THE *ALLÉES COUVERTES* OF FRANCE[1]

By GLYN E. DANIEL

It sometimes comes as a surprise to modern British archaeologists to realise that the first distribution map of megalithic tombs was prepared by a Frenchman, Alexandre Bertrand, in 1864. It illustrated an article entitled *De la distribution des dolmens sur la surface de la France* published in the *Revue archéologique* for that year. Bertrand prepared a revised map in 1867 for the *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule* and a fresh version of it appeared in 1876 in his *Archéologie celtique et gauloise*. It was in these maps that Bertrand first emphasised the western and southern aspects of the distribution of megalithic tombs in France; indeed at one stage he drew a line south from Brussels to the Bouches du Rhône, to the east of which, he said, there were very few important megaliths in France. This line—Bertrand's line of 1864—has been drawn in on the map printed here (fig. 4).

Gabriel de Mortillet devised another distribution map of French megaliths which appeared in 1877 in the volume dealing with France of Elisée Reclus's *Nouvelle géographie universelle*, while Adrien de Mortillet, who had already prepared one map in 1886, drew a fresh one to illustrate his article *Distribution géographique des dolmens et des menhirs en France* published in 1901 in the *Revue de L'École d'Anthropologie de Paris*. Joseph Déchelette in the first volume (1908) of his *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique, celtique et gallo-romaine* gives new figures for the megalithic tombs in the various French departments, but does not provide a new map, so that Adrien de Mortillet's map of 1901 has been the standard map of French megaliths for the last half century. I know of no published distribution map since then and de Mortillet's map is reproduced here (fig. 1) because of its historical importance, its general inaccessibility to English readers, and because it still gives the basic facts about the distribution of French megalithic tombs.

This 1901 map of Adrien de Mortillet emphasises Bertrand's point; the main area of distribution of French megalithic tombs is a zone stretching from Finistère to Hérault. What this map does not do, and what none of the maps or discussions of French 'dolmens' did between Bertrand's pioneer essay of 1864 and Déchelette's treatment in his *Manuel*, is to distinguish in any way between the distribution of the different types of megalithic tombs. Indeed Adrien de Mortillet was very happy to lump all the French megalithic tombs together, the only distinction he made in his study of French megaliths being between dolmens, alignements and menhirs. Déchelette realised there was great morphological variety among the four-and-a-half thousand megalithic tombs which

[1] Throughout this paper I have used the terms *allée couverte* and Gallery Grave as interchangeable. I have only used the term *allée couverte* at all because we are here dealing with monuments that are habitually so called in France.

he listed as existing in France, and he referred to them as dolmens and *allées couvertes*.

The term *allée couverte* according to Déchelette had been created by Arcisse de Caumont ; he was certainly using it in 1863,[1] but the words were coming into fairly general use in the sixties. In the competitive task which the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres set in 1862 and which led to Bertrand's essay and map, the phrase occurs ' monuments dits *celtiques* (menhirs, dolmens, *allées couvertes*, tumuli, etc.) '. Ten years later Cazalis de Fondouce had no hesitation in calling his memoir on the Arles tombs *Les allées couvertes de la Provence.*

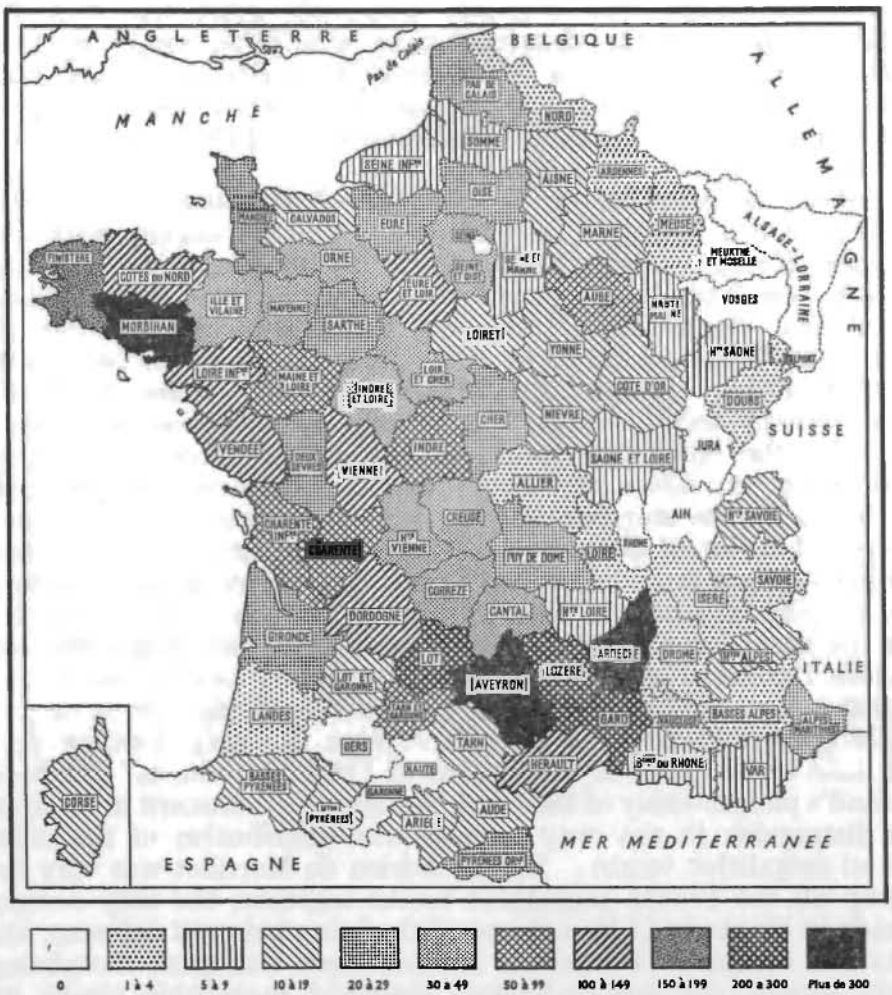


Fig. 1. From Map of the Distribution of Megalithic Tombs in France, by Adrien de Mortillet (1901)

[1] *Bulletin Monumental*, 1863, 582.

