JERSEY HERITAGE

The Neolithic in Jersey

Alison Sheridan
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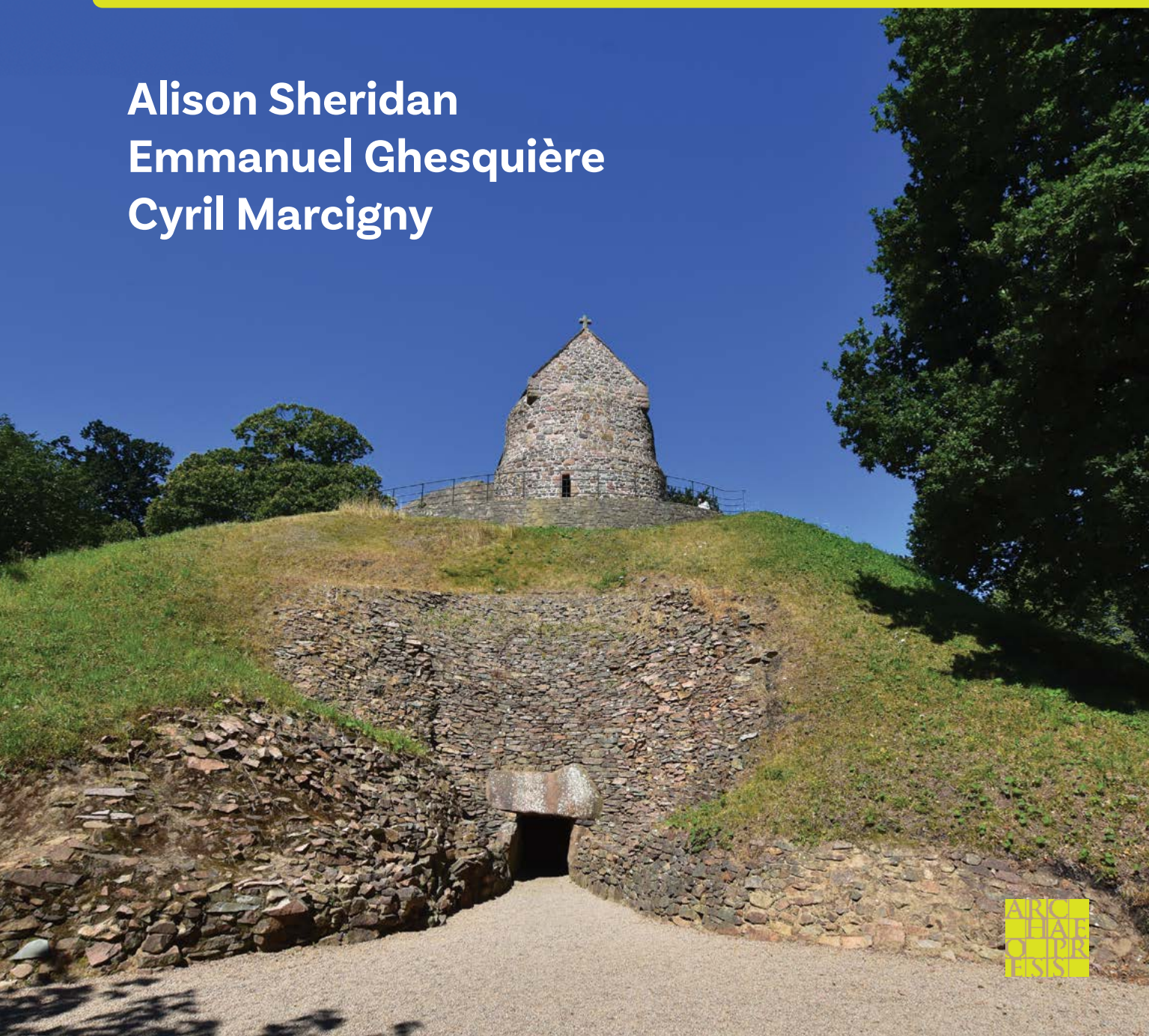

JERSEY HERITAGE RESEARCH SERIES

The Neolithic in Jersey

Alison Sheridan, Emmanuel Ghesquière
and Cyril Marcigny

with a contribution on pottery by Hélenè Pioffet

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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 Research Framework has been a partnership project involving local experts and international scholars undertaken 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, as a series of volumes, 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

Chapter 1.
General introduction and overview

Despite their island setting and the fact that they are self-governing British Crown Dependencies, in terms of Neolithic archaeology the Channel Islands are to be understood within the context of developments in Normandy and Brittany, rather than those in Britain. In common with the Cotentin peninsula (Manche, Normandy) and with Brittany – but slightly later than in those areas – the islands appear to have undergone colonisation by Neolithic farming groups between 5000 BC and 4800 BC (although for a different view on the Neolithisation process, see Bukach 2004 and Garrow and Sturt 2017a). In our opinion they were undoubtedly colonised from adjacent parts of the French mainland – Lower Normandy and northern Brittany – and the immigrant farmers will have come by sea, since Jersey will effectively have become an island by then, as discussed below. Indeed, the process of sea level rise continued thereafter, as is clear from finds of Neolithic flint artefacts and pottery, cattle bones and tree stumps from submerged woodland preserved in peat deposits in St Ouen's Bay, Jersey; from tree stumps, peat and Neolithic artefacts at Vazon Bay in Guernsey; and from Neolithic artefacts and peat at Longis Bay in Alderney (Conneller *et al.* 2016, with original references therein).

In terms of the potential number of Neolithic sites in the Channel Islands, it would appear that the two large islands, Jersey and Guernsey, are roughly equal. The Neolithic archaeology of Guernsey is somewhat better known than that of Jersey, thanks partly to the activities of the 19th century antiquary and collector Frederick Corbin Lukis (Sebire 2008), and partly to the excavation of the Early Neolithic funerary monument at Les Fouaillages on Guernsey by Ian Kinnes of the British Museum (Kinnes 1982; 1986). However, the recent excavation at Simon Sand Quarry on Jersey by Lesley McFadyen (McFadyen *et al.* 2017), the synthesis of available evidence regarding the Early Neolithic in Jersey and across the Channel Islands by Duncan Garrow and Fraser Sturt (2017), and the significant investment represented by the Research Framework for the Historic Environment of Jersey Project, are helping to redress the imbalance in the state of knowledge in these two islands. Moreover, the work carried out on various aspects of Neolithic Jersey by Mark Patton from the 1980s to the Noughties (e.g. Patton 1990; 1991; 1992; 1995a; 2001; Patton and Finlaison 2001; Patton *et al.* 1999) has contributed significantly to our current understanding of this period in Jersey's prehistory. Targeted research programmes will be needed to address the research questions identified below, however, since in the absence of large infrastructural projects, developer-funded archaeology in Jersey on its own is unlikely to provide much more than a series of 'snapshots' of Neolithic activities.

In our opinion, the 'big picture' for Neolithic Jersey (and indeed the other Channel Islands more generally) can be summarised as follows – and note that we are using the periodisation as employed for adjacent parts of France, so that what we describe below as 'Middle Neolithic I is part of what Patton had referred to as the 'Early Neolithic':

Early Neolithic (*c.* 4900–4700 BC): Arrival – to a sparsely-populated archipelago – of small groups of farmers with ancestry in the Danubian Neolithic tradition, from adjacent parts of Normandy and Brittany. Cultural attribution: Blicquy-Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (mostly its BVSG "cordons" facies, but with a BVSG "classic" element). Maintenance of contacts with these areas following their arrival (as shown, for example, in the importation of Cinglais flint from the Plain of Caen). The use of stone disc-rings (which we know, from examples elsewhere, would have been worn on the upper arm of some women: Pétrequin *et al.* 2019: figure 11) suggests a degree of social differentiation among these colonising agro-pastoralists.

Middle Neolithic (*c.* 4700–3400 BC): Continuing contacts with adjacent parts of the mainland (and, from *c.* 4600 BC, from further afield in Brittany), but also emergence of a distinctive Channel Islands cultural identity from *c.* 4600 BC. The Middle Neolithic can be periodised as follows:

- **Middle Neolithic I** (early): *c.* 4700–4600 BC, Continuing interaction with farming communities on the adjacent mainland demonstrated by adoption of the Early Cerny style of pottery (e.g. at the settlement at Mont Orgueil), which was in use across Normandy and most of Brittany, and by acquisition of precious artefacts of Alpine jadeitite and serpentinite and (either at this time or a century or so later) of amphibolite from the Jizera Mountains of central Europe.
- **Middle Neolithic I** (late): *c.* 4600–4300 BC: Continuing interaction with groups on the mainland, but also emergence of distinctive Channel Islands cultural identity – the so-called 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' group – as elements in ceramic design from mainland France were adopted and adapted. Contact with Normandy (and, probably indirectly, with the Loire) is attested in various ways, including by the presence of pottery with Chambon-style characteristics at Le Pinacle and at Les Fouaillages in Guernsey. Contact with Brittany is attested by the adoption and adaptation of elements of the Early Castellic ceramic style of the Morbihan area of Brittany. Production of axeheads (plus shoe-last adzeheads and perforated pick-hammers, the last probably used as quarrying tools) at Le Pinacle, and circulation of these axeheads around the Channel Islands.
- **Middle Neolithic II** (early): *c.* 4300–3900 BC: 'golden age' of construction of megalithic (and partly drystone-built) funerary monuments, not just on Jersey but across the Channel Islands, with the passage tomb at La Hougue Bie being by far the largest; identity and power relations seem to have been expressed through the medium of these funerary monuments. Continuing interaction with Normandy and Brittany, including the Morbihan, is shown in various ways including the importation of axeheads of dolerite from the Plussulien quarry in central Armorica from *c.* 4000 BC, and of flint axeheads from Norman flint mines, probably at the same time.
- **Middle Neolithic II** (late): *c.* 3900–3400 BC: a poorly represented and poorly understood period of Jersey prehistory, and indeed that of the Channel Islands as a whole. Presumably continued importation of Plussulien metadolerite axeheads and those of Norman flint; importation of at least one late-style axehead of Alpine rock.

Late and Final Neolithic (*c.* 3400–2300 BC): another poorly represented period – particularly between *c.* 3400 and 2900 BC – although a few settlements are known and it is clear that the inhabitants of Jersey and the other Channel Islands were in contact with mainland France, as attested, for example, by the presence of axehead-pendants of Alpine jadeitite (arriving probably during the last quarter of the 4th millennium) and of early third millennium daggers made from Grand-Pressigny flint. This period can be divided as follows:

- **Late Neolithic** (*c.* 3400–2800 BC): construction of gallery graves at Le Couperon, Ville-ès-Nouaux and (on Alderney) Les Pourciaux North; use of 'Seine-Oise-Marne'-style pottery; use of axehead-pendants, and probably also of axeheads of metadolerite from Plussulien; possibly erection of menhirs, including two on Guernsey shaped into stylised female figures. Hints, from aDNA analysis of human remains from secondary use of Le Dèhus passage tomb on Guernsey, of the arrival of new settlers from the French mainland.
- **Final Neolithic (and Chalcolithic)** (*c.* 2800–2300 BC): acts of closure at passage tombs and gallery graves; construction of some megalithic cists, chambers and cists-in-circles; use of imported Grand-Pressigny flint; ceremonial use of Le Pinacle; use of flat-based undecorated pottery of 'Gord' type, then appearance of Beaker pottery, 'Jersey Bowls', and metal artefacts. Probable use of 'Guernsey pick-axeheads' at this time.

Overall, our understanding of the Neolithic period in Jersey is highly uneven, with considerable gaps in our knowledge about settlement patterns, land use and the changing environment; about the nature of social organisation; about the chronological position of certain monument and artefact types; and about social developments in general during the fourth and third millennia. In the Channel Islands more generally, Neolithic settlement sites – of whatever phase of the Neolithic – are under-represented. Often, the evidence is found during excavations of sites of other periods, as on the island of Herm, or at L'Erée (Camp Varouf) in Guernsey (Cunliffe and Jersey 2000; cf. Garrow and Sturt 2017b for subsequent targeted excavation) and at L'Ouziere in Jersey (Patton and Finlaison 2001), or else it was discovered long ago, in disturbed contexts, such as at La Motte (Sinel 1913), Le Pinacle (Godfray and Burdo 1949, 1950; Patton 2001) and Grosnez Hougue (Rybot 1924) in Jersey. Moreover, while the evidential record tends to be dominated by the megalithic monuments that are the most visible features of the Neolithic landscape, these monuments have suffered from antiquarian and other interventions (Aubin 2018) – including, in the case of the Mont de la Ville passage tomb, being dismantled, shipped out from the island and re-erected in the grounds of the retired Governor's house in Henley-on-Thames (Hawkes 1937; Read 1985)! The amount of information that we can obtain from Jersey's chamber tombs is therefore limited, although there is scope for extracting more information from the surviving finds.

The Resource Assessment presented here aims to set developments in Jersey within their broader Channel Islands and north-west French context, and to frame research questions accordingly. It is for this reason that frequent reference is made to sites in Guernsey.

All calibrated dates in this contribution are cited at 95.4% probability, rounded out, and have been calibrated using OxCal v4.4.4.

Chapter 2.
Before the Neolithic:
A glimpse into the Mesolithic of the Channel Islands

As is clear from the 'Palaeolithic and Mesolithic volume in this series of Research Framework publications (Pope and Conneller forthcoming 2025) and from Conneller *et al.* (2016), this period in the Channel Islands is still relatively poorly understood, attested mostly by projectile points that have been found in sites of other periods or in small-scale excavations. Culturally, this material seems to be linked with that found in Finistère and in the northern part of the Cotentin peninsula (Nord-Cotentin). Two examples demonstrate the occupation of the Channel Islands – especially those that were already separated from the Continent – from at least as early as the Middle Mesolithic (9th millennium BC). The finds from Guernsey, which are very limited, just comprise five projectile points found during the aforementioned excavation of the monument at Les Fouaillages (Figure 1). These were easily distinguishable from the rest of the lithic assemblage which was dominated by Neolithic material. The flint used for the Mesolithic artefacts is of good quality and resembles that used in Nord-Cotentin. The same flint was used at Les Fouaillages during the Neolithic period and this suggests that the same sources were exploited. The presence of a Bertheaume-type bladelet links this site with findspots in Finistère, while a Mandorle-type point links it with the Nord-Cotentin area (Ghesquière 2017). In 2009, five radiocarbon dates were obtained from hazelnut shells that were found scattered in the cairn alongside both Neolithic material and the Mesolithic artefacts. All the dates belong to the Middle Mesolithic period, as follows:

SUERC-23721 (GU-18716): 9020±35 BP, 8300–8210 cal BC;

SUERC-23722 (GU-18717): 8870±35 BP, 8230–7830 cal BC;

SUERC-23723 (GU-18718): 8950±35 BP, 8280–7960 cal BC;

SUERC-23725 (GU-18720): 9015±35 BP, 8300–8210 cal BC;

SUERC-23721 (GU-18716): 9020±35 BP, 8300–8020 cal BC.

The finds from Lihou come from a small-scale excavation, smaller than 10m^2 in extent, on a small island close to the west coast of Nord-Cotentin. The preliminary results of interest here relate to the artefacts

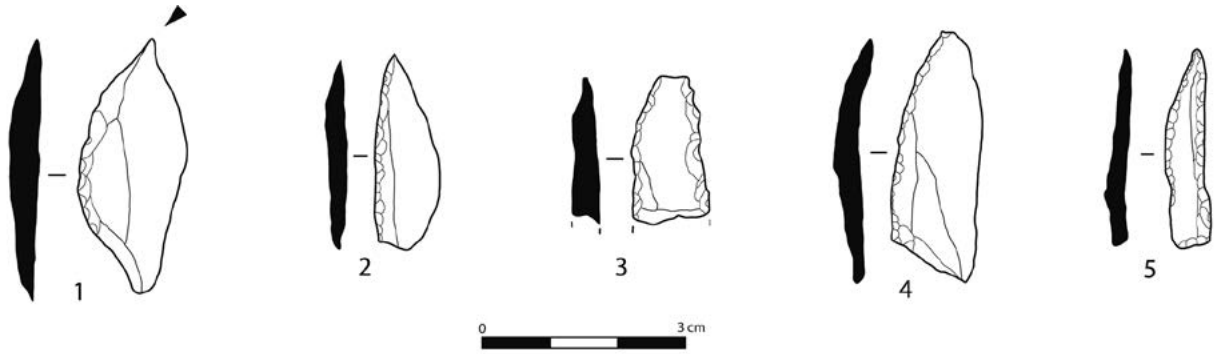

Figure 1. Mesolithic projectile point armatures discovered during the excavation of the monument at Les Fouaillages. (From Ghesquière 2017; drawing by E. Ghesquière)

found in the first sondage, measuring 2m^2. In spite of the discovery of 19 projectile point armatures, the assemblage cannot be regarded as being representative. The layer in which they were found is unique and the excavators regarded it as being suspect when they undertook their initial examination of the assemblage in the 2000s (Heather Sebire, pers. comm.). The whole of the assemblage could be attributed to the Bertheaume stylistic complex of Finistère even though the site is closer to the coast of Nord-Cotentin. A date obtained from a carbonised hazelnut shell (OxA-14198: 8310±39 BP, 7510–7190 cal BC) places it at the end of the Middle Mesolithic.

Two small triangular projectile point armatures (transverse arrowheads?) were also present and these pose a problem in being associated with an industry of Bertheaume type. We may be dealing with an Armorican variant (and thus one without inverse flat retouch) of a Châtelet-type transverse arrowhead, since it shares its general morphology and its hyper-'pygmy' character with such points. There can be little doubt about the Final Mesolithic date of the Châtelet-type transverse arrowhead.

These two brief forays (certainly not exhaustive) into the Mesolithic of the Channel Islands demonstrate that the archipelago was occupied well before the Neolithic, and this implies that the people in question must have had a good knowledge of how to navigate from Normandy or Brittany as the process of sea level rise progressively separated land masses into islands. The formation of Guernsey, Lihou, Herm and Sark as islands – i.e. their separation from the neighbouring landmass – had occurred from as early as the Early Mesolithic (Sebire and Renouf 2010, and see Garrow and Sturt 2017a for a recent model of Channel Island formation, 9000–4000 BC. See also Cunliffe and Durham 2019). The Normandy coast is closest but the Raz Blanchard current, being one of the strongest in Europe, could have limited crossings from there. Whatever were the routes of travel, it is clear that the presence of several Bertheaume bladelets points to the cultural contexts of Finistère in Brittany. Our evidential base is still too small for us to be able to determine whether the communities of hunter-fisher-foragers on the archipelago developed insular idiosyncrasies or not.

While evidence for Mesolithic activities in the Channel Islands is relatively sparse, this is particularly the case for the Late Mesolithic (6th and 5th millennia BC). Even taking into account the loss of evidence for coastal activity due to sea level rise, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the population of hunter-fisher-foragers was small and scattered. (Clarification of this matter is one of the research priorities for the Mesolithic part of this Jersey Research Framework.). It is into that world that the first 'Neolithic things and practices' (to use a phrase coined by Whittle *et al.* 2011) arrived, shortly after 5000 BC.

Chapter 3.
The Neolithisation of Jersey and the other Channel Islands, and the Early Neolithic, *c*. 4900–4700 BC

According to our current state of knowledge, the Neolithisation of the islands of Jersey and Guernsey occurred after that of the Cotentin peninsula in Normandy and of the Côtes d'Armor in Brittany, and probably took place between 4900 BC and 4700 BC, during the Late/Final (Blicquy) phase of the Villeneuve-Saint-Germain culture (BVSG, Table 1 and Figures 2 and 3). This pre-dates the earliest evidence for the Neolithic in Britain by over 700 years (Whittle *et al.* 2011, Ch. 14; Anderson-Whymark and Garrow 2015). The BVSG culture belongs to a tradition of farming with its roots in the Linearbandkeramik culture that had spread across large parts of Europe during the 6th millennium. The appearance of the VSG culture over large parts of northern France during the late 6th millennium constitutes an expansion of farming communities, perhaps due to population rise, and the appearance of its late phase, the BVSG, in the Channel Islands, can arguably be seen as a continuation of this process of population rise and expansion into new territories (Figure 2).

By 4900 BC, Jersey was effectively an island, with just a narrow isthmus, hard to traverse on foot, linking it to the Normandy mainland. (This isthmus was finally severed during the Bronze Age.) It is probable therefore that its colonisation by Neolithic farmers was effected by means of sea travel. As regards points of access to the Normandy coast, the strong marine current (the aforementioned Raz Blanchard current) that separates the isles from the Continent will have acted as a brake, if not an obstacle, to sailings from parts of the Cotentin Peninsula – although some arrivals from Normandy can indeed be assumed, since there is plentiful evidence for contact, from the Early Neolithic onwards, with the inhabitants of Normandy (e.g. in the use of Cinglais flint from Calvados). It could be that some BVSG farmers came from what is now the Breton part of the coast on the adjacent mainland.

One big question remains that of the navigational capabilities of the Neolithic farmers. The descendants of the farmers of the Linearbandkeramik tradition who arrived on the Channel coast probably lacked

Table 1. Early Neolithic evidence from the Channel Islands (sites with features/deposits; abridged from Garrow and Sturt 2017a, with addition, and see that publication for stray finds of artefacts from the Channel Islands that may be attributed to the BVSG horizon). The numbers refer to the map shown in Figure 3

Site	No.	Island	Phase	Approx. date BC	Site type	Description
L'Ouziere	3	Jersey	BVSG 'cordons'	4900–4700	Occupation deposit	Artefacts associated with a preserved peat layer
Royal Hotel, St Peter Port	1	Guernsey	BVSG 'cordons'	4900–4700	Buildings	Post-hole structure; artefact-rich layers
Les Fouaillages (Phase 1b)	2	Guernsey	BVSG 'cordons'	4900–4700	Tomb	Artefacts associated with Phase 1b mound
Simon Sand Quarry, St Peter	-	Jersey	BVSG 'cordons'	4900–4700	Settlement	Artefacts and cut features preserved under a sand dune

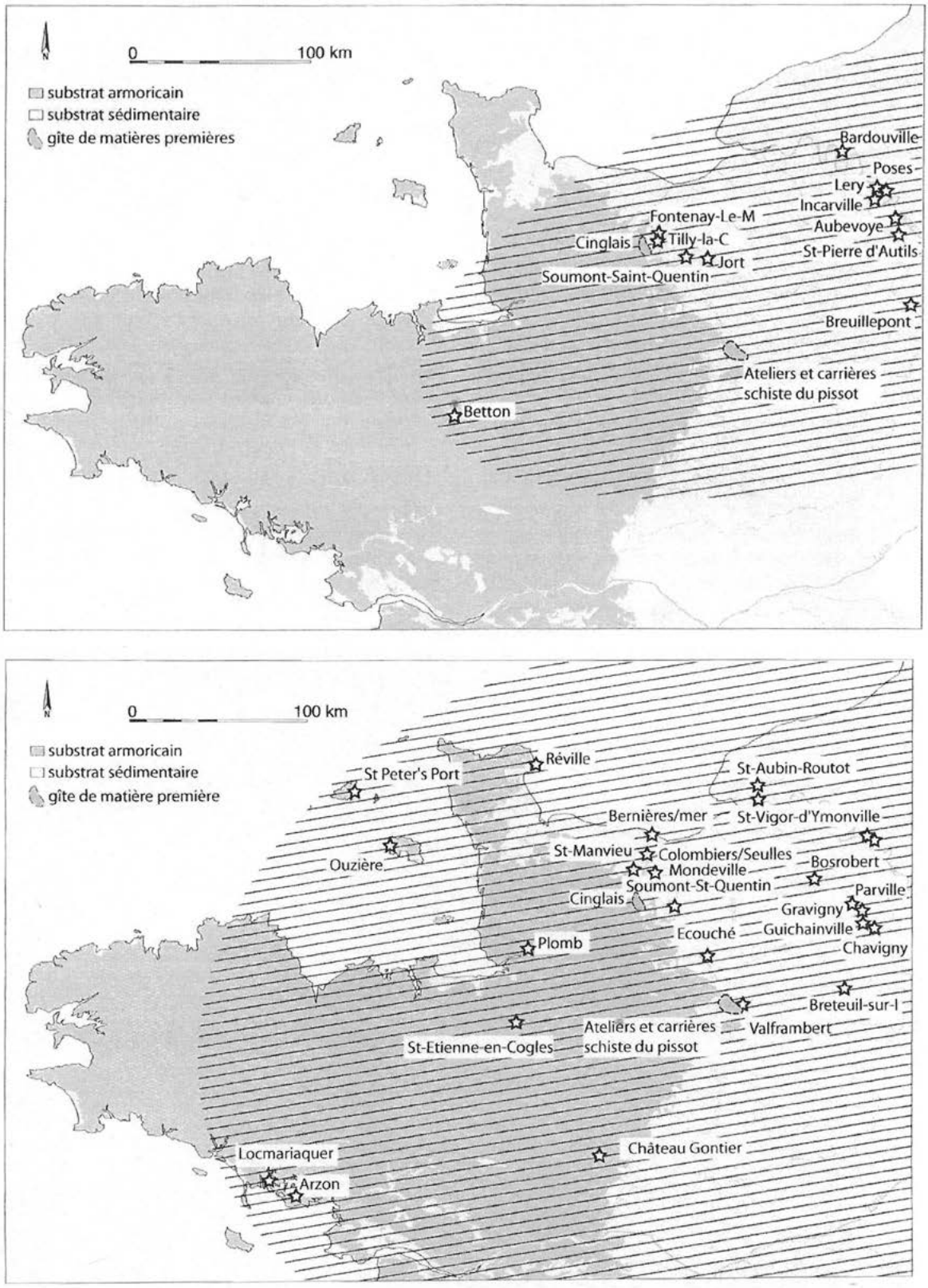

Figure 2. Expansion of the BVSG culture: top: BVSG 'classique', 5000–4500 BC; bottom: BVSG 'cordons', c. 4900–4700 BC. (From Marcigny et al. *2010)*

navigational skills. So how did they acquire such expertise? There is a strong possibility that they learned it from the Mesolithic groups who lived on the coast.

At this point it should be acknowledged that opinions differ regarding the process of Neolithisation of the Channel Islands. While many, including the present authors, favour colonisation as an explanation, Garrow and Sturt (2017a) have highlighted the differences in nature between the evidence for the earliest (BVSG) Neolithic traits in the archipelago and on the adjacent French mainland (e.g. the absence of post-built rectangular timber longhouses in the Channel Islands) and have suggested instead that what we may be seeing is the acquisition, by Mesolithic groups in the islands, of material culture (pottery, flint, possibly stone disc-rings) through interaction with farming communities on the mainland. In other words, in their opinion, aspects of the lifestyle of farming communities were actively adopted by indigenous hunter-fisher-forager groups. Whether this is a correct interpretation of the mechanism of the Neolithisation process remains a matter for debate, in the absence of assemblages with demonstrably contemporary Mesolithic and Neolithic traits, and therefore constitutes our first research question, below.

