Ossuary' found in the sand-dune system of Les Blanchés Banques. It was under a low mound about 27m in diameter at the time of excavation, but this comprised sand and Hill obviously thought it was a drift of later blown sand (Hill 1924). There were however a number of stone blocks to the west and north of the chamber which look like remnants of a surrounding stony mound, while the presence of a pottery vessel on the same side also argues for a good degree of protection. Indeed, there appear to be remnants of a mound still surviving around the stones. The site was recognised because parts of stones 2 and 3 had become exposed and a depression noted alongside could suggest earlier disturbance, perhaps stone robbing. Excavation revealed five large stones and showed that stones 1 and 5 had collapsed (Fig 24). Hill thought the latter was a capstone but it is not large enough to cover the whole chamber so at least one capstone

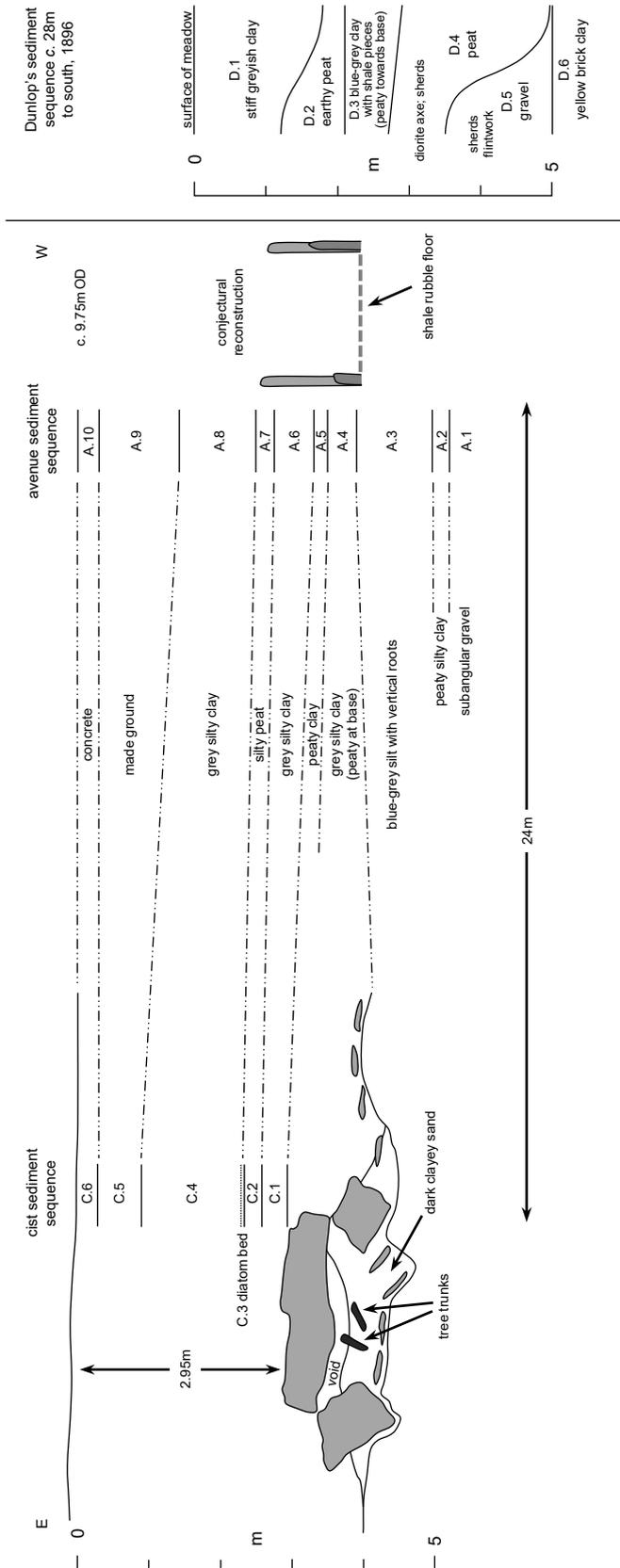


Figure 25. Reconstruction of the stratigraphic sequences recorded in 1896 and 1954 at the St Helier Gasworks site in relation to the monuments. Drawing by S Needham based on Dunlop 1896 and Wedgwood & Mourant 1954, 151

was missing, presumably removed by stone robbers. Stone 5 makes more sense as an end slab which had toppled over and twisted a little. It would have been an elongate chamber enclosing an area 2 feet wide and perhaps around 7 feet long (0.6 x 2.1m). The interior yielded disarticulated human remains, about 20 individuals being represented. Associated were two Jersey Bowls, one inside and one outside the chamber, and flintwork including 'button' scrapers.

The Ossuary is one element of a more extensive complex of Late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age date in the vicinity comprising three menhirs (Rybot 1934, 340-3), a settlement site at Les Blanchés Banques (Patton and Finlaison 2001) and, a little to the south-east, a double-mound at La Tête des Quennevais (Patton 1991). This monument complex was fortuitously preserved by sand dunes which encroached over the whole area of St Ouen's Bay towards the end of Early Bronze Age. A section cut through the original land surface at the Ossuary by Finlaison led her to argue that the tomb was contemporary with the adjacent occupation site of Les Blanchés Banques (see below; Finlaison 1980, 373), although that might simply mean that both occupied the same long-exposed land surface. The close association of domestic, ritual and funerary sites provides a rare opportunity to glimpse a more extensive well-preserved prehistoric landscape (Patton 1991; Patton and Finlaison 2001).

La Tête des Quennevais was excavated in the 1980s by Mark Patton. In its first phase a small mound 5m across and 0.6m high was butted up to a rock outcrop and partially kerbed with granite and shale blocks (Patton 1991; Patton 1995c, 99). Later a lower oval mound or platform, c. 9 x 7m and again partially kerbed, was butted up to the first mound. Within the north-east margin of this platform were two small empty stone cists, bones perhaps having decayed, and a small cairn of shale slabs lay just outside. The appending of one mound onto another recalls the similar relationship between the boulder rings (perhaps originally delimiting mounds) at L'Islet, Guernsey (Kendrick 1928, 169 fig 73).

The initial mound at La Tête des Quennevais sealed an earlier soil containing Jersey Bowl pottery, flintwork and a burnt patch. Jersey Bowl sherds were also present in the make-up of the mound, while that of the platform contained Neolithic flintwork and fragments of four polished stone axes. The make-up material was probably decayed turf which explains the absence of a buried soil under the secondary mound and Patton's interpretation that the constituent finds were redeposited. Early Bronze Age pottery including a strap-handle from a *Vase à Anses* was found in a sandy layer overlying the mound and platform and this was in turn sealed by a sand dune deposit. The dating is not very precise, but construction of the mounds and cists is best attributed to the Early Bronze Age on current evidence. The site is important because there is no indication of a burial in/under the first-phase mound, while the cists in the second-phase mound are placed quite peripherally and may not be strictly contemporary. Patton has suggested that the dominance of Jersey Bowls sherds under and within the mound, including a number of refitting sherds, is suggestive of ceremonial or funerary activity, rather than domestic (Patton & Finlaison 2001, 165-6). He also points out that the cists were too small for adult inhumations and would have to have contained infants or disarticulated bones (Patton 1995c, 99). If burial took place at this site it does not appear to have been centre-stage.

Several tumuli were reported to have stood on a spur overlooking St Ouen Bay at Les Hougues des Millais but only one had survived by 1870 when it was described by Oliver in an already damaged state. It contained a drystone walled cist about 5.5m long aligned east-west and covered with capstones and was almost certainly the barrow that yielded a surviving strap-handled biconical/globular vessel. Hawkes recognised that the chamber structure had good parallels in the Armorican Early Bronze Age tumuli and that the vessel was an Armorican style *Vase à Anses* (Fig 7k; Hawkes 1938, 134, 288-9; Briard 1984, 46-51, 113-29). There is no reason to doubt that this is an Early Bronze Age monument and the implication is that there was a small barrow cemetery, the only one recorded on Jersey (though note the double-mound at La Tête des Quennevais). Driscoll has tentatively suggested the presence of ring-

ditches in the area around the Grantez dolmen in St Ouen on the basis of aerial photographs, these potentially being ploughed out Bronze Age round barrows (Driscoll 2009, 24; Driscoll 2011, 71–2) and one has been suggested close to the Overdale hoard site. However, ditch-enclosed mounds do not as yet seem to be documented by excavations on the island.

The circumstances relating to a mound at le Clos de la Sergenté, near the passage grave, are a little uncertain. It first came to be noted when a Middle Bronze Age hoard of five palstaves and a spearhead were found under a stone within an earth mound (*'...trouvée...sous une pierre plate enfuie à quelques pieds sous un monticule de terre...'* Ahier 1852, 39). Some years later Langlois referred to the stone as a 'menhir' and still later enquiries seemed to confirm that the stone was in fact upright in the mound, its base and the hoard being six feet deep (Langlois 1879, 147; Hawkes 1938, 300). If so, whether the stone was ever free-standing cannot be known but if set in the old land surface it could have predated the mound. Regardless of the stone's orientation, the mound was most likely erected, or enlarged, in the Middle Bronze Age given deposition of the hoard at some depth and beneath the stone.

A cist discovered under 3m of alluvium and peat (plus around a metre of modern make-up) during building works at the St Helier Gasworks site was not fully accessible and the interior may not have been completely excavated (Fig 25). It was around 4m across and contained 'dark clayey sand with much vegetal matter' including two lengths of thick branchwood. Fragments of bone and flint were found immediately around the cist (Wedgwood & Mourant 1954, 151). The base seemed to be floored with large waterworn slabs and more of these were found on a sloping surface, possibly one side of a shallow cut, outside the cist on the west. Twenty-five metres west of the cist another hole for foundations exposed an avenue of two orthostatic rows 1.75m apart aligned WNW-ESE. The orthostats were more-or-less contiguous with one another and were of the same kind of pink granite as used to make the cist (Town Hill granite). The projected line of the avenue passes 4.5m south of the cist. A stratigraphic sequence observed a short distance away in 1896 showed that the blue-grey silt underneath the cist and avenue overlies a peaty bed and subangular gravel; a second peat deposit sealed it (Dunlop 1896). Overall the site has excellent stratigraphic and environmental potential (Fig 25). In the upper part of the lower peat horizon Dunlop had found a polished diorite axe reused as a hammer; pottery fragments and bovine teeth were also found in this bed, and the underlying gravel yielded flintwork, further pot sherds and bone fragments (Dunlop 1896, 351–3).

The remains of an adult male of about 35 years age at Icho Islet may have originally been interred in a cist or covered over since the bones lay amongst several large flat stones. The burial is undated but may relate to the surrounding dark occupation soil containing animal bones, seashells and pottery probably of Bronze Age date (Rybot 1930; Hawkes 1938, 115 fig 29a, 182).

We have already noted the presence of pots in five of the above sites, twice occurring with bones (Les Platons; The Ossuary) and twice in chambers where bones might have decayed (Beaumont; Hougue des Millais). There are also the cases of whole pots or substantial crocks placed in four of the Neolithic tombs (Appendix 4.A). Four further pot deposits are known, three of them coming from Ville-ès-Nouaux (for which deposit 'D' has already been covered above): deposits 'A', 'B' and 'H' (Appendix 4.B). One ('H') was in a small cist just outside the quadrant of the cist-in-circle that yielded pot 'D' (Fig 22b-c). The other two were close to a small D-shaped cairn ('G') to which little attention has been given. 'A' was to the south of it and nestled against the north kerb of the gallery grave, while 'B' was at the cairn's south-east end but at a higher level. The pottery from 'B' includes parts of a Vases à Anses. In addition to the cist at 'H', there were small enclosures of slabs around both 'A' and 'B', these structures echoing those around Beakers and Jersey Bowls inside the adjacent gallery grave. While a 'heap of ashes' was reported in association with 'B', no bones as such were noted either here or with the other three. It appears that they were not cremation-containing pots.

At La Hougue Mauger six lugged ‘flowerpot’ tubs (Fig 10a-e) were placed in an arc round the edge of the mound, two of them together. Their disposition suggests secondary deposition or, at the earliest, deposition as the mound was completed. Again there were no cremated bones inside them, just soil. Given their distribution in an arc of no more than six feet (1.8m) it seems unlikely they had accompanied multiple inhumations that had totally decayed. The presence of some unburnt bone cannot be wholly ruled out, but they give the impression instead of a structured artefact deposit made on a single occasion or over a short passage of time. The mound itself was of earth and was 55 feet in diameter and 6 feet high (16.8m, 1.8m; Baal and Sinel 1915b; Hawkes 1938, 294–6). The site had been dug into prior to the Société’s 1914 excavation, a trench from the north-east nearly reaching the centre and this may have largely removed a central structure of which just one stone remained. The possibility that it was Neolithic rather than later rests on the finds assemblage which included two fragments of stone axes and an astonishing number of quern fragments (19) and whole querns (3) along with their rubbing stones, but this is not conclusive evidence and a Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age date is possible.

The extent to which Chalcolithic and Bronze Age artefacts, principally pottery, accompanied inhumations or disarticulated unburnt bone will always be impossible to gauge; the preservation of unburnt bone at The Ossuary demonstrates that it was sometimes the case. It may be possible to be more definitive about cremations. As noted above, reports of burnt bones are scarce and the fragments identified microscopically in burnt matter associated with Beauport pot ‘E’ were found not to be ‘incinerated’. It is fair to conclude that while there may have been occasional cremation deposits, such as apparently at La Hougue des Platons, there was no regular practice of inurned cremation such as is abundant in Britain during the Early to Middle Bronze Age. Indeed, some deposits involving pottery at ‘funerary’ sites may instead have been dedicated to other ritual practices. The character of funerary structures on Jersey appears to be eclectic and sometimes influenced by neighbouring regions. Aside from the frequent circular to slightly oval mounds there are examples of an entrance grave, simple cists, cist-in-circles, a capped corbelled tomb, ring-cairn and an embedded menhir(?). This speaks more of the need to express external connections than to establish an insular identity.

Sites probably of other periods

Of the dismissed contexts (Appendix 4.E), two are more likely to be Neolithic, two are likely to post-date the Bronze Age, although not necessarily by much, one has a medieval radiocarbon date of uncertain reliability, and one is undated.

Excavations at Les Cinq Pierres revealed the remains of a chamber and a capstone almost 10 ft (3m) across, and yielding unburnt human bones belonging to more than one individual (Bellis & Cable 1875; Hawkes 1938, 290–2). Moreover, the limited finds assemblage including round-bottomed pottery, according to Hawkes, looks more Neolithic than later (Patton 1987a, 70; but cf Driscoll 2011, 68–69). Walling presumed to comprise an annular ring was only exposed in two opposing sectors; it was over 18m in external diameter and buried under an earth and rubble mound 23m across.

The date of the remains of a mound and chamber at La Moie (Hougue de Forêt) is uncertain given the lack of datable finds from the 1877 excavations and prior disturbance (Bellis & Cable 1880; Hawkes 1938, 277) but the probable size of the chamber inclines towards a Neolithic date. Four upright stones were thought to be *in situ* and, if so, defined a chamber of approximately 5.2 by 4m but with large gaps between the stones. Other uprights may have been removed and the stone thought to be a dislodged capstone was too small, as found, to cover the full area.

The multiple pot deposits, some apparently with cremations, in the north-east part of the Ville-ès-Nouaux complex seems to have formed a cremation cemetery, or urn-field (Fig 23c no 5); box-cist ‘I’,

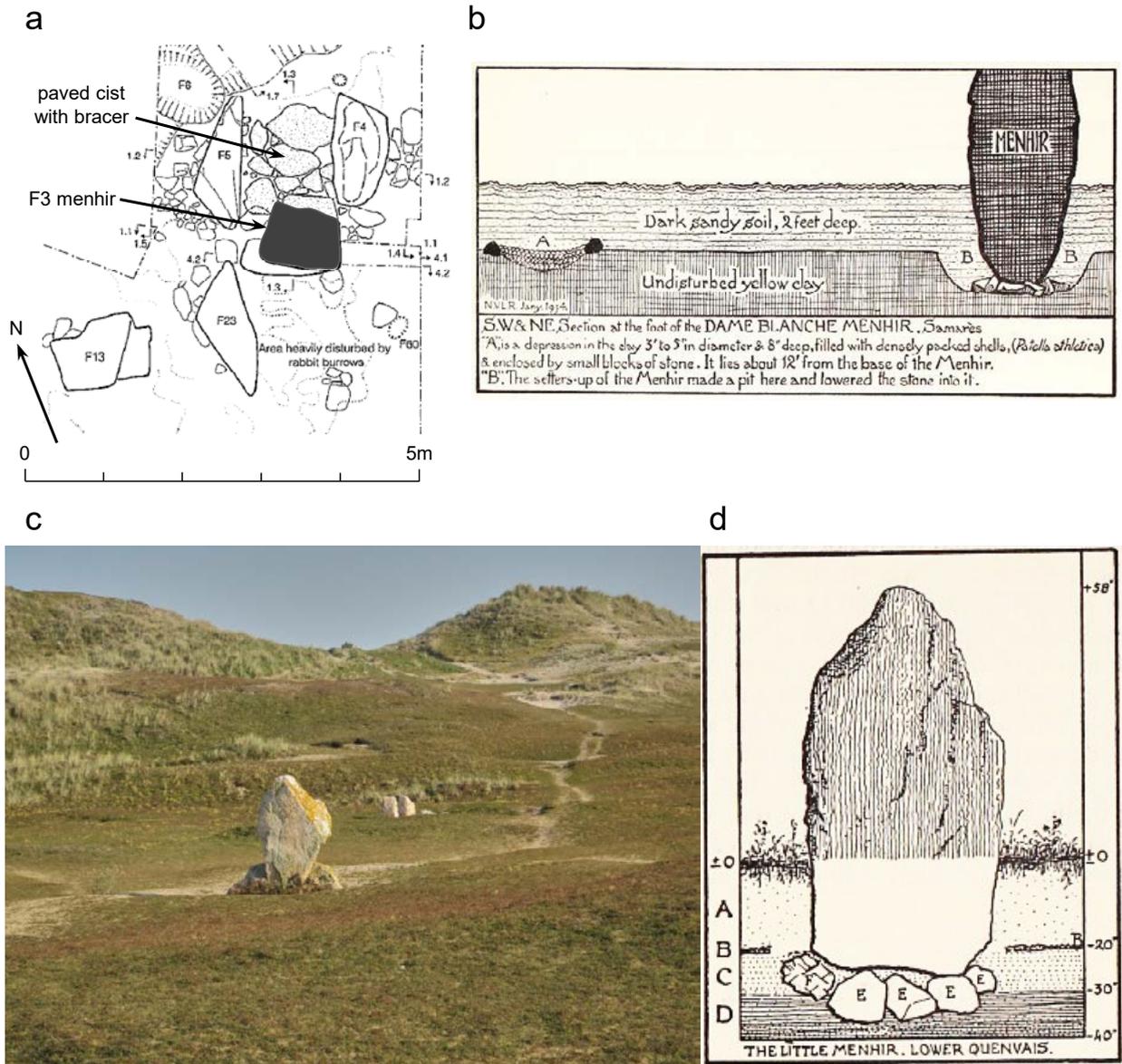


Figure 26. Menhirs on Jersey and Little Sark; a) menhir and cist at Little Sark site LS3; b) stratigraphy of La Dame Blanche and nearby shell-filled pit; c) Menhir at Les Blanchés Banques (The Ossuary behind); d) stratigraphy at the Little Menhir, Les Blanchés Banques. After Cunliffe & Durham 2019 (a); Hawkes 1938 (b & d); image Peter Chowne (c)

containing a ‘burnt deposit’, is spatially at least a part of it. The stratigraphic position of the cemetery makes it later than the cist-in-circle and the pot types present suggest they are mainly post-800 BC (Bellis & Cable 1884, 429–30; Hawkes 1938, 267–9; Driscoll 2011, app 3.50).