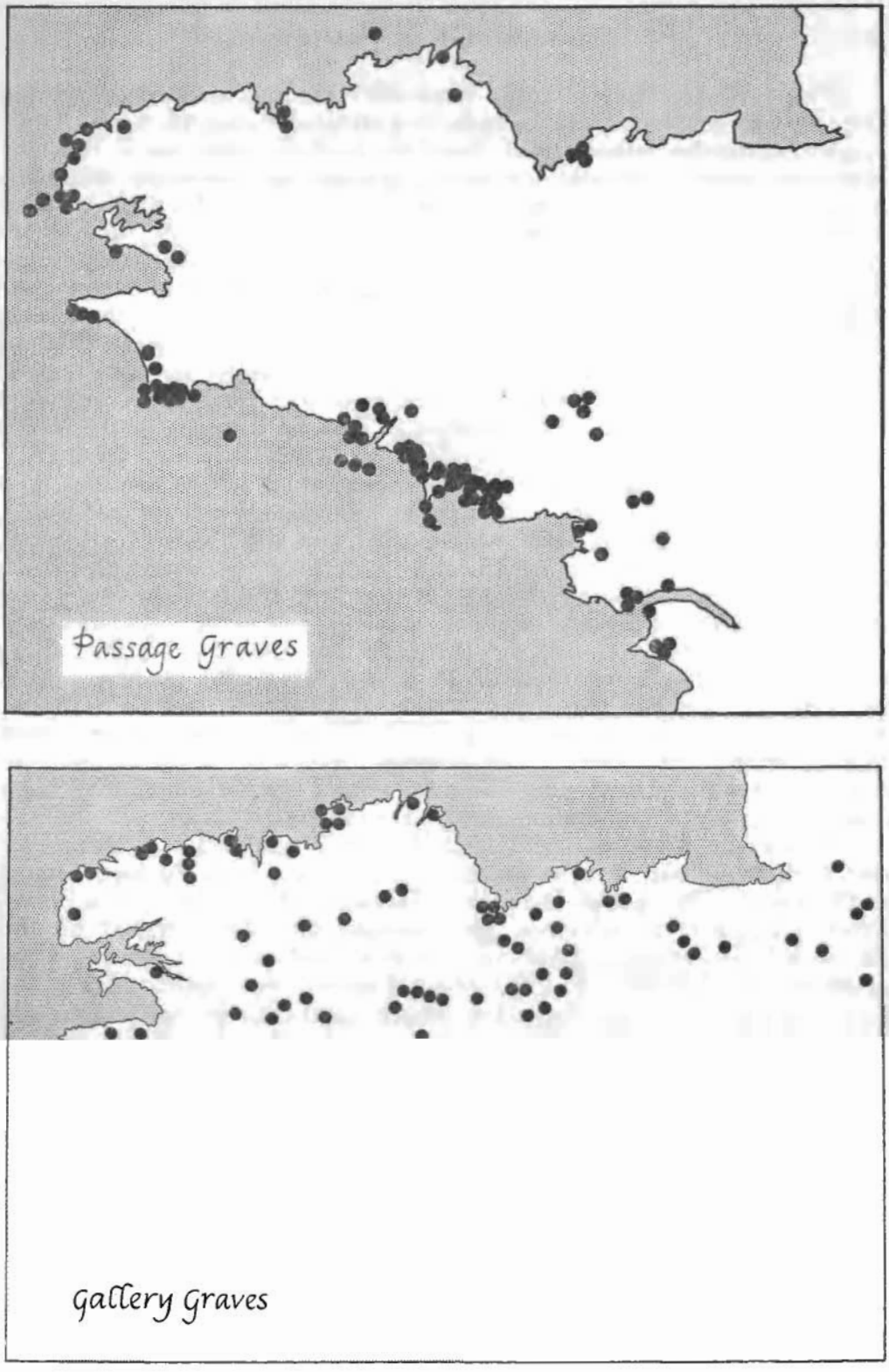


Fig. 2. The Distribution of Passage Graves and Gallery Graves in Brittany

But even to Déchelette the term *allée couverte* included everything that was larger and more complicated in structure and plan than a single rectangular or polygonal chamber ; both Gavr'innis and Bagneux (Saumur) were to him *allées couvertes*, although he does admit that some authors were beginning to use the term *dolmen à galerie* for some types of French monuments. It was the extensive adoption of Montelius's classification of the Scandinavian and North German megalithic monuments and of the Neolithic in those areas that forced in France the realisation that in Western Europe, as in Northern Europe, there were different types of megalithic tomb, and that the types might have different distributions in time and space. Gradually the terms *dolmen à galerie* (or Passage Grave) for tombs like Gavr'innis and Ile Longue, and *allée couverte* (or Gallery Grave) for tombs like Essé or Bagneux or the tombs of the Arles group, came into existence and were currently used.

But although this distinction became obvious in the twenties, and it has been a commonplace of text-books and general articles (see Forde, 1930, Fleure and Peake, 1930, Childe, 1947 and 1950, C. F. C. Hawkes, 1940, Daniel, 1941) to distinguish in a general way between the French Passage Graves and Gallery Graves, it is only in the last few years that the distributional difference between these types of monument has begun to be clearly seen. Daryll Forde (1929 and 1930) had stressed the difference in the distribution of Passage Graves and Gallery Graves in Brittany, and the two maps of these types published here (fig. 2, based on fieldwork and surveys by P. R. Giot and the author) make this difference very clear. The Passage Graves of Brittany are concentrated for the greater part along the coast ; the Gallery Graves have a more widespread distribution and are not markedly coastal.

When the whole of northern France is considered this duality of distribution pattern is even more marked. There are Passage Graves in the Vendée (Bazoges-en-Pareds), in Charente (the Tumulus de la Boixe, Luxé, La Motte de la Garde, for example, and Peu-Pierroux on the Ile de Ré) and Vienne (Château L'Archer) and in Calvados and Orne (Fontenay-le-Marmion, and Condé-sur-Laison), but apart from those two areas, again of very restricted geographical distribution and mainly along coasts and rivers, there seem to be no other Passage Graves in northern France (apart of course from Brittany and the Channel Islands). These distributional facts relating to Passage Graves are shown graphically in the map (fig. 3).