A second outstanding question is that of what subsequently happened to the indigenous population and to the hunting-fishing-foraging lifestyle. Did any aspect of this lifestyle persist into the 5th millennium, or are we dealing with its rapid abandonment (either through proactive adoption of farming, or through acculturation to the lifestyle of incoming farmers)? Some intriguing new evidence relating to the population of the Channel Islands has recently come to light through aDNA analysis of human remains from late 5th/early 4th millennium megalithic tombs at Le Déhus, Guernsey and The Common, Herm (Patterson *et al.* 2022; Brace and Booth 2024). These data demonstrate beyond any doubt that the Neolithic population of at least these parts of the Channel Islands featured people with Early European Farmer (EEF) genetic ancestry, who must have migrated from the Continent at some point. While around 16–17% of the genetic ancestry of Le Déhus and The Common individuals dating to the end of the 5th/beginning of the 4th millennium can be attributed to the Mesolithic populations of Europe – a level comparable to that seen in Neolithic populations in northern France reported by Rivollat *et al.* (2020), and thus not necessarily relating to ancestry from the Mesolithic inhabitants of the Channel Islands – by the end of the 4th millennium the level of Mesolithic ancestry had risen to a remarkable 32–36% among individuals buried at Le Déhus. A similarly high level is recorded for an individual from that monument dating to the second half of the 3rd millennium (Brace and Booth 2024: 134). As Brace and Booth note, two scenarios could be responsible for this resurgence in Mesolithic ancestries between 3500 and 3000 BC: either there was more extensive admixture with local Mesolithic-descended groups who had previously not intermixed with people of EEF ancestry, or we are dealing with 'the arrival of a new population carrying EEF-ancestries with elevated levels of Mesolithic-derived ancestries (or a mixture of both...)' (*ibid.*: 134). Deciding which is the case depends on undertaking further analysis of the genetic results, but given the lack of evidence for a sizeable Late Mesolithic population in the Channel Islands and the fact that we are dealing with fairly small islands, it seems highly unlikely that a relict population of hunter-fisher-foragers survived in genetic isolation for 1500 years, and so the second scenario, of renewed immigration during the second half of the fourth millennium, seems more plausible. Sadly, there are as yet no genetic data for the prehistoric population of Jersey, and the scope for obtaining such data for the Neolithic is minimal or non-existent vis-à-vis the existing corpus of human remains in the store of the Jersey Museum; nevertheless a programme of radiocarbon dating of those remains, and a critical assessment of the scope of undertaking aDNA analysis on them, are recommended as a first step.

The evidential basis for the Early Neolithic in Jersey and elsewhere in the Channel Islands is summarised below (and see Table 1 and Figure 3).

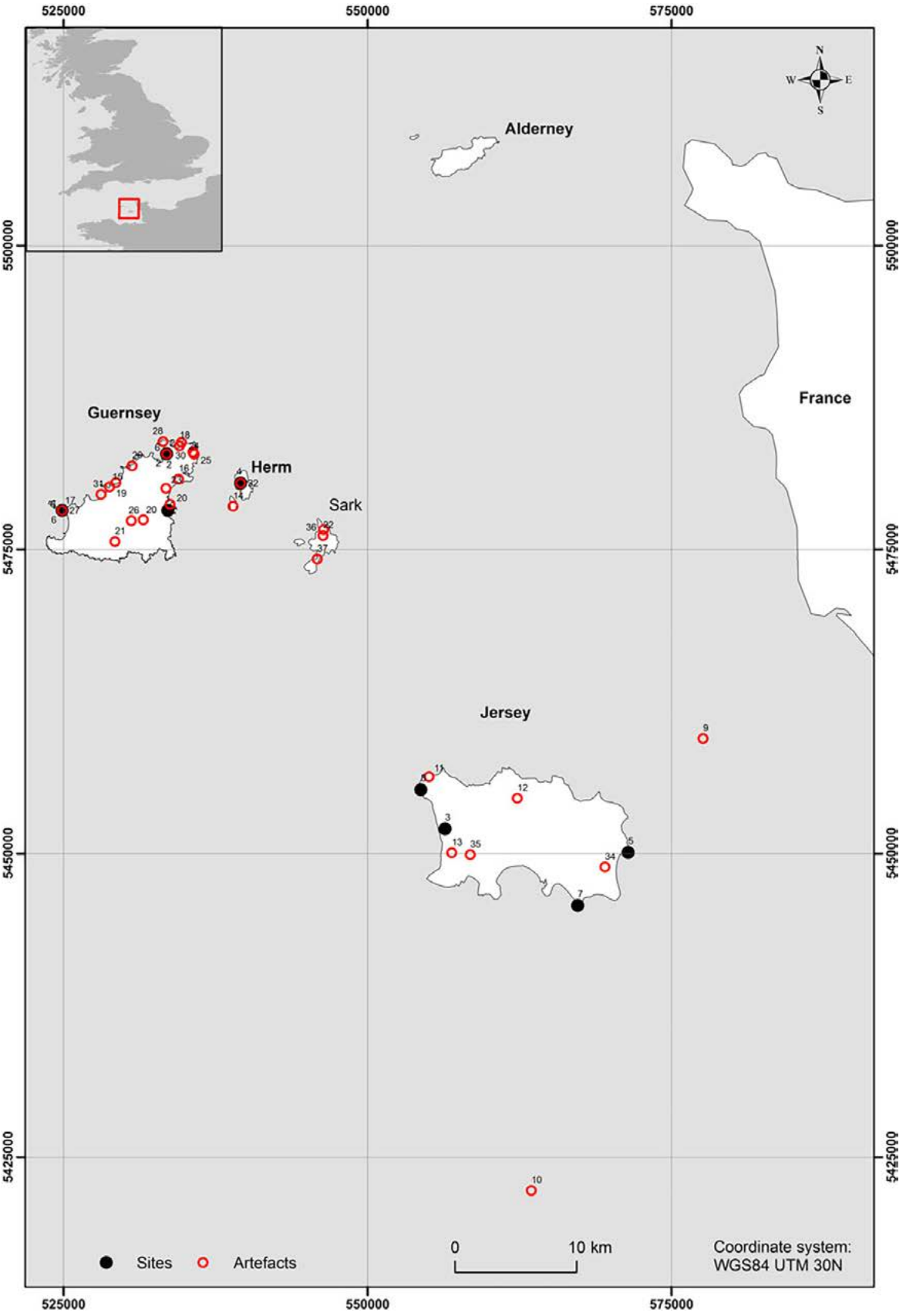

Figure 3. Early and Middle Neolithic I findspots in the Channel Islands. (From Garrow and Sturt 2017a)

The now-offshore evidence for occupation activity at L'Ouziere – or more precisely, to the south of L'Ouziere – consists of BVSG pottery and flint artefacts preserved in a deposit of submerged peat (Figure 4; Patton and Finlaison 2001). To the north of L'Ouziere, the peat exposures revealed an area of swamp and open water and significant quantities of animal bone, but very few artefacts. A dense concentration of cattle bones and a series of cattle hoof-prints in the sandy peat suggest that cattle were congregating around the edges of a shallow pool. Given the lack of ceramic data, it is difficult to date these animal remains but an Early Neolithic date, based on the finds south of L'Ouziere, has been suggested.

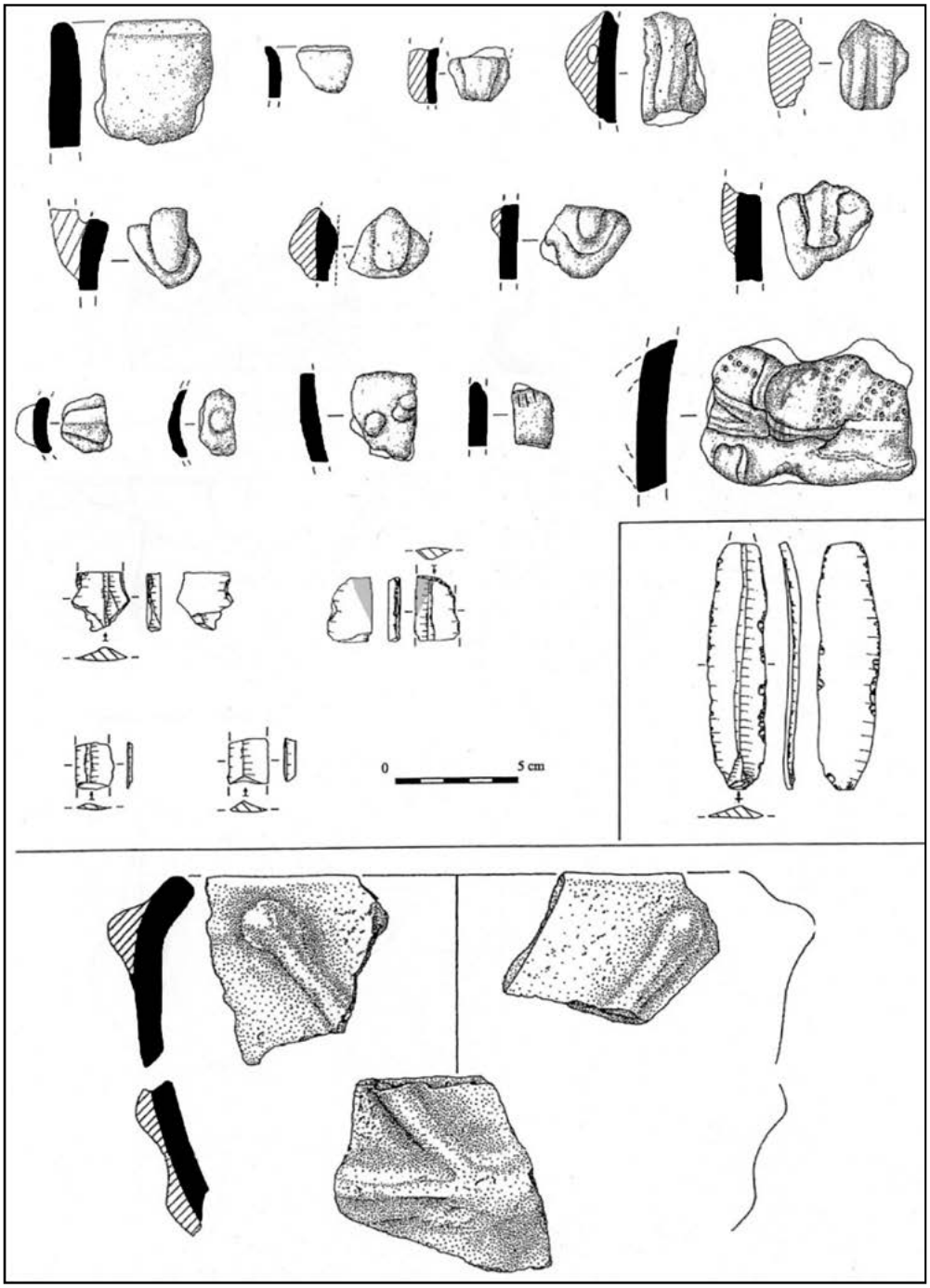

Figure 4. Early Neolithic (BVSG 'cordons') pottery from L'Ouziere, Saint-Ouen's Bay, Jersey. (From Patton and Finlaison 2001)

Two sites provide a fuller picture of Early Neolithic settlement in the Channel Islands. The first, excavated by Lesley McFadyen at Simon Sand Quarry (St Peter, Jersey), lies at the edge of the foreshore and has been preserved by an overlying sand dune (Figures 5 and 6). Since the investigations only reached an early stage (and are sadly unlikely to be continued due to issues of access), it is not possible to determine the exact form of the settlement, but the domestic character of the site is not in doubt, with a considerable number of ditches having been found, together with a possible Neolithic house structure cut into an old land surface with associated midden deposits, beneath the wind-blown sand deposits (McFayden *et al.* 2017). Burnt clay and daub fragments, some with roundwood impressions made by 10–15cm diameter timbers, may have belonged to a burned-down structure that was subsequently cleared out and its remains deposited in a pit at the site (*ibid.*). Artefactual finds are abundant. The pottery consists of ovoid vessel forms with frequent applied decoration (knobs, horizontal cordons and V-cordons), characteristic of the Late/Final phase of the Villeneuve-Saint-Germain (BVSG 'cordons') culture. Flint finds are also well represented, with a series of blades of Cinglais flint, and several other blades made from different kinds of flint, possibly from the Seine valley. The assemblage is characteristic of this period (burins and retouched blades), with a blade-based projectile point armature whose tip has been created using the microburin technique, and which has inverse retouch at its base. Made from Cinglais flint, this armature typologically belongs with those found in Normandy, at Fontenay-le-Marmion, Calvados (Giraud and Juhel 2004) and Omonville-la-Petite, Manche (Juhel 2005, 2006; Juhel *et al.* 2006; Charraud 2013). The series of blades from Simon Sand Quarry enables this site to be linked to numerous surface discoveries of fragmentary Cinglais flint blades in both Jersey and Guernsey. The source of the Cinglais flint is the mines of Espins/Les-Moutiers-en-Cinglais, Calvados, (Charraud 2013; 2019), whose products circulated widely over the north-west quarter of France during the Early Neolithic (Late/Final VSG) and at the beginning of the Middle Neolithic I. It is worth noting that despite the extensive nature of the artefactual assemblage found at Simon Sand Quarry, no fragment of a schist disc-ring has been discovered. Such objects are characteristic of the BVSG culture, and several have been found in the Channel Islands (Patton 1990; Fromont 2013; Garrow and Sturt 2017: table 3; Pétrequin *et al.* 2019). It is impossible to tell whether their absence from Simon Sand Quarry is simply a matter of chance.

Figure 5. Landscape in the area of Simon Sand Quarry. (Photo: Samantha Brummage)

Figure 6. Lesley McFadyen, the excavator of Simon Sand Quarry. (Photo taken at Castanheiro do Vento in Portugal by Ana Vale)

The second site that qualifies as an Early Neolithic settlement in the Channel Islands is the Royal Hotel, Guernsey (Sebire 2012). The excavation was just a small-scale sondage but traces of a possible small, irregular post-built building with hearths were found, along with other post-holes and occupation-related layers. That this structure is not comparable with the more substantial post-built houses of the VSG in mainland France has been pointed out by Garrow and Sturt (2017a). The lithic assemblage (with its blades of Cinglais flint) and the pottery (a hemispherical cordoned vessel) place it in the Early Neolithic, in the Late/Final phases of the VSG culture (BVSG 'cordons'). Of note, however, is the fact that the edges of the cordon on the pot have been decorated with a dot design. This is not found on Continental VSG pots, but it is found in later contexts during the Middle Neolithic I in the Channel Islands in the Pinacle-Fouaillages Group, and so it is possible that the site post-dates 4700BC slightly. The area would have been attractive to early farmers because of its fertile loess soil and freshwater streams nearby. The site was subsequently occupied in the Late Neolithic/Chalcolithic period (*ibid.*).

As regards the farming activities that are assumed to have been practised by these Early Neolithic inhabitants of the Channel Islands, there is virtually no direct evidence – even though the location of the existing findspots of material dating to this period is consistent with the cultivation of light loess soils and the exploitation of good grazing ground. No cereal remains have been found, and the cattle bones found in submerged peat to the north of L'Ouziere have not been radiocarbon dated and are only assumed to be Early Neolithic in date because of the find of BVSG pottery nearby. Moreover, the palaeoenvironmental record for the Channel Islands in general (Jones *et al.* 1990), and for Jersey in particular, is currently too sparse to allow conclusions to be drawn about the nature and scale of Early Neolithic land use. In Guernsey, palynological research by Campbell (2020) has uncovered evidence for woodland clearance (presumably for agriculture) dating to *c.* 4400–4100 BC, followed by a possible abandonment of the coastal plain, but it is not known whether this is typical of other parts of the Channel Islands. Our knowledge base could usefully be enhanced by the radiocarbon-dating of the L'Ouziere cattle bones (if sufficient collagen survives) and by lipid analysis of BVSG pottery from these sites, which might reveal whether dairy products or ruminant meat had been cooked in these vessels. (See below for the results of lipid analysis of Les Fouaillages pottery.) Moreover, further palaeoenvironmental investigations are required to create a fine-grained record for Jersey and across the Channel Islands more generally.

Unequivocal evidence for the funerary practices of these early settlers, the BVSG farmers, is absent from the Channel Islands: there are no examples of BVSG-style graves containing the contracted skeleton of an individual as are known, for example, from Longueil-Sainte-Marie/Le Barrage tomb 1116, Oise (Pétrequin *et al.* 2019: fig. 1). The presence of BVSG 'cordons' pottery – including a sherd whose encrusted organic residue has been radiocarbon-dated to 4940–4720 cal BC (SUERC-23729, 5950±35 BP: Sheridan and Pailler 2012: 1074) – at Les Fouaillages on Guernsey, where a multi-phase funerary monument was

excavated by Ian Kinnes, does not however mean that this monument was constructed at that time: the pottery is most likely to be residual from a pre-monument phase of occupation, of which most traces were removed when the ground was stripped in preparation for the monument's construction. Some of the BVSG sherds were found under a possible hearth situated beneath the primary mound, others below and beyond the mound. Lipid analysis of two BSVG 'cordons' sherds, including the one whose burnt-on organic residue was radiocarbon-dated, revealed evidence for degraded animal fat which, in one case, was identified as ruminant dairy fat (Cramp *et al.* 2014, samples LF1 and LF4). This is highly significant as it suggests that cattle and/or sheep (but probably cattle in this case) were being kept at this time not only for their meat but also for milk, which could be processed into butter, cheese, yoghurt or a fermented drink.

Fragments of several stone disc-rings were also found at Les Fouaillages (Fromont 2013), some found underneath the mound at the west end of the monument and some reportedly deposited within the Phase 1b primary mound. One of these disc-rings (Figure 7) was found, through diffuse reflectance spectroradiometric analysis by *Projet JADE*, to have been made of jadeitite from Monte Viso in the North Italian Alps (more specifically a lightly retromorphosed jadeitite of a chlorite schist facies which had been described, macroscopically, as a foliated schist: Sheridan and Pailler 2012: 1086). Others are of schist (Fromont 2013). It is uncertain whether these disc-rings are contemporary with the Early Neolithic BVSG pottery and are thus similarly residual with regard to the monument, with the fragments found in the mound having been gathered up from the old ground surface and deposited in the mound, or else are slightly later (*c.* 4700 BC – the beginning of Middle Neolithic I – rather than 4900–4700 BC) and were in use when the monument was first constructed. The balance of evidence suggests that the former is more likely to be the case.

Similar chronological uncertainty surrounds the transverse arrowheads and other projectile points, including some of Cinglais flint, found at Les Fouaillages (Figure 8): they could date either to the Early Neolithic or to the Middle Neolithic I. As for when the construction of the funerary monument at Les Fouaillages began, the existing evidence is not strong enough to prove that this was prior to the beginning of the Middle Neolithic I around 4700 BC.

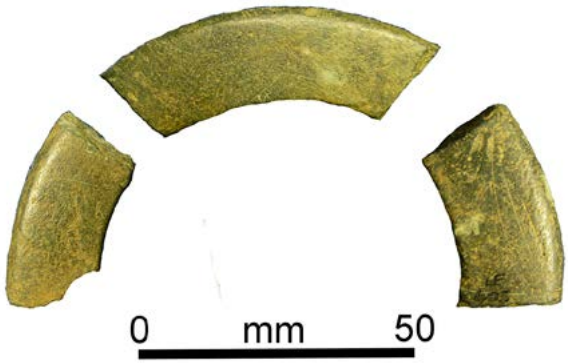

Figure 7. Fragments of a disc-ring (upper arm ornament), with a rectangular-section hoop, of Alpine jadeitite, found at Les Fouaillages; two of these conjoin, and all are from the same object. (Photo: Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

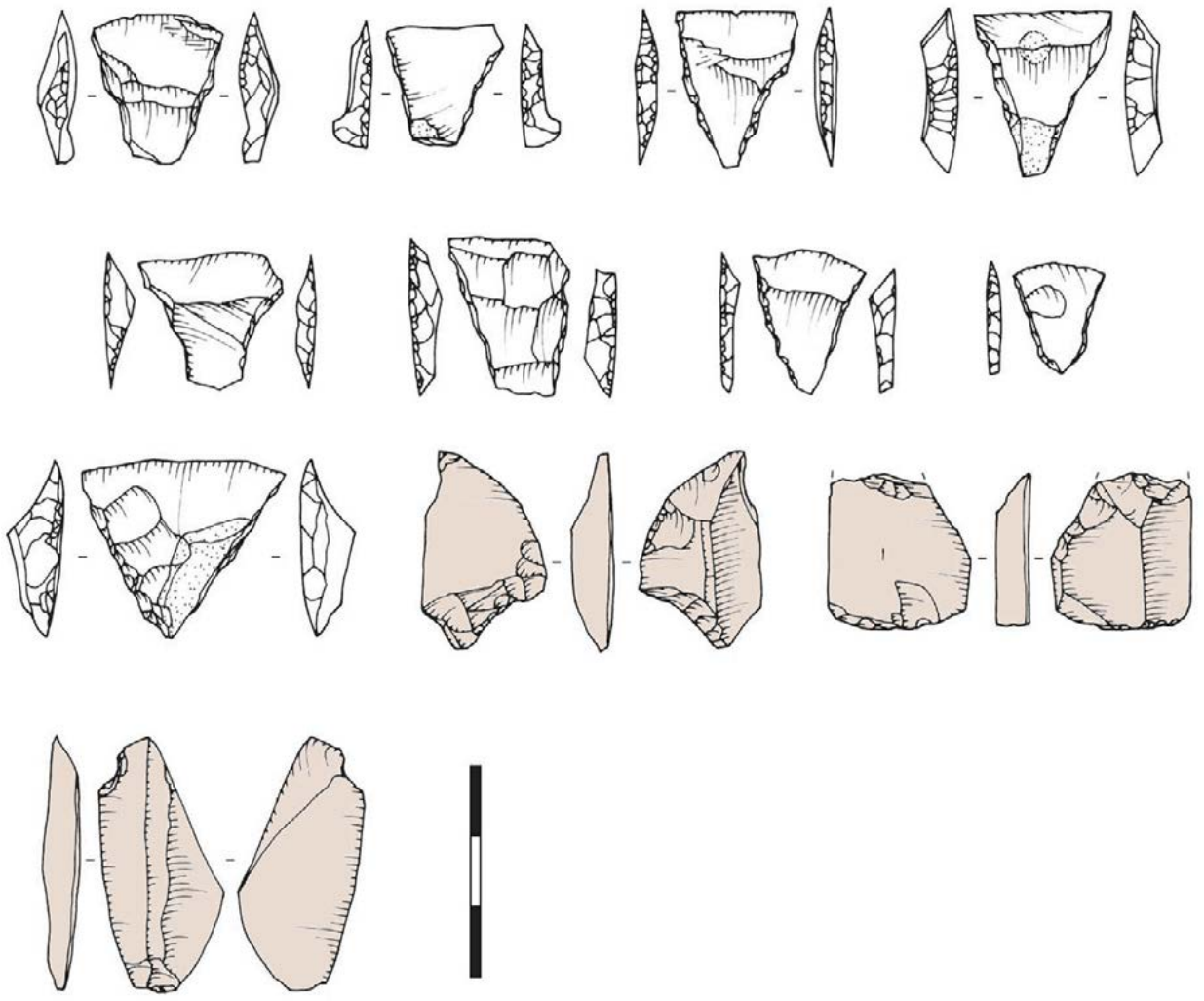

Figure 8. Transverse arrowheads and other projectile points from Les Fouaillages that could date either to the Early Neolithic or to the Middle Neolithic I (or indeed both periods). The artefacts in brown have been made from Cinglais flint. (Drawing by L. Juhel) (Marcigny et al. *2010)*

Research questions relating to the Mesolithic-Neolithic transition and to the Early Neolithic are as follows:

RQ 1: To what extent, if at all, were the indigenous Mesolithic inhabitants of the Channel Islands involved in the process of Neolithisation? In other words, were they the prime movers of this lifestyle change, proactively adopting elements of the farming lifestyle as a result of interaction with farming groups on the French mainland (and if so, why?), or were the agents of this change groups of immigrant farmers from these neighbouring parts of the mainland?

RQ 2: If, as the current authors suspect, the prime movers of this change were in fact colonising farming groups then what happened to the indigenous hunter-fisher-forager groups? Did they acculturate to the new way of life? For how long did a subsistence strategy based solely on the exploitation of wild resources continue after agro-pastoralism became established in the archipelago?

RQ 3: If we are indeed dealing with colonisation, then can we narrow down the geographical range of departure points from Normandy and Brittany, and did at least some of these colonists rely on the navigational skills of hunter-fisher-foragers (or learn them from them) on these parts of mainland north-west France?

RQ 4: What was the nature and scale of farming activities during the Early Neolithic in Jersey and across the Channel Islands more generally? Can we obtain radiocarbon dates for the cattle bones found north of L'Ouziere? Lipid analysis of more of the BVSG pottery and much more palaeoenvironmental investigation are required in order to obtain a sense of whether we are dealing with agro-pastoral activity comparable with that seen on contemporary sites on the adjacent mainland.

RQ 5: How did the earliest farmers in the Channel Islands deal with their dead? Are there unmarked individual graves of Early Neolithic date waiting to be discovered?

RQ 6: Given that analysis by *Projet JADE* has revealed that one stone disc-ring that had previously been assumed to be of local schist (found at Les Fouaillages) is actually of jadeitite, are there other examples of disc-rings of Alpine rock among the Early Neolithic 'schist' disc-rings in the Channel Islands? All of the disc-rings from Jersey and elsewhere in the Channel Islands whose material has not yet been identified analytically need to be subjected to non-destructive analysis to clarify the nature and source of the material.

Chapter 4.
The Middle Neolithic I (*c.* 4700/4600–4300 BC): development of an Insular Neolithic, while remaining connected – just – to the neighbouring mainland

From 4700/4600 BC, the occupation of the Channel Islands can be characterised in terms of a post-pioneering phase, the Middle Neolithic I (Figure 9, Table 2), over the course of which a distinctive insular identity emerged, expressed through material culture and especially through pottery. At the beginning of this period, however, the use of early Cerny-style pottery (of 'Videlles' style, *c.* 4700–4600 BC) at Mont Orgueil in Jersey (Figure 10; Barton 1984) and on Herm demonstrates continuing close connections with (and shared cultural identity with) adjacent parts of the north-west French mainland, especially Normandy (Figure 9, top; Marcigny *et al.* 2010). From *c.* 4600 BC, a distinctively insular identity (or identities) emerged. There is evidence for connections (either direct or indirect) with the users of Chambon pottery in the middle Loire valley and with the early Castellic pottery-using inhabitants of the Morbihan area of south-east Brittany at that time; the latter belonged to a highly inegalitarian society dominated by men who appear to have been ascribed the status of 'god-kings' (Cassen *et al.* 2012). Elements of the ceramic repertoire in both those areas were adopted and adapted in the Channel Islands. Mark Patton coined the term 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' to describe this insular cultural grouping, defined through its pottery (Patton 1992; 1995a).