A shallow grave covered with thin stone slabs under the floor of Les Écréhous priory contained a disarticulated female inhumation that may have been exhumed prior to burial (Tanguy 1989, 22–3, 25). The burial lacked grave goods but was initially thought to be Neolithic on the strength of nearby finds: a number of worked flints were recovered from the immediate environs of the grave, and only 4m to the west of the grave was a prostrate stone 3.35m long interpreted as a fallen menhir. A sample of human bone returned a date of AD 1040–1170 (HAR-9883: 920±60 BP), but there is some concern that the bone had been contaminated by preservatives.

A cist cemetery often accepted as being of prehistoric date was found in 1911 at La Motte, otherwise known as Green Island. Excavations during the next two years revealed up to 18 co-aligned long cists with some skeletal remains poorly preserved (Nicolle & Sinel 1912a; Hawkes 1938, 173–5). Although no obvious grave goods were recovered, there were finds of prehistoric pottery and flint from both inside and between the cists. Their distribution would be consistent with a spread of material which had been cut through later during cist construction. Bone preservation was poor, but where bones survived they suggested to the excavators that the skeletons had varied orientations. There was an adjacent large cairn and also middens which produced pottery principally of Middle Neolithic and Chalcolithic date, but with some as late as later Iron Age (Patton 1995c, 99; Patton 2002; Hawkes 1938, 177–8). There has been considerable uncertainty over the date of the cist cemetery. While some authors such as Kinnes and Hibbs and later Driscoll ventured that they could be Early Bronze Age (Kinnes & Hibbs 1988, 50–1; Driscoll 2011, 78), in the style of Briard's *cimitières à coffres littorals*, Patton's careful evaluation of stratigraphy, burial rites and parallels argues for a medieval date (Patton 1995c, 99–100; 2002). Recent study of the deep sediment sequence at the site provisionally dates the cover sand at the top, in which the cists are set, to within the last three millennia (Edlund 2022) and this is broadly consistent with Waterhouse's OSL dates for a ditch which was apparently at a lower level than the cists (see below). A similar long-cist cemetery was noted during destruction on Raz Island, Alderney, in the mid-19th century (Kendrick 1928, 246). The cists are again east-west and the site is likewise undated; however Lukis reported they were in a higher stratum than other burials 'differing widely from these' and which included a crouched skeleton with a bronze dagger (footnote 31).

Menhirs

A number of potential menhirs, or standing stones, are recorded on Jersey but many are now prostrate or destroyed and cannot be verified as being ancient. Some may have been the last vestige of a megalithic monument rather than an isolated pillar. Most menhirs are assumed to have been erected in the later Neolithic or Chalcolithic, and this date is certainly supported by the recent excavation of a menhir, site LS3, on Little Sark. The base of the stone was surrounded by a small earth mound with some stone tip-lines and this concealed some substantial boulders, two of which with the menhir formed a three-sided cist open to the north-east (Fig 26a; Cunliffe & Durham 2019, 262–72).³⁴ The cist had a slab floor on which lay a Beaker-period stone bracer, most likely an accompaniment to an inhumation that had decayed. This recalls a bracer and Beaker sherds with a cremation deposit in a cist at the foot of a tall standing stone at Furness, Co Kildare (Macalister *et al.* 1913); this stone stood at the centre of a large circular embanked enclosure 90m in diameter with an external ditch and two opposing entrances. The possibility of a menhir being encapsulated in a tumulus in the Middle Bronze Age at Le Clos de la Sergenté has already been discussed.

The stratigraphy found when three menhirs were explored at Les Blanches Banques is helpful in confirming that they were associated with the same buried land surface as The Ossuary and stood prior to any sand build up locally (Fig 26d; Rybot 1934, 340–3; Hawkes 1938, 302–4). This does not provide any close dating, nor do the small potsherd, flint thumb scraper and stone 'rubber' found near the foot of one of them, the Little Menhir. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to conclude, that these stones had been erected prior to the mid-2nd millennium BC.

A shallow pit found accidentally about 12 feet from the base of the menhir of La Dame Blanche was full of limpet shells and marked by a ring of stones around its lip (Fig 26b; Rybot 1934, 338–40; Hawkes 1938, 300–1). Subsequent investigations showed it to be cut from the same horizon as a socket for the menhir and it may mark an offering associated with some event undertaken at this stone. The 'remains of a fire'

³⁴ The mound and protruding menhir were much later incorporated into a field boundary.

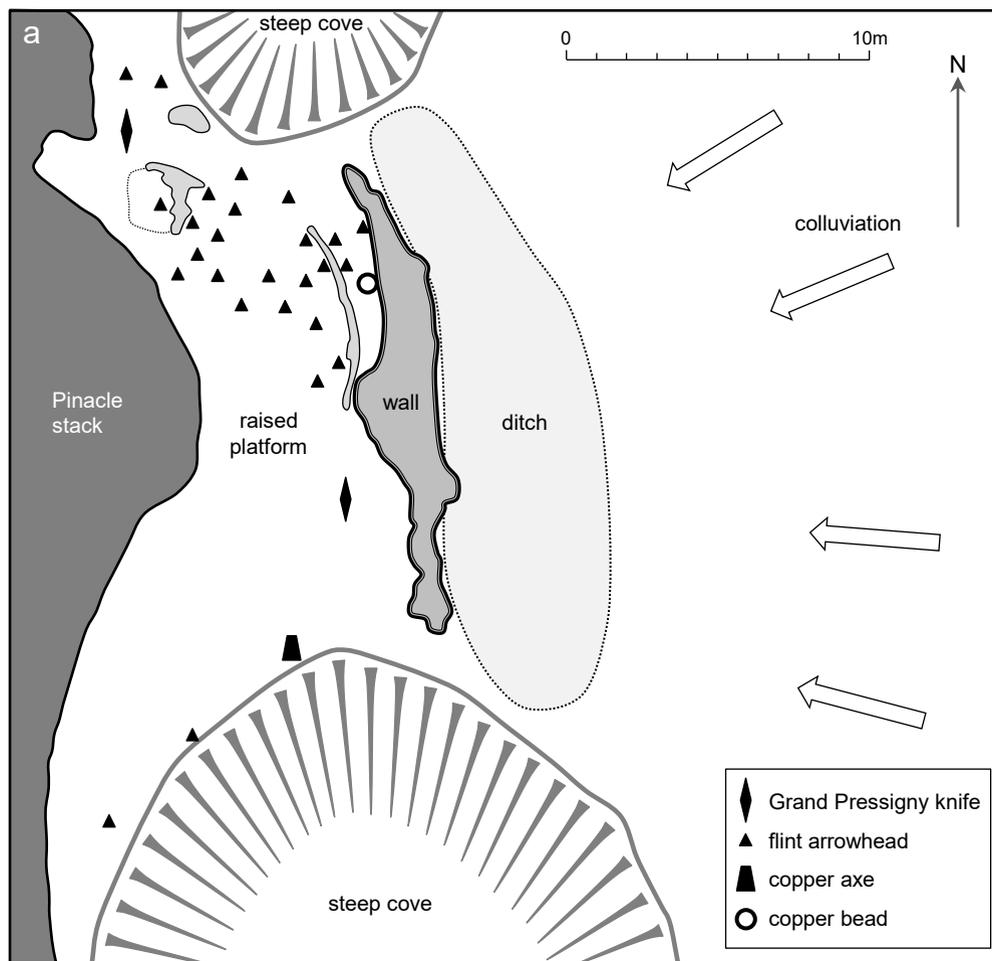


Figure 27. Simplified plan of a) Chalcolithic and b) Bronze Age phases at Le Pinnacle. Drawing by S Needham based on Godfray & Burdo 1950; the distribution of arrowheads is based on Patton et al. 2001; artefacts were recorded to metre-squares

were described by workmen close to the now buried menhir of Mont Cochon (Hawkes 1938, 308). A small excavation next to a large upright stone in a garden at La Poudretterie in Saint Martin recovered two unstratified flints, one being a rejuvenated core ‘probably of Neolithic age’ (Aubin 2003, 303).

The evidence from Little Sark shows that menhirs were probably being erected in the Chalcolithic and La Sergenté, if really a menhir, could suggest that they were continuing to be respected well into the Bronze Age. Amongst other things, this may highlight specific locales connected to pathways of movement through the landscape.

Occupation evidence

Occupation sites are here taken to be any site where activity has taken place that cannot obviously be related to funerary-ritual practice. They can relate to any kind of activity within the annual cycle and do not exclude other elements of ritual activity, especially since rituals are always a part of everyday life for early societies. Actual residential structures are still very poorly documented but there are a number

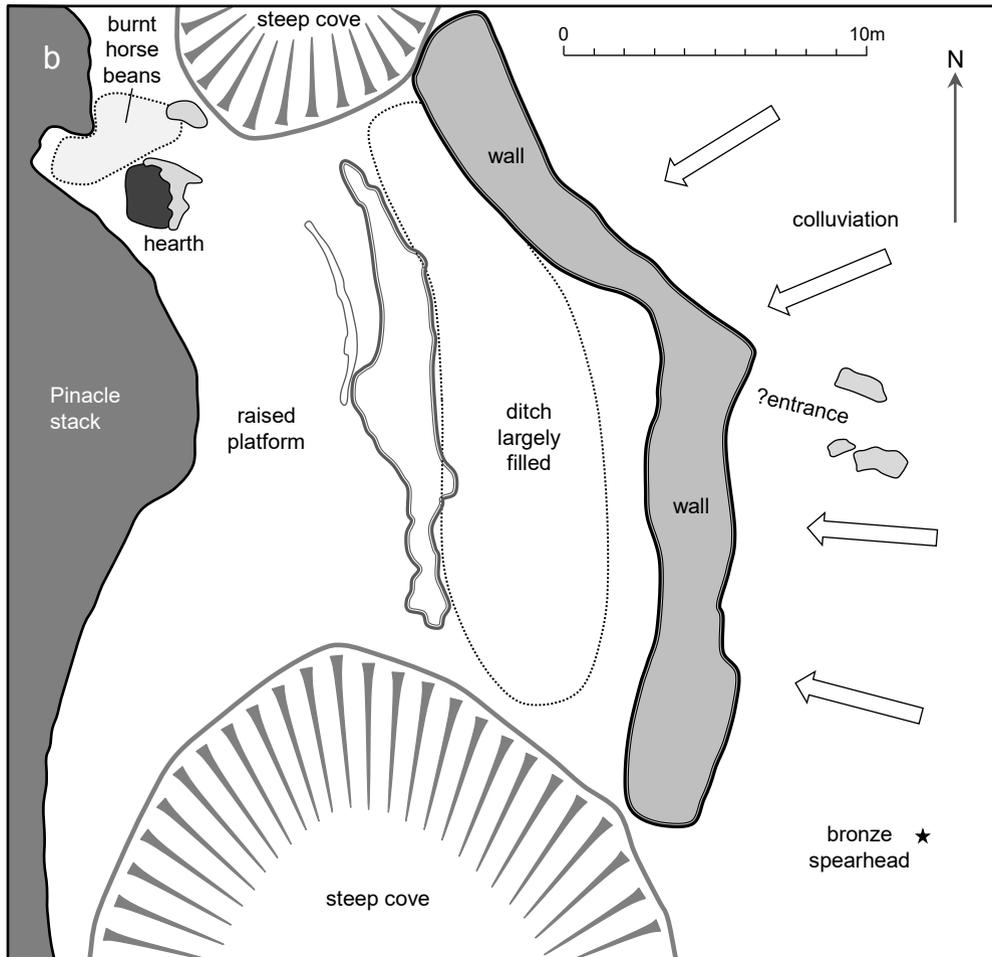


Figure 27b Pinacle plan 2

of enclosure structures, as well as spreads of cultural material often occurring in sealed deposits, sometimes with hearths or cut features.

At Le Pinacle, on Jersey's north-west coast, intermittent activity took place from the Early Neolithic until the medieval period. The site was initially investigated in 1916 and then thoroughly excavated in the 1930s (Godfray & Burdo 1949; 1950). The pinnacle itself is a prominent coastal stack of diorite which Patton likened to a giant natural menhir (Fig 28) and suggested was invested with special symbolic importance over a long period of time (Patton *et al.* 2001, 1, 54, 56). The prehistoric activity took place immediately behind the stack in a deep declivity, or col, which nevertheless had steep falls to the sea to either side. The diorite had been quarried in the Early Neolithic for stone axe production but this had ceased before the creation of enclosure banks in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age (Fig 27). Associated with this first phase were extensive midden deposits and a number of hearths. The overall stratigraphy was reassessed by Patton, who deduced that some finds had been attributed to the layers the excavators thought they should belong to rather than those in which they were found (Patton *et al.* 2001). He also made the important realisation that a substantial deposit trapped between the stack and the innermost stone 'wall' (western) which had formerly been ascribed to the Neolithic actually also contained sherds of Beakers and Jersey Bowls. He convincingly argued that this deposit was in fact upcast from a ditch

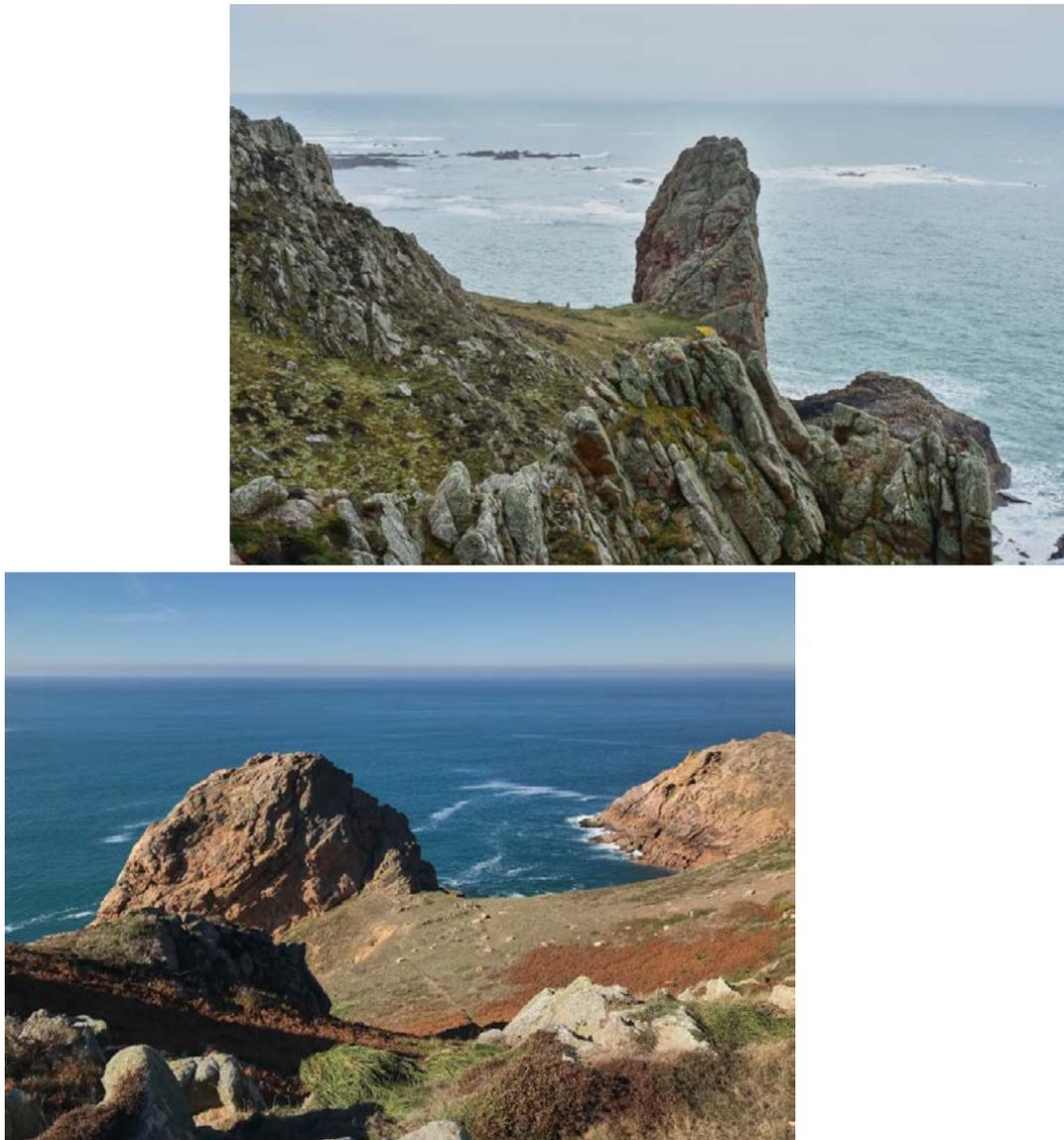


Figure 28. The Pinnacle stack from the north (upper) and the south-east (lower). Images Peter Chowne

dug in the Chalcolithic through Neolithic-bearing deposits in order to create a terrace for which the western ‘wall’ served in fact as a revetment (Patton 1995c; Patton *et al.* 2001).

A single hearth thought to be Chalcolithic sat on the northern end of the terrace and contemporary material was concentrated around it.³⁵ Aside from much pottery, associated finds included a copper flat axe and the largest concentration of Grand Pressigny flintwork in the Channel Islands. Much of the flint was used for barbed-and-tanged arrowheads which Patton saw as having been produced locally from the reworking of imported daggers, three of which were found on the site. Patton argued that the specialised nature of materials and activities on the terrace indicated something more than a standard settlement and saw it as a ritual site (Patton *et al.* 2001, 53–4). The stack itself could have seemed awe-inspiring and worthy of veneration and the coastal location of the site would be redolent of the cross-

³⁵ The problem of the mis-contexting of finds is thought not to affect this concentration of finds.