In southern France the dichotomy in distribution between Passage Graves and Gallery Graves is even more marked, and Passage Graves restricted to an even smaller area. Thanks to the painstaking surveys of Dr. Jean Arnal the distribution of the South French Passage Graves is now known very well. Beginning with Frontignan on the Mediterranean coast Passage Graves occur inland through the department of Hérault ; Collorgues in Gard also belongs to this group and perhaps

the Mourre-du-Diable site in Vaucluse.[1] Apart from these Hérault-Gard sites there seem to be no genuine typical Passage Graves in Southern France.[2] If we now bear in mind the Hérault-Gard group and the sites plotted on the map (fig. 3) we begin to see the real difference between

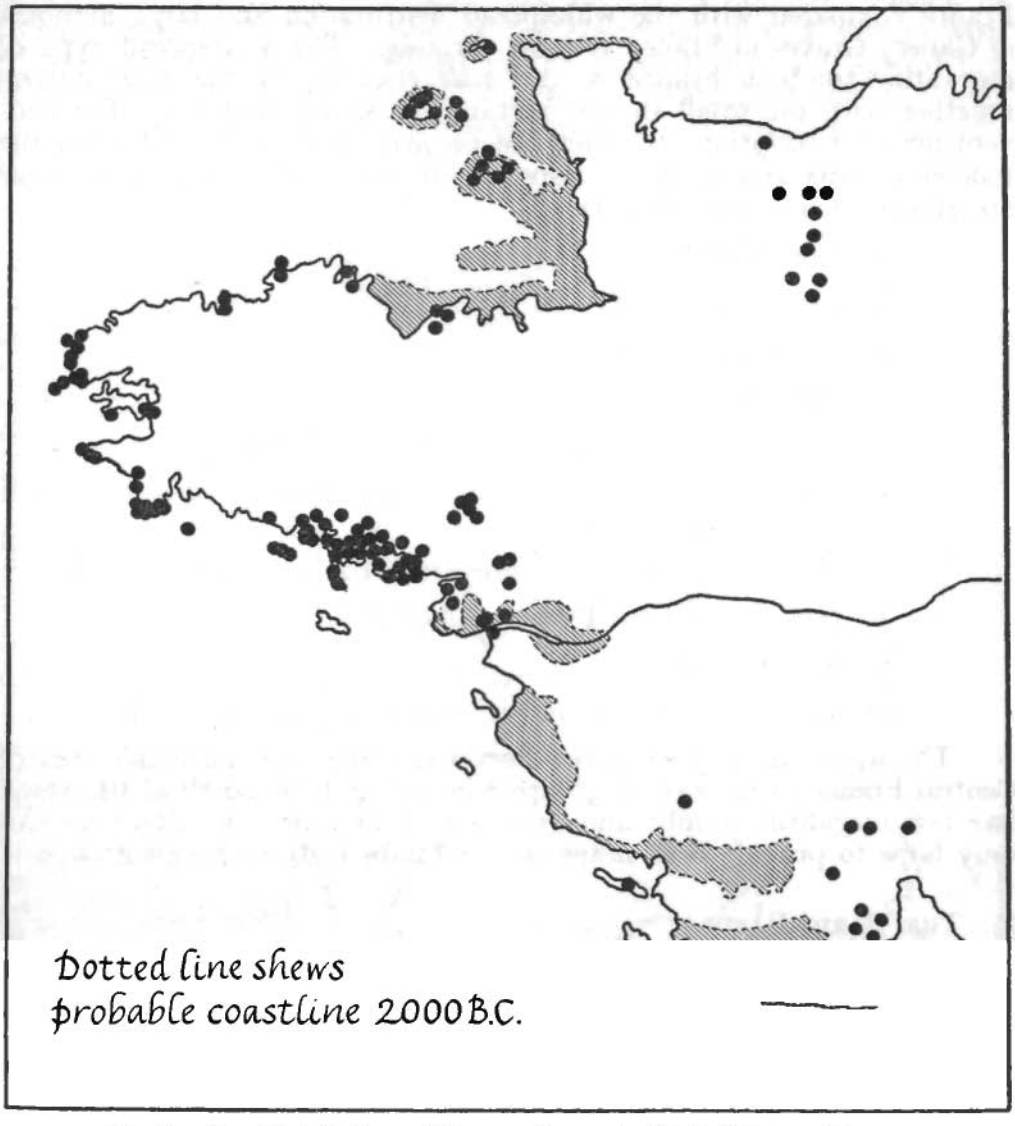


Fig. 3. The Distribution of Passage Graves in North-Western France

[1] Duprat, *Mem. Acad. Vaucluse*, 1916, 157.

[2] In Eastern Provence, in the departments of Var and Alpes-Maritimes, Goby has described monuments like Saint Cezaire, Stramousse, and Saint Vallier which have sometimes been described as Passage Graves (see Childe, 1947, 297; Hemp, 1934; Daniel and Powell, 1949). They may stem back to the Passage Grave tradition, but it would seem more appropriate to classify them as large megalithic cists.

the distribution of Passage Graves and Gallery Graves in France, and it is worth remembering that the total number of Passage Graves in France is in the neighbourhood of 250—out of a total of between four and five thousand megalithic tombs in France.[1] The comparison between the restricted distribution and small numbers of Passage Graves in France compared with the widespread distribution and large numbers of Gallery Graves in France is most striking. The widespread type of megalithic tomb in France is the *allée couverte*, or the *allée couverte* together with the small shorter rectangular single chamber. For convenience of description and reference we may distinguish in France the following areas among the widespread *allées couvertes*, and these areas are shown on the map (fig. 4).

1. The Paris Basin.
2. Lower Normandy and Maine.
3. The Channel Islands.
4. Brittany.
5. The Lower Loire Valley (Anjou and Touraine).
6. West Central France (Poitou, Angoumois, Saintonge, Aunis and the Gironde).
7. The Carcassonne Gap sites from Toulouse to Narbonne.
8. Gascony and the Pyrenean foothill sites.
9. The Arles sites.
10. The South Central massif country or the *Causses* sites.