The findspots of material that has been attributed to the Middle Neolithic I in the Channel Islands are listed in Table 2 and are also shown in Figures 3 and 9.

Middle Neolithic I (early): *c.* 4700–4600 BC

As regards the period when early Cerny pottery was in use (*c.* 4700–4600 BC), at Mont Orgueil the occupation deposit – discovered during excavations in the castle (Barton 1984) – did not contain any evidence suggesting any kind of house structure, although on Herm, possible beam-slot structures were found. Examples of the Cerny pottery found at Mont Orgueil are shown in Figure 10. It is to this period that the large Bégude-type axe- or adzehead of Alpine jadeitite found at Saint Saviour, Field 724 (Figure 11) is most likely to belong; it may well originally have been part of a hoard, along with four disc-rings, also of jadeitite from the North Italian Alps, although this is impossible to prove: the disc-rings were found in topsoil, some of which was transported (Patton 1990; Sheridan and Pailler 2012: 1071, 1073). Another disc-ring of Alpine rock, this time of schistose serpentinite, from an unknown findspot in Jersey probably also dates to the 47th century (Figure 12 and see Pétrequin *et al.* 2019: 312–315, on the currency and distribution of this kind of disc-ring). A further exotic artefact that may have arrived at this time (or if not then, possibly during the 46th century) is the central European shoe-last adzehead of amphibolite from the Jizera mountains of the Czech Republic, found at an unknown findspot in Jersey (Figure 13; Sheridan and Pailler 2012: 1071 and figure 29). Such artefacts are associated with Danubian Neolithic groups, including epi-Bandkeramik groups including the Cerny culture. (See below for the production of shoe-last adzeheads using local dolerite at Le Pinacle.) All these precious and far-travelled artefacts could have been obtained through contacts with Cerny pottery users to the east.

It could be that the aforementioned funerary monument at Les Fouaillages in Guernsey (Figure 14) was first constructed around this time (4700–4600 BC), when elsewhere in the Channel Islands Cerny pottery was in use. (No Cerny pottery was found at Les Fouaillages, however, despite elements of Cerny design being present in the Chambon-like pottery described below.) This is a multi-phase monument

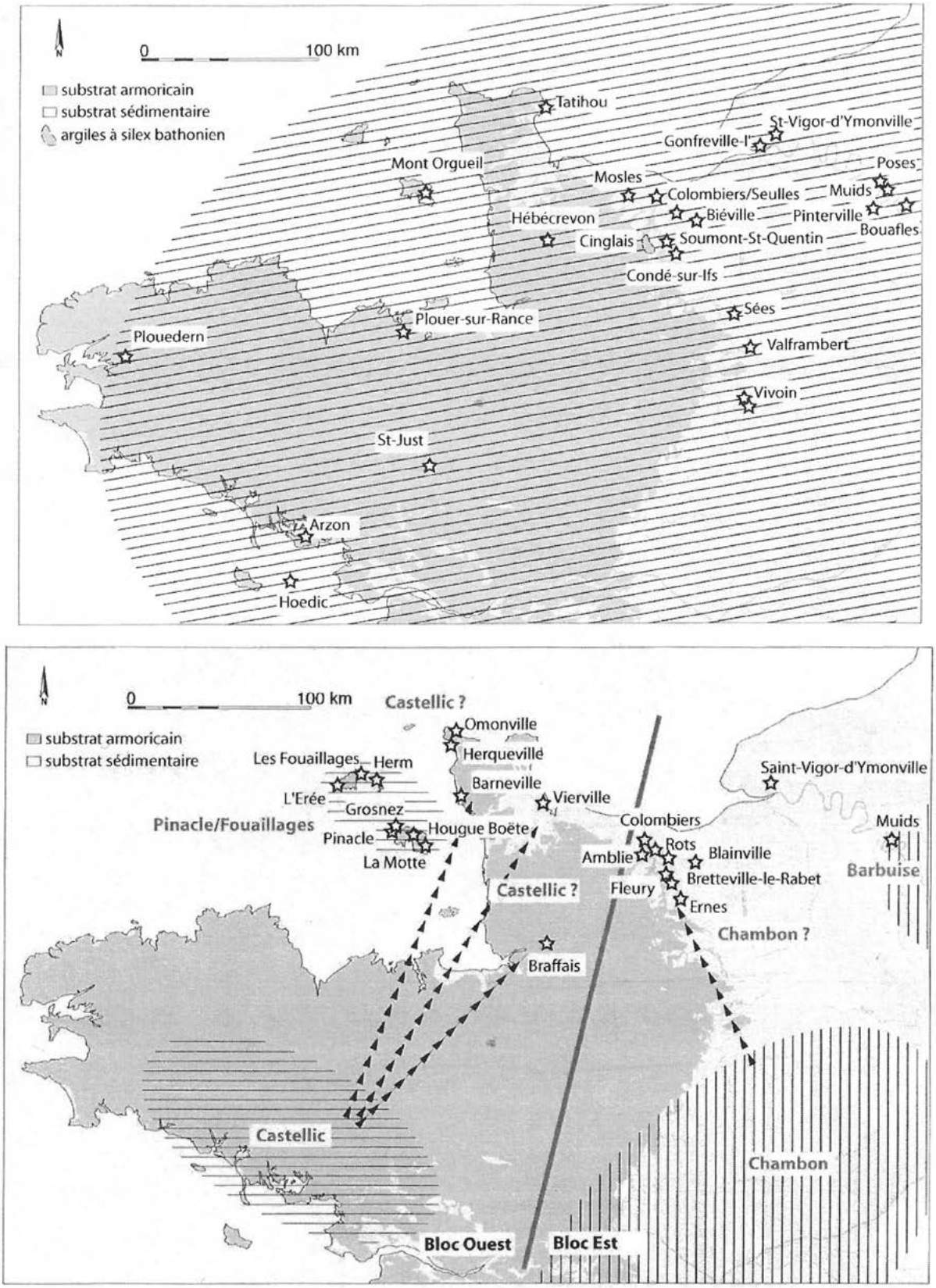

Figure 9. Top: distribution of sites belonging to the early Cerny culture, c. 4700–4600 BC; bottom: sites with Pinacle-Fouaillages pottery, in their wider cultural context, 4600–4300 BC. (From Marcigny et al. *2010)*

Table 2. Sites attributed to Middle Neolithic I in the Channel Islands by Garrow and Sturt (2017a), including those listed by them as 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' but where there is disagreement or doubt about that attribution. (See below for finds of Alpine axeheads and disc-rings.) Numbers refer to the map shown in Figure 3

Site	No.	Island	Phase	Approx. date BC	Site type	Description
Mont Orgueil	5	Jersey	Early Cerny	4700–4600	Occupation deposit	Artefacts associated with a dark 'occupation layer'
Herm	4	Herm	Early Cerny	4700–4600	Buildings	Beam-slot structures (possible)
Les Ecréhous	9	Les Ecréhous	Cerny	4700–4300	Stray find	Pottery, not from a secure context
Les Minquiers	10	Les Minquiers	Cerny	4700–4300	Stray find	Pottery, not from a secure context
Le Pinacle	8	Jersey	Pinacle-Fouaillages	4600–4300	Features	Occupation layer on axehead production site, assoc. with hearths/ middens
L'Erée	6	Guernsey	Pinacle-Fouaillages	4600–4300	Features	Pits, post-holes, hearths
Les Fouaillages (Phase 1d)	2	Guernsey	Pinacle-Fouaillages	4600–4300	Tomb	Artefacts associated with Phase 1d cists
La Hougue de Grosnez	11	Jersey	Pinacle-Fouaillages	4600–4300	Could be an occupation deposit pre-dating a possible 'cist-in-circle' monument	Pottery and lithics including stone axehead, on 'red floor'
Les Blanches Banques	13	Jersey	Pinacle-Fouaillages	4600–4300	Stray find	Pottery with no secure context
Jethou	14	Jethou	Pinacle-Fouaillages	4600–4300	Stray find	Pottery with no secure context
Assemblages attributed to 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' by Garrow and Sturt, but which are probably not, or where there is some doubt; see discussion below						
La Motte	7	Jersey			Occupation deposit, partly overlying a stone mound	Artefacts possibly associated with a midden
Hougue Boëte	12	Jersey			Megalithic cist ('closed chamber') under tumulus; see discussion below	One round-based pot

whose initial construction phase (Kinnes' Phase 1a), following stripping of the old ground surface to reveal pebbly sand, consisted of a small sub-triangular cairn over a chamber – presumed to have housed human remains, although none survived – roofed partly by corbelling, partly by a capstone. The initial monument was then (in Phase 1b) covered by a roughly trapezoidal turf barrow, 10m long and 5m wide at its east end, within which were found small 'deposits' containing sherds of BVSG 'cordons' pottery

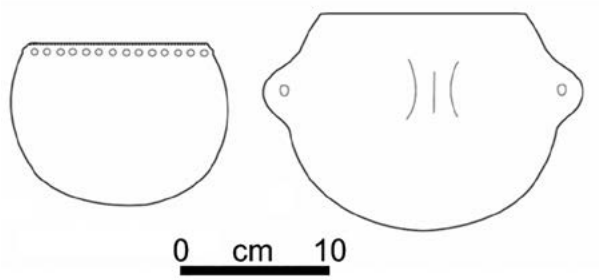

Figure 10. Examples of Cerny 'Videlles'-style pottery from Mont Orgueil. (After Pioffet 2009)

and fragments of schist and jadeitite disc-rings; as discussed above, these are probably residual from pre-monument Early Neolithic occupation. A pair of large slabs that would later form the base of a funerary chamber may have been put in place during Phase 1b, and the same is probably true of the small granite blocks around the edge of the mound, which define the limit of this primary barrow. The distinctive shape of the mound is reminiscent of some of the smaller of the Passy-style monuments of the Paris Basin and Normandy, which are known to have been constructed during the currency of Cerny pottery; examples include some within the necropolis at Fleury-sur-Orne, Calvados (Ghesquière 2021; Ghesquière *et al.* 2022: figure 3). The subsequent phases of construction at Les Fouaillages are described below.

Figure 11. Axe- or adzehead of Bégude type, of jadeitite from Monte Viso in the North Italian Alps, found in Field 724, St Saviour, Jersey, possibly along with four jadeitite disc-rings. Length: 27.4cm. (Photo: Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

Figure 12. Disc-ring of Alpine schistose serpentinite, with rectangular-section hoop with rounded edges, from unknown location in Jersey. External diameter: 123mm; thickness 8mm. (Photo: Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

Figure 13. Shoe-last adzehead of amphibolite from the Jizera Mountains, found at an unknown location in Jersey. This may have arrived at this time, or else during the 46th century BC. (Photo: Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

Middle Neolithic I (late): *c.* 4600–4300 BC

Turning now to the 'Pinacle-Fouaillages group' of the Middle Neolithic I (*c.* 4600–4300 BC) – a term coined by Mark Patton (1992) – this is named after pottery from the stone tool manufacturing site with associated hearths at Le Pinacle in Jersey (Godfray and Burdo 1949; 1950; Patton 1991; 2001) and from Les Fouaillages (Figures 15 and 16). (Note that Patton also included within this category the pottery from Mont Orgueil [Patton 1992; 1995a: 136], but this is now acknowledged to represent the slightly earlier Cerny tradition. He also included the assemblage from Le Grosnez Hougue in his 1992 publication, but treated it separately in his 1995 volume: Patton 1995a: 148–9 and figs iv.7, 16–19. It is included here.) Other assemblages of 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' pottery are listed in Table 2. Patton underlined the similarities between the assemblages from the two eponymous sites, highlighting the strong elements of Breton Castellic pottery as well as 'Cerny-like' features, but Hélène Pioffet's detailed study of the Les Fouaillages assemblage and her comparison of it with the Le

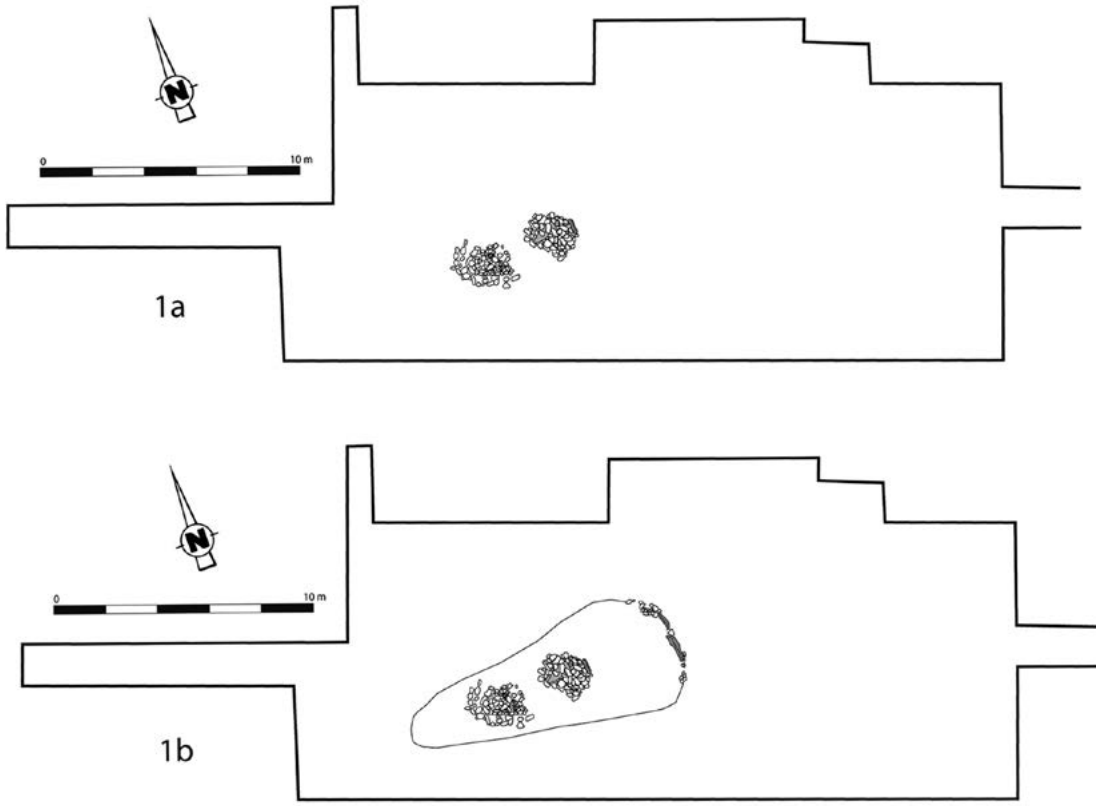

Figure 14. Les Fouaillages funerary monument, Guernsey, Phases 1a and 1b. (Drawing by Marcigny and Ghesquière, after Kinnes 1982 and 1986)

Pinacle assemblage and other contemporary pottery (Pioffet 2009; 2013) has clarified the situation and revealed that two distinct elements or phases can be identified.

The first, and probably the earliest, is represented by a deposit of pottery (ensemble 2) that had been deliberately buried in the primary (Phase 1b) mound (Figure 15.1). Elements of this repertoire are also present at Le Pinacle and Les Blanches Banques (Pioffet 2009; 2013). This differs technologically and stylistically from the 'ensemble 1' Early Neolithic BVSG 'cordons' pottery found in and around the primary mound at Les Fouaillages, and it shows clear affinities with the Chambon pottery of the middle Loire (4600–4300 BC), and also with pottery from the settlement at Ernes, Calvados which, in turn, includes Chambon elements; it dates to c. 4600–4400 BC (San Juan and Dron 1997; Marcigny *et al.* 2010: 149–53). (This must be the pottery referred to by Patton [1995a: 21; 2001: 14–16] as 'Cerny-like'; there are elements shared in common between Cerny and Chambon pottery.) Pioffet has also noted parallels with pottery from Bardouville and Theuville-aux-Maillots (Seine-Maritime) and Montagne de Lumbres (Pas de Calais), leading to the suggestion that there could have been an extensive coastal network of long-distance contacts at that time (Pioffet 2009: 158. Note that the Lumbres assemblage has traditionally been described as 'Cerny (Normandy)'; its cultural affiliation is discussed by Pioffet). Carefully made, and featuring in particular S-profiled globular jars with concave inturned necks, this pottery is characterised by a high frequency of notched rims; by the use of rows of jabbed impressions; by the occurrence of an applied 'spectacle' motif, decorated with radial incised lines (as seen in Figure 15.1); and by the presence of notched lugs. Pioffet has concluded that the Channel Islands potters who made this pottery selectively adopted and adapted elements of the Chambon tradition.

The second element or phase (which may slightly postdate the first element) is represented by the pottery from 'ensemble 3' at Les Fouaillages (Figure 15.2–11) – which is associated with the aggrandisement of the monument in Phases 1c and 1d – and from Le Pinacle (Figure 16), Les Blanches Banques and the other sites listed in Table 2. This does indeed show elements of the Early Castellic ceramic tradition of the Morbihan area of Brittany (as discussed in detail by Pioffet and summarised graphically by Serge Cassen: Cassen 2000: figure 138), as well as elements of the Chambon tradition (including at least one oval-mouthed jar and a fragment of a zoomorphic vessel). The Early Castellic elements, like those of the Chambon tradition, have been both adopted and adapted, to create a distinctive insular ceramic style. Pioffet found that, technically and stylistically, this pottery shares a few features in common with the Chambon-like pottery in 'ensemble 2' described above, and may be regarded as a development from it, with the borrowing of Early Castellic elements adding to the ceramic repertoire and to its distinctive insular character. Vessel forms are once more deep-bellied jars (also referred to as 'bottles'), with concave necks; many are S-profiled, but some are carinated. A few examples of square-mouthed jars are represented; these echo contemporary ceramic developments to the south in France. A small number of coupes-à-socle are present (Figure 15.11); these small vessels, which used to be known as 'vase-supports', have a dished top (and at Les Fouaillages, a concave body) and some have impressed dot decoration (pointillé). The close similarity of the coupes-à-socle from La Hougue de Grosnez to those from Er Lannic in the Morbihan was recognised as early as 1925 (Baal 1925; Cassen 2000: 307).

Means of suspension on the jars consist of perforated external lugs of various shapes (e.g. Figures 15.4, 9;16), which are sometimes decorated around their circumference (at Les Fouillages and Le Pinacle) and sometimes have a medial saddle (at Le Pinacle); there are also a few perforated 'tongues' (at Grosnez Hougue and Le Pinacle). Decoration is common and varied, some of it impressed, some incised, and some applied. Impressions have been made in a variety of ways, using points, spatulae, finger- or thumbnails, shells, and possibly also fishbones. The commonest motif consists of lines of impressed dots, found immediately below the carination (at Les Fouaillages, Herm, l'Erée, Grosnez Hougue and Le Pinacle), forming arcs (at Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages), crosses (at Les Fouaillages) or garlands (at Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages), or simulating lugs (at Les Fouaillages). Incised decoration can be found on the rims

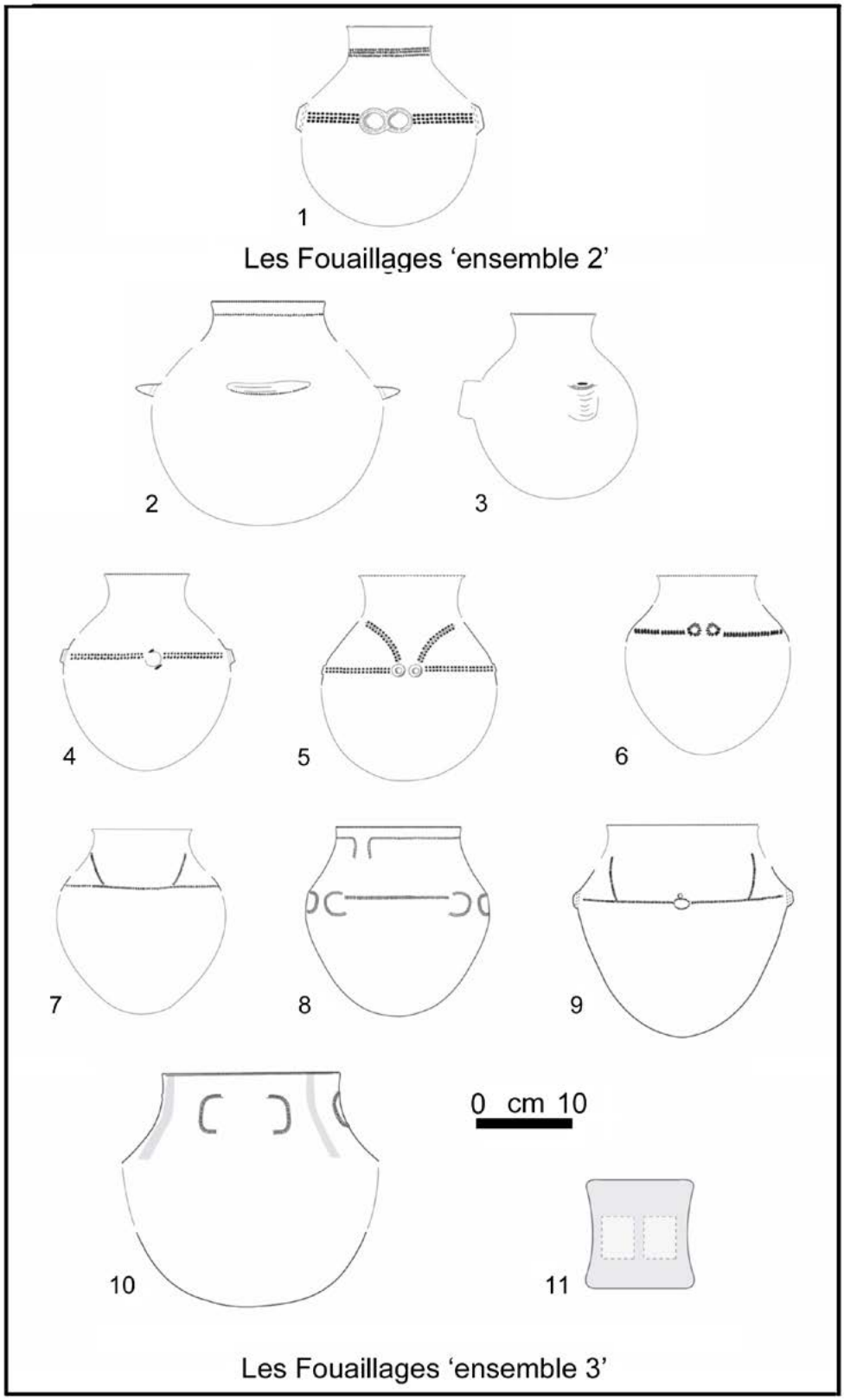

Figure 15. 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' pottery from Les Fouaillages: 1. Pot with Chambon affinities from ensemble 2; 2–11: Pottery with some Breton Castellic affinities from ensemble 3. (After Pioffet 2009)

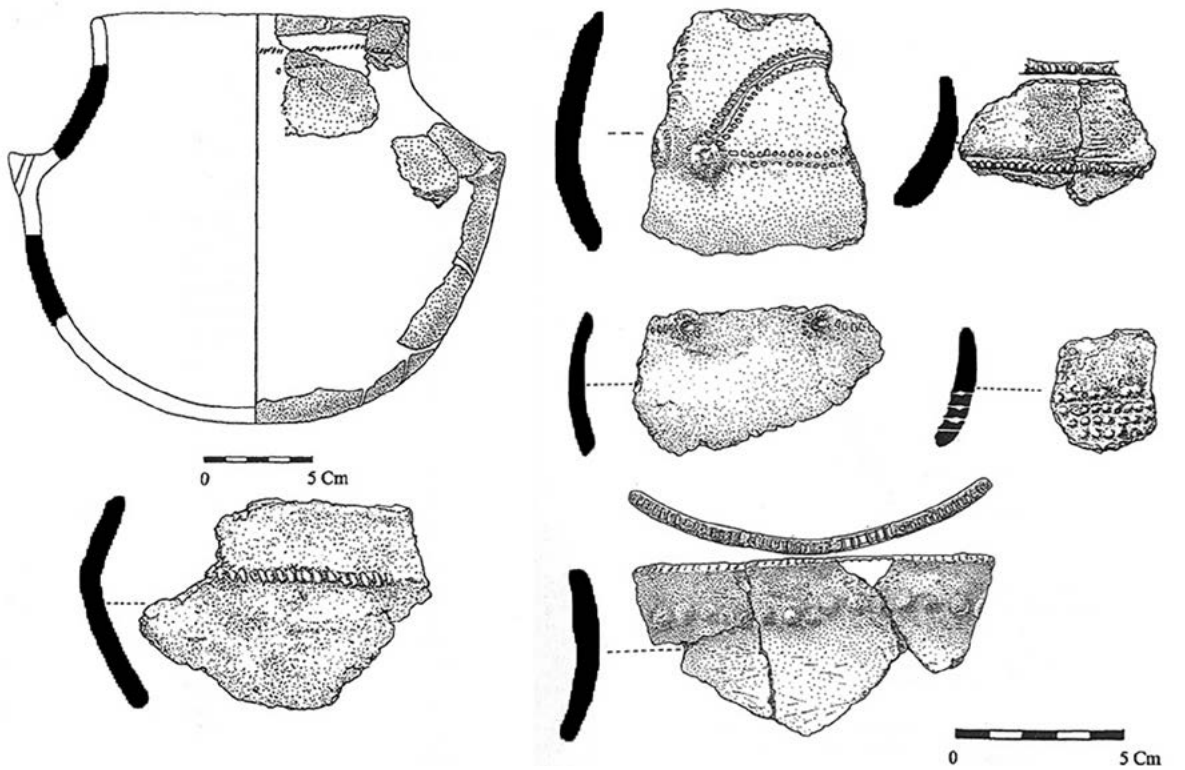

Figure 16. Examples of Pinacle-Fouaillages pottery with Breton Early Castellic elements from Le Pinacle. (After Patton 1992)

of pots (at Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages) or on narrow cordons generally situated on the necks of vessels (at Le Pinacle and Les Fouaillages). Grooved motifs are rarer, and consist of lines or arabesques fringed by dot impressions (at Le Pinacle, Les Fouaillages and La Motte). Various forms of applied decoration were used: repoussé 'pastilles' (at Les Fouaillages and Le Pinacle), doughnut-like knobs with a depressed centre (at Les Fouaillages: Figure 15.5) and knobs that can occur in pairs (at Les Fouaillages, Le Pinacle and La Motte). These solid knobs are sometimes associated with radial stamped decoration that creates solar motifs (at Le Pinacle).

In Brittany and Normandy, it is hard to find close parallels for this second phase of 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' pottery. The only place where a close *comparandum* has been found is Barneville-Carteret, on the coast facing Jersey where, from an excavation by Cyril Billard (Service Régional de l'Archéologie), several small sherds with dot decoration comparable to that on Pinacle-Fouaillages pottery have been found.