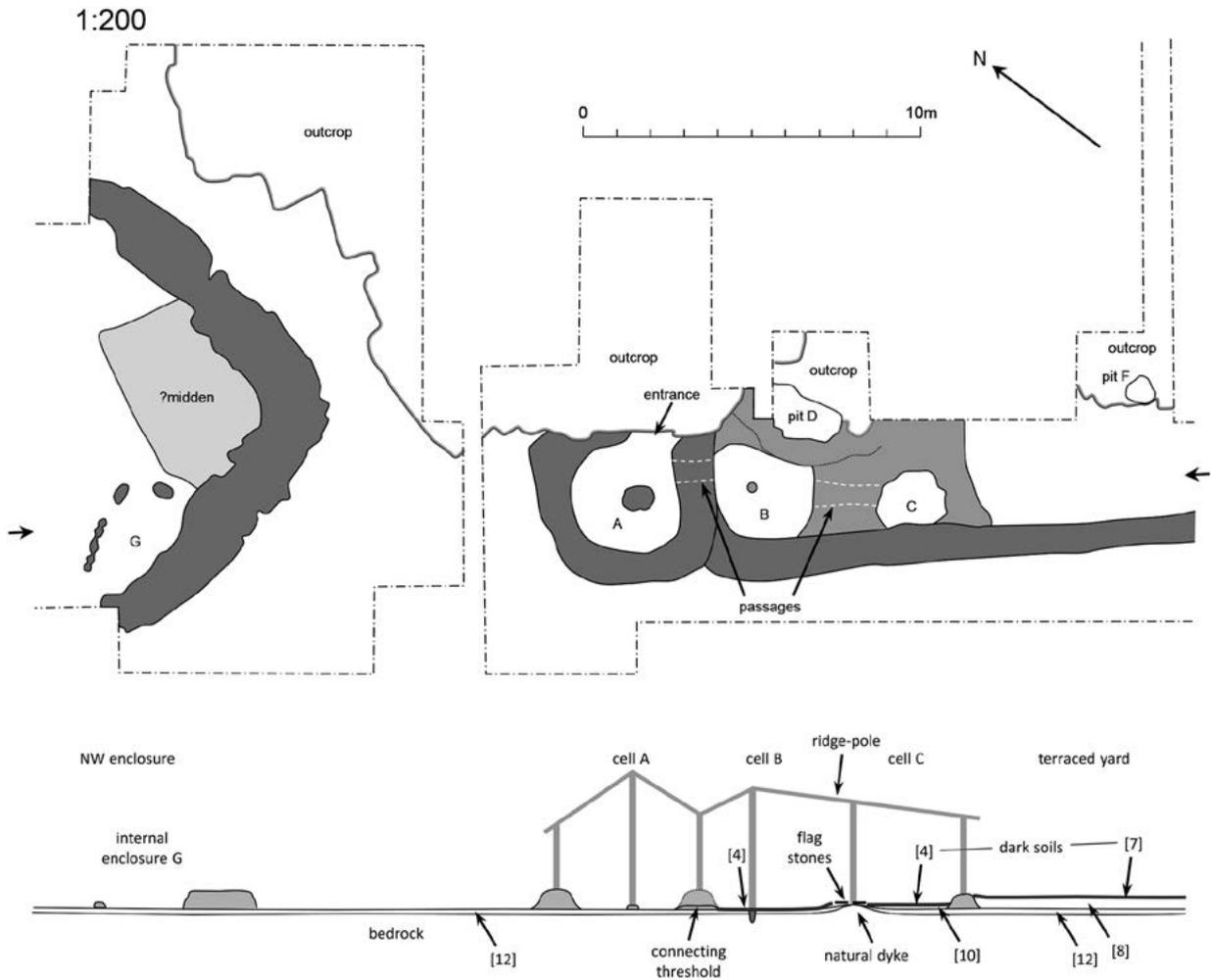


Figure 29. Plan and reconstruction of La Moye settlement. Drawing S Needham based on Patton 1988

sea connections bringing in high-quality flint and metal (Fig 28). The raised platform of the terrace may have acted as the focus of ceremonial activities, dramatically framed by the surrounding natural amphitheatre against the backdrop of the stack and the sea.

A later phase of activity is also relevant to this chapter; it is characterised by the brown sandy soil, layers 3 and 4, and the construction of the outer, eastern wall. The soil deposit had evidently built up gradually over time, presumably colluvium washed down from the slopes around the col, but had suffered disturbance from rabbits. It contained both Bronze Age and Iron Age artefacts and, while these may have been related to the stratigraphy to some degree, this is no longer reconstructable (Patton *et al.* 2001, 4, 41–2). The wall was built at some stage within this sequence, probably early on but not at the beginning; Patton favoured a Bronze Age date. It basically created a further elaboration of the demarcation of the stack. Diagnostic Bronze Age pottery was actually not very abundant on the site and Patton concluded that Bronze Age activity was sporadic over a long time period (Patton *et al.* 2001, 45). A Middle Bronze Age basal-looped spearhead was found beneath the wall of the Roman-period fanum (Godfray & Burdo 1950, 209). A large number of carbonised horse/celtic beans were concentrated in the north-west of the site, one having been dated to 3170 ± 110 BP (OxA-2519; 1730–1128 cal BC), the middle

part of the Bronze Age. Godfray and Burdo thought the beans belonged to both the Chalcolithic and the Bronze Age phases, but Wendy Carruthers suspected all related to a single episode (Carruthers 2001).

In south-west Jersey, excavations on the rocky headland of La Moye I revealed the foundations of two stone walled 'enclosures', the north-western one a single wall, the south-eastern one a more complex set of interconnecting walls (Fig 29; Patton 1984; 1988, 550). Only one corner of the presumed north-western enclosure had survived previous agricultural activity, the greatest extant dimension being 14m externally. Internal features were limited to a trapezoidal intermittent setting of stones appended to the inside of the main wall and enclosing c. 4 x 3m, and a deposit of darker soil with artefacts against the inner face of the corner just to the east. If the darker colour derived from organic material, this latter deposit could have been a manure heap or midden. The enclosing wall was substantially built with granite blocks retaining both faces of a turf core; it was up to 1.6m wide and 0.6m high.

The south-eastern complex comprised three contiguous circular to sub-oval cells (A-C) abutting a rock outcrop and a 24m-long linear wall running off to the south-east. The internal diameter of the cells was about 3m for A and B, and 2m for C; the two larger ones had evidence for a central post albeit in different forms and the surviving floor in B was at the ground surface, whereas in C it was a little raised by an infill layer [10] (Fig 29).³⁶ These structures were considered by Patton to be too small for habitation but he thought they may have served as workshops (Patton 1988, 551). However, he had identified interconnections between the three cells - low sections of wall allowing through-passage between all three, that between B and C being underpinned by a rise in the underlying bedrock and covered with rubble and flag stones. It makes sense therefore to see it as a unitary structure once all three cells were present, although there may have been a sequence. The circularity of cell A could suggest this had stood alone at first; B and C together form a more rectangular structure and may have been built into the gap between the outcrop and the long linear wall. An entranceway into A was suggested by a step cut into the outcrop on the east side. Two pits had also been cut into the adjacent outcrop, the larger one, D, alongside the building. The rubble excavated from it was piled up as a bank presumably against the building's east wall. The second pit was beyond the building to the south-east and alongside the long linear 'enclosure'. In neither case was it clear what the pit's function was.

The bank of the linear 'enclosure' was made of soil probably gathered from immediate proximity and 'revetted' with stones. It ran parallel to the outcrop edge to define a space averaging 4m wide. Whether this ever served as an enclosure as such is uncertain since the space was more or less filled with a virtually sterile sandy soil [8] possibly quickly after bank construction (Patton 1998, 545-6). While there were some finds in the underlying soil [12], similar material was redeposited in the bank make-up and it is possible that all of this early assemblage represents occupation preceding the bank. The bank may have been built to retain a narrow platform or terrace, much as Patton has deduced at Le Pinnacle (above), in the process extending the platform of the outcrop itself.

Pottery finds were concentrated in three locations, the floors of cells B and C and pit D alongside (*ibid.*, 562 fig 10). These are all protected environments for fragile pottery, so the contrast with other parts of the site may be exaggerated. There were also concentrations of flintwork and stonework in cell B and pit D, but both these categories were more extensively spread. Artefact concentrations may however relate to an abandonment phase rather than that of use. Evidence for the food economy was non-existent: no bones survived, no plant remains were encountered, and the only possible grain-processing stones were two granite mullers which had actually seen multi-purpose use (*ibid.*, 560). Patton inferred contemporary arable agriculture in the vicinity on the basis of the blown sand layer that seems to have covered the site soon after abandonment; the sand became exposed to the elements once significant areas were

³⁶ No floor was found in A, but the whole of its fill had been disturbed by burrowing animals (Patton 1988, 550).

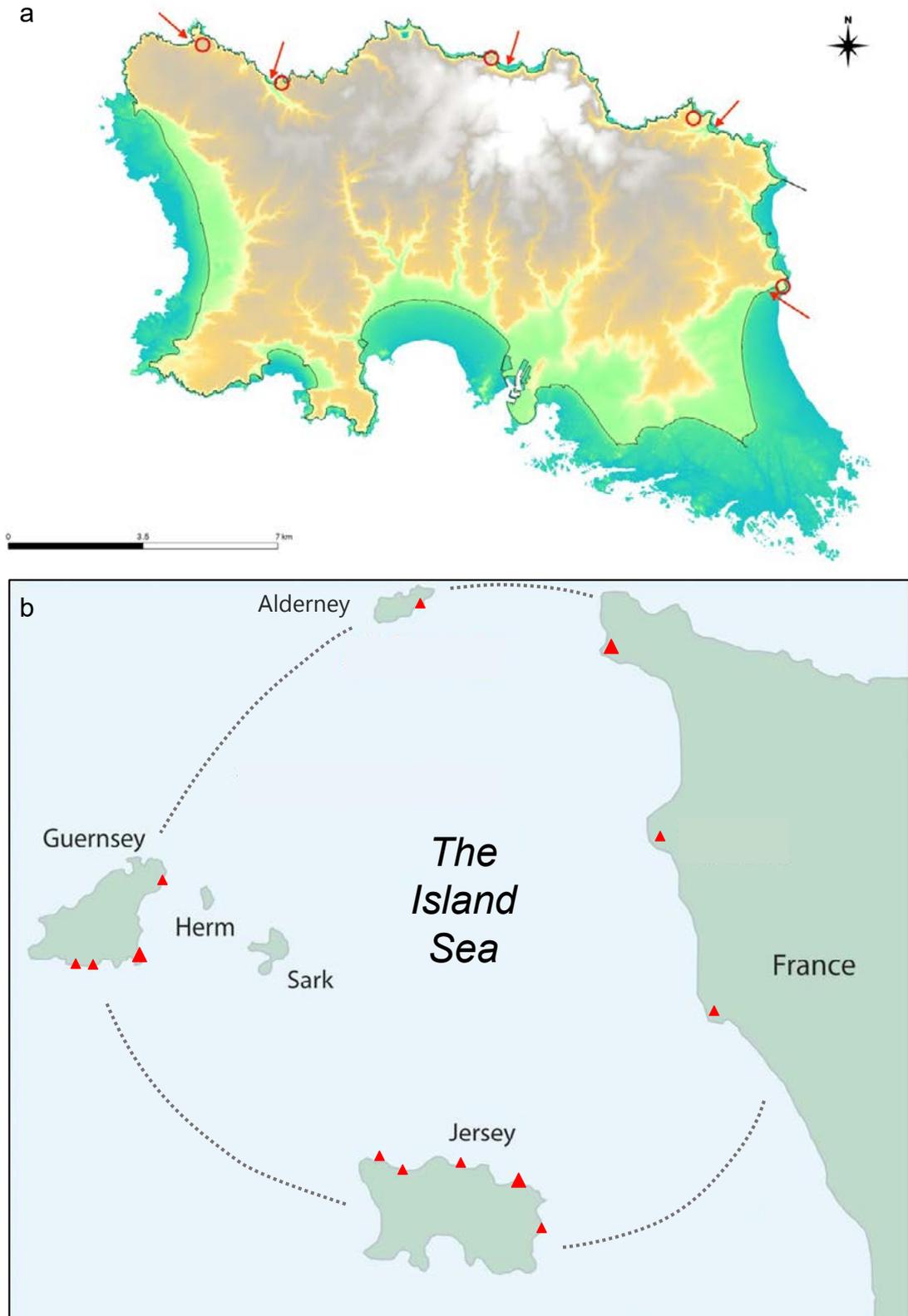


Figure 30. Promontory forts: a) on Jersey, showing the relationship to accessible bays; b) in the Channel Islands and adjacent mainland coast

de-vegetated. The absence of any broken or expended querns on the site could perhaps mean that this particular settlement was not involved in crop-growing (other than perhaps a little horticulture?) and focused on livestock, the north-western enclosure being suitable as a stock pound.

It cannot now be known how much of this settlement was destroyed without record but the excavated evidence of the surviving part can be reasonably interpreted as a coherent, if tiny, settlement unit comprising a stock pound, a three-roomed dwelling a raised terrace perhaps for horticulture, two pits, and a good set of basic equipment in stone, flint and ceramic. The compartmentalised dwelling could have functioned, for example, as living quarters (cell A)/ sleeping quarters (B)/ storage (C) or, living (A)/ workshop (B)/ sleeping (C). The lack of a hearth might perhaps be due to the loss of deposits in cell A due to the extensive disturbance of its fill. To see this as a self-contained functioning unit does not mean it was necessarily occupied permanently rather than seasonally.

A midden and possible hearth were revealed during the construction of the WWI Prisoner of War Camp at Les Blanchés Banques. The midden contained quantities of Bronze Age pottery, animal bone and shellfish remains (Sinclair 1916). Later excavations on the site yielded many stake holes, hearths and evidence for pottery production (Finlaison 1980, 373–4; Patton & Finlaison 2001, 80–106). Aerial photographs of the areas around the site show a possible enclosure with an associated field system but these remain undated. Other midden deposits have been identified at Icho Islet, La Motte, La Pulente and Maitresse Île (Hawkes 1938, 172–88; Patton 2002) and there are also finds of cultural material in association with some of the investigated field boundaries covered below.

Promontory enclosures

Two ‘enclosures’ described above - one each at Le Pinnacle and La Moye I - are probably in fact revetted platforms. The second examples at those two sites seem to have been free-standing, that at La Moye of unknown size and shape but thought to be a stock enclosure. Very different is the position of the outer earthwork at the Pinnacle which precludes any kind of defensive role yet still separates a promontory from its hinterland. This is the determining feature of several promontory forts or enclosures strung out along some of the coastlines of the Channel Islands. Five are known on Jersey, from west to east across the island: Plémont, Câtél de Lecq, La Tête de Frémont, Câtél de Rozel and Mont Orgueil (Fig 30a). They lie on the rugged northern and eastern coasts where high promontories project towards the sea. Potentially related is Les Câtieux which lies inland between Frémont and Le Câtél de Rozel. Four promontory forts are known in Guernsey, three of them along its southern coast (La Corbière, Point de la Moye and Jerbourg) and the fourth at Vale Castle in the north-east, and there is a possible example on the south coast of Alderney at Essex Hill (Johnston 1981, 133). If any once existed on the lower coastland of southern Jersey they have not survived as earthworks nor been recognised through aerial photography (Driscoll 2011, 60). Despite its higher cliffs, the north coast is less dangerous to navigate, moreover, one function of the forts may have been to monitor sea passage across what we have termed here the ‘Island Sea’ encircled by Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney and the Cotentin peninsula (Fig 30b). All of the known promontory forts are on coasts more or less facing this stretch of sea. This may imply a coherent system connected to maritime interaction but given the little evidence available at present it would be a mistake to assume that all sites are of the same date, or indeed of a single period.³⁷

Only a few of these fortified or hilltop sites have seen any excavation, this generally being on a small scale. Aside from dating issues, this also means there is little evidence for how they functioned. They have traditionally been assumed to be Iron Age in date (Cotton 1958). However, excavations at Jerbourg

³⁷ There would undoubtedly also have been regular interactions to the south, between Jersey and the Golfe de Malo coast. However, this may not have resulted in the same structural system

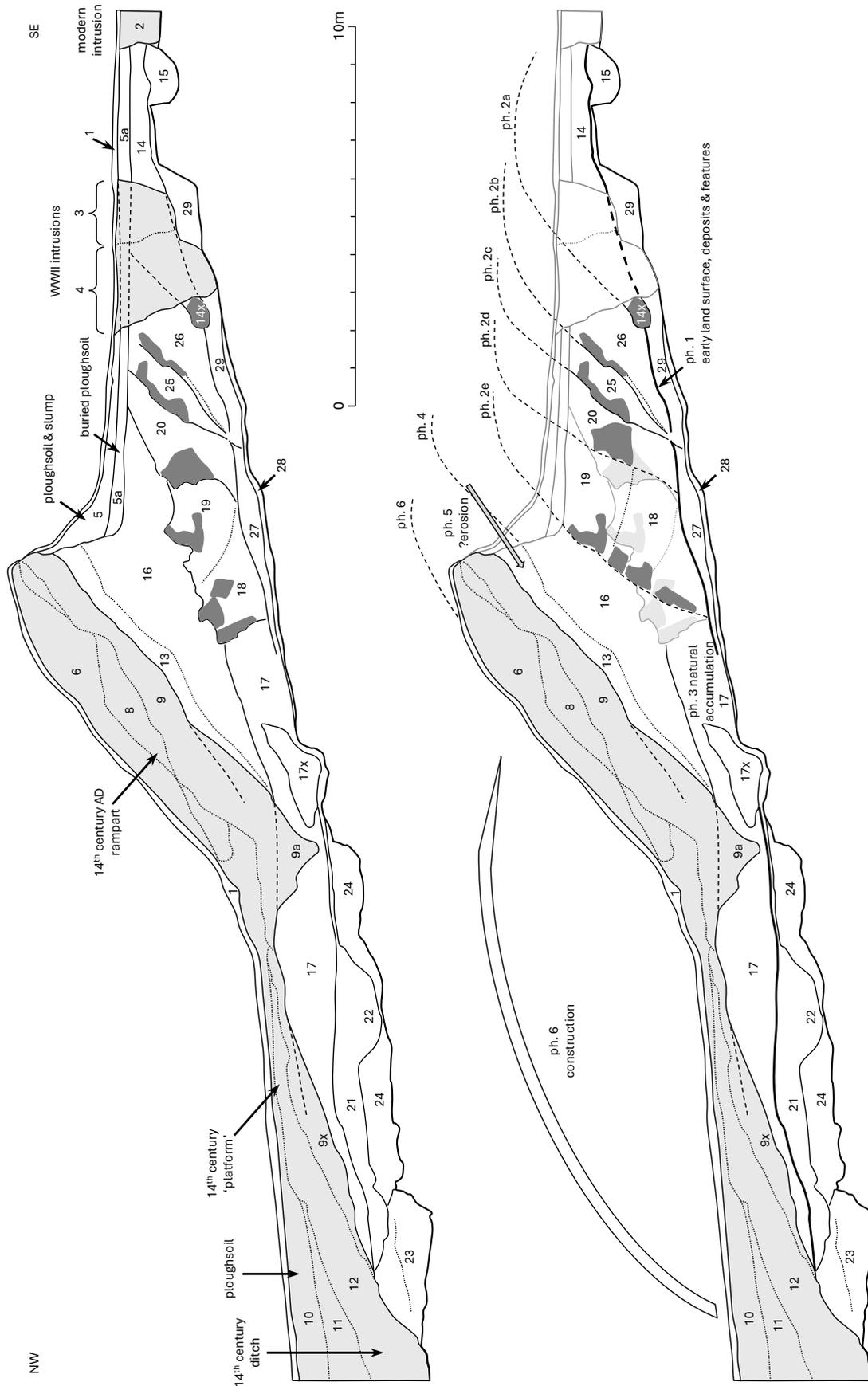


Figure 31. Section through the rampart at Jerbourg, Guernsey: a) as recorded; b) interpretation of phases and slumping. Re-drawn and reinterpreted by the first author from Burns 1988



Figure 32. *Le Câtel de Lecq from the south-east. Image S Needham*

in Guernsey have shown that the substantial earthwork cutting off the promontory was probably constructed earlier (Burns 1988; Burns *et al.* 1996, 117; Sebire 2005, 99; Driscoll 2011, 47–8). Burns dated the pottery recovered from Vale Castle, Guernsey, to around the sixth century BC (Burns 1988, 60) but this now requires re-assessment in the light of newer evidence and it may in fact mainly be earlier (inf. Philip de Jersey).