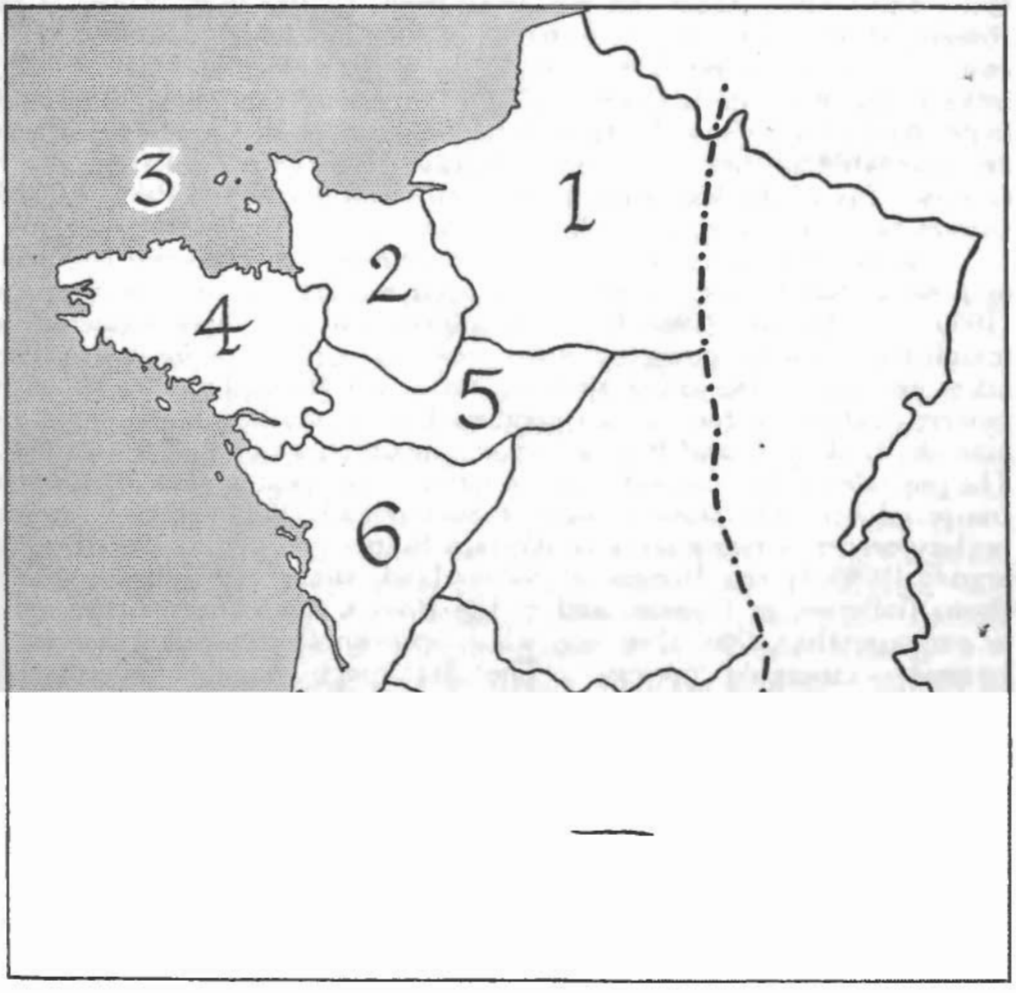
The map (fig. 4) also shows Bertrand's line and the blank area of Central France to the east of groups 5 and 6, and the north of 10, which has few megalithic tombs and very few *allées couvertes*. Here we can only hope to provide brief notes on the tombs in these major groups.

1. The Paris Basin

It is the Paris Basin Gallery Graves which, in the last thirty years, have attracted most attention from British prehistorians. When Kendrick, in his *Axe Age* (1925) was trying to solve the problem of the origin of our British long barrows his search took him via the Channel Islands to south Brittany, and then up the Loire to ' an area where there was a veritable nest of graves of the type of the Kerlescant barrow. This is the well-watered and fertile plain-land in the Paris neighbourhood in the departments of the Oise, Seine-et-Oise, Eure and Seine-et-Marne ' (Kendrick,

[1] This figure of 250 is made up approximately as follows : Brittany 200, North-western France, excepting Brittany, 30, Southern France 20.

1925, 31). Of course Déchelette had, earlier, in his *Manuel*, drawn attention to this group, and so had Paul de Mortillet (1911a, 1911b, 1914). In their pioneer study of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of France, Bosch-Gimpera and Serra-Rafols distinguish these Paris Basin Gallery Graves as 'la civilisation enéolitique de Seine-Oise-Marne', and the Seine-Oise-Marne or SOM culture has become a standard device of prehistorians. It is at the present day conceived of as a culture with diverse origins which crystallised in the Paris Basin and spread out from there in various directions—west to the Channel Islands and west Central France, and east and north-east to Belgium and perhaps Scandinavia. (Childe and Sandars, 1950.)



Let us concentrate here on the Gallery Graves themselves. There are not a vast number of them—perhaps sixty or seventy at most; Paul de Mortillet was able to list only thirty-four sites in Seine-et-Oise, the department with most sites, and of these ten no longer existed when he wrote (Paul de Mortillet, 1911b, 65). They are usually divided into two parts : a short entrance porch and a long main gallery. Some monuments have other septal slabs as well (e.g. Conflans-Sainte-Honorine, Chamant). Many of them have port-holes separating the entrance porch from the main gallery. Most are built, not on the surface of the ground, but in trenches cut in the ground or in the slopes of hills. Traces of any covering barrows are rare, but one of these monuments, Reclus in the Marne, seems to have been set laterally in a long barrow (Favret, 1935). These Paris Basin Galleries are concentrated along the valleys of the rivers Eure, Epte, Oise, Aisne and the Seine itself. There is no site west of Rouen ; all the sites occur in a stretch of country about a hundred miles east to west and seventy from north to south : most are within forty miles of the Place de la Concorde. To the east of these megalithic and dry-walled galleries are the famous rock-cut tombs of the Marne, which are associated by their use, form, and grave-goods with the Paris Gallery Graves. Six of the Marne chalk-cut tombs and five of the Paris Gallery Graves bear designs of a tutelary Goddess figure.

The real nature of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture of Bosch Gimpera and Serra Rafols has recently been analysed by Childe and Sandars (1950) and Piggott (1953-4). The culture contains three elements, a mesolithic element shown by *petits tranchets*, square perforated antler adzes and perforated antler sleeves, and a post-Mesolithic element with pottery, collective tombs, the goddess figure, polished axes and axe-amulets, trade in Grand Pressigny flint, the practice of ritual trepanning. The post-Mesolithic element is not a unity. The pottery has often been compared with the Horgen ware of Switzerland (Vogt, 1938) ; similar pottery occurs in many areas of Western France and perhaps, as Piggott argues (1953–4) the Horgen of Switzerland, the pottery in the Paris Basin Galleries, in Chenon, and in the Breton tombs have little more in common than that they are what Sprockhoff has called *kummer-keramik*—'miserable pottery'. The flat rough usually undecorated vessels of the Paris galleries are secondary neolithic ware—a pottery which was the result of a decline in pottery-making standards. What probably happened in the Paris Basin was that among Mesolithic folk who had learnt some of the Neolithic arts by contact with some such agricultural communities as are represented at Chassey, there spread the custom of collective tomb burial in great stone Gallery Graves and the cult of the associated goddess. The distribution of these tombs suggests strongly that the people who introduced these funerary and religious customs penetrated up the river valleys.