Despite these important ceramic assemblages, domestic contexts remain poorly known for the Middle Neolithic I period in Jersey and more widely in the Channel Islands. The lithic assemblages do not possess any significant items dating to this period (Ghesquière and Marcigny 1998; Guyodo 2005), even though blades made from Cinglais flint must still have been in use at this time. Information on subsistence practices is also extremely sparse, although lipid analysis of two sherds of 'Pinacle-Fouaillages' (ensemble 3) pottery has confirmed the presence of degraded animal fat in them which, in one case, was identified as ruminant dairy fat (Cramp *et al.* 2014, samples LF2 and LF5). This demonstrates continuity with farming practices as attested by the lipids preserved in the earlier, BSVG 'cordons' pottery from Les Fouaillages, as described above.

Axeheads of Alpine jadeitite continued to be imported to the Channel Islands during this period, with those of Bernon and Tumiac type probably having been made around the middle of the 5th millennium, while the examples of Glastonbury type date to the second half of that millennium (Figure 17). Some, if not all of these would have been obtained through contacts with the Morbihan region of Brittany, where the reshaping and repolishing of Alpine axeheads was taking place. The Alpine axeheads of Chelles type, of which one example measuring 15.5cm in length and nine examples under 13.5cm in length are known from Jersey, are harder to place chronologically as this type of axehead had a long currency, although a date somewhere in the 5th millennium is safe to assume (Pétrequin *et al.* 2012).

It may be that the handful of axeheads of Breton fibrolite found in Jersey (Patton 1995a, Appendix ii; 2001) arrived during this period.

It is clear, from the excavations carried out by Godfray and Burdo between 1930 and 1936 (Godfray and Burdo 1949; 1950), that the manufacture of stone implements using local dolerite was taking place at Le Pinacle during this period; the hearths, pottery and struck flint lithic artefacts found in the Neolithic layer could all relate to seasonal occupation associated with the exploitation of the dolerite. Despite the shortcomings of the excavation – the site was explored using sondage trenches that cut into levels rich in artefactual finds; débitage from artefact production was not retained; and there may have been a degree of stratigraphic confusion – it does appear that both axeheads (Figure 18, top) and at least one shoe-last adzehead were being produced there at this time (Patton 2001: 9). Moreover, a type of implement known almost exclusively from Le Pinacle – the perforated 'pick-hammer'– was also manufactured there, using the local dolerite (Figure 18, bottom). These 'pick-hammers', which should not be confused

Figure 17. Examples of axeheads of Alpine jadeitite that arrived in the Channel Islands during the Middle Neolithic I: left: Glastonbury type (L: 17.5cm) found near La Hougue Bie; right: Bernon type (L:14.7cm) from unknown findspot in Jersey. (Photos: Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

with the highly polished 'Jersey picks' discussed below, may well have been used in the extraction of the dolerite. Only two other implements of this type are known, from Perry Farm, St Mary and from Mont au Pretre, both in Jersey. As for the axeheads, a programme of petrological thin-sectioning by Dr Alan Woolley, and of macroscopic examination by Mark Patton, concluded that some 16% of the axeheads found in Jersey, and 31% of the axeheads found in Guernsey, are of the 'Type P' dolerite from the sills surrounding Le Pinacle (Patton 2001: 9). This illustrates the inter-connectedness of the Channel Islands inhabitants during this period. Le Pinacle is not the only source of dolerite in the Channel Islands, and work on characterising the dolerite axeheads continues (Ixer in Cunliffe and Durham 2019), with more remaining to be done (Figure 19).

Figure 18. Top: axehead of Le Pinacle dolerite found on La Moye common (Jersey Museum A/0006115/; photo: Jersey Museum); Bottom: broken 'pick-hammers', made from local dolerite, found at Le Pinacle. (Photo: Neil Mahrer, Jersey Heritage)

Figure 19. Large (L: 24.7cm) dolerite axehead recently found at Grève de Lecq, Jersey. This is not of Plussulien dolerite and the question of which of the Channel Islands dolerite sources had been used for its manufacture remains to be determined. The chronological position of this stray find within the Channel Islands Neolithic also needs to be established; a Middle Neolithic I date is not guaranteed. (Photo by Perry Mesney, Jersey Heritage)

As regards funerary practices during this part of the Middle Neolithic I, these are represented once again by the aforementioned monument at Les Fouaillages (Phases 1c and 1d) in Guernsey. Pottery of Pinacle-Fouaillages type (or, in one case, claimed to be of this type) has also been found at two ostensibly funerary sites, La Hougue de Grosnez (Grosnez Hougue) and Hougue Boëte in Jersey, but in both cases the monuments were excavated early in the 20th century and both their interpretation and their attribution to this period are problematic, as explained below.

The Les Fouaillages mound reached its maximum size during this period (Figure 20), when it was extended to the east, reaching a length of 16m, and a maximum width of 8m at its east (Phase 1c). Its eastern edge and part of the sides (but not the western end) were delimited by walling made from large granite blocks, and this emphasised the triangular shape of the monument. At the east end, a rectilinear façade of upright slabs was constructed, with an axial entrance 1.20m wide opening into a chamber, measuring 5 x 1.2m, of probably funerary function (although no bones survived). The edges of that axial chamber, from the façade to the back of the chamber, were delimited by piled turves which formed the main body

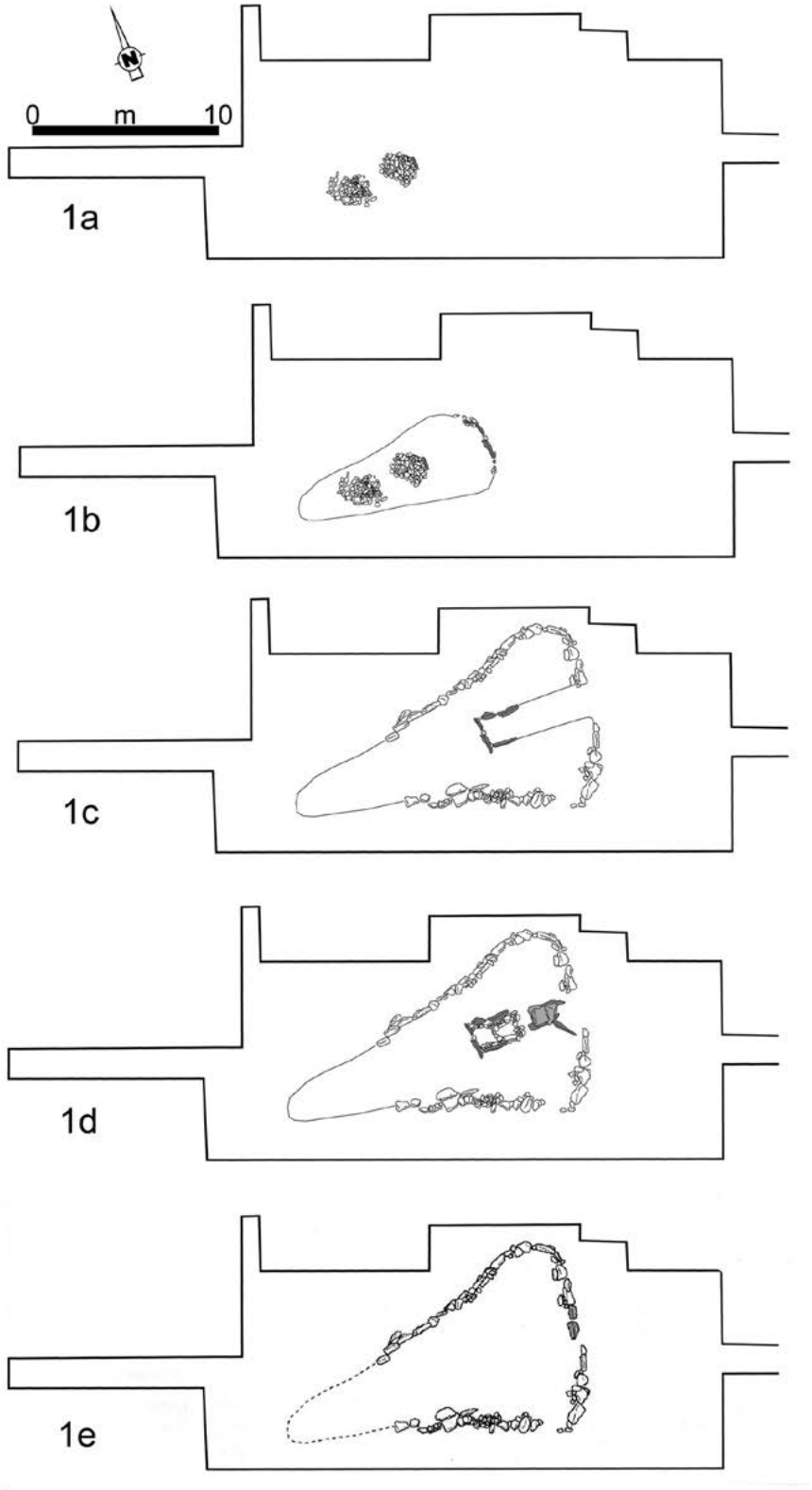

Figure 20. Synopsis of all the construction and modification phases at Les Fouaillages, including Phases 1c and 1d, attributed to the Middle Neolithic I (Pinacle-Fouaillages group). (By E. Ghesquière and C. Marcigny, after site plans by Ian Kinnes, as published in Kinnes 1982 and 1986)

of the barrow. Panels of wood or of wattlework hurdling may have completed the chamber structure. No covering for the chamber was found; this may have been of wood. The chamber was subsequently closed off and partly filled in and new structures were constructed using its constituent materials (Phase 1d). A small chamber was constructed at the east end of the barrow, its edges delimited by large granite blocks upon which roofing slabs (1 x 0.6 x 0.7m) were placed. This chamber is very narrow, and at its front is a small vestibule that opens onto the façade of the monument. (The vestibule was devoid of finds.) To the west of this, within the footprint of the former Phase 1c chamber and overlying its fill, a rough rectangular cist was constructed, its sides consisting of two granite blocks and its rear being defined by the pair of large slabs that may have been erected during Phase 1b. In the interior of this cist, a small wall separated the space into two compartments. At the bottom of the cist, resting against the pair of large slabs, were found two decorated pots of Pinacle-Fouaillages style. They had been smashed in situ. A radiocarbon date of 5670±170 BP (BM-1894R, 4950–4060 cal BC), with an unhelpfully wide standard deviation, was obtained from organic material from the same layer. The monument was subsequently taken out of use, closed off by two granite slabs.

As regards the problematic sites of La Hougue de Grosnez and La Hougue Boëte (Figure 21), the former was investigated by J. Rybot in 1923 (Rybot 1924) and by H.J. Baal in 1924 (Baal 1925), having previously been dug into a few years earlier (and extensively damaged by medieval quarrying), and the latter was excavated by M. Raworth and P. Mauger in 1911 (Deyrolle and Mauger 1912). In both cases the standard of excavation falls well below that deemed acceptable nowadays.

At La Hougue de Grosnez, the Pinacle-Fouaillages pottery (along with lithics including a stone axehead and a Breton fibrolite pebble) was found on a 'red floor', marked as 'clay' in Figure 21. This lay under and immediately north-west of three megalithic blocks arranged in a roughly open rectangle shape, as if part of a rectangular megalithic cist or chamber – although Patton comments (1995a: 50) that two of

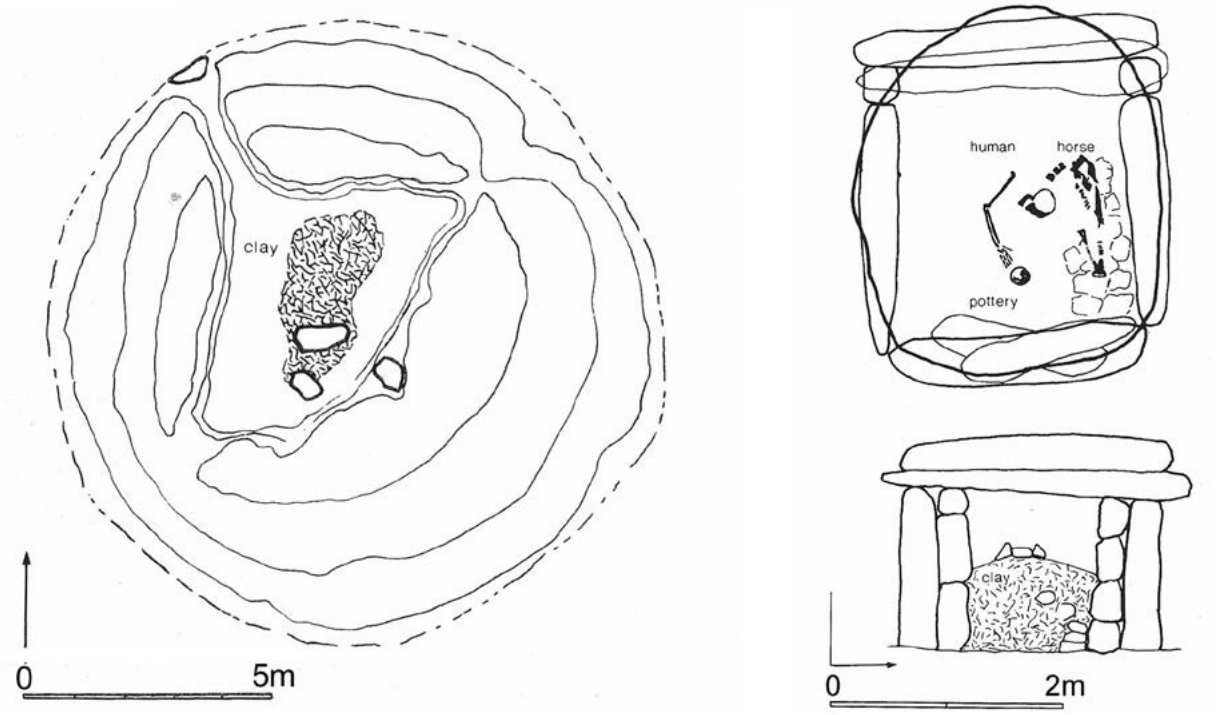

Figure 21. Plans of La Hougue de Grosnez (left) and the chamber at La Hougue Boëte (right). (After Kinnes and Hibbs 1988)

these stones are not *in situ*. A further block, perhaps relating to an outer ring, was found a few metres to the north-west, and traces of a round mound, 15m in diameter, seemingly incorporating some laid granite stones as well as earth, were found. The monument has been likened to a 'cist-in-circle' (Patton 1995a: 52) – a monument type assumed to be of much later date, and discussed as such in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age volume in this series (Needham *et al.* forthcoming 2025), as well as in below, in Chapter 6. It is to be noted, however, that the artefacts were not found within the area 'enclosed' by the three slabs, and it is possible that this had indeed been a 'cist-in-circle' monument, but built on the site of an earlier, Middle Neolithic I occupation site. There is potentially scope to obtain radiocarbon dates from any lipids that may have been absorbed by the pottery during its use; it is recommended that this be attempted, especially since the pottery assemblage includes some vessels with grooved horizontal lines that are not paralleled elsewhere (Patton 1995a: figure iv.17–18).

As for La Hougue Boëte (Figure 21, right), the excavators discovered a megalithic cist, which they reported to be 2.3 x 2m in size, covered by a clay mound, of unspecified shape, some 10m high. (Kinnes and Hibbs [1988, 55] comment that the cist appears nearer to 3.6 x 1.3m, rather than the 2.3 x 2m shown in Figure 21, and the mound survives to 4.5m.) Inside this cist they discovered the skeletal remains of a man and a horse, along with a 'round-based pot' and a fragment of a stone axehead. Deyrolle and Mauger's interpretation of the evidence in terms of the burial, on its left side, of a man mounted on a horse, with his head on the horse's neck and his hands just above the pot (Deyrolle and Mauger 1912: 170 and figure 3), must be regarded as fanciful, and Patton has noted that one of the authors of the report (Deyrolle) was not present at the excavation, while one of the excavators (Raworth) was seriously ill when the report was written. Moreover, most of the finds have been lost, with only some horse teeth surviving. Despite these shortcomings in the evidence, Patton speculated that the megalithic cist might be comparable to the 'coffres' found under the enormous Carnac-type funerary monuments of the Morbihan such as the Tumulus Saint-Michel at Carnac (Cassen *et al.* 2012: figure 27). (Megalithic cists are also known from more modest mounds in the Morbihan, such as at Le Castellic [Boujot and Cassen 1992; 1993: figure 3], which arguably offers a closer *comparandum* for La Hougue Boëte.) If Patton is correct, it would place this monument within the Middle Neolithic I period, around the middle of the 5th millennium (Cassen *et al.* 2012: table 3). However, as noted, the quality of the evidence is highly questionable – as is the attribution, by Garrow and Sturt (2017: table 3), of the pot to the Pinacle-Fouaillages tradition: all that is known about it is that it was round-based. The only way to establish. the date of this monument's use is by radiocarbon-dating the dentine of at least one of the surviving horse teeth, and this course of action is recommended.

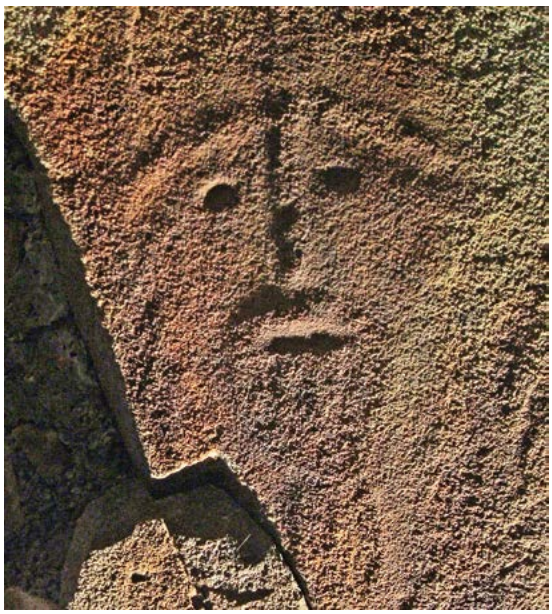

Figure 22. Detail of the figure of a warrior on the capstone of the dolmen of Le Déhus. (Photo: Philip de Jersey)

Given the considerable uncertainty over the date of the monuments at Grosnez Hougue and Hougue Boëte, then, the question remains as to whether any construction of megalithic monuments occurred during the Middle Neolithic I period. There is no evidence that any of the standing stones (menhirs) on Jersey were erected during this period, but on Guernsey there is evidence suggesting the erection of a massive standing stone, adorned with an image of a supernatural male warrior figure, at this time. This is the 'warrior stela', part of which forms the capstone of the passage tomb of Le Déhus (Figures 22 and 23).

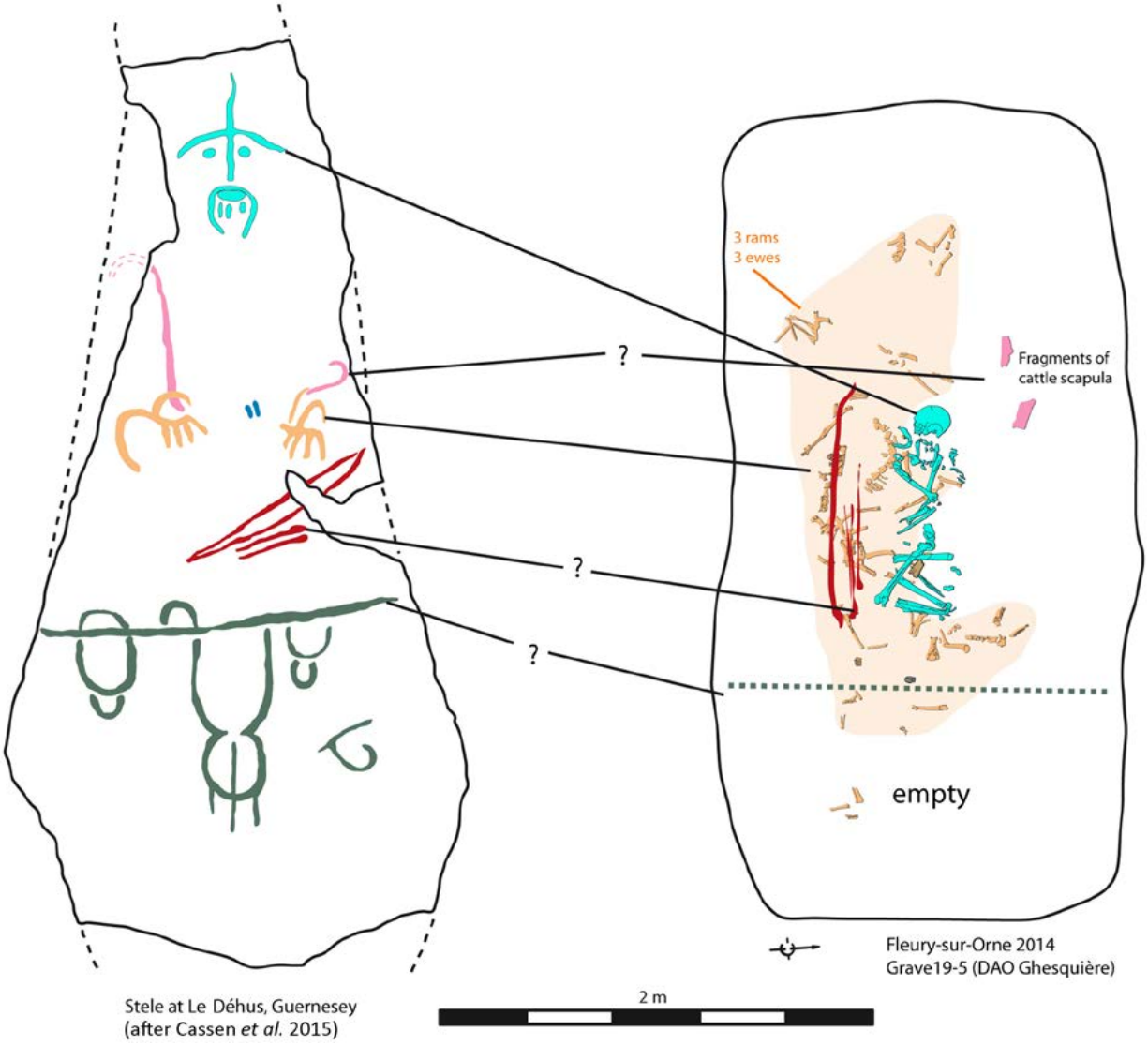

Figure 23. Comparison between the designs on the stele at Le Déhus, Guernsey (left) and from one of the graves (19-5) in the MNI cemetery at Fleury-sur-Orne « Les Hauts de l'Orne ». (Drawing by S. Cassen and E. Ghesquière; Cassen et al. *2015; Ghesquière 2021)*

This measures c. 3.7 x 2.2m, so originally the standing stone would have exceeded this – in height, if not in breadth. The presence of this re-used fragment, whose face looks down on the chamber as though offering the deceased occupants supernatural protection, provides a *terminus ante quem* of *c.* 4100–3900 BC for the original erection of the complete stone (as this date range relates to human remains found inside the passage tomb: Schulting *et al.* 2010). The themes represented in the designs on the stone (a man + bow/ arrows + ovicaprids + throwing stick + ?) correspond to those found in certain tombs of Middle Neolithic I date in the necropolis of Fleury-sur-Orne, Calvados (Lower Normandy), including one, tomb 19-5, which has been radiocarbon-dated to the 45th century cal BC (Figure 23; Ghesquière 2021; Ghesquière *et al.* 2022). This supports the argument that this massive standing stone had been erected during the Middle Neolithic I period. Where it had originally stood, however, remains an unanswered question.

Research questions pertaining to the Middle Neolithic I period are as follows:

RQ 7: What was the nature, size and distribution of settlements in Jersey (and throughout the Channel Islands) during this period? Can we assume that the population was growing and that settlements were increasing in number? Were any substantial houses built during this period? And what was the nature of social organisation, given the hints of social differentiation offered by the exotic imports of precious artefacts?

RQ 8: What was the subsistence and land use strategy of these farming communities? Was there clearance of woodland for agricultural purposes during this period, as seems to be the case in Guernsey?

RQ 9: What was the scale and duration of axehead (and other stone tool) production at Le Pinacle? How was it organised? Did any of the products travel beyond the Channel Islands? More generally, were other sources of dolerite in Jersey and elsewhere in the Channel Islands exploited to make axeheads during this period, and can products from these different sources of dolerite be distinguished?

RQ 10: When was the megalithic cist under a large mound at La Hougue Boëte built and used? At least one of the surviving horse teeth needs to be radiocarbon-dated to address the question of when it was used.

RQ 11: Can any further information about the date of construction and use of the Grosnez Hougue monument, and of the use of the artefacts found beside the stone blocks under the mound, be obtained (e.g. through dating of any lipids that may survive within the pottery)?

RQ 12: Did the inhabitants of Jersey undertake the erection of any large standing stones at this time, or was the 'warrior stele' of Le Déhus in Guernsey unique in the archipelago, as it currently seems to be? Is it possible to locate the socket for where this massive standing stone had originally been erected? (This is a question for Guernsey's Neolithic.)

Chapter 5.
The Middle Neolithic II (4300–3400 BC): the 'golden age' of megalithic (and drystone) funerary monument construction in Jersey (*c.* 4300–3900 BC), followed by a period (*c.* 3900–3400 BC) characterised by the near-absence of evidence

In Jersey and the Channel Islands more generally, the evidence for activities during the Middle Neolithic II (or, at least, its first few centuries) is wholly dominated by that from funerary monuments. This had also been the situation in Brittany and Normandy until around 20 years ago, but there the recent upswing in developer-funded archaeology led to the excavation of several settlement sites and enclosures (e.g. on the plateau of Mondeville: Chancerel *et al.* 2006). The earliest Middle Neolithic II (MNII) structures found in Brittany and Normandy – round and rectangular houses and causewayed enclosures – have not been found in Jersey or the other Channel Islands, perhaps in part because the amount of developer-funded excavation is far smaller there than on the adjacent mainland. One enclosure associated with MNII artefacts was, however, found at the Guernsey airport site, but the results of this excavation are limited.

As with the Middle Neolithic I, the Middle Neolithic II period can be divided into two parts: an 'early' phase, *c.* 4300–3900 BC, where the evidence is dominated by funerary monuments and where, as in the Middle Neolithic I, there is evidence both for interaction with communities in Lower Normandy and Brittany and for an insular identity; and a 'late' phase, *c.* 3900–3400 BC, about which virtually nothing is known.

Middle Neolithic II (early), *c.* 4300–3900 BC

The funerary monuments that are believed to have been constructed at this time in Jersey (and elsewhere in the Channel Islands) are all passage tombs (Figure 24) – of which at least seven definite examples and at least three possible examples are known in Jersey.