Because Jerbourg has become something of a type site for the Channel Islands it is worth summarising what can be taken from the excavated evidence. The section through the rampart revealed three main constructional phases, the last being 14th century AD and of no relevance here (Fig 31 upper). The other two are broadly speaking Bronze Age and used different constructional techniques. The earlier one had stone-block facings and was extended and/or refurbished from time to time (phase 2). The later one was a massive dump of turf placed on top of the earlier one (phase 4). Some details of the stratigraphic interpretation in the report can be questioned and this leads to a revised grouping of pottery finds with consequences for dating (Appendix 3). Pre-rampart deposits (phase 1), including probable cut features, seem to be more extensive than Burns allowed. That the activity was not of a single phase is already hinted at by the presence of both chisel and barbed-and-tanged arrowheads. Some of the pottery could be contemporary with the latter type but it has been suggested above that some could be as late as Middle Bronze Age. The early rampart has five phases of relatively consistent make-up, each with at least elements of stone-facing although these varied from drystone courses to slabs laid on the slope (Fig 31 lower, phases 2a–2e).³⁸ The soil backing was in four cases ‘rammed’ or ‘hard-packed’ clay, while in phase 2d it was a ‘gritty loam’. As Burns recognised (1988, 59–61) it is difficult to decide whether these were phases built at intervals or just internal stabilising features within a continuous building process. The consistency of the backing material might favour the latter, but on the other hand the fact that a deposit of white sand [27] stops short at the foot of the phase 2c walling might suggest a hiatus at that juncture at least (also followed by the atypical backfill of 2d). The original height likewise

³⁸ These are not identical to Burn’s five sub-phases: one has been added at the beginning and his last two have been combined (see Appendix 3).

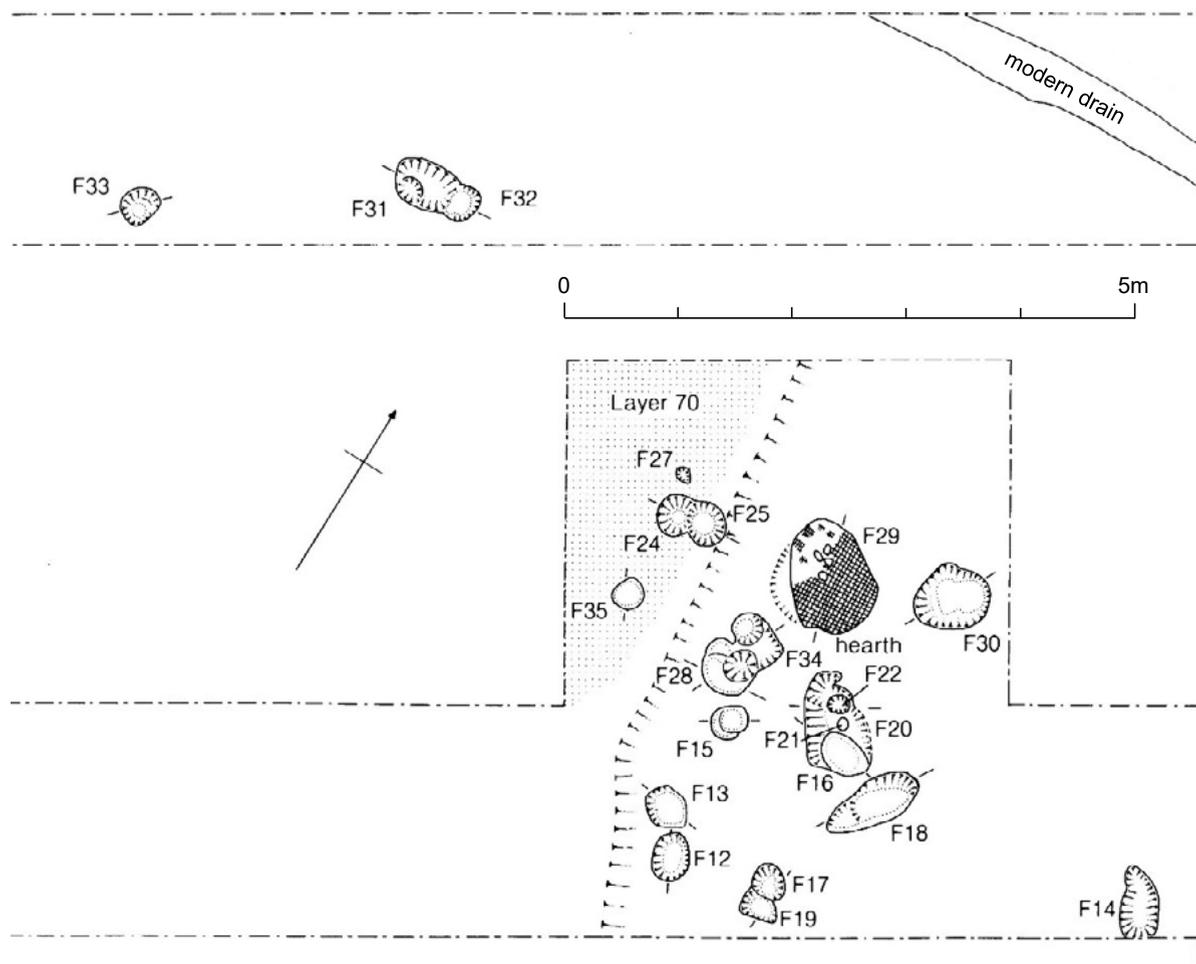


Figure 33. *Le Câtél de Rozel*: structural evidence in the interior associated with Late Bronze Age pottery. After Cunliffe 1992

cannot be known since all sub-phases have been truncated by later agriculture. The addition of material downslope each time meant that the rampart's outer face would keep increasing in depth even if the top itself was not heightened.

At some point after completion of wall 2e, there was a major collapse of the outer part of the rampart. In the process the lowest part of 2e walling toppled outwards, the next segments up tumbled in behind it and a still higher segment dropped down vertically (Fig 31 lower). The associated backing soil [18, 19] slumped at the same time allowing the walling stones of phase 2d behind also to rotate outwards and part of its backing soil [20] to slump. The character of the pottery assemblage does not give much away regarding date and it could be a mixture of material from within the soil used; however, it already includes a rilled sherd (no 78) and a geometrically incised one (no 71), potentially late features in the local Bronze Age sequence.

Phase 3 material [17] clearly butts up against the slumped wall of phase 2e and underlies the phase 4 rampart. It was described as 'loam of varying coloration... regularly interspersed with thin lenses of grit' (Burns 1988, 4). This gives the impression of a process of steady accumulation mainly of fine sediment washing down from the rampart but periodically with coarser material. This deposit is unlikely to have been the first stage of phase 4 rampart construction because it extended for at least 17 metres from the

wall, its tail eventually being truncated obliquely by the 14th century AD cut line. The deposit must have already been in place before the collapse of the front of the rampart; the drawn section shows an upturn in the lenses as they approach the wall. If so, the lowest part of the wall did not move far. It is fair to conclude that there was a good interlude between the two main rampart phases, though this may be in the order of one century rather than several. The phase 4 rampart was a turf dump on top of at least the later stages of the earlier rampart and it may be wondered whether it was the weight of this addition which caused the underlying slumpage, or whether renewed construction was instead a response to it having already slumped. It would have been quite a lot higher than the surviving portion if layer [13] is correctly seen as material eroding out of it.³⁹ As discussed above, the latest pottery present is probably Late Bronze Age after about 1200/1100 BC at the earliest; this of course serves as a *terminus post quem* for the second rampart and possibly even for phase 2d of the first rampart. At present both ramparts can only be said to fall probably within the Late Bronze Age to Early Iron Age span.

Despite their demarcated promontories, the characteristics of the promontory sites are not all the same. Taking the Jersey examples, C atel de Rozel is by far the largest, enclosing 26ha,⁴⁰ a good part of which is habitable plateau-land with a small central valley bearing a spring. All the others are in the order of 6ha in area (Driscoll 2011, 49–55) and in two cases - Le C atel de Lecq (Fig 32) and Mont Orgueil (Fig 34) - the enclosed plot features a pronounced knoll which limits the way it could be used. As seen for Le Pinnacle, it is rather as if the enclosing bank was designed to protect a natural prominent landmark than to defend internal occupants. Cunliffe, for example, acknowledges that promontory sites may have had a religious as much as a domestic function (Cunliffe 2001, 346); they can be seen as liminal, between land and sea.

Driscoll notes the consistent association of the Jersey sites with accessible bays suitable for landing boats (Fig 30a; Driscoll 2008; 2011, 59); the headlands alongside might act as seamarks for seafarers especially when topographically distinctive. If these were internationally accepted landing places, the associated and defined promontories could have served as legitimised spaces for transactions and other cross-sea interactions. They need not necessarily have been intended for occupation as such and, consequently, need not necessarily have seen much material deposition. Such a role could also have been long-lived or periodically revived. The Pinnacle could have had a broadly similar function over a period of time, in this case the deposits of Grand Pressigny flintwork and copper axe, and the later bronze spearhead making overseas connections explicit. However, a safe landing place was a little further away, to the south or north-east. Le C atel de Rozel has at least three major phases of activity (Cunliffe 1992, 49–52) and there are also multiple prehistoric phases represented by artefacts at Mont Orgueil (Barton 1984), these sites now to be discussed.

The above re-dating of the pottery assemblage from Le C atel de Rozel (Fig 13) has ramifications for the date of activity including rampart construction. The excavated pottery comes from two parts of the site, the majority from trenches 5 and 8 towards the north of the enclosed area and on the southern edge of the large field-walked assemblage, c. 100 x 50m in extent (Matthews 1986, 187 fig 4). It is associated with a cluster of post holes and a hearth set within a slab-lined hollow with crushed conglomerate above (Fig 33; Cunliffe 1992, 28–31). A small step in the bedrock ran north-south through the complex and in-situ deposits were mainly preserved in the hollow to the east, but there was also a patch of surviving loessic soil immediately to the west. Further west ploughing had bitten into the bedrock. Nevertheless, average and maximum cut feature depths only decrease a tiny bit towards the west and the loss of shallower

³⁹ The line of small stones including artefact fragments beneath [13] and on the surface of [16] gives the appearance of a worm-sorted horizon which would mean that the former was actually part of the original rampart; however, worms are unlikely to have been present in this granitic environment.

⁴⁰ Jerbourg is larger, 64ha.

features is unlikely to be the only reason for there being no clear structural plan. If the hearth had been near the centre of a building, it is curious that such a dense cluster of potential post holes lies close to it and perhaps they represent more than one phase. Feature 26 contained a rich deposit of charred remains, the vast majority being horse/celtic beans; there was also a little wheat chaff (Campbell 1992).

The smaller pottery group from trenches 1 and 2 is associated with the rampart which in places is up to 8m high. Sherd 8 was in the body (layer 26) of the main rampart and serves as a *terminus post quem*.⁴¹ Most sherds however came from layers overlying the rear tail of the main rampart, especially from layer 5, 'a discontinuous spread 100–200mm thick of dark greyish-brown soil containing stones and grit together with flecks of charcoal and burnt clay and small fragments of pottery all heavily trampled' (Cunliffe 1992, 27). Charred plant remains of a variety of species were found to be present; they included emmer wheat, hulled and naked barley, horse/celtic beans and various weeds (Campbell 1992). Gill Campbell noted a close comparison between this assemblage and that from Chalcolithic/Bronze Age contexts at Le Pinacle, also commenting that the combination of emmer wheat and hulled and naked barley was more typical of Middle to Late Bronze Age sites than later ones in southern Britain. The presence of crop-processing waste suggested that later stages of the processing were taking place *in situ*. Cunliffe thought this deposit had formed *in situ* and the concentrated distribution of these mixed remains, some of them fragile, certainly argues against steady weathering out of the bank. An alternative explanation is that the layer represents a deliberate dumping of material taken from a pre-existing occupation soil/midden, in which case the main rampart would not necessarily be earlier than the occupation debris. The best interpretation at present however is that it was built during or before the currency of the pottery tradition represented in layer 5. Although the sherds are small and perhaps less datable than the interior group, they are of the same fabric and consistent with a Late Bronze Age form range.

There is some suggestion of a second line of earthwork at the north end of the main rampart (Matthews 1986, 183–6; see also Cunliffe 1992, 49), this again perhaps mirroring Jerbourg's multiple bank. The presence of a spring inside the enclosure gave a good measure of water-security. The metalwork found in the interior, described above, gives the appearance of having been scrapped material. While some might derive from a hoard, it was spread across three fields and more probably is occupation-related material indicating the practice of metalworking on the site, rather than just a single act of deposition. Looking more widely, Late Bronze Age sites often have fragmented bronzes amidst other occupation refuse.

A prehistoric rampart or wall on the south-west side of the 6.25ha Mont Orgueil promontory was exposed by Ken Barton's excavations exploring the medieval and later castle buildings (Barton 1984). This particular stretch flanks the south-west side of the prominent knoll now occupied by the castle rather than cutting off the promontory as such. Two main phases of pottery are represented (Cunliffe 1984) - Neolithic and later Iron Age - but there are also sherds of other dates including a probable Early Iron Age strongly carinated fineware. Distinctive material of Chalcolithic to Bronze Age material is not prominent but includes six barbed-and-tanged arrowheads, three of them of Grand Pressigny flint (Bradley 1984) recalling those at Le Pinacle. It is impossible to relate the datable finds closely to rampart construction due to contexts having assemblages of mixed date.⁴² The 'rampart' involved the erection of a line of large boulders, possibly combined with drystone walling and a turf-built backing. The levelling of the ground surface by later builders means it is impossible to know whether the backing formed a true bank or was simply, as appears now (Barton 1984, fig 5), a terrace levelling up the slope,

⁴¹ A much smaller early rampart was buried under the main one; it is undated but thought to be considerably earlier due to subsequent weathering before being sealed. This echoes the two phases at Jerbourg, although the size of the earlier rampart on the two sites is rather different.

⁴² Barton thought the rampart was probably Iron Age, Cunliffe later wondered whether it was in fact Neolithic (Cunliffe 1992, 49).

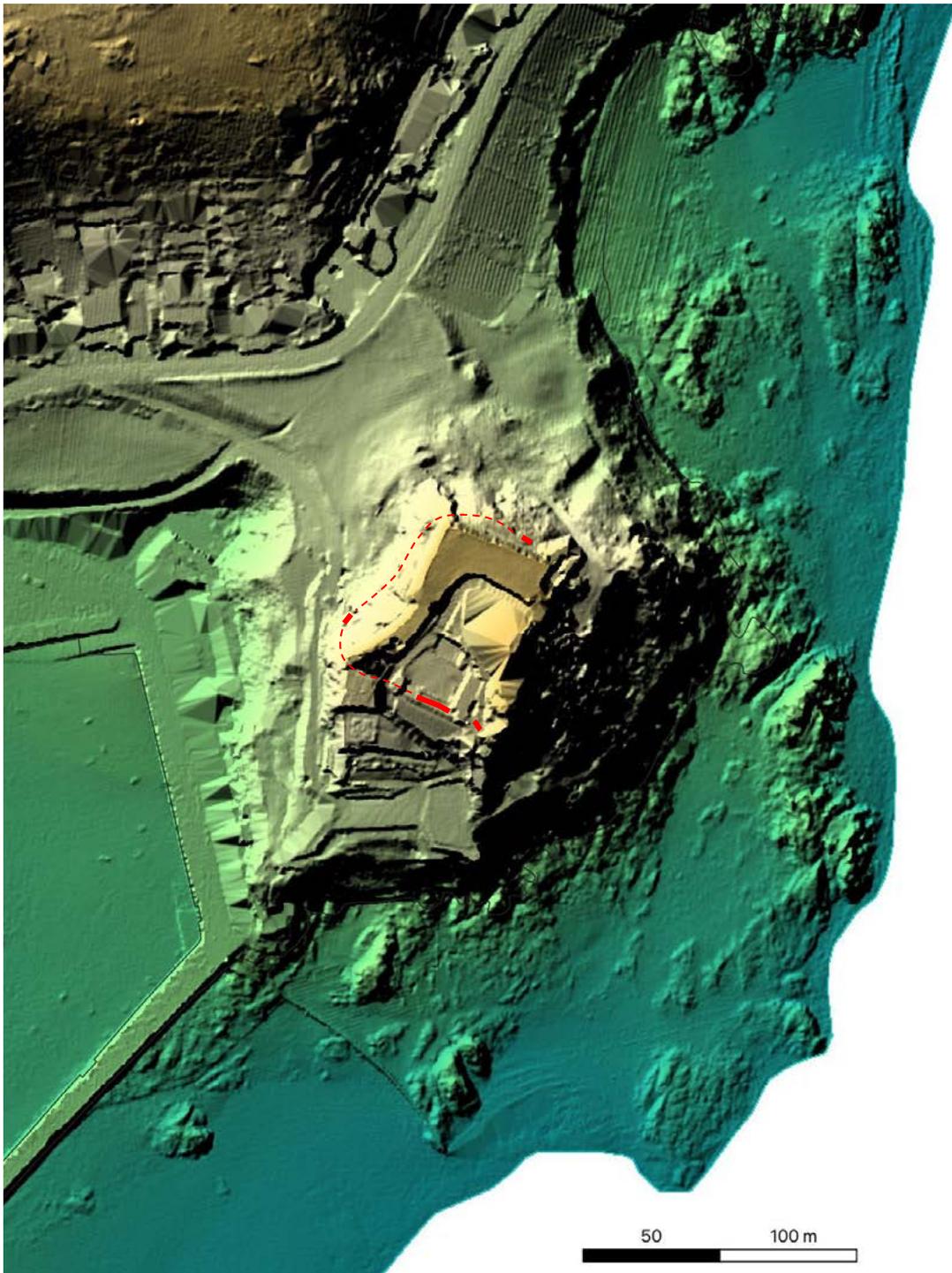


Figure 34. Lidar image of Mont Orgueil promontory and the locations of prehistoric finds concentrations

perhaps something similar to the Chalcolithic structure at Le Pinnacle. It was set on a potentially long-lived land surface on top of a dark earth layer (layer 6), itself overlying loess and then bedrock (Barton 1984, 230–2).

