ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE EAST COAST OF BARBUDA, WEST-INDIES



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COVER PICTURE : CAVES 25 AND 26 FROM LEVEL GROUND, LOOKING WEST

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INTRODUCTION

In the sites and monument record for Barbuda, kept by the Antigua & Barbuda National Parks Authority in Nelson's Dockyard, 19 prehistoric sites are registered. Investigations in the last decade under the banner of the *Barbuda Historical Ecology Project* (BHEP) have located several more but it is striking that out of the 19, as many as eight are cave sites. It suggests that a significant proportion of Barbuda's archaeological record may be found in such sites. In 2010 the BHEP team surveyed some 20 caves on the east coast of Barbuda and in their report descriptions are given of three, including Nicie's cave where an excavation was carried out (Peridkaris et al. 2010). As the results of that preliminary investigation were promising it was decided that a comprehensive survey of the caves in the east-coast escarpment would be useful. The aim was to get an idea of the frequency of archaeological material in these caves and to attempt its characterization from observing surface remains. 56 caves were visited, representing more than 80% of all caves and overhangs between Rubbish Bay and Castle Hill. All caves accessible from level ground were visited, while the rest are primarily those high up in the cliff-face, inaccessible from below or only with the aid of climbing equipment. As the coastal strip, the lowland between the escarpment and the coast, is everywhere less than 300 m wide, the reconnaissance of the caves also provided an opportunity to observe any archaeological remains on the surface. Although not systematic (especially not in areas of bush) this survey gives an idea of the distribution of archaeological remains along the coastal strip. An even less systematic survey was carried out in the area south of Castle Hill to Spanish Point, focusing on the two known Ceramic Age sites in this area, Welches and Sufferers, and arising also from the shell-ridge survey (reported in Vésteinsson 2012). Although in no way comprehensive or conclusive this work supports general observations about the frequency and nature of archaeological remains in this part of Barbuda.

This survey work was conceived of as a test-run for more systematic efforts of archaeological survey in Barbuda. It adds some new dimensions to the transect survey approach employed by Prof. David Watters in the 1980s, providing directions for future work.

This fieldwork was carried out at the invitation of Prof. Sophia Perdikaris and is a part of the *Barbuda Historical Ecology Project* and the *Islands of Change Project* (NSF award no 851727). The author would like to thank Dr. Reg Murphy of Antigua&Barbuda National Parks for his assistance and support, as well as collaborators in the field: Dr. Ágústa Edwald, Frank Feeley, Garðar Guðmundsson, Dr. George Hambrecht, Lilja Björk Pálsdóttir, Prof. Tom McGovern, Norie Manigault Vincent Rousseau, Prof. David Watters and the whole team at the Barbuda Archaeological Research Center in Codrington. It was immense good fortune to have access to Prof. Watters in Barbuda during the fieldwork and to be able to tap his extensive knowledge and experience of Barbuda and its archaeology. Special thanks also to Mr. Calvin Gore, a fountain of local knowledge, without whose help these results would have been much more meager.

CAVE SURVEY METHODOLOGY

In the survey area between Rubbish Bay and Castle Hill all caves which could more or less easily be entered were visited. Notes were made about caves and overhangs seen but not visited. Overhangs less than 3 m in depth were visited if they had some sort of level surface but only recorded if there was soil or cultural material in them. The great majority of the caves are shallow enough that they can be comprehensively examined with no artificial light. No such light was brought along however and in four cases this hindered full assessment. Two of these are Caves no 52 and 53 (Cat cave and Nicie's cave) which had already been investigated in 2010, and so only caves 44 and 54 will need further examination. As there is clearly a relationship between cave depth and the survival of archaeological deposits it is however important to fully explore these two caves.

In each cave the following features were recorded:

- width and depth, measured by pacing. Figures given are maximum values.
- roof height, unless lower than 2m these are estimates. Also maximum values.
- height of cave floor above level ground, also estimates unless less than 2m.
- nature of floor, whether it is bare rock, has loose sand or rubble or whether soil has formed on it.