A distinction can be drawn between the example at La Sergenté (Figure 25) on the one hand, whose corbelled chamber of drystone construction belongs to a tradition seen in Normandy and northern Brittany (Figure 26) – and indeed in south-west England (Sheridan *et al.* 2008) – and the passage tombs of megalithic construction (Figures 27–32) on the other hand, for which no parallel in Normandy can be found. Instead, these megalithic passage tombs attest both to continuing contact with the Morbihan area of south-east Brittany (Figure 33), from where the idea of constructing megalithic passage tombs may well have been adopted, and to the emergence of a distinctively insular style of passage tomb, of which the best-known example is the massive monument of La Hougue Bie (Figure 32). Descriptions of all these monuments can be found in Patton (1995a), Kinnes and Hibbs (1988) and Patton *et al.* (1999), so they will not be repeated in detail here.

With the exception of La Hougue Bie, the amount and quality of the information that is available about these monuments leave a great deal to be desired, since the passages and chambers were investigated well before the advent of scientific methods of excavation. La Sergenté, for example, was excavated – as a 'beehive hut' – in the 1920s (Nicolle 1924). Moreover, many of the finds appear to have been lost: only a few of the human remains ended up in the Jersey Museum, for example (Table 3). This is most regrettable, given all the information about pathology, diet, mobility and genetic affiliation

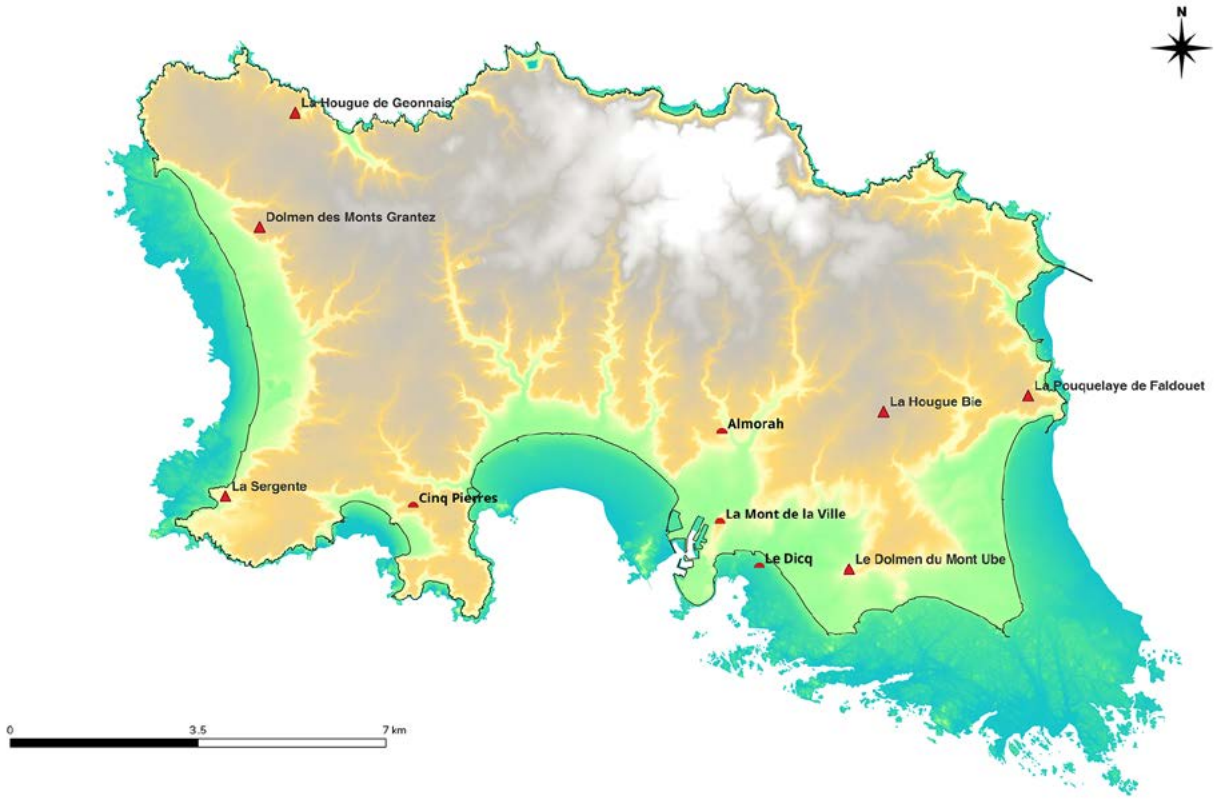

Figure 24. Distribution of definite and possible passage tombs in Jersey. Definite passage tombs (indicated by triangles): La Sergenté; Mont de la Ville; La Hougue Bie; La Pouquelaye de Faldouet; Le Dolmen du Mont Ubé; Le Dolmen (La Hougue) des Géonnais; and Dolmen des Monts Grantez. Possible passage tombs: Les Cinq Pierres, Almorah and Le Dicq. (Map by Peter Chowne)

that can be obtained from osteological, isotopic and aDNA analysis of human remains, as the studies of Bukach (2005), Schulting *et al.* (2010) and Brace and Booth (2024) have demonstrated for elsewhere in the Channel Islands. (Nevertheless, there may still be potential for the surviving remains to produce such information; an informed review of these is needed.) Worse still, in one case – the Mont de la Ville passage tomb, which formerly stood overlooking what is now St Helier – the entire monument was dismantled and shipped over to England, as a gift to the Governor of Jersey, Marshal Henry Seymour Conway, on his retirement in 1788, three years after it had been discovered (Figure 27; Hawkes 1937; Mourant 1963; Read 1985)! Moreover, as the research of Nicholas Aubin has highlighted (Aubin 2018), several monuments have been completely destroyed in the past, so we are dealing with but a sub-set of the monuments that once stood on Jersey and the other Channel Islands.

The attribution of all these monuments to the period *c.* 4300–3900 BC is necessarily speculative to some degree, and based largely on comparative dating of similar-looking monuments and/or grave goods (especially pottery) elsewhere. The only passage tomb in Jersey to have been radiocarbon-dated is La Hougue Bie, thanks to Mark Patton's excavation of the façade area between 1991 and 1994 (Patton 1995b; Patton *et al.* 1999). Rick Schulting's reassessment of these dates, and comparison with radiocarbon dates obtained from human remains in the Guernsey passage tomb of Le Déhus, has concluded – cautiously, given the limitations of the dated material and stratigraphic data – that La Hougue Bie could have been

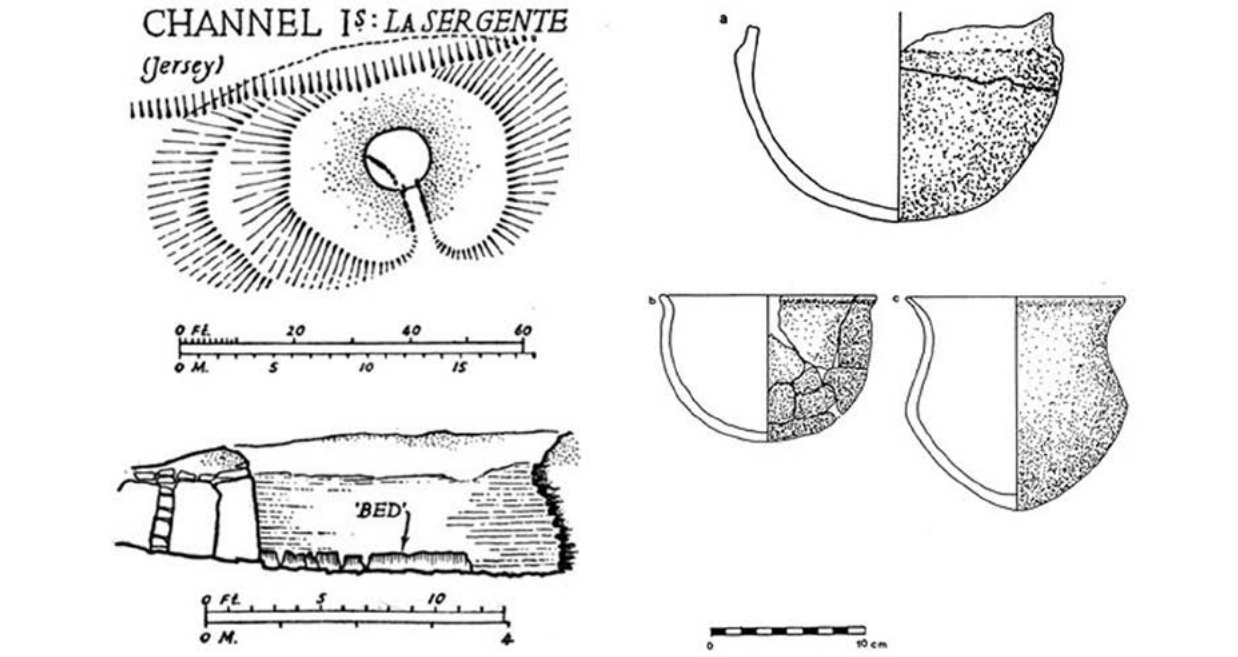

Figure 25. La Sergenté passage tomb: top, plan, elevation and three of the four pots found there; bottom: in its current condition, with part of the chamber wall having been reconstructed at the end of the 1923 excavation. (Drawings from Hawkes 1937 and Patton 1995a; photo: Peter Chowne)

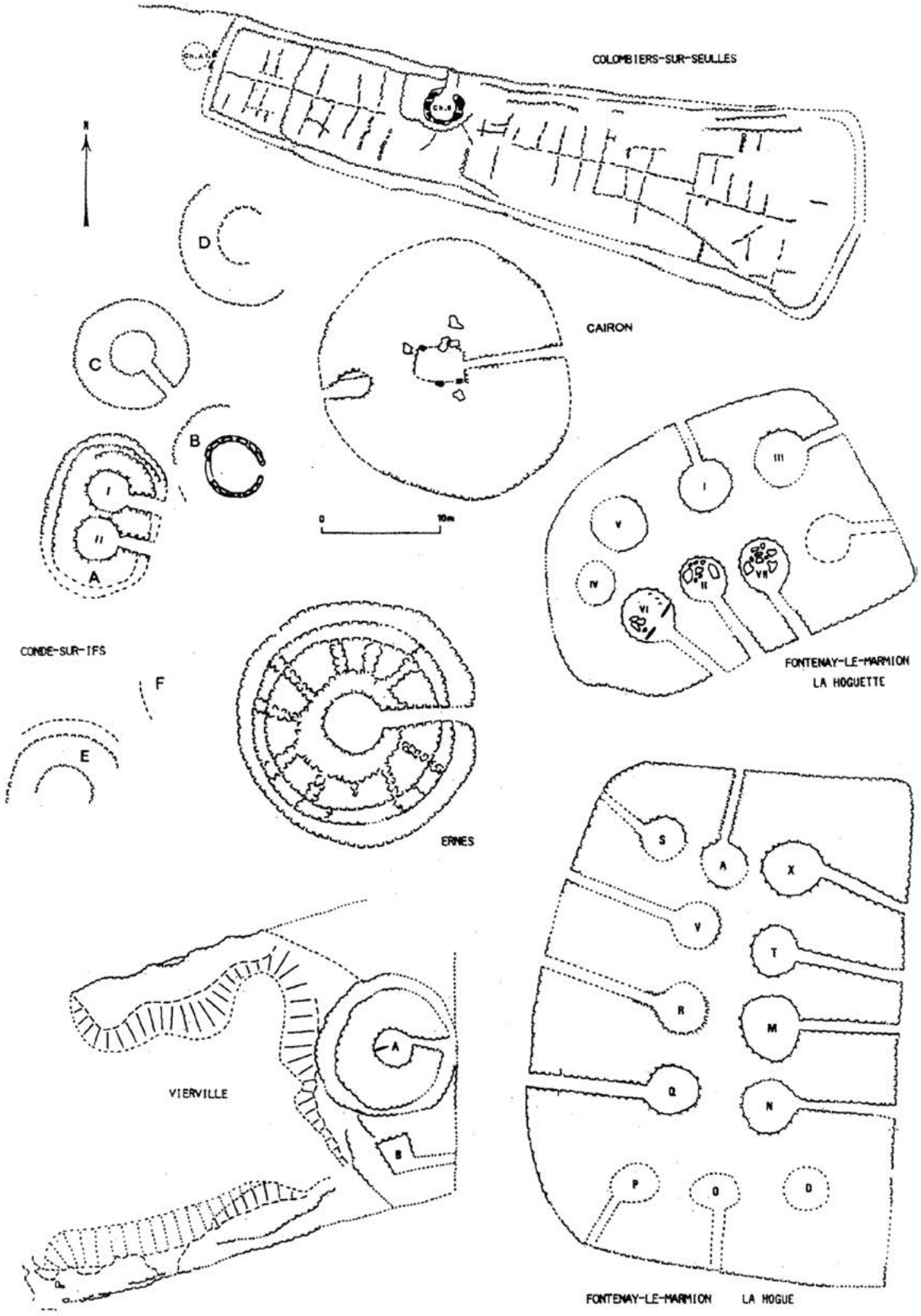

Figure 26. Drystone passage tombs (plus related structure inside the long mound at Colombiers-sur-Seulles) in Normandy and northern Brittany. (Plans from Billard and Chancerel 1998; distribution from Patton 1995a)

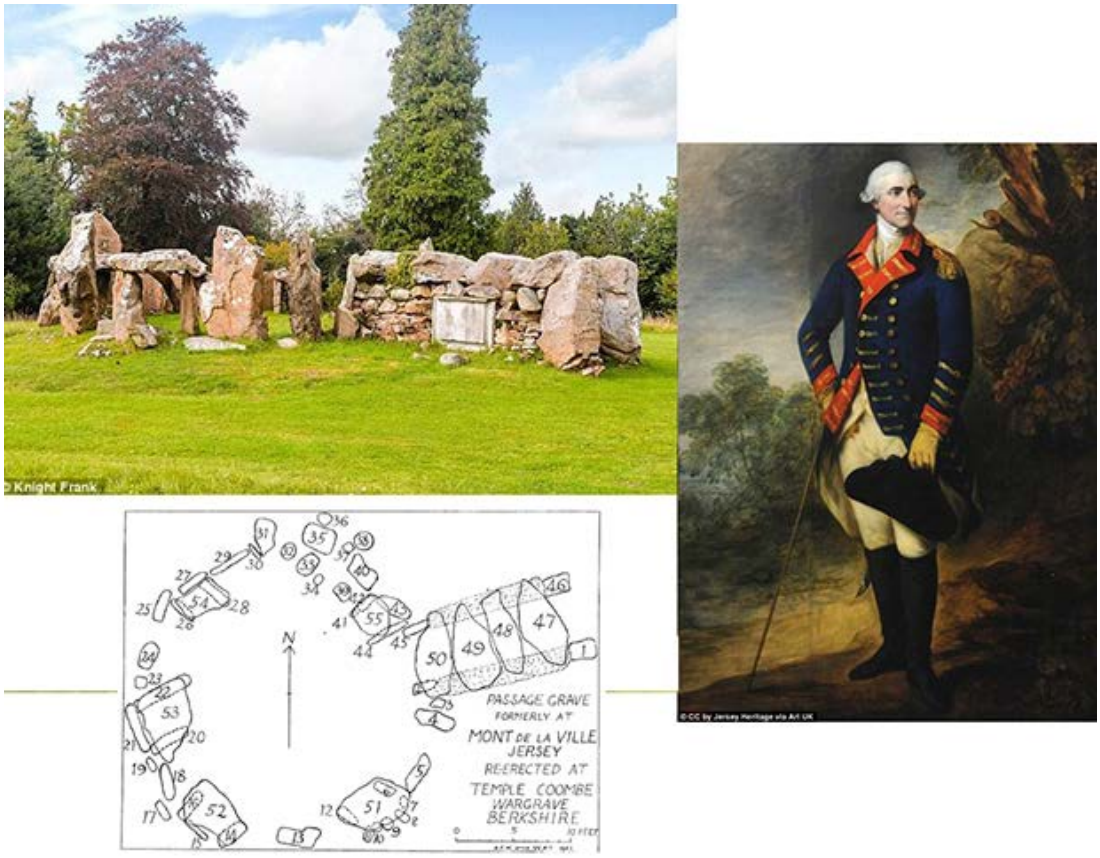

Figure 27. The Mont de la Ville passage tomb: top left, in its current condition in the Temple Coombe Estate, near Henley-on-Thames, Berkshire; bottom left: plan of the reconstructed monument; right: Marshal Henry Seymour Conway, Governor of Jersey. (Sources: Knight, Frank estate agents; Mourant 1963; Jersey Heritage, respectively)

Figure 28. Le Dolmen (La Hougue) des Géonnais passage tomb. Re-excavation of this monument by Forrest and Rault in 1985–1988 revealed that the squarish chamber shown here had been preceded by a D-shaped chamber (Patton 1995a: 39). (Photo: Peter Chowne; plan: after Patton 1995a)

Figure 29. Mont Ubé passage tomb. (Photo: Peter Chowne; plan: after Patton 1995a)

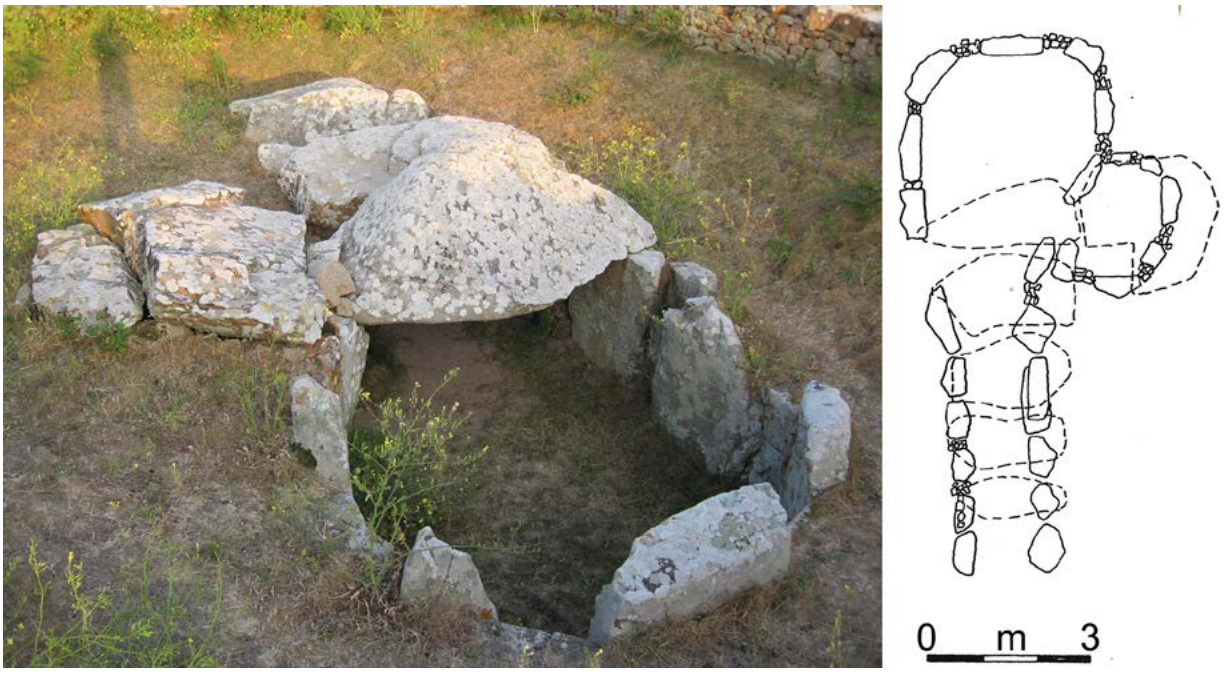

Figure 30. Dolmen des Monts Grantez passage tomb. (Photo: Peter Chowne; plan: after Patton 1995a)

Figure 31. La Pouquelaye de Faldouet passage tomb. (Photo: Peter Chowne; plan: after Patton 1995a)

erected during the last quarter of the 5th millennium (Schulting *et al.* 2010: 164 and fig. 11). Le Déhus, by comparison, saw early use between *c.* 4100 cal BC and *c.* 3900 cal BC. Schulting *et al.*'s study also reviewed the dating evidence for passage tombs with corbelled drystone chambers in Normandy. Although the quality of the radiocarbon dates from the various monuments is highly variable, those for Vierville suggest that this monument was built and used between 4350 cal BC and 4050 cal BC, and those for Ernes suggest its use within the first half of the 4th millennium. The question of whether the partly drystone-built passage tomb at La Sergenté predates the megalithic passage tombs in the Channel Islands – and if so, by how long – remains an open question. The small assemblage of pottery found at La Sergenté can be attributed to the same broad family of pottery – discussed below – as that found in the megalithic passage tombs, suggesting an overlap in the period of their use; and, as Patton has pointed out (1995a: 43), at Barnenez in Finistère, corbelled drystone chambers exist side-by-side with megalithic passage tombs within the same cairn, suggesting contemporaneity of the two constructional methods. As for whether a typochronological sequence in the construction of Jersey's megalithic passage tombs can be created – as Ian Kinnes and James Hibbs attempted in 1988 (Figure 34) – there is currently simply not enough evidence to construct a plausible model. (See Patton's critique of this model: Patton 1995a: 43.)

As regards the funerary practices associated with these Jersey passage tombs, the evidence from La Hougue Bie, Les Monts Grantez, Pouquelaye de Faldouet and Mont Ubé indicates that these monuments were used for the collective (and presumably sequential) deposition of unburnt human remains (Patton 1995a: 45–48, and see Table 3). This practice is consistent with the evidence from both Norman drystone-built passage tombs (Dron *et al.* 2003) and Breton megalithic passage tombs (as reviewed by Patton, 1995a: 46), although larger numbers of individuals have been found in both these regions. In Les Monts Grantez, most of these remains were articulated, indicating the laying of the bodies of six adults and a child on their side, their legs and arms drawn up, while at the other sites, disarticulated and scattered bones were found, in the main chamber (at La Hougue Bie) and in lateral chambers and internal compartments (at Mont Ubé). Accounts differ about the disposition of human remains at La Pouquelaye de Faldouet, with Patton (1995a: 46) describing them as disarticulated and scattered, in the internal cist-like compartments, while Kinnes and Hibbs (1988: 64) state that each cist is said to have contained 'a crouched skeleton', with the remains of three adults and at least two children being present.

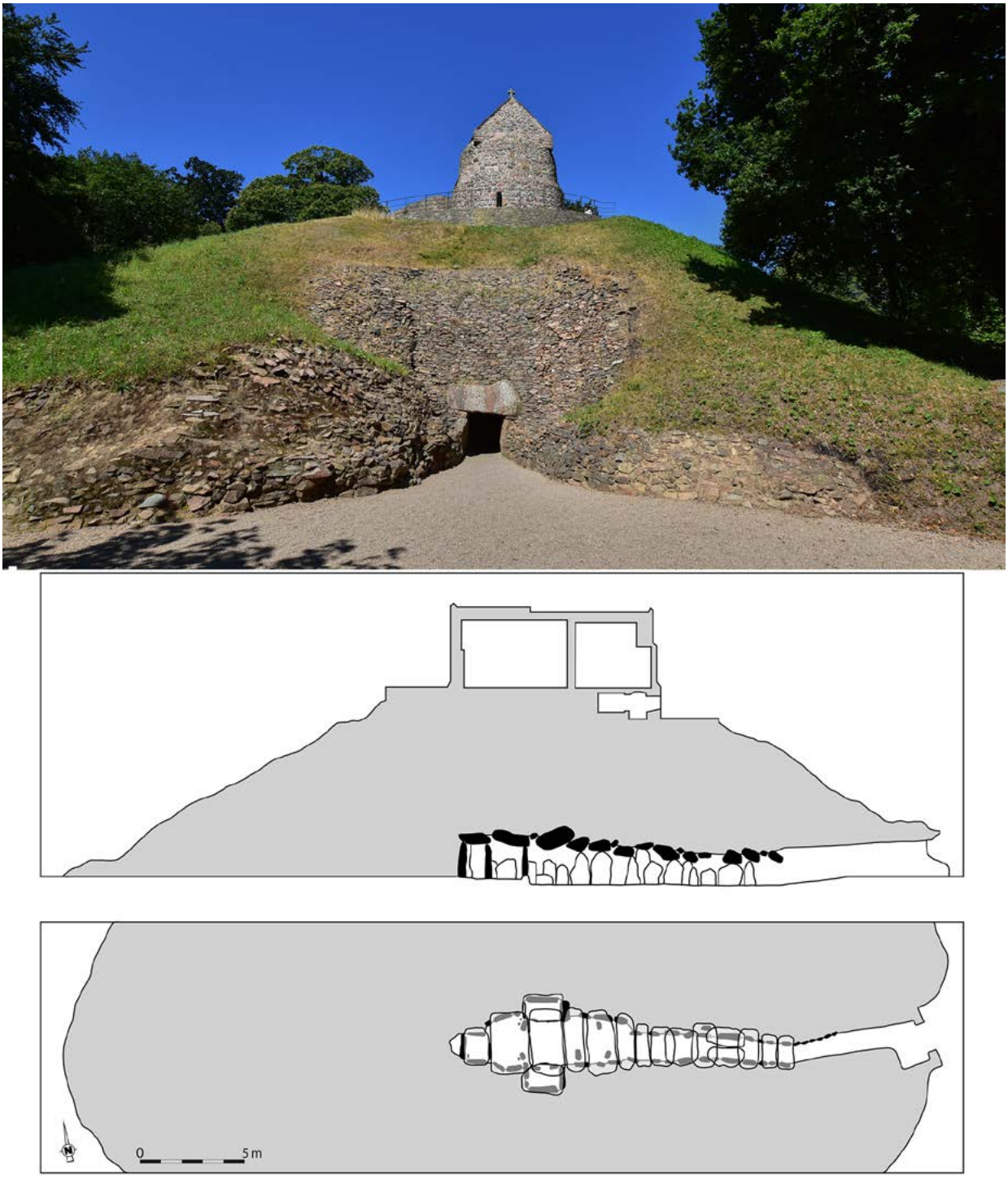

Figure 32. La Hougue Bie passage tomb. (Photo: Peter Chowne; plan and section by Cyril Marcigny)

At Grantez, all of the skeletons were associated with large amounts of limpet shells and sea-worn pebbles, and bones of cattle, pig, goat, horse and deer were also present, while at La Hougue Bie, those of cattle, sheep and pig were found (with a claim for the presence of bones from a domestic fowl – impossible in a Neolithic context – being unconfirmed). The animal bones, if they are contemporary with the human remains, may represent food offerings; whether this is the case with the limpet shells