A prehistoric layer has been found at two other locations around the castle. A Time Team excavation on the site in 2010 found a concentration of 35 prehistoric sherds in Trench 1 on the north-north-east side of the knoll associated with stone and earth deposits beneath a medieval wall footing and also banked up against it (Wessex Archaeology 2011, 9, 21). Although there were no later finds, even the deposit beneath the wall was thought to be redeposited material because of the presence of a deposit of free-threshing, bread or rivet wheat *in the absence of spelt or emmer wheat* (*ibid.*, 19–20).⁴³ Charred hazelnut shells were also present, as often in prehistoric contexts. If the cereal remains are later than prehistoric, they are the only such material and they merit radiocarbon dating to clarify their age. The pottery was described as having a moderately coarse sandy fabric and, in the absence of featured sherds, was tentatively dated to the Iron Age (*ibid.*, 14). Associated flintwork included a small flake from a ground axe and a chisel arrowhead of Neolithic date.

The overall interpretation of the Trench 1 basal deposits is that they may have derived from a prehistoric rampart that was reworked as the foundation of the medieval wall. Similar evidence comes from an excavation by Robert Waterhouse in 2015 at the First Gate on the north-west side of the knoll. Again, no rampart or wall as such survived the later building works, but he found a dark layer of pre-medieval soil at the base of the sequence overlying the sloping bedrock. The drawn sections show a number of stone blocks associated at the top end of the slope, conceivably collapsed walling material. Finds are said to represent various periods - Neolithic flintwork including at least one of Grand Pressigny flint, Bronze Age, Iron Age and Gallo-Roman ceramics (Waterhouse, unpublished PowerPoint sequence).

Although there are considerable difficulties in understanding the nature of the deposits and their dating, there is now evidence for a strong prehistoric presence at three separate locations around the periphery of the Mont Orgueil knoll and it is tempting to see them as remnants of a much disturbed enclosure (Fig 34). The in-situ evidence in the Middle Ward shows that the structure there was set on a fairly steep slope, perhaps near its top. The prehistoric deposits on the other two sites are also on sloping ground. The remains of an earthwork further out and cutting off the promontory in the area known as Castle Green is apparently not relevant; it was sectioned by Time Team's Trench 2 and yielded early post-medieval pottery from low in the fill (Wessex Archaeology 2011, 10). There is also a curved stretch of ridge at the foot of the knoll which, if not a natural feature, might be a denuded rampart of unknown date.

Food, farming and fields

Although there is not much evidence from Jersey for the foodstuffs available in the Bronze Age, we have noted above in the accounts of Le Pinnacle and C atel de Rozel that wheat, barley and horse beans were grown. These are expected crops for the period. Animal bones are equally scarce.⁴⁴ The main assemblage dated to this period is from the lower cultural horizon at Ma tresse  le, Les Minquiers, in the unusual setting of a small rocky outcrop 15km to the south of Jersey.⁴⁵ Appropriate to this remote maritime setting the faunal remains document a highly specialised assemblage dominated by seal bones, the animals being of all ages (Godfray 1929; Hawkes 1938, 183–8; Clarke 2009); there were also bones of seabirds and a bovine tooth. Clarke makes the point that the pottery must have been brought into the site, while flint tools for butchery could have been worked from locally available pebbles. There was also a deposit of limpet shells stacked one inside the next. This appears therefore to be a specialised hunting/ gathering site and occupation may have been seasonal and short-lived to exploit marine food

⁴³ The argument was that while these varieties do occur occasionally in prehistoric assemblages they are always associated with the more commonly encountered varieties, spelt and emmer.

⁴⁴ The 'midden' at La Motte has animal bones but it is not known which of various pottery types they were associated with (Hawkes 1938, 177–8).

⁴⁵ The land area may have been a little larger in the Bronze Age, but not significantly.

CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL CULTURE

Table 7. OSL dates for ditches and associated features

Site	Context	Date BC	2-sigma range
Green Island	NW-SE aligned field lower ditch fill	2070 ± 190	2450–1690 BC
Green Island	NW-SE aligned field upper ditch fill	1710 ± 190	2090–1330 BC
Green Island	NW-SE aligned field upper ditch fill	1590 ± 230	2050–1130 BC
La Ferrière	Curved ditch within field system	2450 ± 230	2910–1990 BC
La Ferrière	Large post hole/pit	2270 ± 290	2850–1690 BC
La Ferrière	Field ditch fill	1680 ± 210	2100–1260 BC

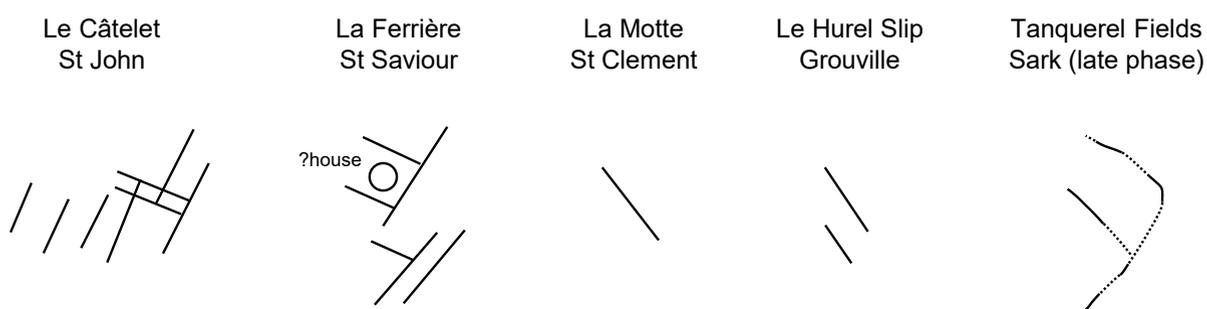


Figure 35. Alignments of ancient field boundaries excavated by Robert Waterhouse on Jersey and Barry Cunliffe on Sark; not to scale. Based on Waterhouse unpublished data with kind permission of Robert Waterhouse FSA and Cunliffe & Durham 2019

resources and seals in particular for their meat, oils and skins; the age range of the seals killed suggests occupation during the breeding season (Clarke 2009).⁴⁶

Cattle teeth have come from a ditch fill believed to be Bronze Age at Le Hurel Slip, Grouville (Waterhouse - unpublished), while the dark-earth deposit bearing urn-like pottery at Icho Islet also yielded bones of goat/sheep and small horse, plus a range of seashells - limpet, oyster, scallop, winkle, whelk and ormer; Baal's first report on the site also noted bones of ox and deer but reported that the deposit was disturbed and had more recent material mixed in (Baal 1920, 162; Hawkes 1938, 181–2). Various marine shell species were also found in a midden at the PoW Camp site along with bones and/or teeth of ox, sheep/goat, red deer, hare and a large bird, probably goose (Hawkes 1938, 138; Sinel 1916, 140). Hawkes thought the associated pottery included coarseware Jersey Bowls and a small diorite axe was recovered from the same buried land surface, Sinel's 'Neolithic horizon', but later views on the assemblage were that it may have been of more than one period (above). By the time of Sally Anne Scott's re-study of the faunal remains recovered in 1915, just 64 bones had survived, too few for any proper evaluation of the balance of livestock kept (Scott 2001). More than half of the bones were of sheep, including young lambs, most of the remainder were of cattle and two were of pig. No bones were recovered from the 1978–80 excavations - (Patton & Finlaison 2001, 188).

⁴⁶ Although Les Minquiers is closer to Jersey, its use by people from the French coast should not be ruled out. The island of Chausey, closer to the mainland, also has Bronze Age remains (inf. Henri Gandois).

Physical evidence for early cultivation exists in the form of ard- or plough-marks, but known examples are not yet closely dated. At Les Carnichers, St Peters Port, Guernsey, such marks were found alongside clearance cairns implying the improvement of cultivation plots (Sebire 2005, 59). Meanwhile, Robert Waterhouse's excavations on Jersey identified furrows at two sites, the first in some kind of association with Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age pottery at St Clement churchyard. At Mont Ubé the furrows cut through an Early Neolithic hearth dated by radiocarbon to the early fifth millennium cal BC. Although this is only a *terminus post quem*, Waterhouse found Bronze Age pottery and flints in the furrow fills and in the overlying soil. This might favour a later prehistoric date. A site right on the present coast at La Platte Rocque revealed a buried soil profile sealed beneath almost a metre of blown sand; a linear feature was thought possibly to be an ard-mark (Driscoll & Martin 2011). The soil was a dark yellowish-brown clayey sand containing a few abraded Bronze Age sherds,⁴⁷ flintwork, one Gallo-Roman sherd and many charcoal flecks. It was described as highly organic and also featured rounded pebbles and winkle shells interpreted as being materials incidentally transferred as a result of seaweed manuring. This improved soil may have been used over a long period or alternatively was short-lived and later (e.g. Gallo-Roman period) and happened to re-incorporate earlier refuse already present on the site.

Indirect evidence for cultivation is probably seen in the extensive deposits of blown sand in certain parts of the island; for example, Patton attributed the engulfing of the settlement of La Moye I with sand to local agriculture having exposed significant areas of sandy soils to wind erosion (Patton 1988). This ties in with the evidence from pollen cores which suggests an intensification of deforestation during the second millennium BC. Significant reduction in woodland is attested between 2200–1775 BC at Les Ruettes, St John, between 1940–1630 BC at the Milano, St Ouen, and between 1635–1130 BC at L'Ouaisné Slipway, St Brelade (Jones *et al.* 1990, 83, 100; Driscoll 2011, 88–90), these dates spanning the Early to Middle Bronze Age. Increased deforestation at this stage cannot be attributed to increased land pressure due to a shrinking landmass since there was little change in sea level after about 2500 BC. Woodland clearance obviously gives the scope for an increase in agricultural land but is not synonymous with the establishment of bounded fields as such. The exact relationship between clearance and land division will only be understood once better dating evidence is obtained.

In southern Britain and north-western France a colossal change in landscape organisation took place during the Bronze Age. These areas now have a wealth of evidence for boundary-divided landscapes, sometimes on an extensive scale, from the Middle Bronze Age onwards.⁴⁸ That this phenomenon extended even to small islands has also been demonstrated, for example, on the tiny island of Île Tatihou off the east coast of the Cotentin peninsula (Marcigny & Ghesquière 2003) and now possibly also at Tanquerel Fields on Sark (Cunliffe & Durham 2019). The latter site has a complex palimpsest of ditches, some just short stretches, but some of the longer ones may be field boundaries or enclosures. There are also many pits, scoops and other features with quantities of material culture remains.

The main evidence on Jersey itself comes from a research programme conducted by Robert Waterhouse for the Société Jersiaise a few years ago; this remains unpublished but his main findings will be summarised here. Waterhouse argued that an extensive field-bounded landscape was established across Jersey in later prehistory, probably starting in the Bronze Age, and that part of that pattern is still enshrined in the medieval to modern layout. This whole-island picture recognises a series of regularities in the parcelling up of the land but needs to be treated as unproven in terms of its date of origin. Nevertheless, some specific sites offer convincing evidence for early boundary ditches. Waterhouse used various research approaches including study of maps and aerial photographs, fieldwalking, geophysical prospection, small-scale research excavations and the monitoring of newly dug utility trenches. Some

⁴⁷ The sherds included one rim and were identified in the report as Early Bronze Age

⁴⁸ There are occasional field boundaries dated to the Early Bronze Age on both sides of the Channel.

excavated sites yielded pottery and other cultural debris and even occasional structures. In some cases he obtained OSL dates for critical deposits that give further indications of approximate chronologies.

A section was cut through a feature at Green Island (La Motte) which Waterhouse postulated as a ditch running NW-SE. Stones in the upper fill may have tumbled from a bank alongside. Three OSL dates for the fill are internally consistent, albeit very imprecise, and suggest that the feature silted up in the Early to Middle Bronze Age (Table 7).⁴⁹ Two ditches on the same alignment were found on the foreshore at Le Hurel Slip on the opposite side of the St Clement peninsula. They were cut into loess presumably at a time when the sea level was lower. Their fills produced Bronze Age pottery, flint debitage and the cattle teeth already mentioned (Clarke 2015, 377). Further pottery came from ditches sectioned at Le Câtelet, St John, including a set of sherds reconstructing to give the profile of a high-carinated vessel in vegetal-tempered ware. These ditches and others nearby (some possibly based on aerial photographs) have a NNE-SSW alignment which is at variance with the current field layout whose prevailing alignment is NNW-SSE. Other ditches were identified at right angles (WNW-ESE).

A final site lay a short distance west of La Hougue Bie at La Ferrière (St Saviour). Again a grid of near-orthogonal ditches was identified and investigated with a narrow excavation trench, the alignments being similar to those at Le Câtelet. An OSL date for one ditch fill suggests an Early to Middle Bronze Age date (2100–1260 BC; 2-sigma) and prehistoric pottery was also found in ditch fills. A curving ditch, possibly one side of a circular building, and a feature interpreted as a large post hole also gave early OSL dates, probably preceding the ditches (Table 7). A stratigraphically late shallow ash-filled ditch or feature is dated as late as the early 2nd millennium AD.

In summary, whilst accepting the imprecision of the dating from OSL and potentially residual pottery, there is persuasive evidence that relics of early field systems, probably prehistoric, exist in Jersey. Alignments recorded thus far tend to be between NNE-SSW and NE-SW and the corresponding orthogonal arc (Fig 35). These are the most frequent orientations for early field systems (Bronze Age to Romano-British) in Britain (Gosden & Green 2021, 239–40), but this is not the prevailing alignment of Waterhouse's whole-island plan which is centred on N-S. Nevertheless, there may be some more locally valid correspondences in alignments. His work has certainly shown the potential for unearthing the long-term history of landscape organisation on Jersey.

⁴⁹ Waterhouse says that the stone cists for which this site is well-known were in overlying sand.

Research agenda and strategy

We take it as read that all basic and state-of-the-art techniques and methodologies will be applied to archaeological projects in Jersey in the future as and where appropriate. These include mostly now routine methodologies: systematic fieldwalking, geophysical prospection, coastal survey, scrutiny of aerial photographs and Lidar renderings, coring, test pitting, excavation, sampling for plant remains, analysis of soils and sediments including micromorphology, materials analysis (especially pottery, metal, stone), radiocarbon dating and luminescence dating. In the following, techniques or methods will only be mentioned when specifically and urgently needed to address a particular research area. Threats to sites and mitigation of such have not been addressed here since they are universal to the archaeological heritage and affect all periods.

Several headings are identified below as key research targets for the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age of Jersey. They fall into two groups: A) *Foundation studies*, those that can be tackled through the analysis of extant archaeological material, be it paper archives or preserved artefacts; B) *Secondary studies*, those looking at broader interpretation and in large part aspirational at present, i.e. they depend on the acquisition of new data from sites and finds that might or might not yet be known to exist. Inevitably these two strands are not exclusive of one another.

The research strategies put forward here are intended to maximise the knowledge output from both kinds of study. As appropriate to the proper concept of 'research agenda', we have not forefronted every possible avenue of enquiry, instead focusing on those that we believe are most crucial at this stage of archaeological enquiry and in the foreseeable future.

A Foundation studies

A1. *Establishing an island-specific chronology*

It will have become crystal clear from the overview above that the chronologies of many aspects of the period in Jersey remain poorly defined or even highly debated. In some cases this relates to fundamental building blocks such as a major type of pottery, in turn repercussing on all sites or contexts which have yielded that type. The main reason for the present state of affairs is the near-absence of critically associated radiocarbon dates. Luminescence dating can also contribute at a coarser resolution.

A programme of research needs to target existing material in collections in order to rapidly create a first framework for an independent chronology of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age in Jersey. The following are examples of potential samples for radiocarbon dating, subject to the material being located and found suitable for assay.

- i) *The Ossuary* - human bones: to obtain the first independent date for Jersey Bowls and date a simple cist structure; also to provide a further chronological marker for the buried land surface under Les Mielles sand dunes
- ii) *La Hougue des Platons* - human bones (burnt?): to obtain the first independent date for 'Flower-pot' pottery and the first for a cist-in-circle site, a distinctive monument type of the Channel Islands
- iii) *Icho Islet* - human bones: to establish the date of the burial and its likely relationship to surrounding occupation material
- iv) *Icho Islet* - animal bones (in preference to marine shells): to date use of site and its associated artefacts.

- v) *Beauport entrance grave* - burnt matter attached to a pot: to obtain a date for the pot and also for one phase of use of the chamber
- vi) *Ville-ès-Nouaux 'urnfield'* - human bones (burnt) if any exist: to provide a date for a 1st millennium BC 'urnfield'
- vii) *Câtel de Rozel, rampart talus* - charred plant remains: to confirm date of associated ceramics and provide a dated horizon for the promontory fort rampart
- viii) *Câtel de Rozel, interior* (trenches 5 & 8) - charred plant remains: to confirm date of associated ceramics and provide a date for one phase of activity in the interior
- ix) *Mont Orgueil, trench 1* - charred wheat: to establish whether this cache of plant remains are post-prehistoric (as argued by the excavators) or instead date to the period of the associated artefacts; if the latter, this would give the first absolute date for prehistoric activity on the site including perhaps its enclosure
- x) *Dame Blanche menhir* - marine shells: to give an approximate date for the shell-filled pit close to the menhir and thought to be associated with it
- xi) *Prisoner of War Camp site (Blanches Banques)* - animal bones; to date the associated midden, pottery and flintwork; also to provide a further chronological marker for the buried land surface under Les Mielles sand dunes
- xii) *Green Island (La Motte) cist cemetery* - human bones: to resolve the much debated date of the cist cemetery, also to provide a fixed chronological point within the deep sedimentary sequence on the site
- xiii) *Écréhous* - human bones in pit below hall floor: to confirm the medieval dating of the burial indicated by a previous radiocarbon determination; the unexpectedly late date was attributed to possible treatment but this hypothesis needs to be checked
- xiv) *Le Pinacle* - charred horse/celtic beans: date one or more further beans to establish whether they are likely to belong to a single horizon and at the same time refine the existing imprecise date (which suggests somewhere within the middle of the Bronze Age)
- xv) *Le Hurel Slip* - cattle teeth: to date fill of one of the ditches and give a *terminus post quem* for intertidal submersion
- xvi) *Maîtresse île* - animal bones (terrestrial rather than marine if possible): to date important specialised site and its associated artefacts (note the marine effect,⁵⁰)

This targeted research should be supplemented by any sporadic dating opportunities such as happened with the recent finding of a bronze spearhead with part of its spear-shaft still in the socket; this has been successfully dated (Gorey beach, above).

A2. Ceramic characterisation

Several attributes of extant ceramic assemblages need to be studied comprehensively to produce a holistic characterisation. There needs to be expert re-evaluation of the material at first hand; relying on published sources will not be adequate. These studies would sensibly be rolled out to the other islands to make it a pan-Channel Islands resource. Comparisons will also need to be made with contemporary material in neighbouring parts of France and Britain.

- i) catalogue of full pot profiles
- ii) catalogue of rim/mouth, shoulder/carination and base forms
- iii) catalogue of decoration forms and techniques
- iv) characterisation of fabric variations in terms of inclusions, including petrographic analysis
- v) characterisation of surface finishes

⁵⁰ The 'marine effect' would mean that the date would in effect be a *terminus post quem* but not by more than about 400 years.