2. Lower Normandy and Maine

In the north of the Cotentin peninsula are some Gallery Graves like Bretteville near Cherbourg. In the south of the Manche is the Gallery Grave of St. Symphorien du Teilleul which has a single pair of transepts. The two Gallery Graves of La Sauvagère (one with a kennel-hole entrance) to the west of La Ferté Macé in the Orne, are not far away, and must be considered together with the neighbouring monuments in Ille et Vilaine (such as the Fougères galleries and Essé and Tressé) and the Gallery Graves in Mayenne and Sarthe. The Dolmen de la Contrée at Ernée between Mayenne and Fougères is a typical Gallery Grave and so is La Pierre Couverte at Duneau east of Le Mans in the Sarthe. These Gallery Graves and rectangular chambers are the characteristic monuments of this area (with the exception of the Passage Graves already mentioned along the Orne from Caen to Argentan). Although some of them have been excavated, they have yielded no archaeological material to assist us in our study of the French *allées couvertes*. Many have entrance sections marked off as in the Paris Basin Gallery Graves. None are covered in mounds, but some have outer revetting walls of megaliths like Bretteville and La Sauvagère.

3. The Channel Islands

Though the Channel Islands are politically part of the British Commonwealth, their archaeology is essentially a part of France, as Jacquetta Hawkes has argued (1939). It seems likely that at the time of the first spread of megalithic tombs through north-western Europe, i.e. in the first half of the second millenium B.C., Jersey was joined to France. The megalithic monuments of the Channel Islands are well known to us through the work of Kendrick (1928) and Jacquetta Hawkes (1939). The *allée couverte* is absent from Guernsey but is well represented in Jersey by Le Couperon and Ville-ès-Nouaux. Le Couperon has a stone with a semicircular opening cut from out of one edge ; this was perhaps once part of a portholed entrance or septal stone. It has a surrounding enclosure of upright stones ; so has Ville-ès-Nouaux; and both tombs were presumably originally covered by long mounds as Jacquetta Hawkes supposes (1939). Ville-ès-Nouaux may originally have had a pair of transeptal side-chambers at the west end like St. Symphorien-du-Teilleul, a site which is only seventy-five miles away as the crow flies. (See Jacquetta Hawkes, 1939, figs. 73, 74 and 76). Indeed these Jersey *allées couvertes* should not be thought of apart from the *allées couvertes* of the Manche, Orne, Mayenne and Ille et Vilaine. In view of the absence of finds from the Lower Normandy and Maine megaliths, it is of great relevance that Ville-ès-Nouaux yielded beakers, carinated pots—the so-called ' Jersey bowls ' like those from the Jersey Passage Graves, a stone archer's guard, and that they were in the second of the three levels distinguished there (J. Hawkes, 1939, 262–3).

4. Brittany

The distribution of Gallery Graves in Brittany has already been demonstrated on the map (fig. 2) ; the Breton Gallery Graves were discussed as a group by Daryll Forde in 1929. They vary in size from the great Roche aux Fées at Essé, near Retiers in Ille et Vilaine—surely one of the finest megalithic Gallery Graves in western Europe, to quite small rectangular tombs. Good examples of Breton Gallery Graves are Grah niol, Le Net, Kerlescant and Mané Roullarde in the Morbihan, Essé and Tressé and the Fougères Gallery Graves in Ille et Vilaine, Ile Grande and Tregastel in Côtes du Nord, Men-Meur, Kerbannalic and Mougau Bihan (Commana) in Finistère. Kerlescant and the destroyed monument of Kertearac had portholes ; many sites have the Gallery divided up into sections or segments by slabs ; Bod-er-Mohet, near Cleguerec in the extreme north of the Morbihan is a long *allée couverte* divided at its south end into four segments which do not connect with each other (Aveneau de la Grancière, 1903, 5). Some of the Breton Galleries have rectangular settings such as we have noticed in Jersey and Normandy.

Some of the Breton Galleries have yielded grave-goods indistinguishable from those of the Breton Passage Graves ; others contain coarse flat-bottomed pottery of the SOM-Horgen family. Tanged Western-European metal daggers were found in three Breton Gallery Graves—Tertre de L'Église, Plevenon (Côtes du Nord), Kerandrèze, Moelan (Finistère) and Pontivy (Morbihan).[1] Four of the Breton Gallery Graves have sculptured breasts (Tressé, Kergunteuil, Prajou-Menhir, and Mougau-Bihan), and the last two of these also bear engravings of metal daggers. (Giot, 1955 ; Bénard le Pontois, 1929, 248 ff.)

5. The Lower Loire Valley

The provinces of Anjou and Touraine possess superb examples of Gallery Graves ; so classic and ' megalithic ' in their architecture and construction that, in an earlier publication (Daniel, 1941), I was tempted to define them as the ' Loire type ' of *allée couverte.* I then cited as examples of this type in the Lower Loire valley, the two sites at Bagneux (Saumur), La Madeleine (Gennes), St. Antoine du Rocher at Mettray near Tours, Bournand, and La Chapelle-Vendomois near Blois. There are many more of these sites as anyone can see who goes through the pages of Dubreuil-Chambardel's *La Touraine Prehistorique* (1923). A particularly interesting group lies north of the Loire between Angers and La Flèche, including sites like Saucelles, Jarzé, and Baugé.

Few of these Loire sites have yielded archaeological material on excavation ; indeed, all of them have been open to public view and visit

[1] These daggers have also been found in Passage Graves (Giot, 1955, 523). At Barnenez, Plouezoc'h (Finistere) Giot found the coarse SOM-Horgen ware stratified above Chassey and Beaker.

for a very long time, and both La Madeleine and Bournand are used as farm buildings and have been since the 19th century.

One of the many great controversial issues that beset those who wrote about megalithic monuments in the 19th century was whether all the monuments we now see as free-standing were originally covered in mounds of earth and stone or not, and the generally accepted view at the present day is that the great majority of megalithic monuments at present free-standing were originally in a barrow. I have by now seen most of the great Loire Gallery Graves ; no barrow survives covering any one of them, and where there seem to be traces of barrow, as at Mettray near Tours, they are very slight. In other parts of France large and impressive barrows survive covering megalithic tombs ; one has only to think of the great long barrows near Carnac, and Bougon and La Motte de la Garde. I am forced to the conclusion that there is no reason why these barrows should have survived on either side of these Anjou and Touraine sites while the Anjou-Touraine Gallery Graves have all become denuded, and that these Loire Gallery Graves (and for that matter the really great Gallery Graves outside the Loire like Essé) were never in barrows. The question then arises whether they were ever functioning tombs ; without a covering and protecting barrow they could so easily be broken into. It seems to me an idea worth considering that these great Loire megalithic Galleries were not primarily tombs ; just as the earlier tombs in Malta seem to have given rise to megalithic temples (Evans, 1953) so in the Loire Valley and on the frontiers of Brittany, the tradition of building long stone tombs in barrows may have given rise to long stone structures unprotected by barrows and whose function was no longer primarily sepulchral. But this is only speculation.