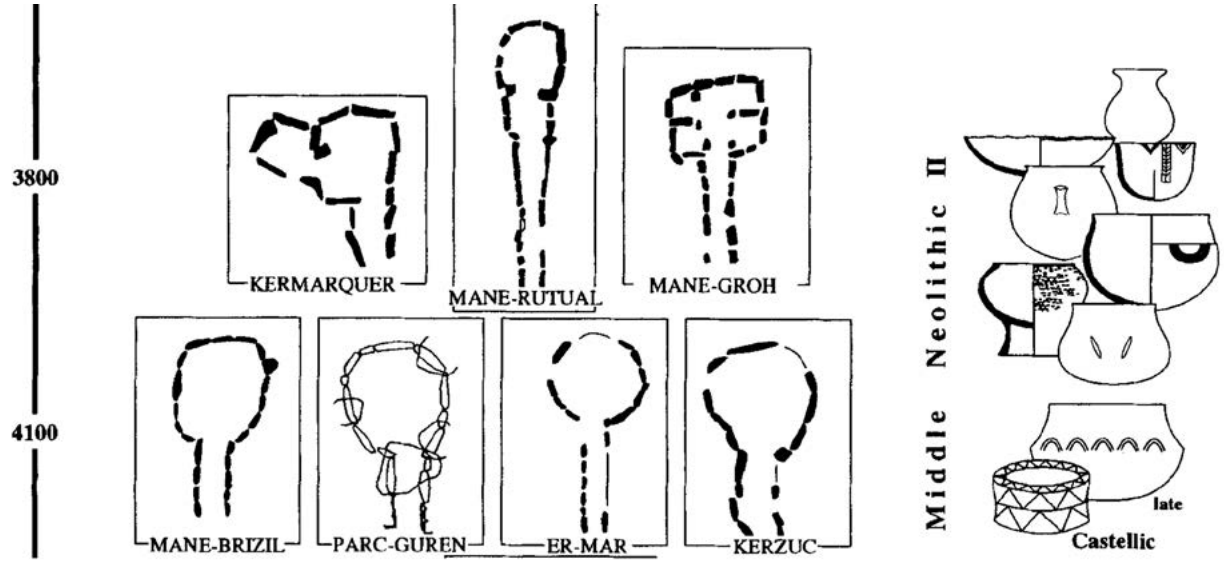

Figure 33. Generalised Morbihannais comparanda *(bottom row) for some of the megalithic passage tombs in Jersey. (From Boujot and Cassen 1993)*

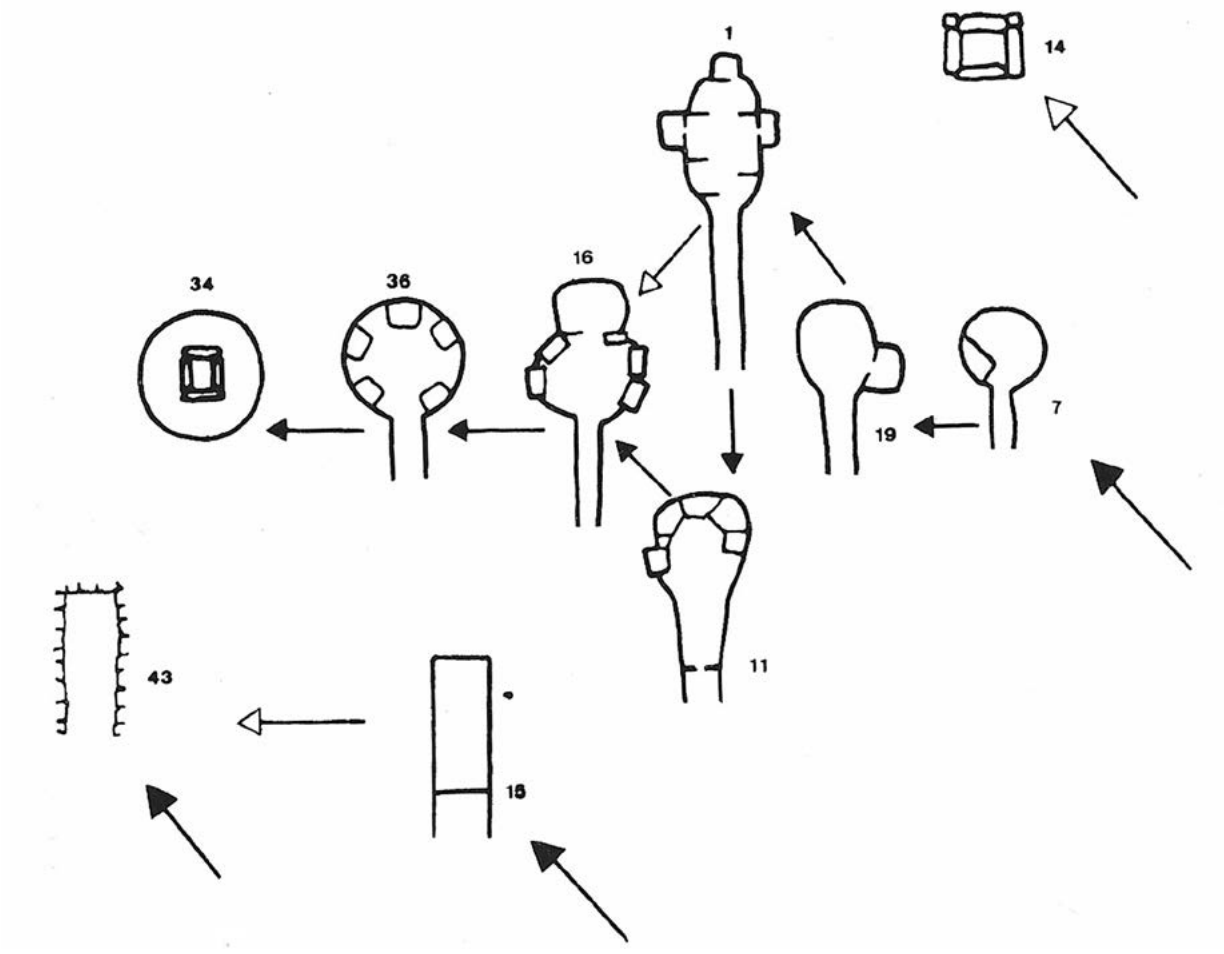

Figure 34. Proposed typochronological model for megalithic passage tombs and other megalithic funerary monuments in Jersey, by Ian Kinnes and James Hibbs. (From Kinnes and Hibbs 1988; numbers refer to their Catalogue)

Table 3. Human remains found in, and surviving from, Jersey passage tombs. (Note: no human remains were found in La Sergenté, and there is a reference to 'ashes' from some of the 'cists' in Mont de la Ville [Kinnes and Hibbs 1988,83], but these were not kept)

Site	Human remains, as originally reported (all unburnt unless specified otherwise)	Human remains surviving in Jersey Museum	References and comments
Dolmen (La Hougue) des Géonnais	'Quantities of crushed bone' and one mandible	Fragment of mandible (A/0001792/)	Baal 1930; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 65
Mont Ubé	'Records of the burials are vague but there is reason to believe that both burnt and unburnt bones were found in the compartments' (Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 46)	Bone fragments (A/0001/763); 'Vertebra/ bones' (A/0009565)	Hawkes 1939: 214–225; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 46. Monument has evidence for multi-period use; burnt bones may well relate to secondary, Early Bronze Age reuse
Dolmen des Monts Grantez	All bones in poor condition. Main chamber: contracted skeletons of 6 adults and 1 child, plus scattered disarticulated bones of 8th individual. In niche at inner end of passage: adult skeleton, 'in a seated position'; side chamber: a few bones	Human bones (A/0002501/); human bone fragments (A/0002502/, A/0002504, A/0002505/); human teeth (A/0002506/ to A/0002539) skull fragment (A/0003514); human skull bone (A/0003977)	Nicolle *et al.* 1914; Godfray 1931; Hawkes 1937: 208–213; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 69. The presence of post-Neolithic pottery in the monument indicates multi-phase use; it cannot be assumed that all the surviving bones are Neolithic, but they may be
La Pouquelaye de Faldouet	Contracted skeletons in the cists: remains of 3 adults and at least 2 children. One skeleton described as being in seated position, but this is unlikely	Bone fragments (A/0004451/)	Nicolle and Sinel 1914; Rybot 1932; Hawkes 1937: 229–239; Kinnes and Hibbs 198:, 64
La Hougue Bie	Fragmentary bones of at least 8 adults, male and female; some burnt bones (not certainly human)	Human fibulae (3); femur; tibiae (3); long bone (2); ulna; metatarsal (2); vertebrae (4); rib (6); humerus; clavicle; metacarpal; proximal phalange; calcaneum; skull fragment; fragments; unidentified, human (A/0002722 to A/0002752)	Marrett, Tims and Keith in Baal *et al.* 1925; Société Jersiaise 1925; 1948; Hawkes 1937: 196–207; Mourant 1933; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 33; Patton *et al.* 1999. Multi-period use, so cannot guarantee that all the bones are Neolithic

is more questionable, given the evidence from isotopic analysis of the human remains from Le Déhus on Guernsey that showed that marine food did not feature, to a detectable degree, in the Neolithic farmers' diet (Schulting *et al.* 2010). These shells could, instead, convey a maritime symbolism.

One further aspect of funerary rites, in addition to those indicated above, together with the deposition of offerings of food and/or drink in ceramic vessels inside the monuments, was the use of coupes-à-socle – of which 21 or 22 examples were found at La Hougue Bie (Figure 35; Baal *et al.* 1925: 217–219; Patton 1995a: 48). Many of these distinctively-shaped vessels have holes through their bodies, which would have enabled them to be swung around if required. The original excavators recognised that many contained traces of burnt organic material and suggested that these vessels had been used to burn a substance (Baal *et al.* 1925: 217: 'The traces of fire in the saucers are unquestionably the result of some smoky substance having been burned in them when in actual use.'). In 2007, they were proved correct when analysis by Lucquin *et al.* (2007) demonstrated that the substance had been birch bark tar, the burning of which would have produced a pungent smell and smoke. This could have masked the smell of decomposing bodies, but it could also have had symbolic significance, analogous to that associated with the burning of frankincense in Christian churches, or of other odoriferous substances in Hindu temples, for example. Lucquin *et al.* cited evidence for the medieval practice of painting tar on doors or beds to deter evil spirits. (Incidentally, an additional use that can now be made of the encrusted tar residue is for obtaining radiocarbon dates of the vessels in question, and this is highly recommended, as it will confirm the date when La Hougue Bie was in use.)

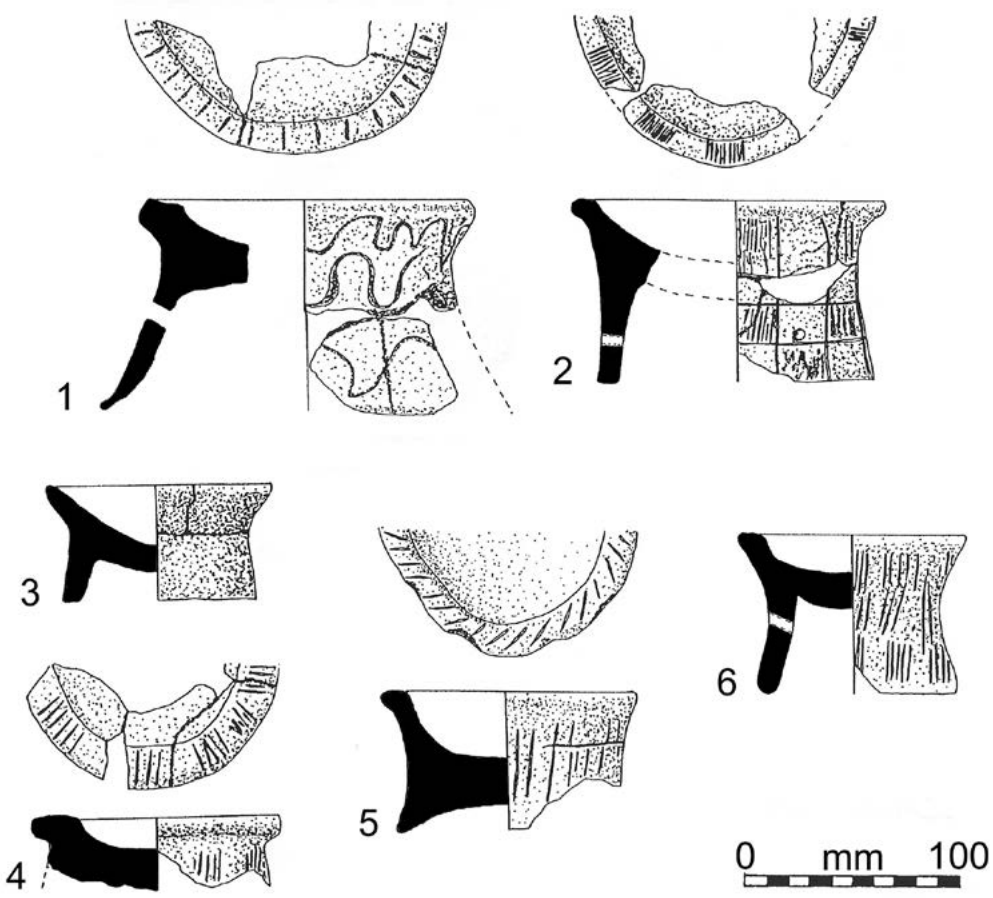

Figure 35. Examples of coupes-à-socle from Jersey passage tombs: 1, 2: La Hougue Bie; 3, 4: Les Monts Grantez; 5, 6: La Pouquelaye de Faldouet. (After Patton 1995a)

Regarding the other artefacts found in Jersey passage tombs, lithic finds are relatively few. Hammerstones, found at La Pouquelaye de Faldouet and Les Monts Grantez, could relate to the shaping of the orthostats. There are a few stone axeheads, grain rubbers and some worked flints, including four transverse arrowheads at La Hougue Bie and one at Mont Ubé, and flint picks at the latter monument and at Les Monts Grantez. Of note are a massive stone trough quern (or, at least, a stone with a large trough-shaped hollow) found buried, inverted, under the transverse slab at the entrance to the end-chamber at La Hougue Bie (Patton 1995a: 44) and a greenish bead, from the same monument, which has previously been described as being of 'callaïs' (Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 33; note that Baal *et al.* refer to two beads of 'faience' [1925]) (Figure 36). The material previously known as 'callaïs' is variscite, and recent research – described and discussed in detail in Querré *et al.* (2019) – has revealed that variscite found in Neolithic French contexts originated in mines in central and north-east Iberia and was extensively used in the mid-fifth millennium funerary monuments of the Morbihan; it continued to be used for several centuries thereafter. The Hougue Bie bead, however, has not been analysed and it is arguably more likely – given its somewhat dull green colour – that it is made of sericite, a material arguably used as a substitute for variscite, originating in Loire-Atlantique (Figure 37; Le Maux and Cassen 2019: figure 6). Similarly-shaped sericite beads were found in the corbelled drystone passage tomb chamber at Vierville in Lower Normandy (*ibid.*: 405 and figure 3) and in a megalithic monument at L'Isle Briard at Lion-d'Angers (Maine-et-Loire) (Figure 37). Analysis of the bead from La Hougue Bie is therefore recommended, since we may well be dealing with an exotic, precious personal possession that indicated the owner's special status in society. Moreover, the other items of personal adornment found in passage graves in Jersey and the other Channel Islands, in particular the curved 'greenstone' pendants from Le Pouquelaye de Faldouet, would benefit from close examination and sourcing of the raw materials.

Figure 36. The green stone bead, suspected to be of sericite, found at La Hougue Bie. Photo: Neil Mahrer, Jersey Heritage

Figure 37. Sericite jewellery: top: sources of sericite, and distribution of beads and pendants of sericite; bottom left: beads from the drystone passage tomb at Vierville, Lower Normandy and plan showing their findspots (Verron 2007); bottom right: beads from the megalithic monument of L'Isle Briand at Lion-d'Angers (Maine-et-Loire). (After Le Maux and Cassen 2019)

As for the pottery found in Jersey's passage tombs, the aforementioned coupes-à-socle (Figure 35) – present at Les Monts Grantez, La Pouquelaye de Faldouet, La Hogue des Géonnais, Mont Ubé and La Hougue Bie (and dominating the ceramic assemblage at the last site) – are a type of vessel in widespread use in France in the centuries around 4000 BC (and not just at that time, as already seen in the MNI examples from Les Fouaillages, for instance). They have been found in Late Castellic, Chasséen, Norman MNII, Michelsberg, Montbolo and other contexts (Cassen 2000: 307–311; Grouber 2000), and are particularly numerous in the Morbihan (Cassen and François 2009a). The design of the Jersey examples shares some elements in common with Late Castellic examples in the Morbihan (namely the rows of wavy lines on one from La Hougue Bie, Figure 35.1: cf. examples from La Table des Marchands [Cassen and François 2009b: figure 15]), and with Chassey examples to the east (i.e. the chequerboard design on another from La Hougue Bie, Figure 35.2). Undecorated examples (e.g. Figure 35.3), found not just on Jersey but elsewhere in the Channel Islands (Lukis 1854) can be paralleled widely in Armorica and Lower Normandy, for example at Hercquville, several kilometres from Alderney (Chancerel *et al.* 1996). Others are, however, stylistically insular (e.g. Figure 35.4–6).

Further evidence for a sharing of design ideas with Morbihannais potters is offered by a different kind of decorated vessel (but one that shares with coupes-à-socle a lateral perforation) from La Hougue des Géonnais (Figure 38.1). Its rows of cross-hatched zig-zag lines are reminiscent of the zig-zag designs seen on some Late Castellic coupes-à-socle from Er Lannic (e.g. Grouber 2000: figs. 153, 158, 159). The decoration on a seemingly flat-based vessel from Le Déhus, Guernsey – a design featuring alternating filled and plain triangles (Figure 38.2) – can similarly be paralleled among that on some coupes-à-socle from Er Lannic (*ibid.*: figure 153).

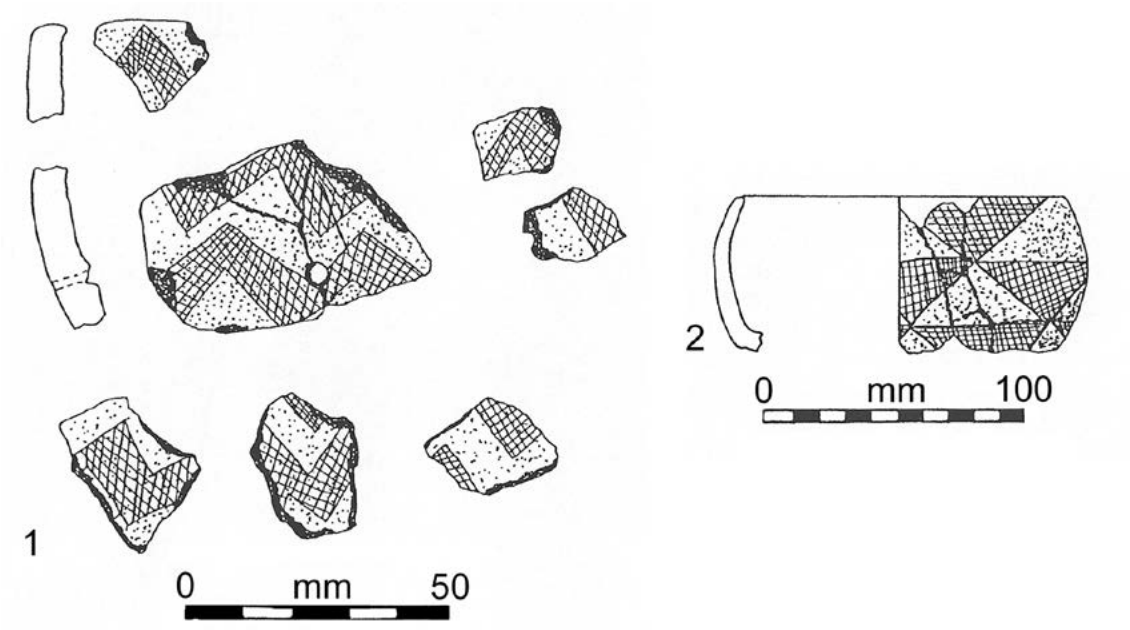

Figure 38. Pots from La Hougue des Géonnais (1) and Le Déhus, Guernsey (2) with designs paralleled on those seen on coupes-à socle from Er Lannic, Morbihan. (After Patton 1995a)

Virtually all of the rest of the pottery found in Jersey passage tombs consists of undecorated, often fine and thin-walled vessels of various shapes (Figures 25 and 39), some of which had been described, in the past, as 'Carn' pottery (as discussed by Patton 1995a: 145–146). That term is no longer used, however. While this pottery can be attributed to a broad ceramic tradition, 'Néolithique moyen de l'Ouest', it differs in some key respects from the assemblages of that tradition, lacking the collared jars and vessels with internal lugs as seen in Lower Normandy (Chancerel *et al.* 2006: figure 51). Similarly, it does not offer a close match for the undecorated wares of the Late Castellic and Auzay-Sandun traditions in Brittany (as discussed by Cassen and François 2009, for example); once again, it has its own, Channel Islands, character. (See Patton 1995a: figures iv.1, 2, 4 and 5 for examples from elsewhere in the Channel Islands.)

As regards what the Jersey passage tombs can tell us about the nature of social organisation in the centuries around 4000 BC, the huge disparity in scale between La Hougue Bie and the other passage tombs could be taken to indicate social kind of ranked society at this time, with one dominant group being able to secure the co-operation of a large part of the island's population to construct this massive monument to honour its members. La Hougue Bie, with its circular mound some 54m in diameter and originally standing to an estimated 15m, and with a passage and chamber 18m long, is one of the largest Neolithic

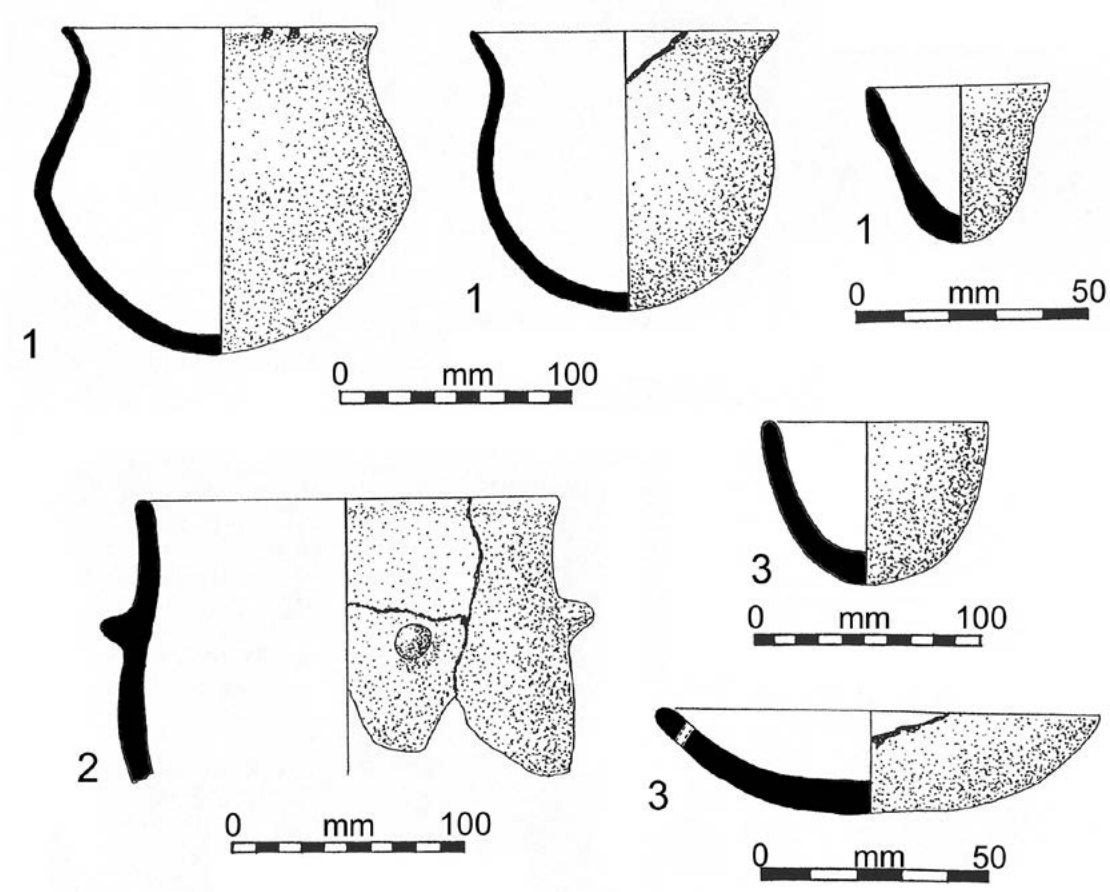

Figure 39. Plainware vessels from Jersey passage tombs: 1. La Pouquelaye de Faldouet; 2. La Hougue des Géonnais; 3. Les Monts Grantez. (After Patton 1995a) See Figure 25 for plainware from La Sergenté

funerary monuments in Europe (Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 32). Mourant's work on the provenance of the stones used to construct it (1933) has shown that material was being transported from areas to the south and north, up to c. 6.5km away (Figure 40), and Kinnes and Hibbs (1988: 25) have estimated that it would have taken 40,000 working days to construct. The other passage tombs in Jersey – which themselves vary in scale,with La Pouquelaye de Faldouet having a chamber and passage 19m long and a circular mound 33m in diameter (*ibid.*: 60) – could perhaps have served as the places of interment of individual groups: expressions of identity and of land ownership. Other aspects of the lives of the Middle Neolithic II farmers in Jersey between *c.* 4300 and *c.* 3900 BC are very poorly represented. Just one site, on the small island of La Motte, has produced evidence for occupation activity. This takes the form of spreads of midden material, some overlying an unexplored cairn that could well cover a funerary monument. The pottery found in the middens includes coupes-à-socle that are closely comparable with some from La Hougue Bie (Figure 41).