    - where soil had formed this was as a rule dug into with a trowel to assess soil depth and observe whether there were any signs of cultural deposits.
- characterization of any cultural material and manuports.
- evidence for animal visits, e.g. dung, pellets and tracks.
- conditions in front of cave, e.g. whether there was evidence for major collapse, whether there was soil and whether there were shell distributions and other cultural material.

Occasional shell were frequently observed but they can easily occur naturally. 'Shell concentration' refers to apparently anthropogenic accumulations.

RESULTS OF CAVE SURVEY

The results of the cave survey are shown in Table 1. They can be summarized thus:

- Out of the 56 caves, little more than half, or 29, have some soil on the cave floor. In three further cases there is soil in front of the cave which may conceivably contain cultural remains. Of the 34 caves with no soil 10 have some cultural remains, in all cases modern rubbish or recent-looking shell and bone.
- Of the 29 caves with soil, at least three have definite cultural layers, caves 7, 52 (Cat) and 53 (Nicie's). Another two have possible cultural layers (caves 8 and 22) and in front of a further two (49 and 50) there are shell concentrations of likely cultural origin. Of the rest there is humic soil, evidence of organic decomposition but not necessarily cultural activity, in at least ten caves (caves 4, 5, 6, 17, 32, 36, 40, 41, 42 and 44).
- There is evidence for modern visits in 22 caves. Of these five have clear signs of modern camping (caves 30, 36, 47, 55 and 56) and dry-stone constructions are associated with four (36, 37, 42 and 53).
- On the whole there is greater frequency of cultural remains, potentially prehistoric as well as modern, in the caves further south than in the northern half of the survey area. This is reflected also in the frequency of observed remains on the surface outside the caves (see Survey notes 1 below).



Map 1. Surveyed cave sites on the east coast of Barbuda and other sites mentioned in the report. See maps 2-5 for greater resolution.

Cave no	width	depth	roof height	floor height above level ground	floor	material culture	animal visits	front of cave	comments
1	18	10	4	2	bare/sand	some modern (bone, glass)	yes		
2	8	5	4	6	bare/sand	no	yes	collapsed boulders	easily accessed from Cave 3, but not from below
3	10	5	6	2	bare/sand/rubble	no	no		
4	15	5	2	3	30 cm soil formation, 10 cm humic on top of 20 cm calcerous sand	some modern, shell on surface	yes		Roof has collapsed, was originally much larger, +20x20 m
5	12	10	3	3	rubble/soil formation	modern (bone, shell, rope, plastic)	yes		Hole in roof lets light in. Roof partly collapsed, cave was originally larger. A completely collapsed cave is between 4 and 5 with soil under fallen roof
6	20	7	8	0	rubble/soil formation	shell/recent wood	yes		
7	20	7	3	0	rubble in front/soil at back	cultural layer w. charcoal and shell, shell on surface	yes		
8	26	9	5	1	rubble in front/soil at back	possible cultural layer w. charcoal, shell on surface	yes	soil	
9	30+	10+	6	0	bare/rubble	no	no		roof partly collapsed and may cover soil formation
10	10	3	3	6	bare	no	no		
11	15	6	2	0	bare/loose soil	no	no		
12	36	7	5	0	mostly bare, loose soil in cavelet	modern	yes	soil	
13	10	4	3	4	bare/loose soil	some modern (bone, shell)	yes	collapsed boulders	south end collapsed, was 6 m longer
14	26	7	5	0	bare/rubble/sand	no	no	rubble	