6. West Central France

The work of De Longuemar in Vienne, of Baudouin in the Vendée, and of Chauvet and Musset in the Charente has long made us familiar with the main types of megalithic monuments in west Central France, and recent work by Patte (1941), Ferrier (1938), and Fabre (1952), has made clear the distribution and variety of megaliths between Loire and Garonne. Apart from the Passage Graves already referred to in the triangle of land based on the coast from the Sevres Niortaise to the mouth of the Charente and extending inland to south of Poitiers and north of Angouleme, the majority of the monuments in this large area of France are Gallery Graves and rectangular chambers. Typical Gallery Graves are Le Bernard in the Vendee, Maranzais and Neuville (near Poitiers) in Vienne, St. Saviol, St. Brice, St. Fort-sur-le Ne, and Montguyon in the Charente, and Lugasson, Barbehere, Cabut and Pitray in the Gironde. Some of these monuments like Barbehere and Maranzais have septal slabs ; Montguyon has one rectangular side-chamber (much like La Halliade).

Fortunately some of these west-central French *allées couvertes* have been excavated and their grave-goods studied. The grave-goods of the Chenon *allée couverte* in Vienne have recently been studied meticulously by Patte (1941). Chenon has 60 skeletons, the *allée* was set in a mound ; the grave-goods included five copper beads, polished stone axes, a flint dagger, a wide variety of flint arrowheads, including barbed and tanged types, *petit tranchet* types, and tanged types with serrated edges characteristic of the Aveyron and Midi megalithic tombs. The pottery included round-bottomed undecorated pots of the Western Neolithic family, and flat-bottomed flower-pot types allied to the SOM-Horgen family.

Cabut was published by Daleau and Maufras half a century ago : the finds from this *allée couverte* are still among the most intriguing from a South French site. They included a West European tanged dagger, four little pieces of bronze, a decorated bone tube, and segmented bone beads[1] (Daleau and Maufras, 1905). Attention has often been drawn to the curious bone ' picks ' or ' anchors ' found in some of the *allées couvertes* of the Gironde. One was found by Daleau at Bellefond in the Gallery Grave of Peyrelebade or Sabatey, two by the Abbé Labrie in the Curton (Jugazan) site, and another at Bellefond more recently.[2] Gabrielle Fabre has drawn attention to a fragment of one of these objects from the *allée couverte* of Fargues, Lot-et-Garonne (Fabre, 1952, 66).

7. The Carcassonne-Narbonne Group

The sites in this group lie on the foothills of the Montagnes du Minervois and the Corbières on either side of the Carcassonne-Narbonne gap. The four best known sites—St. Eugène, Jappeloup, Boun Marcou and the Palet de Roland (Pepieux) all lie north of the gap and in the Minervois foothills. All are good examples of Gallery Graves ; all have segmenting slabs, and that of the Palet de Roland (Pepieux) is perforated by a porthole device. Very clear traces of oval mounds exist around these Gallery Graves (Daniel and Arnal, 1952). All four have been excavated and the material from them as a whole studied by Arnal and Martin-Granel (1949) : it comprises metal points, awls, rings and beads, beakers and associated low bowls, tanged, barbed and tanged, and leaf-shaped arrowheads, V-perforate buttons, and undecorated stone plaques. St. Eugène, excavated by Germain Sicard, was particularly rich ; it contained the remains of 300 individuals and with them a tanged copper dagger, an oval bead of gold, two flint javelin points, leaf and tanged arrowheads, no less than seventeen green schist plaques or palettes, and a great amount of pottery, including at least seven bell-beakers, callais beads and segmented bone beads. (Sicard, 1930.)

[1] Bailloud and Mieg de Boofzheim (1955, 186) regard these beads as ' L'imitation de perles en verre d'origine orientale '. It would indeed be of the greatest chronological value if we could insist that they were copies of faience beads.

[2] But on the number of such objects found in the Gironde and Lot et Garonne see Fabre, 1952, 74, footnote 4.

Boun-Marcou was less rich but it yielded undecorated round-bottomed Neolithic pottery, sherds of beakers and of a deep shallow bowl decorated in beaker technique, flat axeheads of schist, leaf-shaped and tanged arrowheads.[1] It is surely impossible to dissociate the people who buried their dead at Boun Marcou with those who used the neighbouring cave of Treille only 500 metres away. Treille was excavated by Martin-Granel, Taffanel and Arnal, and in the lower of the two stratified levels they found decorated Chassey ware, decorated bone tubes (like that from Cabut), beaker sherds (including cord-ornamented beaker), faience and glass beads. The faience bead is a spacer with four perforations very like that found at Brynford in Flintshire (Beck and Stone, 1936, 236 and Pl. 63).

8. Gascony and the Pyrenean Foothills

The excavations of Piette (1881) and General Poithier (1890) have made a small group of south French tombs between Pau and Tarbes very well known ; the plan of the *allée couverte* of La Halliade with its seven compartments separated by septal slabs and its one side-chamber has been reproduced in many text-books. Recently Gabrielle Fabre (1952) and Bailloud and Mieg de Boofzheim (1955) have put these south and south-west French megalithic tombs in proper perspective. La Halliade is exceptional by reason of its size and special constructional features ; most of the tombs are shorter rectangular monuments. The polypod bowls and much of the grave-furniture may well have lasted through to the beginning of the first millenium B.C.

9. The Arles Group

These sites on the mountains of Cordes and Castellet (probably two islands when the tombs were constructed) have been well known since Cazalis de Fondouce published his memoir on them in 1873. They were fully discussed by Benoît in 1930 and by Arnal and Latour in 1953 (Arnal, Latour and Riquet, 1953). There are five of these Gallery Graves, the Grotte des Fées on the Montagne des Cordes, and the Arnaud-Castellet, de la Source, Bounias, and Coutignargues sites on the Montagne de Castellet. They are all long *allées couvertes*, four of them rock-cut, and one—Grotte des Fées or Epée de Roland (hence its name)—with a pair of transeptal side-chambers. Two have round-barrows, the Grotte des Fées and Coutignargues egg-shaped barrows, while Arnaud-Castellet is set in a long barrow (Arnal, Latour and Riquet, 1953, figs. 2, 7 and 12). The rich grave-goods from these tombs include leaf-shaped arrowheads, barbed and tanged arrowheads, Chassey pottery, beakers, channelled ware, perforated archers' wrist-guards, a tanged copper dagger, flint daggers, and a Polada thumb-grip cup, as well as a wide variety of beads.