Palaeoenvironmental evidence is sparse and lacks the necessary chronological resolution to allow a detailed narrative for this period, so it is not possible to determine whether the 'accelerated removal of oak-hazel woodland' referred to by Jones *et al.* (1990: 119) had already taken place. The faunal remains from the passage tombs – assuming, that is, that they are contemporary with the monuments' Middle Neolithic use – attest to the keeping of domesticated animals and the general pollen record confirms that cereal cultivation was being practised. One detail of agricultural practice that has been revealed by the isotopic analysis of Middle Neolithic II human remains from Le Déhus (Schulting *et al.* 2010) is the

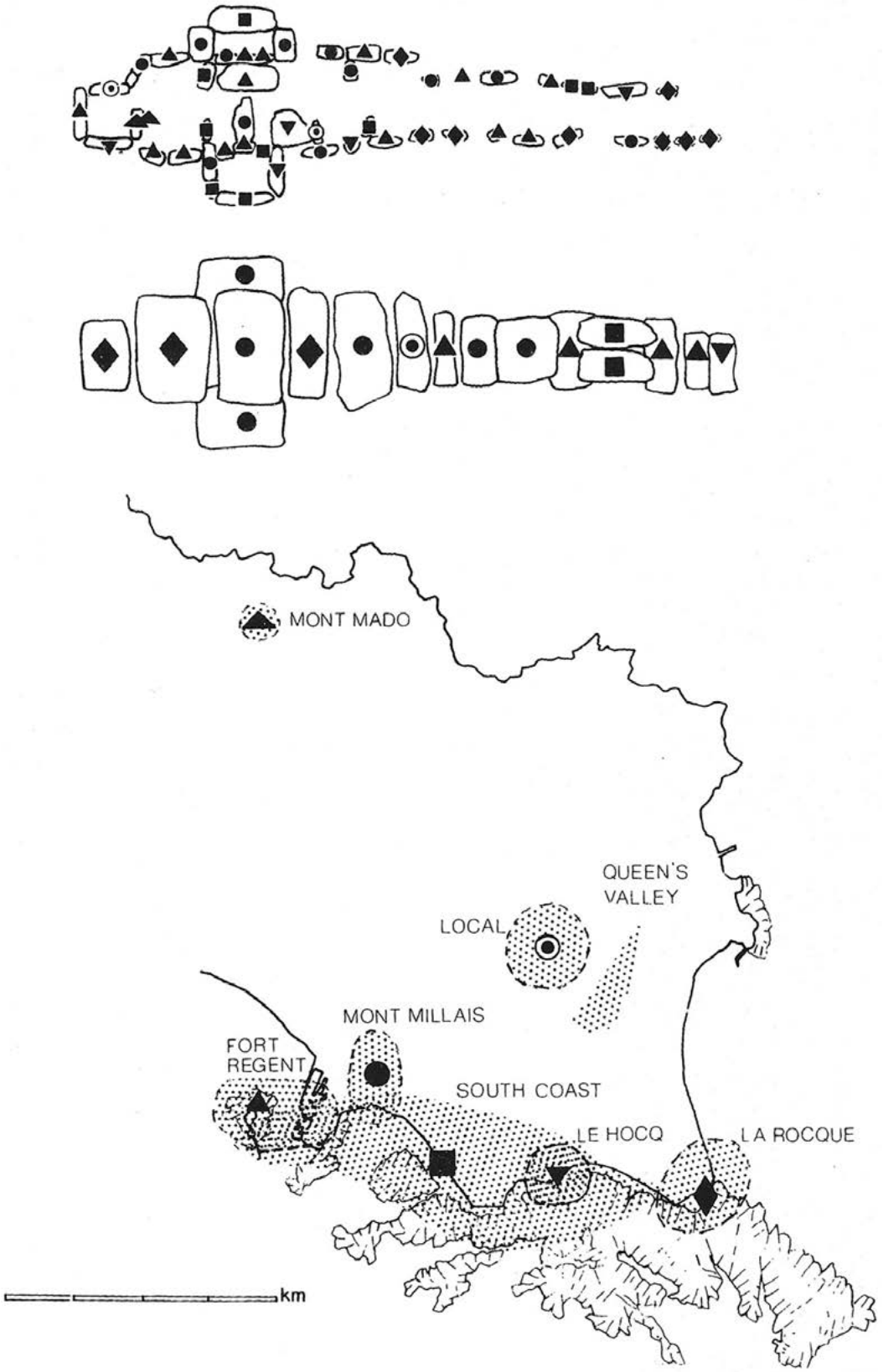

Figure 40. Provenance of the stones used to construct the passage and chamber of La Hougue Bie. (From Kinnes and Hibbs 1988)

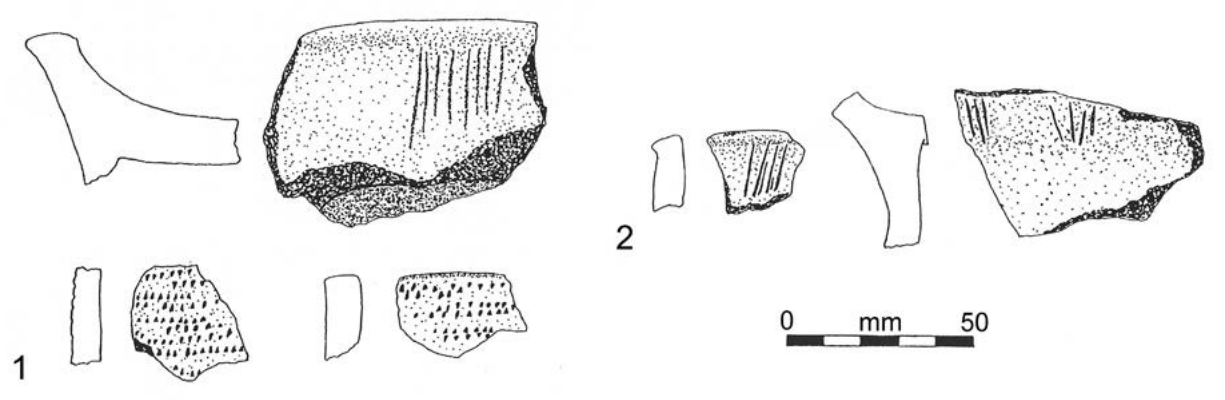

Figure 41. Pottery from La Motte (1), and for the coupe-à-socle from La Hougue Bie. (After Patton 1995a)

probable use – at least, on Guernsey – of seaweed as a fertiliser; this was inferred from the high values for nitrogen. The same isotopic analysis confirmed that the farmers buried in that monument had a diet dominated by terrestrial resources.

Finally, as regards external contacts, in addition to the evidence already described, there is evidence in the form of axeheads of exotic stone that are likely to have been imported to Jersey during this period. Exploitation of the Type A dolerite (metadolerite) at the Plussulien quarry in central Armorica is believed to have begun around 4000 BC (Figure 42.1; Le Roux 1979; 1999), and it is likely that at least some of the axeheads of this material found in Jersey arrived around this time. Similarly, it may well be that flint axeheads (Figure 42.2) from Norman flint mines were also arriving during this period; to judge from the dates obtained for the Ri and Ronai mines in the Orne Valley, mining was underway by *c.* 4100 BC (Marcigny 2010; Giligny and Bostyn 2016: figure 5c). Among the Alpine axeheads found in the Channel Islands, a small example relating to Type Puy, found at an unknown locality in Jersey, is likely to have arrived at some time between *c.* 4300/4200 BC and *c.* 3900 BC (Figure 42.3; Sheridan and Pailler 2012: 1085). Patton has commented on the disparity of the frequency of imported axeheads between Jersey and the other Channel Islands, with over 43% of axeheads in Jersey originating on the Continent, in contrast to just 27% and 13% for Guernsey and Sark respectively (Patton 1995a: 60). This suggests that, over the course of the Neolithic, communities in Jersey had more regular or privileged access to these imports, thanks to the island's proximity to the Cotentin peninsula.

Middle Neolithic II (late), *c.* 3900–3400 BC

Next to nothing is known about this period, and filling this evidential gap should be a priority, even though little can proactively be done, other than through palaeoenvironmental research. It is not known whether any megalithic monuments were erected during this period, or whether the monuments constructed during the previous four centuries continued to be used since there are no artefacts that unequivocally date to this half millennium; and the existing, coarse-grained palaeoenvironmental record simply suggests that agricultural activities continued (Jones *et al*. 1990: 119). There are lithic scatters, as documented by Patton (1995a: appendix 1), but it is impossible to say whether any date to this period.

It seems likely, however, that axeheads of Plussulien dolerite and of mined Norman flint continued to be imported, and a recent find from Three Oaks Farm, St Lawrence, raises the intriguing possibility that an axehead of Swiss nephrite was acquired at some time during the first half of the fourth millennium

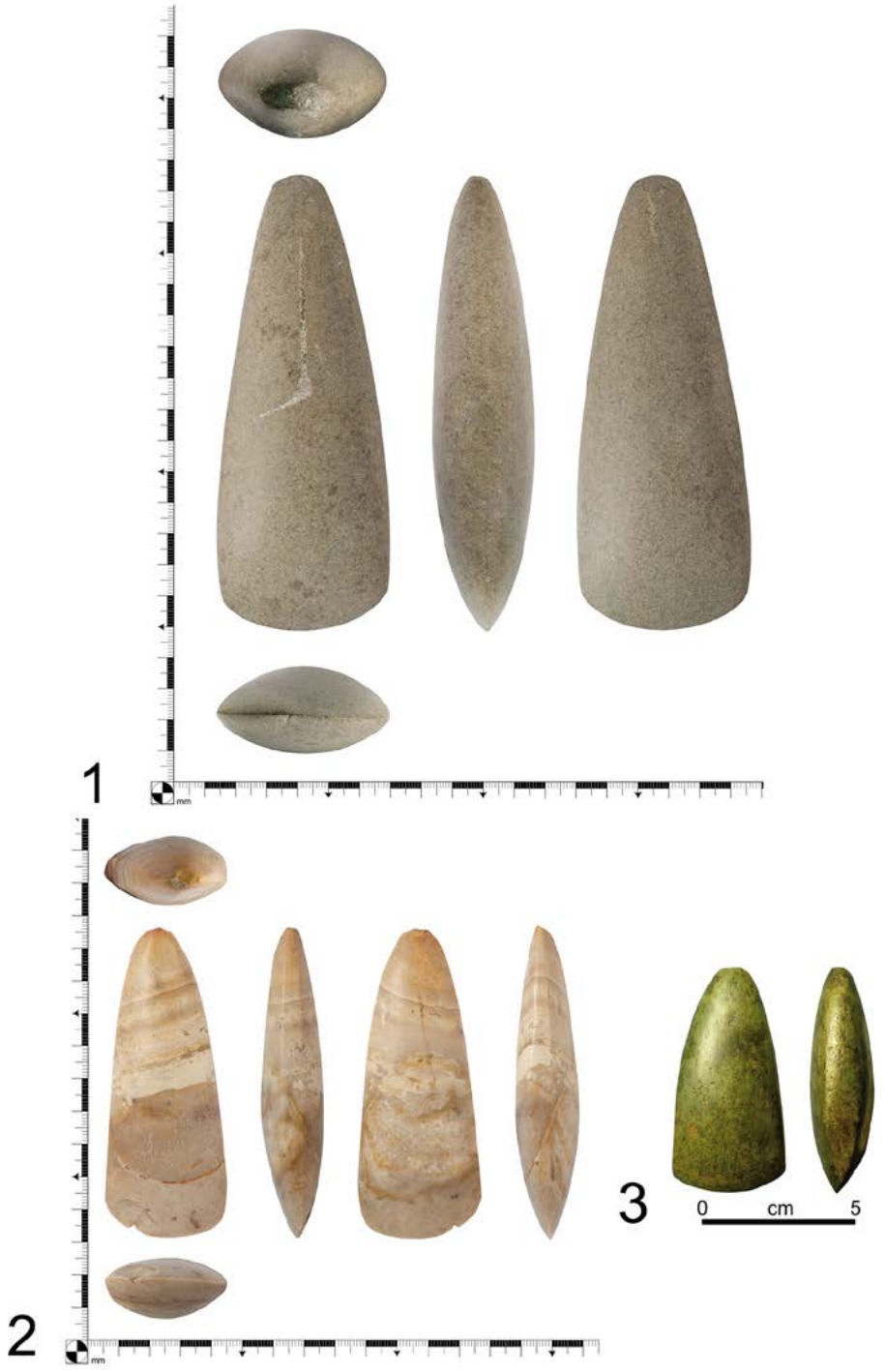

Figure 42. Axeheads that may have arrived in Jersey between c. 4300 BC and c. 3900 BC: 1 (above, left). Probably of Plussulien Type A metadolerite, St Mary (Jersey Museum A/2024/00017); 2 (above, right). Of polished banded flint, St Ouen, field 1908 (Jersey Museum A/2024/00015); 3 (left). Of Alpine omphacitite, relating to Type Puy, no location (Jersey Museum A/0005319). (Photos: 1, 2: Perry Mesney, Jersey Heritage; 3. Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

Figure 43. Fragment of axehead believed to be of Swiss nephrite, possibly from the source at Moiry; it had been sawn, with the cut-mark visible on one edge. (Photo: Perry Mesney, Jersey Heritage)

(Figure 43). This axehead, which was found in a building on the farm and may have been discovered in the fields around it, has been analysed by Michel Errera for *Projet JADE*, and Pierre Pétrequin is exploring the possibility that it could have come from Moiry, a source known to have been exploited at that period; research continues, and no firm conclusions can yet be drawn. (The nephrite is unlikely to have come from Sankt Annafirn in Switzerland, another source area for nephrite axeheads: Pétrequin and Pétrequin 2025).

Elsewhere, in Lower Normandy, evidence for activities during this period is similarly – but not quite as – sparse (as shown, for example, in the suspicious-looking lacuna in the ceramic record: Chancerel *et al.* 2006: figure 129). It has been suggested that there could have been a degree of 'emptying out' of the landscape as some groups chose to relocate to south-west England (Sheridan *et al.* 2008). Some degree of population movement from north-west France to south-west and southern England around 3800 BC is clear from both archaeological and aDNA evidence (Sheridan and Whittle 2023). Whether this phenomenon affected the Channel Islands population is impossible to tell, however.

The following research questions pertaining to the Middle Neolithic II can be suggested:

RQ 12: Can a more refined chronology of megalithic (and other – part-drystone, in the case of La Sergenté) funerary monuments in Jersey (and across the Channel Islands) be achieved? Is it correct to argue that all the passage tombs were built between 4300 BC and 3900 BC? It is recommended that all possibilities for obtaining radiocarbon dates be pursued: the dating of the remains of birch-bark tar on (and in) the coupes-à-socle from La Hougue Bie; dating of lipids that may have been absorbed into other pottery from Jersey passage tombs; dating of the surviving human remains. The direct dating of pottery would also help to clarify ceramic typochronology.

RQ 13: Can more be found out about the individuals buried in the passage tombs through a programme of osteological examination and (if feasible) isotopic and aDNA analysis of the surviving human remains?

RQ 14: Were other funerary practices, in addition to deposition in passage tombs, practised in Jersey during this period?

RQ 15: Is the suggestion that society was inegalitatian at this time (based on the huge disparity in scale between La Hougue Bie and other Channel Islands passage tombs) the most plausible interpretation of the evidence? What other hypotheses can be proposed to account for this huge disparity?

RQ 16: Is there scope for finding out more about the original location of Mont de la Ville, through geophysical survey or excavation? In other words, might any trace of the original stone-holes survive? Similarly, is there scope for obtaining further information from monuments that have been destroyed (e.g. by excavation of the areas where the monuments had stood)?

RQ 17: Is the greenstone bead from La Hougue Bie of sericite, as suspected? And are there any other exotic items of jewellery among the finds from Jersey's passage tombs? Analysis of all the jewellery that is not obviously of local materials needs to be undertaken, preferably at the laboratory in Rennes where so much analysis of sericite and variscite has already been undertaken.

RQ 18: What is the nature of the monument under the cairn at La Motte? Was it a megalithic passage tomb? And is there any other evidence for occupation at La Motte, other than the midden material? Investigatory excavation is recommended.

RQ 19: Where and how were people living during this period? Were the settlements any different from those of preceding generations?

RQ 20: Were there any changes in the environment or in subsistence practices during this period? Fine-grained palaeoenvironmental (including palaeclimatic) research needs to be undertaken.

RQ 21: What was going on in the 'near-blank' centuries between *c*. 3900 BC and *c*. 3400 BC? In particular, what kind of pottery and other material culture was being used? Might any of the hard-to-classify, or badly damaged, megalithic monuments have been erected at this time? Were any standing stones erected during this period? Excavation of badly damaged monuments might just reveal information on when they were constructed and used. Is it possible to refine the typochronology of axehead production at Plussulien and in the Norman flint mines to shed light on which axeheads from these sources may have been travelling to Jersey at this time? (Here, an illustrated corpus of all the Plussulien metadolerite and Neolithic flint axeheads would be helpful.) Were local sources of dolerite on Jersey being exploited at this time?

Chapter 6.
The Late-Final Neolithic (and Chalcolithic), a long (*c.* 3400–2300 BC) and poorly-understood period

As is the case in north-west France, evidence for activities and developments for the first part of this period (*c.*3400–*c.*2800 BC) is fairly sparse, although there is slightly more evidence for the period between *c.* 2800 BC and *c.*2300 BC. As with preceding periods, this millennium or so will be considered in two parts.

Late Neolithic, *c.* 3400–2800 BC

In terms of funerary monuments it is likely that, by analogy with Seine-Oise-Marne culture examples in the Paris Basin, Lower Normandy and Brittany, the gallery graves at Le Couperon and Ville-ès-Nouaux (Figure 44) in Jersey, and of Les Pourciaux North, on Alderney (Patton 1995a:, 70), were constructed within the last three to four centuries of the 4th millennium BC. Like the passage tombs at the beginning of that millennium, these would have been collective places of burial; sadly no bone was found. One distinctive feature of Le Couperon is the presence of part of a 'porthole' stone which would originally have permitted restricted access to the chamber. The Channel Islands gallery graves have been discussed in detail by Patton (1995: 69–72). It is unclear whether any other kind of funerary monument, megalithic or otherwise, was created in Jersey.

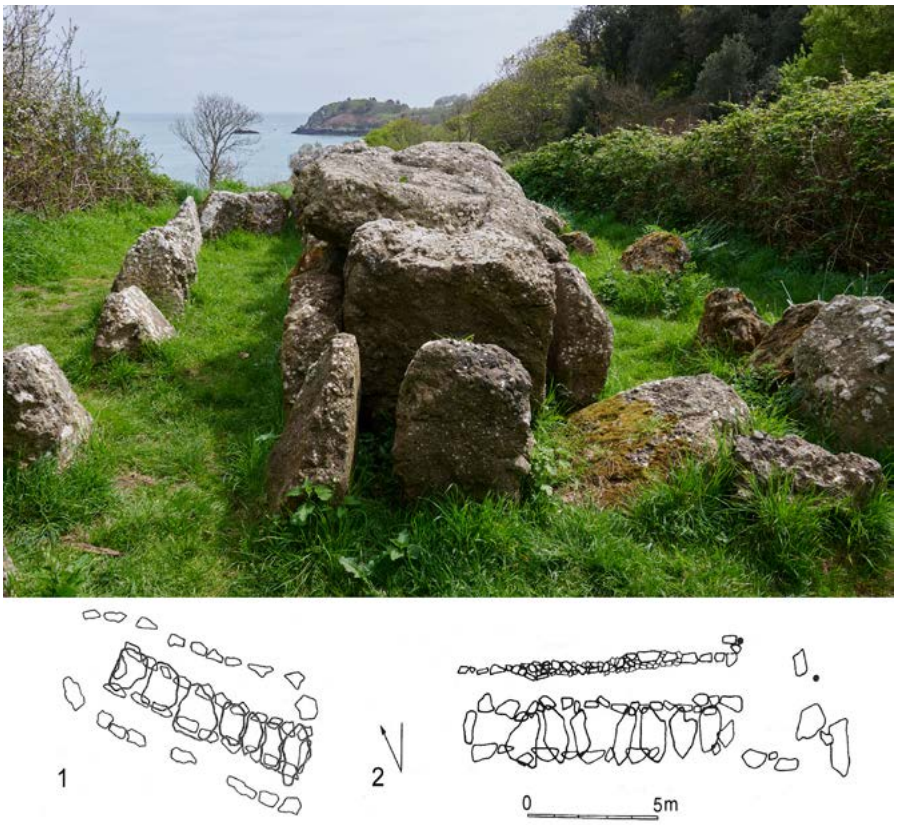

Figure 44. Gallery graves at Le Couperon and Ville-ès-Nouaux. (After Kinnes and Hibbs 1988; the 1919 Hawkes version of the of Le Couperon plan is shown). (Photo: Peter Chowne)

At least some of the coarse, flat-based pottery found in Jersey is indeed likely to date to the Late Neolithic, however: these are the vessels with 'Seine-Oise-Marne' affinities from Le Pinacle and from Le Déhus in Guernsey (Figure 45; Patton 1995a: 64–65 and see Giligny and Bostyn 2016: 30 for a critique of the term 'Seine-Oise-Marne' culture). It is not known whether the pottery's presence at Le Pinacle indicates that the dolerite was still being quarried there for making axeheads at this period. The presence of a curving stone pendant at Le Pinacle (Figure 45.1) – an object type with parallels in Seine-Oise-Marne contexts – suggests, however, that the Late Neolithic activity there need not have been associated with quarrying. (See below on Final Neolithic/Chalcolithic activity.)

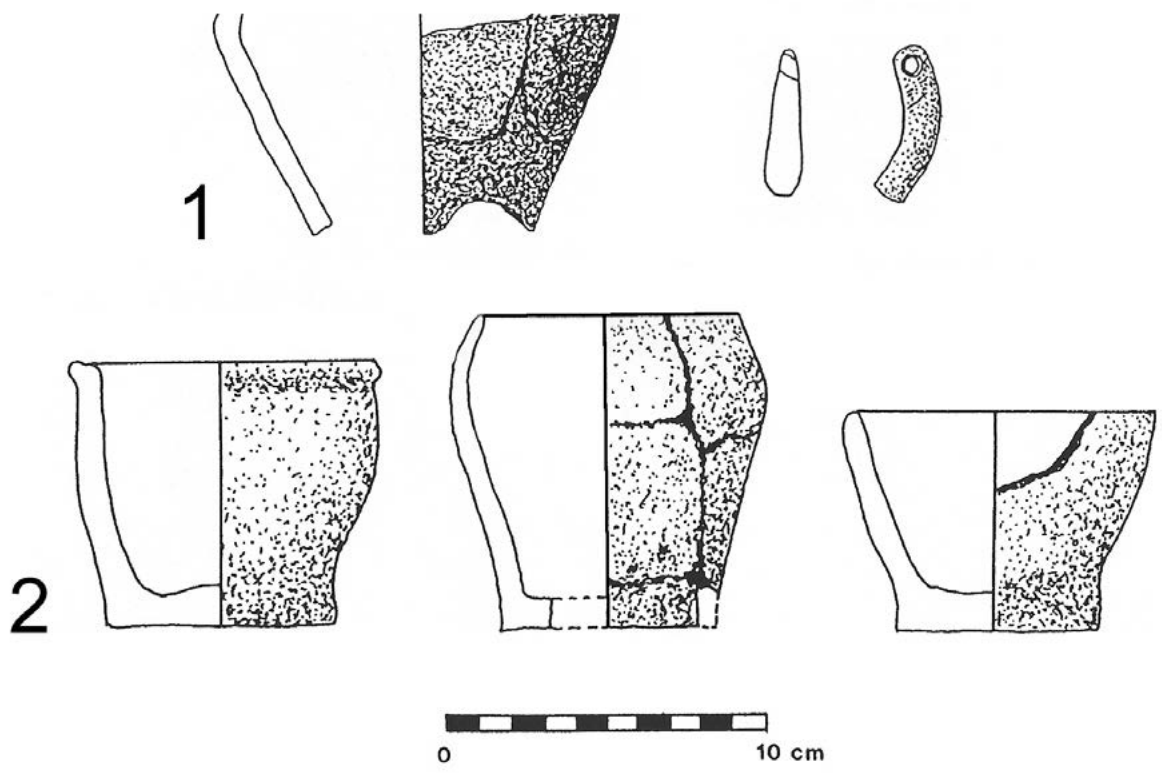

Figure 45. Artefacts with Seine-Oise-Marne culture affinities: 1. Pot and stone arciform pendant from Le Pinacle; 2. Pots from Le Déhus, Guernsey. (After Patton 1995a)

A further artefact type with parallels in Seine-Oise-Marne contexts in mainland France is the axehead-pendant, of which two examples made from Alpine rock are known, from Mont Orgeuil and Grève de Lecq (Figure 46). Both were found, through analysis by *Projet JADE*, to be of jadeitite, probably from Monte Viso (Sheridan and Pailler 2012), and both will have been made from worn-out axeheads. Patton illustrates a third axehead-pendant, of unspecified (but presumably non-Alpine) stone type, from St Martin (1995a, figure V.2). These are all likely to date to the last quarter of the fourth millennium BC. As mentioned in Chapter 3, recent aDNA analysis of individuals buried in the passage tomb at Le Déhus on Guernsey has provided an intriguing clue as to what may have been going on during the second half of the fourth millennium in the Channel Islands. An individual buried there late in the fourth millennium BC, during a secondary phase of the monument's use, has a genetic signature with a significantly higher

degree of Mesolithic (Western Hunter-Gatherer) ancestry than that of the Middle Neolithic individuals from that monument and from The Common on Herm (Patterson *et al.* 2022; Brace and Booth 2024). Selina Brace and Tom Booth have argued that the most likely explanation for this is an influx of new settlers from mainland France, bringing with them this particular genetic signature. This could, then, account for the appearance of gallery graves and of artefact types suggesting strong connections with the Paris Basin (or else Lower Normandy, where the Seine-Oise-Marne culture is also represented). Such a population movement is consistent with evidence for significant social changes during the late 4th millennium in the Paris Basin, with the abandonment of defensive sites (enclosures) and an apparent dispersal of settlement (Giligny and Bostyn 2016: 30). If there was indeed an influx (however small) of new settlers in the Channel Islands at this time, this begs the question of what happened to the indigenous Channel Islanders.

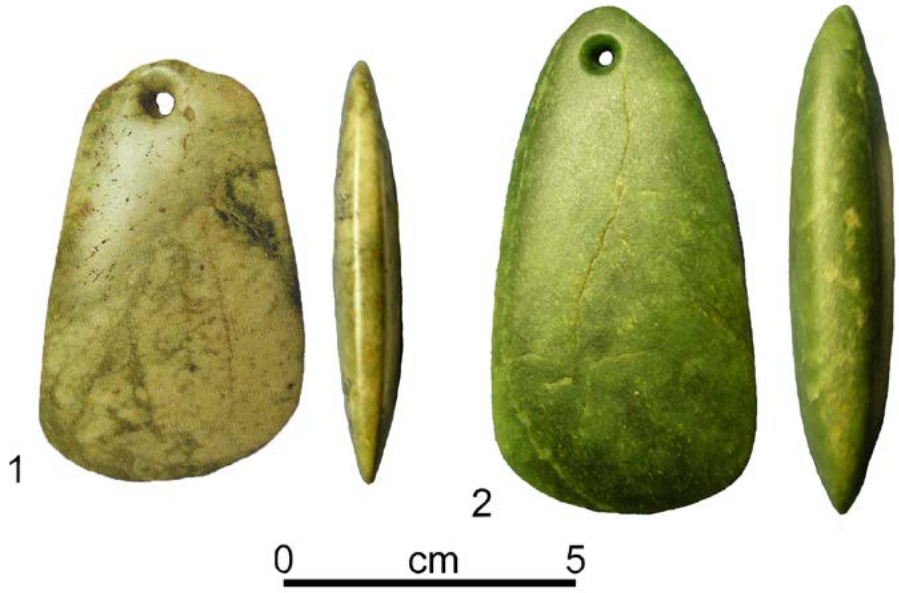

Figure 46. Axehead-pendants of Alpine jadeitite from Jersey: 1. Mont Orgueil (in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford); 2. Grève de Lecq (Jersey Museum, A/0009759/). (Photos: Pierre Pétrequin, Projet JADE*)*

As regards other developments at this time, it is likely that axeheads of Plussulien metadolerite, and possibly also of Norman flint, were still arriving in Jersey. It is unclear whether the distinctively-shaped haches à bouton of Plussulien metadolerite, with their knobbed butt (Figure 47; Le Roux 1999), were being made and were arriving in the Channel Islands as early as the late fourth millennium BC, as Patton states (1995a: 64, 66), or whether they were a later arrival; the dating evidence for these artefacts leaves a lot to be desired.