Cave no	width	depth	roof height	floor height above level ground	floor	material culture	animal visits	front of cave	comments
15	10	5	8	5	bare/rubble/sand	no	no	collapsed boulders	Another comparable overhang is beside this one to the south
16 south	26	12	6	7	bare/rubble	no	yes		Hole in roof lets light in.
16 north	16	5	3	10	bare/sand	some shell	no		
17	10	16	10	2	soil formation, 7 cm deep	no	no	collapsed boulders	Several shallow overhangs c. 8 m up the cliff btw caves 17 and 18. All inaccessible.
18	29	13	5	8	bare/sand/rubble	no	yes		
19	8	8	4	7	bare/rubble	no	yes	thick mat of vegetation	
20	32	7	6	7	bare/sand/rubble	no	yes	collapsed boulders	There is shell in this cave but it is associated with a large bird's nest
21	12	5	5	9	bare/sand	no	yes	thick mat of vegetation	Accessible only from Cave 20
22	22	9	5	5	soil formation, 7 cm deep	possible cultural layer. Also modern debris	yes	thick mat of vegetation	Another cave, 50 m+ further south is high up the escarpment
23	22	7	5	5	bare/sand	some modern	yes		Another cave, 50 m+ further north is 2 m higher up the cliff
24	21	6	4	2	bare/sand	shell	yes		Another section adjoins, 10 m wide, 5 m deep, 2,5 m high with more sand on the floor
25	12	6	3	0,5	soil formation in middle and northern parts	no	yes	soil	
26	36	3	4	3	bare/sand	shell, recent bone	yes	collapsed boulders	This cave has a second storey, not visited
27	7	5	2,5	2	sand	1 manuport pebble	no		Only 3 m wide at the opening.
28	11	6	6	2	sand	no	yes		There are several shallower and/or collapsed overhangs btw. Caves 28 and 29

Cave no	width	depth	roof height	floor height above level ground	floor	material culture	animal visits	front of cave	comments
29	13	4	2	0	sand	no	yes		
30	13	5	4	0	soil formation	modern, camping debris	yes		
31	14	4	4	0	sand	no	no	soil/collapsed boulders	
32	7	24	2	0	soil formation, 10 cm thick	no	yes	collapsed boulders, some shell	
33	17	5	4	0	bare/some soil formation	some modern	yes		Connected to Cave 32 by a shallow overhang
34	10	3	3	0	bare/some soil formation	bone and shell	yes		
35	13	4	2	0	bare/some soil formation	no	yes	much bone and shell	
36	39	8	3	0	20+ cm soil formation	modern, camping debris	yes	much bone and shell	2x2 m dry-stone enclosure at south side of camping area
37	10	2	1	0	bare	modern	yes		5x4 m dry-stone enclosure under a boulder leaning against the cliff
38	11	8	4	0,5	sand/rubble	no	no	sand/rubble	
39	7	3	1,5	2	sand	no	no		
40	7+5	2	1,5	0	10 cm soil formation	no	yes	soil in front fills the cave	
41	16	5	4	2	25+ cm soil formation	no	no		
42	60	10	10	0	mostly bare, 5+ cm soil formation in deepest part	modern	yes	modern debris, shell	Dry-stone wall at northern end
43	34	8	10	0	sand	modern	yes	soil, collapsed boulders, shell, modern debris	
44	57	10	3	0	10+ cm soil formation in deepest parts, bone and shell on surface	no	yes	deep soil in cavities needs exploring with artificial light	