- vi) characterisation of firing conditions

A3. Lithics research

Both flintwork and stonework merit thorough study. The great majority of flintwork on the island is conditioned by the size and quality of the indigenous beach-pebble flint. This is likely to affect the character of flintworking traditions when compared to contemporary material from regions with better flint sources. It is currently difficult sometimes to distinguish material of this period from others. Primary study needs to take in all stratified assemblages of the Chalcolithic to Bronze Age and also all scatters where datable artefacts (diagnostic types of flint or other materials) are present to suggest that at least some of the assemblage is Chalcolithic or Bronze Age.

Stone artefacts of varied forms are clearly a major part of the tool-kit in Chalcolithic/Bronze Age Jersey. Comprehensive study of those in close association with datable artefacts or sites is recommended. Rock type, morphology and use-wear evidence should all be combined to address questions regarding function. Flint and stone assemblages should be considered in relation to overall site function.

A4. Food economy

The evidence for both plant and animal resources available is currently extremely limited. Assemblages of charred plant remains have generally been well studied in recent times (e.g. Le Pinnacle, C  tel de Rozel, Mont Orgueil). A review of all extant faunal assemblages would be valuable; this could perhaps be part of a broader (spatially and/or temporally) project on such remains. Evidence for butchery practices would need to be a component of this research.

Isotopic analysis of human remains can shed light on dietary balance. Although such remains are scarce at present, even occasional analyses can offer valuable insights into relative dependence on marine and terrestrial foodstuffs. For example, were marine resources a major food source for the islanders, especially given the evidence of Ma  tresse   le, the specialised seal-hunting site.

Pollen sequences, both extant and newly commissioned, should be interrogated to seek evidence for pastoral and/or arable use of the land after woodland clearance. Suitable sampling locations should be sought close to sites known or suspected to have been occupied in this period.

A5. Human ancestry

Little by way of aDNA analysis is possible at present given how few human bones are documented. Nevertheless, remains such as those with Jersey Bowls at The Ossuary could be pivotal in making comparison with pre-Beaker results. Any other human remains being sampled for dating or isotope analysis (A1 & A4) should also be considered for aDNA analyses.

A6. Metalwork characterisation

It is vital that copper, bronze and gold metalwork of the period is systematically catalogued and identified to type wherever possible; this is in essence a continuation and enhancement of work already taking place. Ultimately, all previous identifications should be checked by a relevant expert.

Assessment of object condition/completeness is a vital first stage as this governs the scope for specific identification. The extent to which fragmentary metal objects were reworked for secondary use could cast light on such questions as how readily available bronze was on the island or what were the attitudes

towards defunct objects. For example, were the ‘oval scraper- knives’ reworked from weapon blades put to use or were they tokens in memory of the former object.

The composition and metallographic structure of metalwork can yield valuable additional information on the linkages and life-cycles of metal objects; however, this is not a Jersey-specific issue as the island’s finds are merely components of much broader inter-regional patterns of metal circulation and recycling. In other words, analysis may sit better within a wider-framed project.

B Secondary studies

These studies are only ‘secondary’ in the sense that they build on the foundation studies and expand on the scale/scope of enquiry both spatially and thematically. Many, for example, cannot at present hope for significant conclusions given the chronological uncertainties. Most are also still very aspirational due to needing input from as yet unknown or under-explored sites.

B1. Change in the environment

This is the obvious backdrop to occupation and land use. The Bronze Age appears on current evidence to be a period of major vegetation change. Key questions are:

- i) to refine the chronology of the opening up of the woodland, if possible for different environment types within the island
- ii) to investigate whether changes in tree/shrub composition reflect on subsequent land use - for example, the presence of hedgerows, or the reversion of areas to secondary woodland
- iii) to assess the balance between pastoral and arable within the opened land
- iv) to chart occurrences of sand blow through time and space and see how they relate to clearances and arable versus pastoral land use
- v) to clarify the extent of coastal loss due to sea-level rise, for example through the identification of dated archaeology on the foreshore (as at Le Hurel Slip)
- vi) to give chronology to colluvial/alluvial accumulations, which may have implications inter alia for the relative amount of cultivation
- vii) to chart the development of wetland areas as an indirect consequence of sea-level rise and/ or colluvial processes.

B2. The character and development of occupation

The number of proven Chalcolithic or Bronze Age ‘occupation’ sites is small and in some cases investigation has been so limited that little is understood of the nature of the site. The structure at La Moye I may not be typical, while that at Le C  tel de Rozel is not readily interpretable. It will take time to build on this small foundation to a point where the overall pattern of settlement can be meaningfully considered. While non-invasive techniques will have the capacity to contribute some useful ancillary information, the main thrust will have to come from new excavations, whether targeted ones or chance discoveries made during the investigation of other period sites or developer-funded work.

Whenever possible, research work should focus on high-potential landscapes such as: well-sealed land surfaces (long protected by blown sand, colluvium, alluvium or peat), well-stratified sequences known to have multiple horizons (such as Le Pinnacle, Jersey, and L’  r  e, Guernsey), or sites already known to have earthworks, structural evidence, rich artefact assemblages and ecofactual evidence.

Much will depend on as-yet unknown sites, but known site targets could be:

- i) the unexamined promontory sites to see if they date to one or multiple horizons; in addition, it could be established whether there was commonality or dissimilarity in modes of construction
- ii) the possible round-house site found at La Ferrière by Waterhouse; his excavation clipped only one side of it and the Late Neolithic OSL dating of it may only be approximate
- iii) wider excavations (after further geophysical prospection) within C atel de Rozel, where post-hole structures have been shown to exist
- iv) return to sites known to have yielded quantities of Chalcolithic to Bronze Age remains, such as the coastal sites of La Pulente and Petit Port (assuming they survive), or the inland sites trenched by Waterhouse at Le C atelet and Mont Ub e

B3. The character and development of funerary and related practices

New opportunities in this field will probably be limited. Much of the documented activity took place within earlier chambered tombs and many of these have either been totally destroyed or their contents fully removed by earlier investigations. Nevertheless, Johnston's re-excavation of Beauport showed how much could still be learnt of the structure where previous methods left much ambiguous. The foundation studies on chronology and ceramics may give scope for furthering the current poor understanding of the funerary-ritual sequence on Jersey, but again it must be hoped that more primary data can be amassed over time.

The recorded but unexcavated cist beneath the old St Helier Gasworks site will doubtless be fully explored when that land is redeveloped. This and its associated stone avenue may turn out to be of this period rather than, say, Neolithic. The potential for rich environmental data is obvious, thus contributing to B1 at the same time.

Round barrows do not appear to have been a major feature of the Jersey landscape but they did exist and some potential examples still survive. Some mounds were clearly small in size (e.g. La T ete des Quennavais; Les Platons). Lidar research should be undertaken to seek further potential examples for checking on the ground. One or more of the upstanding sites should be selected for thorough investigation following the usual progression of investigative techniques, and potential plough-levelled sites (ring-ditches) would repay investigation to clarify their identification.

B4. The character and development of (non-funerary) ritual practices

The main forms of evidence currently apparent in Jersey are the relatively abundant metalwork deposits and the concentrations of specialised flintwork (mainly arrowheads) at Le Pinnacle and perhaps Mont Orgueil. It is of note that early deposits at Jerbourg (Guernsey) also produced several arrowheads. At Le Pinnacle there is also the question of whether a deposit of charred horse beans was ritual in intent, while deposits of marine shells from other sites may come into the frame if shown to be of this period (e.g. La Blanche Dame). The Chalcolithic/Bronze Age pot deposits that occur on funerary sites but lack evidence for an accompanying burial could equally come under consideration here.

Large-scale excavation of occupation and activity sites is almost bound to produce other kinds of ritual or structured deposition.

B5. Chalcolithic and Bronze Age lifeways and living on the land

This is a broad heading intended to combine all aspects of settlement pattern, economic base and social structure, an ambitious objective in the current state of knowledge. In addition to drawing on above-listed studies, especially A4 and B2, comprehensive scrutiny of aerial photographs and Lidar images

would be essential to assess sites both within their immediate environs and in landscape relationship to one another. Such scrutiny could throw up questions as to the potential survival of contemporary evidence, such as field boundaries or connecting routeways - questions that could be addressed by targeted fieldwork.

Issues such as routeways through and around the island would be one aspect. The existence of land divisions is highly pertinent since this would not only govern the way the immediate land was utilised but would at the same time channel movement through that landscape in particular ways. Follow-up research should be directed at tracing Bronze Age boundary systems; in part this could expand out from sites where Waterhouse got firm evidence for early boundaries.

B6. Chalcolithic and Bronze Age relationships with the sea and overseas communities

This theme takes us beyond the island itself, taking stock of the wider world around it. This is about expanding rings of relationship: the island's interface with the sea (and thus landing places and associated sites such as promontories), negotiating the seaways themselves (e.g. boat capabilities and sea currents), and interacting with communities on the other side.

There is a wide range of potential questions. How did Chalcolithic and Bronze Age communities on Jersey situate themselves within their particular maritime environment? What opportunities did they take advantage of and which might they have shunned or been left out of? How wholehearted was their participation in inter-island and interregional interactions? What specific part did Jersey play - was it different in any way from the other islands? How did the interaction system change through the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age and at the transitions at beginning and end.

These are demanding questions but, nevertheless, the kind we should aspire ultimately to address. They are currently held back by the poverty of Jersey-specific data, but may benefit to some degree from external evidence providing this is not simply transferred to Jersey on the assumption of sameness.

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Appendix 1: Beauport artefact correlations

Location in tomb	Loc. id.	Excavator's description & fig	Hawkes's ref.	Hawkes's figure	Johnston's ref & figure	Identification
Passage, under edge of collapsed stone	A	'four portions of an urn' (fig 1)	276 no 1 (walls 12-15mm thick)	-	Pot e: 413-4 fig 6e	Base portion of a large urn
Passage, under edge of collapsed stone	B	'fragments... apparently portions of an urn similar to ... E' (fig 3) 'flint chippings' and dagger fragment (fig 2)	276 - sherds not found 276 no 1 - dagger	-	-	Lost; Cable shows as contracting upper body with slightly thickened rim; ?bipartite or globular vessel, potentially a Jersey Bowl. Grand Pressigny dagger butt
Chamber	C	'a portion of an urn... lying on its side... thin...'	276 no 2	Fig 81a (lacking base)	Pot a: 413-4 fig 6a (with base)	Beaker or related type
Chamber	D	'the bottom and other portions of another urn...'	276 no 4 (flat base, 6mm thick)	-	-	Lost? Hawkes has as flat base - but seemingly the pot that Johnston has as coming from E
Chamber	E	'another urn... crushed down flat... the bottom resting on the other fragments... an inverted position' Remnants of pot's contents	276 - sherds not identified, but perhaps those mistakenly located to D	-	Pot b: 413-4 fig 6b	Flat base, urn-like; attributed by Johnston to E on basis of an accompanying label
Chamber	F	'another urn... broken... only $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in height... exceedingly thin and brittle' (fig 4)	276 no 3	Fig 81b	Pot c: 413-4 fig 6c	Jersey Bowl
Unknown context (1877)	-	-	-	-	Pot f: 413-4 fig 6f	Thin-walled sherd with rounded belly or vestigial carination - cf Beaker ware.
Topsoil (1970)	-	-	-	-	Pot d: 413-4 fig 6d	Omphalos base from Beaker or Jersey Bowl

Appendix 2: Tanquerel Fields; suggested phasing of main ceramic context-groups

NB 'Early', 'Middle' and 'Late' are aligned with southern British terminology (see Fig 1) because it seems to correspond better with key changes in the ceramic repertoire.

The context groups from occupation layers have been omitted here on the basis that open land surfaces are more prone to conflation of material from different phases (published pottery nos 213-324). However, they would repay closer scrutiny in relation to this proposed chronology.

Published pot nos	Context type	Context	Pottery attributes	Radiocarbon date cal BC	Suggested date range	Notes
EBA c. 2000–1600 BC						
7 & 9	ditch	Tr 7 F108 L42	Plain under-rim cordon; Vase-a-Anse(s)		EBA	Possibly arc of an annular ditch
8	ditch	Tr 7 F91 L121	Thin-walled concave neck (cf Vase-a-Anses #9)		EBA	Or sherd redeposited?
15-16	pit	Tr 6 F67 L86	Vase-a-Anses; thick-walled flattish rim		EBA	F67 intercuts with F64 & is apparently later
3-4	ditch	Tr 6 F64 L83	Concave neck (cf Vase-a-Anses/ Jersey Bowl); simple upright rim		?EBA	F64 intercuts with F67 & is apparently earlier; thought to be same ditch as F235 (below)
MBA c. 1600–1150 BC						
20	pit	Tr 5 F27 L38	Biconical urn with f-t cordon & club rim		Early MBA	
85-100	ditch	Tr 13 F279 L384 Tr 13 F297 L404 (#86 & 92)	Buckets, biconical urns, flared bucket with in-turned rim; plain cordons, f-t cordons, URC; flat rims, thickened rims, club rim; internal bevel		Early MBA	Good early group with possible exception of internal bevel sherd (small) 93 Ditch is earlier than ditch F282
2	ditch	Tr 11 F235 L327	Tub with perforated lugs		MBA	Thought to be the same ditch as Tr 6 F64 but, if so, material in that context and F67 would seem to be redeposited
5-6	ditch	Tr 2 F113 L155	Tubs/buckets; flat-rims		MBA	
13-14	pit	Tr 3 F127 L176	Tub with f/n on rim		MBA	
25-32	hollow	Tr 6 F63 L63	Buckets & slightly bowed vessels; flat to rounded rims, 1 with f-t, 1 with slashes; 1 lug sherd		MBA	
104-110	terrace	Tr 7 F16 L23	Thick-walled contracted mouths; 2 thin concave necks; flat or rounded rims		?late MBA	

APPENDIX 2: TANQUEREL FIELDS; SUGGESTED PHASING OF MAIN CERAMIC CONTEXT-GROUPS

34-35	hollow	Tr 5 F32 L45	Slashed cordon; out-turned rim	1427-1294 charcoal	?late MBA	Both sherds small
36-43	hollow	Tr 5 F29 L40	Buckets; contracted mouth; everted rim; f-t cordon; slashed thickened rim	1408-1269 1411-1261 Both charcoal	Late MBA	
79-83	ditch	Tr 9 F144 L199	Bowed wall vessels, slight internal bevels; oval rim; in-turned mouth with rilling	1395-1207 charcoal	Late MBA	
21-24	pit	Tr 4 F11 L13	Buckets with club or thickened rims, f-t cordon or bosses	1308-1121 charcoal	Late MBA	Charcoal is from different layer (17)
M/LBA transition c. 1250-1000 BC						
156-157	hollow	Tr 10 F178 L244	Buckets with vestigial hollow necks and simple rims		M/LBA transition	
LBA c. 1150-800/700 BC						
103 (part of)	ditch	Tr 11 F206 L305	Part of contracting bucket with f-t cordon (MBA)	976-829 seeds	LBA	Other sherds attributed to vessel 103 come from F224 and F219; this sherd (?sherds) is likely <i>either</i> to be residual in a later context, <i>or</i> the higher layer with seeds (L302) is later than that with the pottery (L305)
None	?	Tr?? F185 L257	X	1196-1009 seeds	Early LBA	
117-128	gully	Tr 13 F277 L382	Shouldered/carinated bowls, thin; upright neck with bulbous body; everted mouth; rims varied		Early LBA	
134-142	pit	Tr 11 F230 L317	Bowed and biconical vessels; weakly biconical bowl; oval, club & T rims; external piecrust; internal bevels; omphalos base, thin		Early LBA	
143-148	hollow	Tr 11 F210 L292	Hollow-necked cup; oval rim; internal bevels		Early LBA	
149	hollow	Tr 11 F211 L295	Contracted-mouth bowl		Early LBA	
70-78	ditch	Tr 11 F207 L299	Varied rims, 1 T-rim, 1 oval; 1 upright neck on bulbous body		LBA	
158-159	hollow	Tr 10 F181 L247	In-turned rim; short upright rim with internal bevel on contracted upper body		LBA	
182-183	pit	Tr 4 F3 L6	Slightly everted rim on contracting upper body (thin); very thick contracting body with external rim-lip		LBA	
186-187	hollow	Tr 10 F167 L230	External piecrust on out-turned rim; in-turned mouth		LBA	

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209-212	gully	Tr 12 F260 L356	Hollow-necked bowls; weakly bipartite bowl		Late LBA	More or less contemporary with contiguous pit F261 (Cunliffe & Durham 2019, 105, 193 fig 124)
164-176	hollow	Tr 13 F285 L390	Weakly shouldered jars; thin shouldered bowls; lid/assiette; out-turned rims, hollow necks; f-t shoulders		Late LBA	
177		Tr 13 F295 L402	Vestigially beaded bipartite bowl		Late LBA	
178-181	pit	Tr 13 F296 L403	Beaded bipartite bowl; incised openwork geometric, incised horizontals		Late LBA	
184	post hole	Tr 9 F153 L208	Vestigially beaded bipartite bowl		Late LBA	
188-197	hollow	Tr 10 F171 L235 & 249	Very varied thicknesses; contracted mouths; thick open S-profile bowl; internal bevels; horizontal grooving on upper body; lid/assiette		Late LBA	
198-208	pit	Tr 12 F261 L357 & 360	Concave-necked weakly carinated bowls, beaded & vestigially beaded bipartite bowls; crick-neck jar; geometric combed decoration	1004-845 seeds	Late LBA	More or less contemporary with contiguous gully F260. Combed decoration might point towards post-900 BC; three and a half amber beads in upper fill of this pit.

Appendix 3: Jerbouurg re-phasing of rampart sequence

Note on context numbering

Context numbers follow Burns's published version; correlations to the as-excavated numbers are given in the table as far as possible. Where context numbers have an 'x' suffix, this has been applied by the present authors to distinguish part of the deposit in question.