[1] On the finds at Boun Marcou see Arnal and Martin-Granel, 1949, 163, footnote 2.

10. The South-Central Massif

This group may be roughly equated with what Bailloud and Mieg de Boofzheim call the chalcolithic culture of *les grands causses*. Any generalised treatment of these tombs in a few lines is likely to conceal the fact that the six departments of Dordogne, Lot, Tarn et Garonne, Aveyron, Lozère, and Ardèche have between them over fifteen hundred megalithic tombs—almost as many as the whole of the British Isles. In these limestone uplands the construction of megalithic tombs went on a long time, and the basic types seem to be *allées couvertes* and short rectangular tombs, many of them in long barrows (Daniel, 1939 ; Daniel and Arnal, 1952). These Cevennian and *causses* sites can hardly occupy an important place in an overall survey of the beginnings and spread of Gallery Graves in France. Some contained flat metal axes, cylindrical metal and biconic beads, and imported Aunjetitz pins such as the trefoil-headed pin from La Liquisse in the Aveyron (Cartier, 1911) and the racquet-headed pin from St. George de Levezac in the Lozère (*Matériaux*, 1869, 328).

Conclusions

The object of this short paper[1] is to demonstrate the difference in geographical distribution between the Passage Graves and Gallery Graves of France and to stress the widespread nature and variety of the French *allées couvertes*, and it should be repeated that the ten groups distinguished are for convenience of description and reference only. But what relationship to each other do these groups bear in time and space ? There is very clearly a wide range in time in the construction and use of the French Gallery Graves and associated rectangular megalithic tombs ; material in French Gallery Graves as we have seen extends from undecorated Western Neolithic pottery through to Western European tanged copper daggers and the trefoil and racquet-headed pins of Liquisse and St. George de Levezac.[2]

Even individual sites like St. Eugène and the Arles Galleries contain material which spans several archaeological periods, but there is unfortunately no stratigraphical proof of the successive use of these tombs by the different archaeological cultures.[3] Childe has argued that the analogy of the North Irish and Clyde segmented Gallery Graves suggests that the South French Gallery Graves ' go back to pre-Beaker times and are contemporary with the burials of Chalcolithic I in the caves ' (Childe, 1947, 298). Stronger arguments are those which Arnal and Latour advance in their analysis of the Arles Gallery Graves. They rightly observe that the grave-goods from these tombs belong to at least four

[1] Which is a revision of a lecture given to the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1954.

[2] On the place of these late finds in the French Bronze Age see N. K. Sandars, 1950, 53.

[3] On the possibilities of stratigraphy in the Carcassonne-Narbonne tombs see, on St. Eugene, Patte, 1941, 86, footnote 1, and Arnal and Martin-Granel, 1949, 163, footnote 2.

separate archaeological cultures, themselves distinguished by stratigraphy and associated objects elsewhere, and that it is reasonable to infer that the earliest of these sites was constructed (or at least used) by the Chassey folk and before the time of channelled ware, beakers and tanged Western European daggers.

Bosch Gimpera and Serra Rafols (1927) tried to devise a very complicated chronological scheme for the Neolithic and Chalcolithic cultures of Southern France, and Hélèna's schemes are equally complicated. These schemes, as Bailloud and Mieg de Boofzheim insist (1955, 166) are based on typology and not stratigraphy; with Maluquery Motes (1948) they see it only possible to distinguish two phases in the megalithic culture of Southern France, the first characterised by beakers, channelled ware and Western European daggers, and the second or post-beaker phase characterised mainly by rectangular ' dolmens ' and Polada type pottery. They argue that this second phase, because of the segmented faience bead from the Grotte du Ruisseau (Monges)[1] goes on or is synchronous with the 13th century B.C. The faience spacer from Treille suggests the same and so do the Liquisse and St. George de Levezac pins. While accepting these two periods of megalithic architecture in Southern France, it seems to me that Arnal and Latour have made out a case for a third and earlier phase, pre-Beaker in date.

Bosch Gimpera and Serra Rafols (1927) argued that the megalithic culture of Southern France was an extension of the Pyrenean megalithic culture of Northern Spain, and Pericot has emphasised again recently (1950) the links between Catalonia and the French Pyrenean and *causses* sites ; there is no doubt that these close links exist. Sites in Catalonia like Puig Rodo have septal slabs, and it would be possible to build up a typological sequence of tombs in North-east Spain in which an *allée couverte* was evolved out of a V-shaped Passage Grave ; Cova d'en Dayna (Romanya de la Selva) is a perfectly good *allée couverte*. But it seems to me difficult to derive the Arles and Carcassonne gap tombs from Catalonia ; in these two areas of Southern France megalithic architecture seems to be starting, and I would see the story of the Gallery Graves of Southern France as beginning with the rock-cut Arles tombs, built perhaps by settlers from Sardinia or Malta in late Chassey times and developing into the surface *allée couverte* like Coutignargues and St. Eugène, and acquiring perhaps as a technical necessity a long mound as at Arnaud-Castellet and Pepieux (Daniel and Arnal, 1952). The South French Gallery Graves may have a dual inheritance, of course, partly the Arles-Carcassonne element, and partly a Catalonian. We see their greatest development in Beaker times and their long continuation in post-Beaker times right up perhaps to Hallstatt times.

[1] This bead was described as made of ' ? *os* ' by Helena (1925, Pl. V and p. 53, where he says ' *d'une couleur gris verdatre . . . une substance spongieuse* ') and identified as faience by Childe (1947, 300). Another faience bead is claimed by Clark (1952, 268), and Childe speaks of ' beads of faience ' from the Cevennian Copper Age (1947, 301) ; the Taurine beads cited by Clark are of stone or bone.