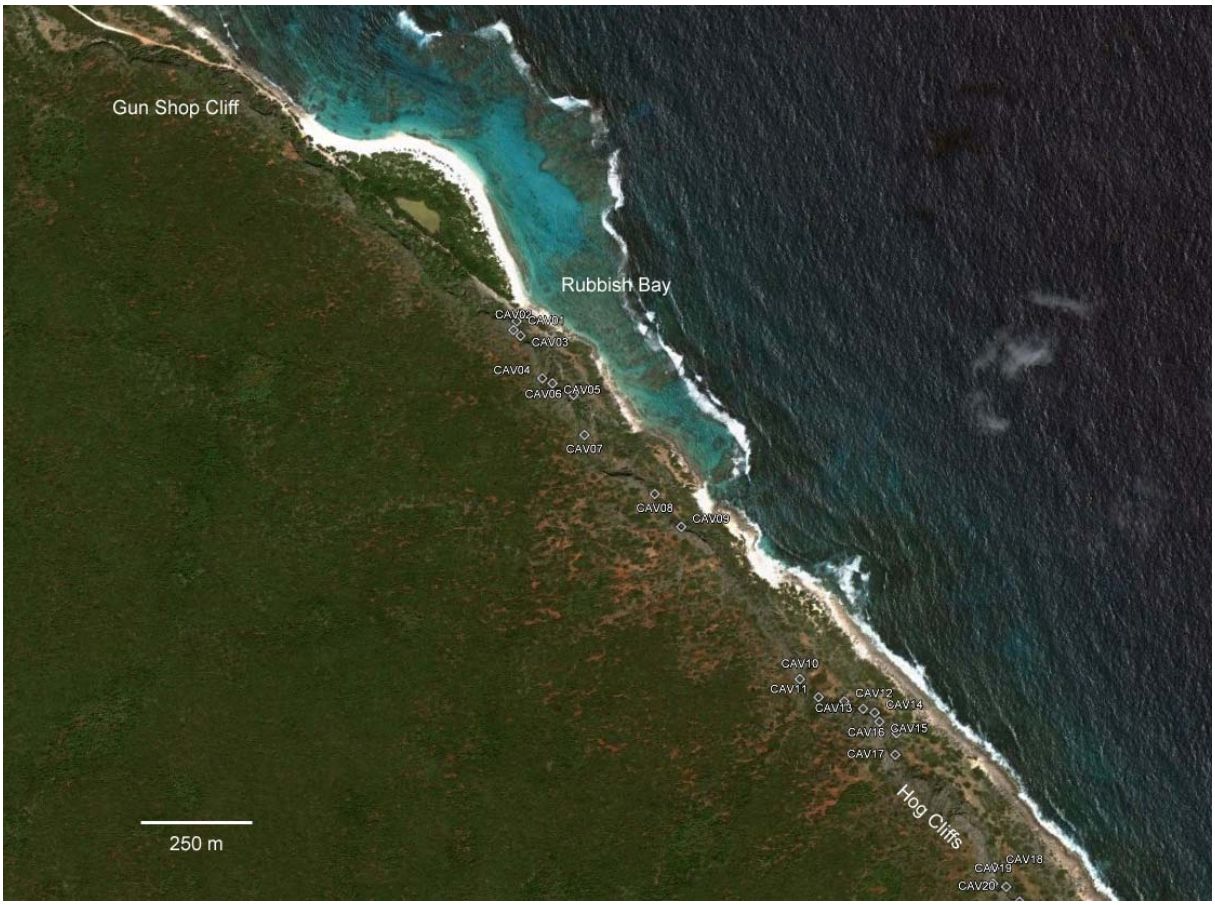
Cave no	width	depth	roof height	floor height above level ground	floor	material culture	animal visits	front of cave	comments
45	8	6	1	1	soil	no	yes	rubble/thick vegetation	
46	22	4	3	0	soil	some modern, bone, shell	yes		Btw caves 45 and 46 there is in places a low (0,5 m) and shallow (0,5-1m) overhang with soil
47	7	8	2	0	bare, soil in front	modern, camping debris	yes	soil, modern debris	Camping debris also in a hollow to the west of the cave
48	5	3	0,75	0	soil	no	no	shell	
49	20	3	2	0	soil	no	no	shell concentrations	Also shell concentrations further NE along the cliff face
50	8	5	1	0	soil	some modern debris, shell	no	shell concentrations	More or less continuous shell concentration along the cliff face btw caves 49 and 50
51	6	5	5	0	soil, some shell	no	no	shell	Measurements relate to antechamber, at the back there is another champer 7x6 m, with 2 holes n the roof and rubble in the centre
52	14	10	4	0	soil	prehistoric and modern	no	shell	aka Cat cave. Measurements refer to antechamber. See description in Perdikaris et al. 2010
53	7	7	3,5	0	soil	modern, turtle pen	yes	shell	aka Nicie's cave. Measurements refer to antechamber. Further description in Perdikaris et al. 2010
54	7	12+	3	0	soil/rubble	no	yes	shell, collapsed cliff obscures entrance	Hole in roof lets light in, but inner end is in darkness
55	9	6	2	2	soil	modern, camping debris	yes	modern debris, shell	
56	11	5	6	0	bare/sand	modern, camping debris	yes	modern debris, shell	aka Castle Hill. See description in Perdikaris et al. 2010