Re-phasing principles

- The deposits to the rear of the surviving rampart are unlikely to have lain behind the earliest rampart, especially if the consistent slope of the phase 2 stone facings is projected back to the make-up destroyed by the WWII cut features; stones at (14x) could be the base of a primary stone facing (Fig 31).
- Consequently, the 'trodden surface' (14) is actually the surviving base of the earliest rampart phase and cut (15) is an earlier, pre-rampart feature. The 'rammed clay' composition of (14) is consistent with virtually all of the phase 2 rampart components.
- Burns's walls 4 and 5 (both here phase 2e) were seen as separate walls, possibly opposing facings of a single rampart; a double-faced wall does not make sense given that this rampart material (18, 19) has been added to the front of earlier phases – the rear of the whole composite rampart would be well to the south-east.
- While there are still 'articulated' segments of stone facing within walls 4 and 5, these are clearly markedly displaced from their original positions and perhaps in the process a more continuous run had been broken up.
- Deposit (18) behind the lower walling (wall 5) *underlies* (19) and its associated walling (wall 4) rather than being alongside it. It is better to see these as two levels of backing behind a single wall which had slumped rotationally and resulted in a sloping (18/19) interface.
- This appears to have been a substantial slumping causing different parts of the inferred single wall to move in different directions: the base segment outwards largely pivoting around its base, the next segment up falling in behind this part and becoming more jumbled, and the top segment dropping almost vertically downwards, although not ending up behind the lower parts. Figure 31 shows the relative positions before and after slumping.
- The phase 3 deposit (17) is accepted as a slow accumulation weathering out from the phase 2 rampart (rather than being the first-laid part of the phase 4 rampart); not only is this implied by the sediment description, but it also spreads at least 17m downslope from the front of rampart phase 2e.
- Deposit (13), which overlies (16), could theoretically be seen as the part of the original phase 4 rampart construction; it was stone-free and a line of stones was present at the (13/16) interface which in worm-favourable environments could suggest it is a worm-sorted profile and thus altered material of (16) as deposited. However, worms are perhaps unlikely in this granitic environment and consequently it is assumed that this layer must have weathered out of the higher levels of the rampart before consolidation.
- Burns talks of a 14th century AD 'platform' outside the rampart, but this is a product of much accumulation (presumably eroding from the phase 6 rampart) probably over a good timespan. He does not recognise the clear cutline, being either one side of a ditch or a notch into the slope, which occurs at the base of these deposits (base of 9x & 12).

The revised phasing

phase 1, pre-rampart deposits: buried land surface (28), early feature fills (15, 29, 24, 23, 22) and related deposits (21, 27)

phase 2, early 'rampart' sequence:

- a) stone-faced? (base only surviving), rammed clay backing (14, 14x);
- b) stone-faced, rammed clay backing (26);
- c) stone-faced, rammed clay backing (25);
- d) stone-faced, gritty loam backing (20);
- e) stone-faced, part slumped outwards (18), part slumped inwards (19), hard-packed clay backing

phase 3, interlude deposits: loam with thin lenses of grit – slow accumulation down-slope of early rampart (17); stonier patch shown within (17x)

phase 4, second rampart deposits: turf-built dump (16)

phase 5, interlude deposits: mid-brown soil (13) ?weathering out of upper rampart

phase 6, third rampart deposits (14th century AD):

- a) starting with notch (base of 9/9a) cut into outer tail of former bank, followed by cut/ditch into deposits further out (base of 12) to provide bank material (6, 8, 9, 9a)
- b) silting up of ditch (9x, 11, 12)

phase 7, post-medieval ploughsoils: in top of medieval ditch fill (10) and cutting back strongly into rear of rampart (5, 5a); 'ploughsoil' (5), 'buried ploughsoil' (5a), 'modern cultivated soil' (10). The thick steeply pitched north end of ploughsoil (5) must be largely slippage from the rampart due to the degree of previous cutting in by (5a).

phase 8, post-1940 intrusions and topsoil: (1, 2, 3, 4)

not possible to phase from publication: excavated contexts (D3, D6, D9, F4[N], F12[N], US)

The relationship of published pottery to the revised phasing

Published context	Original label	Pottery cat nos	Flint cat nos	Notes
<i>Phase 1, pre-rampart deposits</i>				
28	OLS	1 – 18	10, 20, 23, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38, 39, 43, 47, 49, 51, 54,	Chopper (23); b&t arrowheads (28, 29, 31); ptd arrowheads (32, 35); transverse arrowhead (34)
29	?			
27	WS			
15	F7			Ditch or gully
23	D10		22, 33, 67	Tranchet axe (22); ptd arrowhead (33)
24	D11		30	
22	DP1			
21	D8	28, 62		
<i>Phase 2, incorporated in early 'rampart' sequence</i>				
14 (2a)	F12[S]	63, 70, 84 – 94	1, 5, 55, 56, 73 – 77, 80, 85	
26 (2b)	R1C		58	
25 (2c)	R1A	29, 41, 44	12, 13, 17, 21, 24, 27, 44	Uniface (24); Armorican b&t arrowhead (27)
20 (2d)	R1	22, 26, 38, 71, 76, 78		
18 (2e)	Wall 5			
19 (2e)	R2a	19, 21		
<i>Phase 3, interlude deposits</i>				
17	D7			
<i>Phase 4, incorporated in second rampart</i>				
16	R2	23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, 39, 43, 46, 47, 59, 61, 64, 65, 67, 68, 72, 73, 79 – 82	11, 15, 16, 18, 25, 40, 42, 45, 48, 52, 53, 59, 60, 61, 68, 69, 78, 83, 86	Point (25)
<i>Phase 5, interlude deposits</i>				
13	R3	35	3, 8, 81, 82, 84	
<i>Phase 6, incorporated in third rampart (14th century AD)</i>				
9a	R4a			

Published context	Original label	Pottery cat nos	Flint cat nos	Notes
9	R4		6	
8	R5			
6	?			Turf addition
12	D5		4, 9, 19, 64	
11	D4	20, 69, 83	7, 26, 50, 65, 66, 70, 71	Battered backed blade (26)
<i>Phase 7, post-medieval ploughsoils</i>				
5a	?			'Buried ploughsoil'
5	?			'Ploughsoil'
10	D2	40, 42	46	'Modern cultivated soil'
<i>Phase 8, post-1940 intrusions & topsoil</i>				
4				
3				
2				
1				
<i>Unphased (or not phase-able in detail from publication)</i>				
	D3	45, 60		'Rampart phases: BA pottery'
	D6	24, 36	2, 14, 41, 57, 63, 79	'Rampart phases: BA pottery'
	D9	32, 34, 37, 74, 75, 77		'Rampart phases: BA pottery'
	Various	48 – 58		'Rampart phases: BA pottery'
	?	66		'Rampart phases: BA pottery'
	US		36, 62	
	F4[N]		37	
	F12[N]		72	

Synthesis of ceramic change

The prehistoric sequence that concerns us here comprises phases 1–5. None of the artefact groups need be temporally homogeneous. The phase 1 group is from a long-open land surface with probably multiple cut features associated. The rampart assemblages could be mixtures of old material, such as that within the soil profile of the land surface, more recently deposited debris and even material deposited freshly at the time of construction. The ceramic sub-assemblages for each phase are not large and are particularly limited for particular kinds of feature, such as rim or decoration type. Despite these issues, there appear to be differences in assemblage composition between the three main phase groups (phases 1, 2 & 4). Fabrics are dominated by fine quartz inclusions in phase 1, then this is eroded progressively so that by phase 4 there are slightly more sherds with medium or larger grits than with smaller ones (fine plus fine-to-medium; Fig 36). Something similar is discernible with rim forms: rounded (in one case tapered) rims dominate phase 1 (7 of 9) and diminish at the expense of flat rims in phase 2 (9 of 16). By phase 4 rounded rims appear to be at their lowest frequency (4 of 9) being outnumbered by flat and club rims combined. Only two published sherds for phase 1 have decoration (9.5%). This increases to five for phase 2 (20%) and to 12 for phase 4 (55%). The horizontal lines on phase 1 sherd 14 would fit with an identification as a Jersey Bowl. Although less frequent than in phase 4, the decoration present in phase 2 is similar in range. There are various possible explanations but these are best left until the whole assemblage has been thoroughly re-examined.

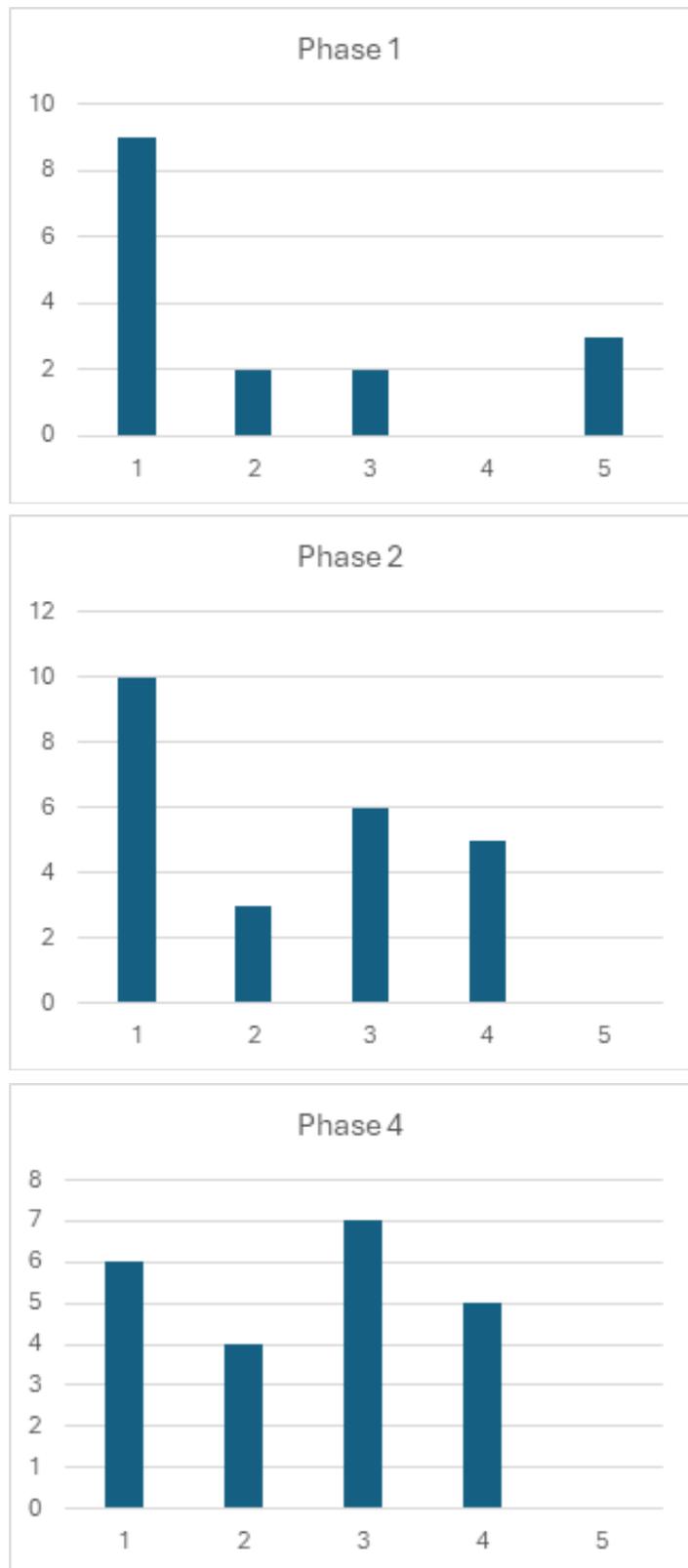


Figure 36 The changing balance in inclusion size in pottery fabrics over time (phases 1–4), following Burns's classification (Burns 1988).

Key: 1 fine inclusions; 2 fine to medium; 3 medium; 4 medium to large; 5 large

Appendix 4: Chalcolithic and Bronze Age material in funerary-type contexts in Jersey

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
A. Chalcolithic & Bronze Age deposits in Neolithic tombs								
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1869, 1883 (Fig 23b-c)	Gallery grave Neolithic	Bracer & ?burial stain Chalc	Neo tomb, possibly re-floored	n/a	n/a	None found on the site, but discoloured earth noted around the bracer	Beaker type bracer	Bellis & Cable 1884, 424; Hawkes 1938, 68 fig 14, 263, 266 (i); Driscoll 2011, 79-80: fig. 7 Found in the 'centre' of the tomb.
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1869, 1883 (Fig 23b-c)	Gallery grave Neolithic	Pot deposits Chalc	Several pots with small stone surrounds; Neo tomb possibly re-floored	n/a	n/a	None found on the site	10 Beakers (complete or portions) & 6 Jersey Bowls (complete)	Bellis & Cable 1884, 424; Hawkes 1938, 259-69; Driscoll 2011, 79-80; fig. 7 The pots were 'in sets of three', nine being ranged along the North side.
La Hougue Bie, Grouville 1925	Passage grave Neolithic	Pot/crock deposit Chalc	NW side of main chamber	n/a	n/a	None reported in close proximity	Numerous sherds of Beaker or Guernsey Vase, probably from a single undecorated vessel	Hawkes 1938, 196-206, 204 fig 53a, 205 no 11 See comment below regarding the final sealing of the tomb entrance.
La Hougue Bie, Grouville 1991-95	Passage grave Neolithic	Pot sherd Chalc	Low in the 'final' entrance blocking material, S side (Nash 1998)	n/a	n/a	Unknown	'fragments of a possible Jersey Bowl'	Patton & Finch 1993, 129, 131 fig 9g; Patton 1995b; Nash 1998, 325 Nash regarded the context as Early Bronze Age; the radiocarbon dates (all <i>tpq</i> s) for charcoal from the passage blocking and final clay capping of the mound would allow an earlier date (Patton 1995b).

APPENDIX 4: CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL IN FUNERARY-TYPE CONTEXTS IN JERSEY

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
La Hougue de Géonnais, St Ouen 1985-89	Passage grave Neolithic	Pot sherds Chalc	Passage entrance	n/a	n/a	No bones found in this area in 1980s.	Jersey Bowl sherds	Baal 1930; Rault & Forrest 1992, 700; Patton & Finch 2001, 95 Charcoal from the same context has apparently been ¹⁴ C dated to 2865-2490 cal BC and 2885-2305 cal BC (footnote 7). A single sherd of Jersey Bowl was also found in the 1929 excavation (Hawkes 1938, 226 no 2).
La Hougue de Géonnais, St Ouen 1929	Passage grave (much disturbed by stone robbers) Neolithic	Pot, crock & sherds (unknown contexts) EBA - MBA	Unknown	n/a	n/a	Unknown	Flared knobbed tub; 'sherds of similar vessels'; lugged urn portion	Baal 1930; Godfray & Burdo 1950, 213; Hawkes 1938, 119 fig 31, 227 nos 4 & 5; Patton 1992, 703-4 fig 5c Godfray & Burdo's claim that the tub came from a 'burial' must be supposition; only part of a jaw was found in the 1929 excavations and no artefact locations were recorded. Some 'EBA sherds' were recovered from the 1929 backfill of the passage in the 1985-89 excavations.
Monte Ubé, St Clement 1848	Passage grave Neolithic	Pots & sherds (unknown contexts) Chalc - EBA	Unknown	n/a	n/a	None known to be associated with Chalc - BA material	Beaker, Jersey Bowl & Guernsey Vase sherds; EBA Vase à Anses & sherds thereof; lugged tub; grape cup; faience quoit-bead	Marett 1912, 224 fig 9; Hawkes 1938, 214-25, figs 16a, 23, 28b, 59, 60 & 61d; Patton 1995c, 98 footnote 1 Hawkes (p.217-8) cautions that the inventory of finds may include additions from elsewhere, and Patton has cast doubt on whether the lugged tub, grape cup & faience bead are really from the site, but see footnote 8.
Les Monts Grantez, St Ouen 1912, 1931	Passage grave Neolithic	Pot sherds (unknown contexts) Chalc	Unknown	n/a	n/a	None known to be in association with the sherds	2 plain Beaker sherds	Hawkes 1938, 212 no 9

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
La Pouquelaye de Faldouet, St Martin 1839, 1868	Passage grave Neolithic	Pot sherd (unknown context) Chalc	Unknown	n/a	n/a	None known to be in association with the sherd	1 plain sherd of probable Beaker ware (Hawkes' no 13)	Rybot 1932; Hawkes 1938, 229-39 There are records of inhumations and unburnt bones, presumably all or most being Neolithic.
B. Chalcolithic & Bronze Age mound or cist constructions & associated deposits								
Beauport, St Brelade 1877 (& 1970) (Fig 22)	Entrance grave Chalc	Pots or crocks, deposits 'C-F' Chalc - BA	Yes; deposits in 4 locations towards end of gallery; floor cut 0.4m down into bedrock, slab-paved with a sea-pebble layer above; higher walls probably of drystone with capstones. Pot C was also deduced to have been enclosed by 'four slab shaped stones'	No	Yes; stony base surviving in east sector, implied diam c. 9m	Probably no human remains on the site; the contents of pot at 'E' included 'bone, charred but not incinerated' (Bull)	'C' Beaker-like (Hawkes' pot no 2; Johnston's a) 'D' ?lost (Hawkes' pot no 4?) 'E' flat base, urn-like (Johnston's b) 'F' Jersey Bowl (Hawkes' pot no 3; Johnston's c)	Cable 1877, 91, fig 4; Bull 1877; Hawkes 1938, 274-6; Johnston 1972, 405 Hawkes identifies pot no 2 as of round-bottomed type but the flat base was later relocated; it was recorded as 'a portion of an urn... lying on its side' (Cable 1877, 91). The 'urn' at E was thought to have been deposited inverted (<i>ibid</i>). The description of Hawkes' no 4, which she placed at location D, matches Johnston's b, the label with it implying it was actually from location E (see Appendix 1).
Beauport, St Brelade 1877 (& 1970) (Fig 22)	Entrance grave Chalc	Pot sherds & flintwork, deposit 'B' Chalc - BA	Yes; in passage under edge of large collapsed stone [Hawkes' no 4]	No	Yes; stony base surviving in east sector, implied diam c. 9m	Probably no human remains on the site	'sherds' - possibly from a bipartite or globular vessel; 'flint chippings' & butt of a cherty dagger (Johnston's no 13)	Cable 1877, 90, figs 2 & 3; Hawkes 1938, 276; Johnston 1972, 414-5 fig 7 no 13 The dagger butt is closely comparable with the Grand Pressigny type. The pottery could not be found by Hawkes and the only information on form is thus Cable's fig 3. (See also Appendix 1).
Beauport, St Brelade 1877 (& 1970) (Fig 22)	Entrance grave Chalc	Pot (?crock) deposit 'A' BA	Yes; in passage under edge of large collapsed stone [Hawkes' no 4]	No	Yes; stony base surviving in east sector, implied diam c. 9m	Probably no human remains on the site	Base portion of a thick-walled urn (Hawkes' pot 1; Johnston's 'e')	Cable 1877, fig 1; Hawkes 1938, 274-6; Johnston 1972, 413-4 fig 6e (See also Appendix 1).

APPENDIX 4: CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL IN FUNERARY-TYPE CONTEXTS IN JERSEY

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
Beauport, St Brelade 1877 & 1970 (Fig 22)	Entrance grave Chalc	Pot sherds Chalc – EBA	Unknown contexts: 1 from 1877, 1 from topsoil in 1970	No	Yes; stony base surviving in east sector, implied diam c. 9m	Probably no human remains on the site	Body sherd, cf Beaker ware; omphalos base from Beaker or Jersey Bowl	Johnston 1972, 413-4 figs 6d & f (See also Appendix 1).
La Tête des Quennevais, St Ouen 1987-88	First mound Chalc – EBA	None found	No	Yes, partial block kerbing (in N)	Yes; 5m diam, 0.6m high; reddish brown sandy soil (probably decayed turf) with gravel	No bones found	Soil under mound: Jersey Bowl sherds & flintwork; Mound make-up: Jersey Bowl sherds & flintwork	Patton 1991; Patton 1995c, 99; Driscoll 2011, 74-7 This mound was butted up to a rock outcrop.
La Tête des Quennevais, St Ouen 1987-88	Platform mound & cists Chalc – EBA	None found	Yes; 2 small cists towards NE edge: i) 2.5 x 0.6m, no capstones surviving; ii) 0.55 x 0.4m, covered with a small cairn of stone slabs, 1.35m diam.	Yes, partial drystone kerbing (in N)	Yes; 9 x 7m diam; reddish brown sandy soil (probably decayed turf)	No bones found	Mound make-up: Neolithic flintwork including 3 transverse arrowheads & fragments of 4 polished stone axes; Compact sand layer overlying both mounds: EBA sherds including Vase à Anses handle	Patton 1991; Patton 1995c, 99; Driscoll 2011, 74-7 This platform mound was butted up to the earlier mound. No buried soil was present underneath. The cists seem to have been embedded in the platform make-up; the uprights of cist (i) protruded through the top of the make-up (deposit 4). The pile of stones outside the platform (feature 14) may have been derived from feature 12 which had cut through the kerbing.