How do the North French Gallery Graves fit in to this suggested sequence in the south? Three possibilities have often been suggested for the origin of the Paris Basin Gallery Graves. The first is the south of France; in form some of them are like the Arles or Carcassonne sites, though these sites do not have the division into entrance porch and main chamber, and then the goddess figure which appears in a few of the Paris Galleries and in six of the rock-cut Marne tombs has been compared with the statues-menhirs of Southern France. It is worth emphasising that none of the South French Gallery Graves contain representations

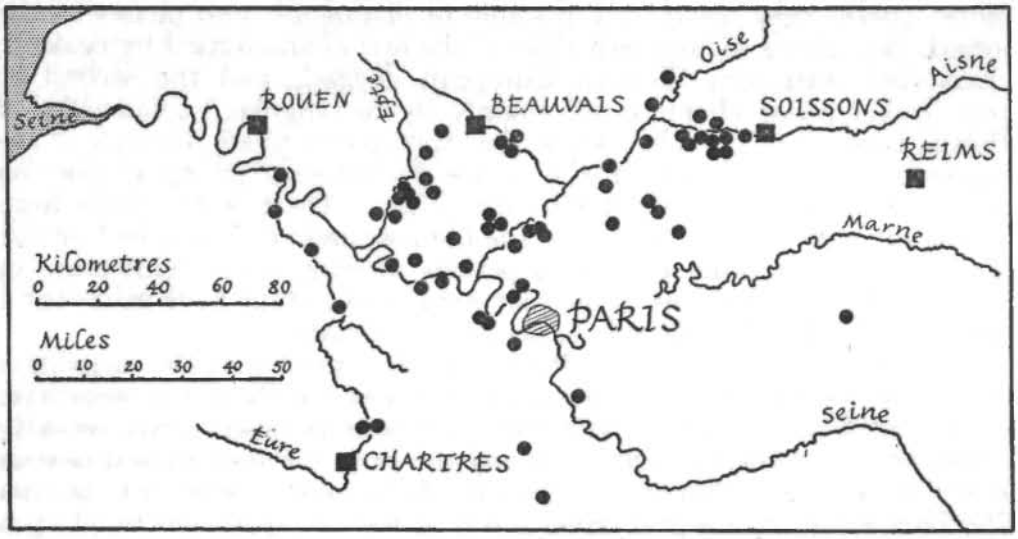


Fig. 5. Distribution of Megalithic Gallery Graves in the Paris Basin

of the goddess figure,[1] from Arles to Paris is a long way by land, and the distribution of megalithic tombs in Southern France suggests a very slight penetration by the Rhône, petering out in the Ardèche. On any study of the few megalithic monuments that exist in Eastern France it is extremely difficult to see a direct connection between the Bouches du Rhône and the Paris Basin; but Childe holds that 'the tomb-plans and sculptures and the trephined skulls show that the megalithic complex reached the Seine-Marne area from the Lower Rhône' (1947, 304). A second possibility was canvassed by me some fifteen years ago, namely, that the idea of the Gallery Grave reached the Paris Basin via the Loire valley (Daniel, 1941). But the Loire Galleries are never set in hillsides, have no goddess figures, and may not, as suggested above, even be tombs. A third possibility is strongly suggested by the distribution of the Paris Basin Galleries (fig. 5) namely, that they represent a penetra-

[1] Collorgues is a Passage Grave which re-utilised two statues-menhirs (see Octobon, 1931, and Arnal, 1954. On the Castellet figures see Benoit, 1930.

tion by sea up the Seine, and this seems to me at present the most likely possibility. It may well be that they represent a colonial movement from as far afield as Southern Spain ; here are long tombs set in hills, here there is a typological sequence of tombs from V-shaped Passage Graves to Gallery Graves, and here, too, in Leisner's *symbolkeramik* and in goddess figures like that on the walls of the Dolmen de Soto, the closest parallels to the art of the Paris Basin tombs.

The Paris Galleries might then represent a settlement among Mesolithic people who had acquired some of the Neolithic arts, of people from Southern Spain who penetrated up the Seine and its tributaries imposing their burial customs and religion, building megalithic Gallery Graves and, when they eventually got to the Reims-Epernay area, cutting their tombs in the soft chalk. When did this happen ? Bell-beaker sherds have been found in the Gallery Graves of Les Mureaux, Dennemont and Coppière (de Mortillet, 1906, Gaudron, 1951 and 1953), and flanged axes of bronze from Boury and Mareuil (Breuil, 1899). The Grand Pressigny flint imports all suggest some *floruit* time for the Paris Galleries in the second quarter of the second millenium B.C., and it would be difficult on the available evidence to disagree with Sieveking's conclusion that ' the Paris Gallery Grave complex should be dated to Late Beaker times ' (Sieveking, 1953, 66).

If it is possible to argue that the Paris Gallery Graves represent a maritime movement from the west, the same arguments can be used for the Gallery Graves of Western and North-western France. However, other arguments have hitherto received the greatest currency. ' It is generally recognised ', wrote Jacquetta Hawkes in 1939, ' that it was overland from this north-easterly direction that the *allée couverte* idea reached Brittany and Jersey ' (J. Hawkes, 1939, 92), and maps of the distribution of portholes and the SOM-Horgen pottery are supposed to support this contention (e.g. Nougier, 1950, 393 and 453). It may well be that Western France received a movement of people from the Paris Basin which was responsible for some of its *allées couvertes*, but the SOM-Horgen ware of Western France is not a close link with the Paris Basin ; there are portholes in southern French sites ; and surely some of the Breton Gallery Graves are early in Beaker times and contemporary with the *floruit* of the Breton Passage Graves. If we set out what seems to be a widespread notion of the origin of French Gallery Graves it is that they spread from the Bouches-du-Rhône area up to the Paris Basin and from there westwards to the Channel Islands and Brittany and Western France. This route is the arc of a long bow stretched across France ; the direct line from the Bouches-du-Rhône to Brittany is via the Charente and Poitou and the importance of this direct route, so important in French prehistory and protohistory, has often been argued (Patte, 1941 ; Daniel, 1941 ; and Piggott, 1954b). Monuments such as Grah-niol in the Morbihan have their closest parallel in Montguyon in the Charente and La Halliade further south, and the South French

Galleries give a context which is at least early in Beaker times and probably earlier.

But the possibility of a direct seaborne colonisation by Gallery Grave builders in Western France must not be forgotten ; we have emphasised the non-coastal distribution of Gallery Graves in Brittany, but there are coastal sites as well as inland sites, and the Gallery Graves of Northern Brittany might well represent the same sort of settlers as, we have suggested, penetrated up the Seine. The distribution of art in the Breton *allées couvertes* strongly suggests this.

It remains equally possible that some of the *allées couvertes* of North-west France were evolved locally out of Passage Graves. In the Morbihan Mane Kerioned and Mane Rutual, in Finistère Ty ar Boudiquet (Brennilis), and in the Channel Islands many sites show a form intermediate between the Passage Grave and the Gallery Grave. We must then at present envisage four possibilities for the origin of the North-west French Gallery Graves ; the Paris Basin, a direct movement by sea, the South French Gallery Graves, and local development in Brittany. All these possibilities may be right, and what we lump together as the Gallery Graves of Western France may well have a fourfold origin.

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