It may be that the individual standing stones (menhirs) and simple stone settings of Jersey were erected during this period; their distribution is shown in Figure 48. (See also Patton 1995a: 72–74.) In Guernsey there are two menhirs that have been shaped (through pecking the granite stone) into stylised female form, including the one from Câtel (Castel) shown in Figure 49. The other is la Gran'mère du Chimquière.

Figure 47. Hache à bouton of Plussulien metadolerite, found in St Ouen (Jersey Museum A/0007307/). (Photo: Jersey Museum)

The projecting breasts and necklace are designs that have also been found in gallery graves, in the Paris Basin and in Brittany, and so in theory these carved menhirs could date as early as the late fourth millennium or the first two centuries of the third. A connection with Brittany is suggested not only by the gallery grave evidence but also by the fact that shaped menhirs similar to the Guernsey examples are known there. None of the Jersey menhirs has been carved, however, and the only chance of obtaining dating evidence relating to their erection would be through excavation of the stone-holes, in case any datable organic material is present.

Research questions relating to the Late Neolithic are as follows:

RQ 22: If there was indeed an influx of new settlers in the Channel Islands during the late 4th millennium BC, as the aDNA evidence from Le Déhus suggests, what was the impact on the existing population?

RQ 23: What was the nature of settlement and subsistence practices at this time?

RQ 24: Can the dating of the Seine-Oise-Marne style pottery be improved?

RQ 25: Were the menhirs of Jersey erected during this period? And were any cist-in-circle monuments erected during this period?

RQ 26: Is this the period when the haches à bouton of Plussulien metadolerite were in use? (This requires a broader dating initiative relating to this artefact type throughout its area of distribution.)

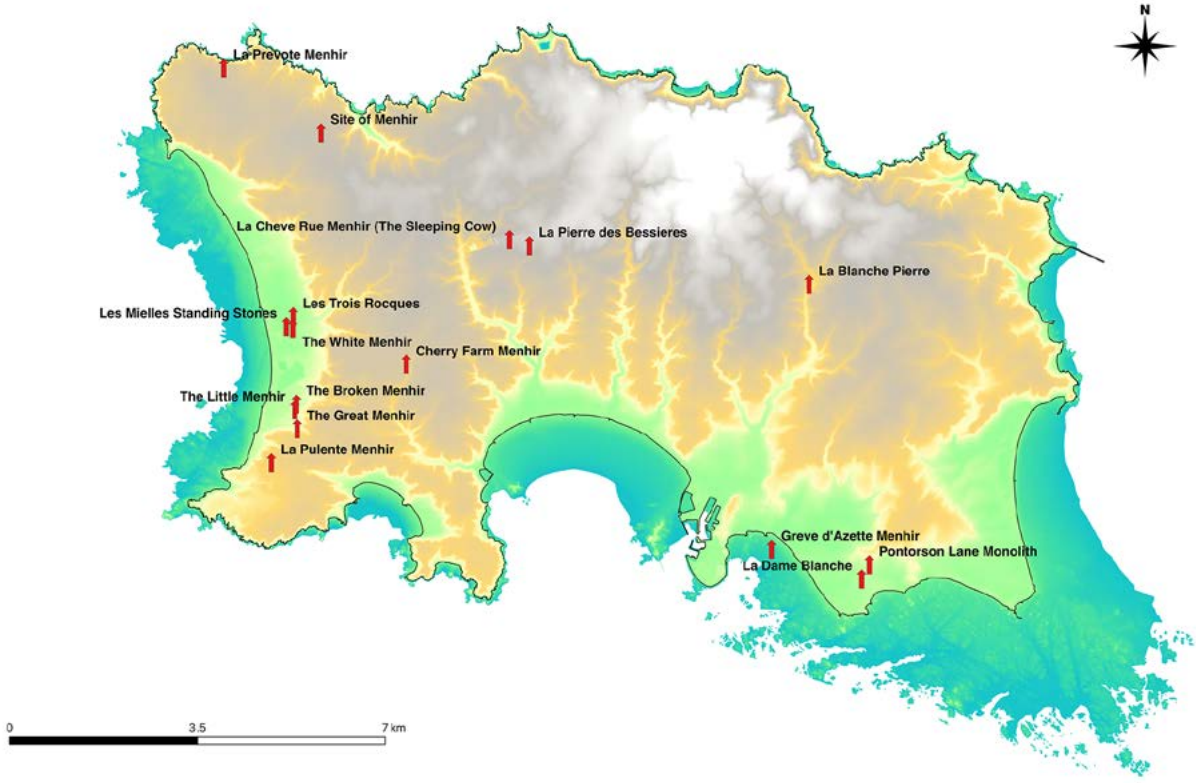

Figure 48. Distribution of individual standing stones and simple stone settings in Jersey. (Map by Peter Chowne)

Figure 49. The Câtel (Castel) menhir, shaped into a stylised female form. (Photo: Cyril Marcigny)

Final Neolithic and Chalcolithic, *c.* 2800–2300 BC

This period is marked by the appearance of novelties – Grand-Pressigny flint artefacts, Beaker pottery, the earliest metal artefacts – that link the Channel Islands with developments on mainland France – while at the same time, strongly insular characteristics are in evidence (in the form of 'Jersey Bowls', an insular response to Beaker pottery, and, in Guernsey, finely made, polished pick-axeheads. See also Needham *et al.* forthcoming 2025).

A break with the past is suggested in the apparent decommissioning of several pre-existing funerary monuments through the deposition of (presumably) human remains and of Chalcolithic artefacts, as 'sealing' deposits. This has been argued to be the case, for example, at the gallery grave of Ville-ès-Nouaux, where a layer of slab paving was laid over the (presumably) Late Neolithic deposits (represented by a few sherds, now lost) and a set of intact Beakers and Jersey Bowls was placed along the north side of the chamber, in groups of three (Patton 1995a: 71; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 54). A schist wristguard was also deposited, in the centre of the chamber. (It is, however, debatable as to whether this does denote the sealing and abandonment of the monument, or instead its appropriation for re-use during the Chalcolithic.) At Le Déhus passage tomb on Guernsey, the floor of the chamber was covered, and thereby sealed over, with a thick deposit of limpet shells after the deposition of two Late Neolithic pots (with affinities to the Groupe du Gord, as discussed below), and of three Beakers and a tanged copper dagger (Patton 1995a: 71). A radiocarbon date obtained from human bone provides a valuable chronological pointer to the Final Neolithic activity: 4133±32 BP (OxA-21198, 2880–2580 cal BC: Schulting *et al.* 2010, 160), and aDNA analysis of this individual confirms a similar genetic signature to that of the late 4th millennium occupants of this monument, so the person was descended from people who had migrated into the Channel Islands during the Late Neolithic (Brace and Booth 2024).

As for other funerary practices, several types of monument have been attributed to the Final Neolithic/Chalcolithic, namely:

- The megalithic chamber inside a small round cairn at Beauport (Patton 1995a: 74–77; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 34–35): Final Neolithic 'Flowerpot'-style pottery was found, as well as Beaker and Jersey Bowl.
- Various megalithic cists, as discussed by Patton (1995a: 74–78; note that he includes Beauport in this category): Jersey examples are the Gasworks monument and 'The Ossuary'. The latter is associated with Jersey Bowls and the unburnt human remains from this monument survive in Jersey Museum; their osteological study, isotopic and aDNA analysis (if possible) and radiocarbon dating are strongly recommended, to help clarify the currency of Jersey Bowls. The unclassified and destroyed monument of La Hougue Mauger (Patton 1995a: 68; Kinnes and Hibbs 1988: 86), consisting of a possible stone structure under a round barrow, can certainly be attributed to the Final Neolithic as it contained coarse, lugged, flat-based 'Flowerpot' pottery with Groupe du Gord affinities (Figure 50). This pottery can be dated, by analogy with dated examples elsewhere (e.g. in the Paris Basin), to *c.* 2800–2300 BC (Giligny and Bostyn 2016: 30–31, figs 6, 13).
- 'Cist-in-circle' monuments (Patton 1995a: 78–82), represented in Jersey by the one at Ville-ès-Nouaux (Figure 51), close to the Late Neolithic gallery grave, and La Hougue des Platons (with Kinnes and Hibbs suggesting that La Hougue de Vinde could be of related type: 1988: 40). The dating evidence relating to these monuments in the Channel Islands in general is summarized by Patton (1995a: table V.6), where he points out that Seine-Oise-Marne pottery (implying a Late Neolithic date), Gord pottery (Final Neolithic) and Jersey Bowl and Beaker (Chalcolithic) have been found.

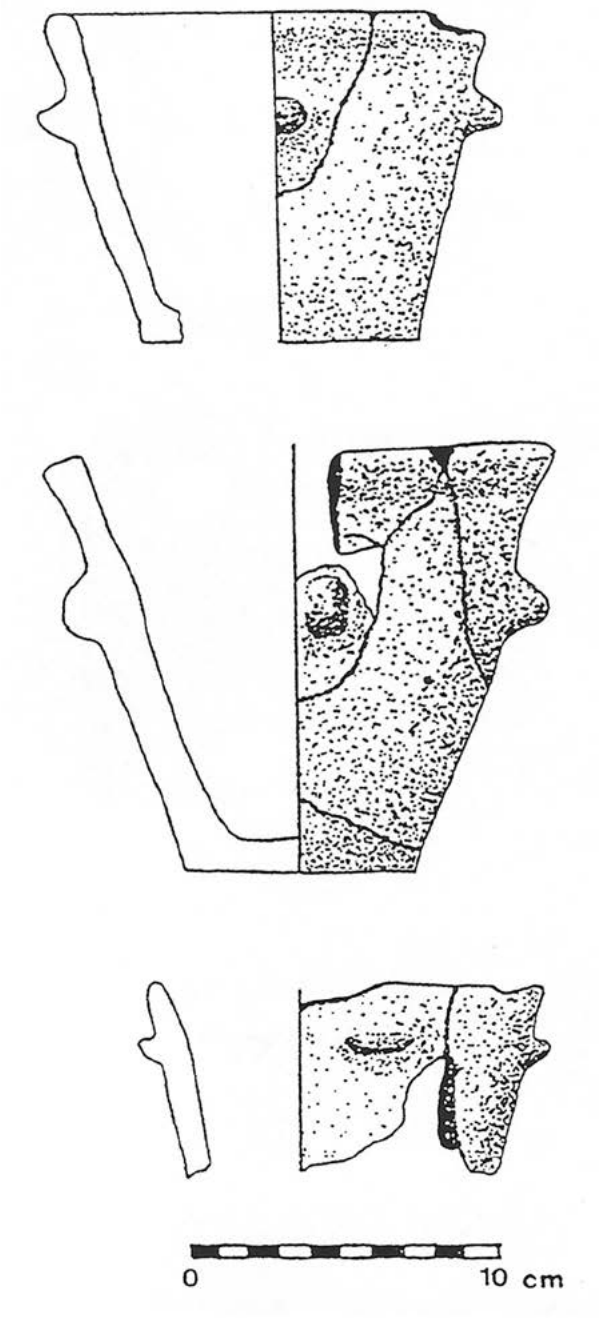

Figure 50. Gord-style pottery from La Hougue Mauger. (From Patton 1995a; for further illustrations of this type of pottery in the Channel Islands, see Patton 1995a, appendix V)

Settlement evidence dating to this period is sparse in Jersey – the site of Le Pinacle, a possibly special-purpose site, will be dealt with below – but recent finds and research in Guernsey, summarised by Hawley (2017), have helped to clarify the picture. Several excavated sites in Guernsey dating to this period have produced fairly important assemblages of pottery and/or lithic artefacts. Lithic assemblages are the most numerous because several have been found during surface prospection. The assemblage from Guernsey Airport, for example, produced a set of small scrapers made from cortical flakes, associated with microdenticulate objects in an assemblage that is typical of the Final Neolithic; the presence in the assemblage of a fragment of a dagger made of Grand-Pressigny flint confirms this chronological attribution. Other sites such as Albecq, Route de Carteret, la Plaiderie and the Tranquesous on Guernsey (Hawley 2017) have produced a similar range of lithic artefacts to those found through surface prospection; they are dominated by small cortical scrapers that are probably attributable to the Final Neolithic. Assemblages containing pottery, such as that from the Royal Hotel in Saint Peter Port (Sebire 2012), are less frequent. At the Royal Hotel site, test-trenching uncovered – in addition to structural evidence that is hard to interpret – a fairly sizeable assemblage of Final Neolithic pottery. The series of carinated vessels, decorated with horizontal lines between the rim and the carination, are wholly specific to the island contexts of Jersey and Guernsey even though they undoubtedly share certain elements in common with the small bowls of Kérugou and Conguel type in Brittany, which date to the early 3rd millennium BC.

The fragments of a dagger of Grand-Pressigny flint from Guernsey Airport, like the other finds of Grand-Pressigny dagger blades in the Channel Islands (Figure 52), constitute a characteristic artefact of the Final Neolithic period, probably from *c.* 2800 BC. This flint, mined and worked in the centre of France (in and around the commune of Grand-Pressigny, Indre-et-Loire), was used in the specialist production of large blades destined to be hafted as daggers, and was occasionally used to make other artefacts such as the arrowhead found at l'Erée, Guernsey (Hawley 2017). These objects were exported over a wide area in the northern half of France, and to a lesser extent in the south of France and in surrounding countries (but not Britain and Ireland). They are very well represented in Brittany although they are rare in western Normandy. In Jersey and Guernsey, they are relatively well

Figure 51. The cist-in-circle monument at Ville-ès-Nouaux. (Photo by Peter Chowne)

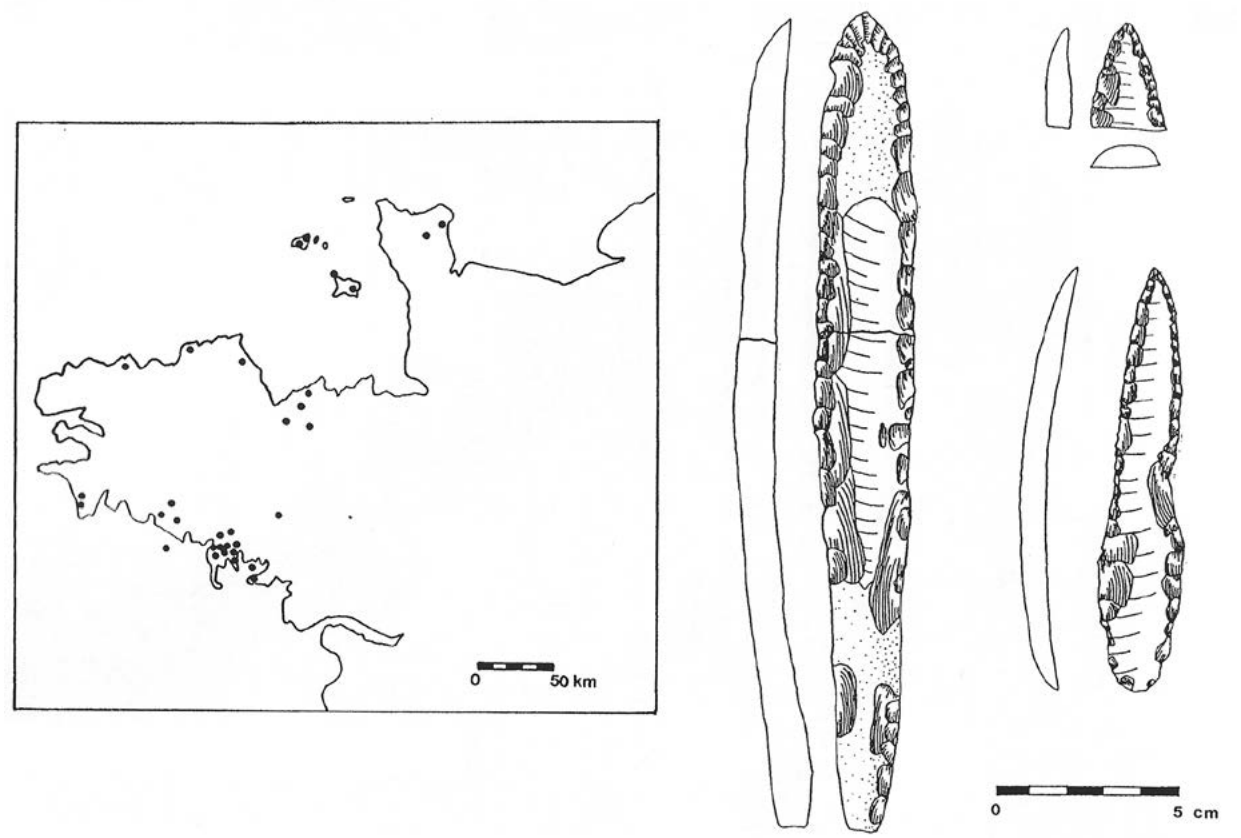

Figure 52. Examples of Grand-Pressigny dagger blades in the Channel Islands (with the complete example from Le Pinacle), and distribution of Grand-Pressigny flint items in Armorica and the Channel Islands. (From Patton 1995a)

represented (taking into account the size of the islands) and they provide, once again, evidence for a considerable amount of interaction between the islands and the French mainland.

As regards subsistence activities, it has been argued, on the basis of evidence for sea-level rise during the 3rd millennium (Garrow and Sturt 2017: figure 1.05), that pressure on good farming land forced some of the inhabitants of the Channel Islands onto more marginal areas, and to rely more on pastoralism than on agriculture. This is an interesting suggestion that merits further investigation.

Other aspects of the Final Neolithic and Chalcolithic in the Channel Islands to note are as follows:

1. Patton has argued that Le Pinacle was used at this time as an open-air ceremonial site (Patton 1995a: 82–3), and this does indeed appear to be a plausible interpretation of the evidence. The site has produced the largest assemblage of Grand-Pressigny flint artefacts in the Channel Islands – three dagger blades and 18 barbed-and-tanged arrowheads – as well as a flat copper axehead and a copper bead. (Patton places the arciform stone pendant, mentioned above, into this period of activity but it is equally, if not more likely, that it belongs to a slightly earlier, Late Neolithic, phase of activity.)
2. The dating of the appearance of Beaker pottery and of Jersey Bowls during the 3rd millennium needs to be improved, as pointed out in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age volume in this series (Needham *et al.* forthcoming 2025). It is most unlikely that Beaker pottery was in use before 2500 BC in the Channel Islands, and it is debatable whether it had appeared by 2300 BC. Similarly, Jersey Bowls – which seem to be an insular response to Beaker pottery – are very poorly dated and it is unclear whether any were in use by 2300 BC. More generally, the chronological parameters of the Chalcolithic in the Channel Islands remain vague. It is likely that the barbed-and-tanged arrowheads of Grand-Pressigny flint found at Le Pinacle belong to the second quarter of the 3rd millennium, but others – including the fine set of six found at Les Fouaillages in Guernsey, dating to 2000–1900 BC – are clearly of Early Bronze Age date. (See Volume II, p. 107 of Frederick Corbin Lukis' unpublished *Collectanea Antiqua* for examples of Channel Islands barbed-and-tanged arrowheads). Similarly, the dating of the tanged copper daggers that have been found in the Channel Islands needs to be assessed in terms of the known currency of this artefact type elsewhere.
3. While not found on Jersey, nevertheless the finely made, highly distinctive perforated pick-axeheads of Guernsey (Figure 53) merit a mention as their dating also needs to be clarified. While their form is unique to Guernsey, it could be that these were a response to the boat-shaped 'battle-axeheads' of Final Neolithic, found elsewhere, on the Continent (as recently discussed, for example, by Karsten Wentink: 2020). None has been found in a datable context. Their function and social significance need to be explored; use-wear analysis is a good starting point.

Figure 53. Polished pick-axeheads from Guernsey. (Photos: Guernsey Museum)

Research questions relating to the Final Neolithic and Chalcolithic period are as follows:

RQ 27: Can we clarify the dating of the funerary monuments that have been attributed to this period? In particular, can the human remains in 'The Ossuary' be radiocarbon-dated? (Other work on these human remains, and any others that may survive from the monuments mentioned above, would also be beneficial in informing about the people buried there.)

RQ 28: What was the nature and distribution of settlements, and what was the nature of subsistence activities, in Jersey at this time? Is it that people were being forced to exploit marginal landscapes and to rely more on pastoral farming than hitherto, as a result of submergence of some good agricultual land through sea-level rise?

RQ 29: When did Beaker pottery and associated artefacts – copper daggers, flat copper axeheads, a stone 'wristguard' – start to be used in Jersey (and elsewhere in the Channel Islands)? When did 'Jersey bowls' start to be used, and over how long were both these pottery types in use?

RQ 30: What is the significance of the 'Guernsey pick-axeheads', and when were they made?

Chapter 7.
Conclusions

Overall, then, much work is required to enhance our understanding of the Neolithic in Jersey and in the Channel Islands more generally. There is considerable scope for extracting more information from existing museum collections, however – especially the human remains that survive – and the compilation of illustrated *corpora* of artefact types such as flint axeheads would help future researchers. Studies of the exploitation of stone resources in the Channel Islands, especially the dolerites, would help to clarify patterns of stone use for making axeheads. Targeted, small-scale excavation on monuments may produce dating evidence pertaining to their construction, and the construction of a fine-grained palaeoenvironmental (including palaeoclimate) record for Jersey has to remain a priority.

It is hoped that this assessment of what is already known about the Neolithic period in Jersey, and the set of proposed research questions presented here, will help inform future research and will assist excavators in interpreting their finds.

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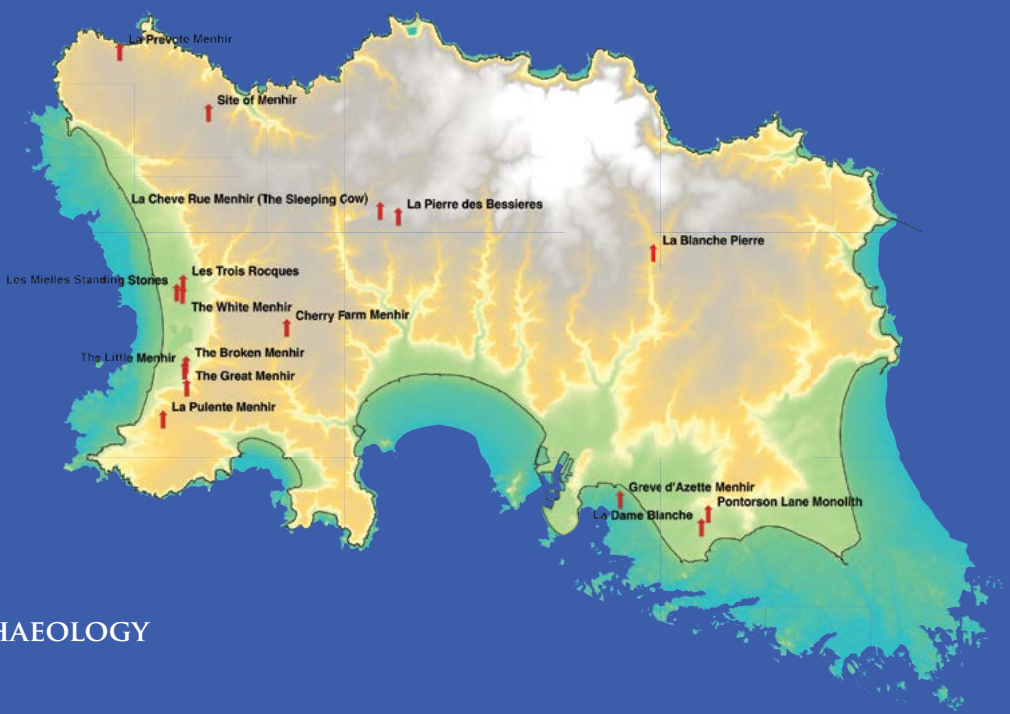
This volume is the second in a series commissioned by Jersey Heritage as part of an overarching Archaeological Research Framework for the island. It is a comprehensive, up-to-date study of the Neolithic of Jersey in the context of the other Channel Islands and their relationship with north-west France. After a brief reference to the preceding Mesolithic period, and a discussion of the Neolithisation of Jersey, the volume summarises our current state of knowledge and proposes key outstanding research questions for the Early Neolithic (*c.* 4900–4700 BC), the Middle Neolithic I (*c.* 4700/4600–4300 BC), the Middle Neolithic II (4300–3400 BC) and the Late – Final Neolithic and Chalcolithic (*c.* 3400 – 2300 BC). It offers an academic framework for future investigations in Jersey and aims to inform the actions of those responsible for the care and protection of Jersey's artefacts, archaeological deposits and monuments.

Alison Sheridan is a Research Associate and former Principal Curator of Early Prehistory in the Department of Scottish History and Archaeology, National Museums Scotland. As the UK, Isle of Man and Channel Islands co-ordinator of the French-led research project, *Projet JADE*, she has investigated the axeheads and other artefacts made from jadeitite and other Alpine rocks that have been found in the Channel Islands. She has also worked with the late Ian Kinnes on the dating of the funerary monument of Les Fouaillages on Guernsey.

Emmanuel Ghesquière is in charge of archaeological prospection and excavations at the Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives (INRAP), Grand-Ouest, in Bourgébus, and a permanent member of the Centre de Recherche en Archéologie, Archéosciences, Histoire, Rennes (CReAAH). A specialist in the prehistory of Normandy and of the west of France more generally from the Mesolithic to the Bronze Age, he has directed excavations at the Neolithic cemetery of Fleury-sur-Orne since 2014.

Cyril Marcigny is the Deputy Director (Scientific and Technical) of INRAP, Grand-Ouest, in Bourgébus, and is a Faculty Member (and former Director of CReAAH) at the Université Rennes-I and II. He also teaches at the École du Louvre and is a member of the Pre- and Protohistory Section of the Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques at the École nationale des Chartres. He brings his encyclopaedic knowledge of the Neolithic in Normandy, and in western France more generally, to bear on interpreting Jersey's Neolithic.

Hélène Pioffet is Conservatrice du Patrimoine (Curator of Heritage) in charge of the département of Morbihan, based at the Service regional de l'Archéologie in Rennes, and a permanent member of CReAAH. She is a specialist in Neolithic pottery, not only of France and the Channel Islands (having produced the definitive report on the assemblage from Les Fouaillages, for example) but also of Britain and Ireland. Her work on Channel Islands Neolithic pottery has clarified its development and its relationship with French ceramic traditions.



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