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
'The Ossuary', Les Blanchés Banques, St Brelade 1922 (Fig 24)	Cist & ?mound Chalc – EBA	Burial & pot deposit Chalc – EBA	Yes; 2 of 5 extant stones collapsed, capstone probably missing; int. area c. 7 x 2ft (2.1 x 0.6m)	No?	Uncertain; a low mound some 30 yards in diameter' (27m), stated to be 'blown sand' down to the old land surface; however, a number of stone blocks outside cist from W to N plus a pottery vessel could suggest some covering later largely robbed.	Disarticulated bones representing a minimum of 20 individuals; concentrated along NW side of cist and present both on and within the buried soil	2 Jersey Bowls, one near centre of cist, the other 1m to NW of cist	Hill 1924; Hawkes 1938, 270-3 The excavations were probably confined to the area immediately around the cist, hence uncertainty about any peripheral kerbing. Hill thought 'that the Ossuary was demolished before the advent of the ancient blown sand'.
Hougue de Millais ('southern hougue'), St Ouen 1860s	Mound and cist EBA	Pot & burnt deposit EBA	Yes; cist of drystone walling and capstones, 5.5m long, E-W	No	Yes (no dimensions)	No bones recorded; the pottery vessel was in a 'galerie couverte' containing 'a thick bed of ashes'	Probably from this barrow: Vases à Anses; 'a broken celt or two'	Hawkes 1938, 134, 288-9; Driscoll 2011, 70 The 'celts' are not ascribed to material, but since bronze is not mentioned they are more likely to have been of stone.
Hougue des Platons, Trinity 1914 (Fig 23a)	Mound & cist-in-circle BA	Inurned burial BA	Yes; rectangular cist of blocks, 1.5 x 1.25m externally, 0.45 x 0.35m internally, with capstone 0.75m across; cist slightly N of centre of ring	Yes; ring of blocks of varied size, diameter 10 x 9m externally	Yes; fine textured buff-coloured clay in well defined layers - ? turf-built	Many fragments of 'unburnt' (?) bone filling large vessel; other vessel empty	Knobbed barrel-shaped urn; flared tub	Baal & Sinel 1915a, 55; Hawkes 1938, 296-9; Patton 1995c, 80 Patton says that surviving bones are actually burnt.

APPENDIX 4: CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL IN FUNERARY-TYPE CONTEXTS IN JERSEY

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1869, 1883 (Fig 23b-c)	Mound & cist-in-circle BA	Pot deposit D Vertically above south side of monument and probably within mound BA	Yes; rectangular cist of slabs, 1.7 x 1.6m externally, 1.2 x 1m internally	Yes; ring of blocks of varied size, diameter 6.8 x 6.2m externally	Yes; clay	None found on the site and no record of the urn's contents	Barrel-shaped urn; stone muller close by	Bellis & Cable 1884, 428-31; Hawkes 1938, 262, 267-9 no 23, pl Xh
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1869, 1883 (Fig 23b-c)	Cist 'A' Neo - BA	Pot deposit A Neo - BA	Yes; slab box protecting pot	n/a	Uncertain; outside N kerb of gallery grave and a little S of cairn G	None found on the site	'an urn broken in pieces' - no longer identifiable	Bellis & Cable 1884, 426; Hawkes 1938, 263 Perhaps more likely to be Chalcolithic or BA given position.
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1869, 1883 (Fig 23b-c)	Cist 'H' Chalc - earlier BA?	Pot deposit H BA?	Yes; box-like, only two sides present	No	Immediately S of cist-in-circle; probably under mound make-up to judge from drawn section	None found on the site	'portions of a very small urn - coarse and brittle'	Bellis & Cable 1884, 429; Hawkes 1938, 260-1 fig 76, H
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1869, 1883 (Fig 23b-c)	Cairn 'G' (D-shaped) EBA?	Burial or pot deposit, 'B' EBA	No, but pot deposit protected by stones	No	Yes; stone-rich, maximum dimensions c. 11 x 6 ft (3.3 x 1.6m), and perhaps with additional covering material	Uncertain - 'heap of ashes'	Deposit B: 'two small urns' - parts of a Vase à Anses & other sherds	Bellis & Cable 1884, 427; Hawkes 1938, 260 fig 76, B, 263, 267 no 23 The cairn was apparently at the level of the gallery grave floor, whereas the pottery and ashes deposit was said to be 5 feet (1.5m) higher; this could imply a soil mound covering the cairn; a drawn section 13 feet west of the cairn's centre shows a 2ft depth of material between the old land surface and the base of the sand.
La Hougue Mauger, St Mary 1914	Mound and possible cist or chamber Neo? (or EBA)	Pot deposits EBA - MBA	No	No	None specific to these deposits; distributed in a curving row 6ft long around the mound's periphery	No bones present; pots had clay fills	Six lugged flared vessels, 2 in contact with one another; nearby were 2 fragments of polished stone axes	Baal & Sinel 1915b; Hawkes 1938, 294-6

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
La Hougue de Vinde, St Brelade 1881, 1913 (Fig 23d)	Mound, ring-cairn, stone-slab ring & ?chamber/cist EBA? (or Neo)	None reported	Uncertain; 4 large stones on surface of mound possibly from a cist or chamber destroyed by earlier trenching	Yes; i) oval rubble wall, ext. diam 39 x 34ft (11.9 x 10.5m), 2ft wide (0.6m) and 42" high (1.05m) ii) intermittent slab orthostat ring, 22ft diam (6.8m), 18-39" high (0.45-1.0m)	Yes; rubble and earth, 50-60ft diam (15.3-18.3m), 3ft high (0.9m)	None found	Found within: flint pick, a few other flints, chert tool, stone rubbers	Bellis & Cable 1882; Marett & de Gruchy 1914; Hawkes 1938, 292-4 The two stone rings were roughly concentric. Two opposed breaks in the outer wall were thought to be due to an earlier trench having cut through the mound. This wall was set on a foundation of weather-worn boulders, while there was evidence that the orthostat ring was surmounted by drystone 'coping'. The intermittency of the latter is perhaps due to the earlier intrusion.
Le Clos de la Sergenté, St Brelade Pre-1852	Mound enveloping a 'menhir' MBA (& earlier?)	Bronze hoard deposit MBA	None reported	Unknown	Yes	None reported	At base of vertical stone, 6ft deep: early MBA hoard of 3 palstaves; 1 bar-stop axe; a 'pointe de javelot', lost (Acton/ Tréboul Assemblage)	Ahier 1852, 39; Langlois 1879, 147; Hawkes 1938, 300 While it is unlikely the hoard would have been deposited under the pillar at such depth <i>after</i> the mound was constructed, it is possible that these two events post-dated a free-standing menhir.
C. Most likely Neolithic or Bronze Age; no diagnostic Chalcolithic or Bronze Age material known								
Les Hougues de Millais, St Ouen 1860s	Mounds ('several tumuli') Neo - BA	No record of investigation except for S hougue (above)	Unknown	Unknown	Yes	Unknown	None known	Hawkes 1938, 134, 288-9

APPENDIX 4: CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL IN FUNERARY-TYPE CONTEXTS IN JERSEY

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
La Hougue Manger, St Mary 1914	Mound and possible cist or chamber Neo or BA	Burnt deposit Neo or BA	Possibly: a single stone block survived earlier robbing	No	Yes; 55ft diam, 6ft high (16.8m, 1.8m)	SE of centre: 'a thin layer of wood ashes and charcoal...'	With the burnt layer: '...some small pieces of pottery and flint chippings'	Baal & Sinel 1915b; Hawkes 1938, 294-6 The presence of a large number of querns and rubbing stones and the presence of stone axe fragments could suggest a Neolithic date.
Ichon Islet 1929	Cist, paving or covering? BA(?)	Inhumation burial BA(?)	Possibly: several large flat stones noted around the bones might be a collapsed cist or a covering layer	Unknown	No; burial seemed to be integral to an occupation-rich dark soil layer	'smashed fragments of human bones' -the remains of an adult male, c. 35 years	Potsherds close to bones but not necessarily grave goods; surrounding layer contained abundant pottery, animal bones, flintwork and seashells	Rybot 1930; Hawkes 1938, 115 fig 29a, 182 There must be a possibility that the burial was inserted into a pre-existing occupation layer and thus be later.
La Motte (Green Island) 1911-13	Mound Unknown date	Possible burial deposit of bones Unknown date	No	No	Yes; cairn of diorite boulders, 90 x 20 ft (27.5 x 6m), up to 6ft high (1.8m)	'a white layer of decalcified bone was discovered... at a uniform depth of about 5 feet from the present surface of the ground' - presumably beneath the mound's summit.	Beneath cairn: flintwork and stone rubbers Unspecified positions: pot sherds (some ornamented), animal bones, marine shells, charcoal	Warton 1913, 292; Baal 1914, 453; Hawkes 1938, 175

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
Gasworks site, St Helier 1952 (Fig 25)	Cist Unknown date	None as yet (cist not fully excavated)	Yes; 4m across (W-E) with capstone 2.4 x 2.1m (8ft x 7ft) and 0.6m thick	No	No; overlying layers seem to continue as far as trench to W	None found	Cist fill was of 'dark clayey sand with much vegetal matter' including two lengths of thick branchwood; 2 fragments of bone (one an unguulate phalanx) and a flint chip immediately to E of the cist	Wedgewood & Mourant 1954 It appears that the cist was not fully emptied. It seems to have been set into a hollow/cut in the surface of the blue-grey clay. Around 3m of alluvium and peat overlay the associated ground surface before modern make-up.
D. More likely to be of other periods and no diagnostic Chalcolithic or Bronze Age material found								
La Moie (Hougue de Forêt), St Brelade 1877	Mound and chamber Neo?	None reported	Chamber; partially robbed and of unknown form; 4 upright stones thought still to be <i>in situ</i> after prior disturbance, defining area c. 17ft E-W by 13ft (5.2 x 4m); a fifth stone displaced	No	Yes; >34ft diam (10.4m); rubble and earth, with a stone slab flooring, 26ft (7.9m) SSE-NNW	No bones found	Flints within the mound make-up; no pottery	Bellis & Cable 1880; Hawkes 1938, 277 The tops of the 5 stones were already exposed prior to the excavation and there was a depression in the mound top. The displaced stone was suggested to have been a part of the capstone; it is far too small to cover the area. A sixth stone is shown largely beneath it and may be the stump of an upright. The greater part of the capstone had presumably been removed for re-use, and perhaps some uprights too. The chamber appears to have been large and not obviously rectangular.

APPENDIX 4: CHALCOLITHIC AND BRONZE AGE MATERIAL IN FUNERARY-TYPE CONTEXTS IN JERSEY

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
Les Cinq Pierres, St Brelade 1874 & 1875	Mound, annular wall/ revetment and chamber Neo?	Possible disturbed burial deposit with artefacts	Chamber, partially robbed, dilapidated and of unknown form; one capstone almost 10ft across (3m)	Yes; rubble wall, ext. diam 64ft (19.5m), int. diam 49ft (15m), 2ft high (0.6m)	Yes; c. 75ft diam (23m); rubble and earth	Unburnt human bones: i) under paving to NE of stones; ii) on top of paving and under rubble amongst stones. A partial skull was tentatively identified as brachycephalic by Keith.	Limpet shells, pottery sherds and flints associated with bones amidst stones; sherds and flints in cluster just to SW.	Bellis & Cable 1875; Keith 1913, 311; Hawkes 1938, 290-2; Patton 1987a, 70 Extensive paving around stones and to NE. Hawkes suggested one surviving sherd was from a round-bottomed vessel. If the stones formed a passage grave the entrance would presumably have been at the NW where an in-situ stone was close to the ring-cairn; however, the latter is unbroken here, so would have to be a later addition.
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1883	Cremation cemetery? EtIA (?& LBA)	Pot deposits & ?Inurned cremations EtIA (?& LBA)	No	No	No; to E of mound covering cist-in-circle	Some 'mixed with black ash and earth'; some possibly containing cremated bones	Pottery vessels and sherds	Bellis & Cable 1884, 429-30; Hawkes 1938, 267-9; Driscoll 2011, appendix 3.50
Ville-ès-Nouaux, St Helier 1883	Cist 'I' EtIA or later?	Burnt deposit EtIA or later?	Yes; slab box 8 inches long (20cm)	No	No; to E of mound covering cist-in-circle	No bones found within cist; only ashes and earth	None; a few pot sherds around cist	Bellis & Cable 1884, 429; Hawkes 1938, 262 The stones of the cist were set 18" down into the covering sand from its surface (already reduced). This and its location amongst the cremation cemetery suggest a late date.

Site & date of exploration or finding	Monument/ structure & date	Burial/ specific deposit & date	Cist/ chamber/ box	Annular kerb/ wall	Mound	Human remains	Artefacts	Key reference(s) & Notes
La Motte (Green Island) 1911–13	Cist cemetery Unknown date	Inhumation burials in cists Unknown date	Yes; 18 long cists aligned W-E	No	No; but an adjacent cairn of diorite boulders (see section C)	Unburnt skeletal remains surviving in some cists, the most complete being a crouched skeleton; one cist had a double burial	No clear grave goods; sherds and flintwork from both within and around the cists	Nicolle & Sinel 1912; Warton 1913; Baal 1914, 453; Hawkes 1938, 172-5; Patton 2002; Driscoll 2011, 78 The location has a deep deposit of loess overlain by stone rubble and a bed of sandy soil (cover sand); the cists were probably set into the latter from a level well above the loess (Hawkes 1938, 173; cf Baal 1914, 450). The cover sand appears to date to, approximately, the last 3 millennia (Edlund 2022).
Les Écréhous priory, Maître île 1988	Grave (shallow scoop cut into bedrock) Prehistoric/ medieval?	Unburnt bone deposit Prehistoric/ medieval?	Unknown	Unknown	None surviving, but grave covered with thin slabs; beneath clay floor of priory hall, and on the E-W axis of the earliest church	Disarticulated female skeleton, missing ribs, most vertebrae and hand/foot bones	None; however, there were a large number of worked flints in immediate vicinity and a 3.35m long prostrate 'menhir' 4m to W	Tanguy 1989, 22-3, 25; Aubin 1991, 409 Thought initially to be Neolithic, but radiocarbon dated to AD 1040–1170 (HAR-9883: 920±60 BP), possibly due to conservation treatment. However, the date corresponds with early ecclesiastical activity on the site and the grave may have cut through a prehistoric scatter.

Appendix 5: Ville-ès-Nouaux pottery correlation

Unique numbers follow Hawkes's catalogue (1938, 265-9).

Unique no	Class	Completeness	Decoration	Hawkes illustration	Patton 1995 illustration	Notes
Inside gallery grave (1869)						
1	Beaker	Fragments	5 bands of chevrons	Fig 16c	-	Hawkes shows as a restored vessel
2	Beaker, bowl	Whole	5 bands: 3 of chevrons, 2 of lattice	Pl VI, 2b	Fig v.9	
3	Beaker	Whole	Plain	Fig 17c	Fig v.8 bottom	
4	Beaker	Fragment (one side)	'Bands of <i>pointillé</i> now almost invisible'	-	-	Hawkes uses the term <i>pointillé</i> to mean pointed comb-stamped
5	Beaker	Whole	Plain	Fig 17a	Fig v.8 top left	
6	Beaker	'Lower portion'(?)	Plain	?Fig 17f	Fig v.7c	Hawkes's catalogue entry does not reference a figure, but 17f, shown as a whole vessel, is not otherwise accounted for
7	Beaker	Whole	Plain	Fig 17b	Fig v.8 top right	
8	Beaker	Whole	Plain	Fig 17d	Fig v.7d	
9	Beaker, 'cup'	Whole	Plain	Fig 17e	-	
10	Beaker	Small fragment	'stamped ornament'	-	-	
11	Jersey Bowl	Whole	Decorated	-	-	BM
12	Jersey Bowl	Whole	Decorated	-	-	BM
13	Jersey Bowl	Whole	Decorated	Fig 19a	?Fig v.15d	
14	Jersey Bowl	Whole	Decorated	Pl VI, 2a	?Fig v.15d	
15	Jersey Bowl	Whole	Decorated	Fig 19b	-	
16	Jersey Bowl	Whole	Decorated	Fig 19c	-	
Outside gallery at location 'X' (1883)						
17	Beaker	3 fragments	bands of lozenge rows?	Fig 16b	Fig v.12d	
18	Beaker	Fragments of 'two or three Beakers', but see note	Bands of alternating diagonals	-	Fig v.14	Salanova (2000, 271 J-06) shows sherds as belonging to one vessel with sinuous profile
19	Beaker	4 fragments	Band of dot-rows and band of diagonals	Fig 77a	Fig v.13a & b	Patton treats one rim sherd as separate vessel from rest

Unique no	Class	Completeness	Decoration	Hawkes illustration	Patton 1995 illustration	Notes
20	Jersey Bowl?	Fragments of rim and wall; short everted lip and carination 5cm below	?plain	-	-	'highly finished reddish ware'
21	Unclassified	Fragments; hollow neck and bulging body	?plain	-	-	Fine brown paste with burnished exterior
Unknown location (1883)						
36	Jersey Bowl	Fragment; everted lip, inward sloping neck and sharp carination	?plain	Fig 77b	-	Smooth fine buff paste
37	Unclassified	Fragment; ovate vessel with slightly everted lip	?plain	Fig 77c	-	Gritty light red paste with burnished exterior
38	Unclassified	Fragment; high straight neck and slightly outcurving lip	?plain	-	-	Fine smooth brown paste
39	Jersey Bowl	Fragment; straight neck and ridged carination	?plain	Fig 77e	-	Similar neck to #38
None	Jersey Bowl?	Body fragment shown as thin-walled with carination	?plain	Fig 77d	-	Not obviously referred to in Hawkes's catalogue

This volume is the first in a series of archaeological resource assessments commissioned by Jersey Heritage as part of an Archaeological Research Framework for the island. It is a comprehensive study of the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age of Jersey in the context of the other Channel Islands and their relationship with north-west France. The first part of the book describes our current state of knowledge and in the second part research objectives and questions are presented. These are designed to guide those responsible for the care and protection of artefacts, archaeological deposits and monuments. Researchers will benefit from the resource assessment as it provides an academic framework for future investigations in Jersey.

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