Table 1. Caves on the east coast of Barbuda

SURVEY NOTES 1. FROM RUBBISH BAY TO CASTLE HILL

While Castle Hill marks the southern end of the escarpment which runs along the eastern coast of the middle segment of Barbuda, and therefore represented a convenient end-point for the cave survey, the northern end has no comparable landmark. Rather the escarpment curves gently from the west until it meets the shore by Gun Shop Cliff, while the same soil and vegetation regime as prevails north of the Highlands continues further southwards with a distinct change only by Rubbish Bay (which is south of a sand-bar with a brackish pond just south of the picnic area by Gun Shop Cliff. The place name is shown much too far to the south on Google Earth and other maps). Caves 1-3 are opposite Rubbish Bay, just north of a collapsed dry-stone wall with the remains of a gate which has fenced off the narrow coastal strip at some point in the not so distant past. There is no particular change in cave density at this point; there are numerous caves further north which will require similar survey. That said the caves between Gun Shop Cliff and Cave 1 are few in number and none are easily accessible as the escarpment is more collapsed and tumbled here than further north and south. There are 2-3 caves just south of the picnic area, high up in the cliff and not easily accessible on foot, but these were the only ones seen from level ground between Cun Shop Cliff and Cave 1.

The dry-stone fence on the south side of Rubbish Bay marks a distinct break in soil and vegetation. To the north of it there is thick scrub but on the southern side the strip between the beach and the foot of the escarpment is completely barren, with no soil and only very scruffy and low vegetation. Even at the foot of the cliff there is little or no soil in this area; only in front of cave 8 was some observed. This most barren landscape continues for 1 km south of the fence but then it begins to change gradually, with more soil on the ground closest to the cliff in a small valley where Caves 10 and 11 are, but the strip between beach and escarpment is still largely bare for another 500 m. Continuous soil cover begins again just north of Cave 18, with more bush and hence greater resource potential. Nevertheless this rather forbidding landscape contained the only cave with definite cultural layers along the whole escarpment north of Double Cave (Caves 52 and 53). This is in the front part of Cave 7 where, below 1-2 cm of loose soil, there is a cultural layer, 2-2,5 cm thick. It is grayish black, compact, fatty with frequent charcoal (specks rather than chunks)



Map 2. Surveyed caves on the east coast of Barbuda. Northernmost section of survey area.



Fig 1. Cultural layer in Cave 7.



Fig. 2. Possible cultural layer in cave 8. Note the difference in colour and composition from Fig. 1.

and some shell but only a few small pieces and mainly present as white and glittery dust. A patch of c. 60x60 cm was cleared and within this a 10x6 cm mini-sondage was dug to see the depth of the deposit and check if any artefacts were present but none were found (Fig. 1). Shell and charcoal was collected from the layer for possible dating. The adjacent cave to the south, Cave 8, has a similar deposit but here it is less obviously cultural (Fig. 2). Below 1-2 cm of loose soil there is a 4 cm thick layer of grayish brown which is more friable and less fatty than the one in Cave 7. It has no shell and no unequivocal charcoal. It has frequent white spots but these are from a calcerous material, like ground limestone.

Another possible cultural layer was found in Cave 22. Here a 30x30 m trowel test revealed a cultural layer under 1-2 cm of loose soil. This is similar to the layers in Caves 7 and 8; compact, fatty, grayish black. It is 7 cm thick and has formed on top of a natural layer of calcerous silt. Like in Cave 7 the white specks in this layer look more like shell fragments but no unequivocal pieces of charcoal were observed, only black smudge.

The first indications of archaeological remains outside the caves were encountered some 3,5 kms south of Rubbish Bay, just south of Cave 27. Here there



Map 3. Surveyed caves on the east coast of Barbuda. Middle section of survey area.

is a discrete concentration of shell on the surface, with different types, although top-shell dominates. The shell is fragmented and covers an area of c. 10x10 m. This layer is 2-3 cm thick, in soil on top of bedrock. No artefacts were observed and nothing to indicate the age of this deposit – which may be recent – but it is too far from the sea and too concentrated to be natural.

4,5 kms south of Rubbish Bay there is a crack in the escarpment allowing easy communication between the Highlands and the coastal strip for the first time since north of Gun Shop Cliff. By this point the escarpment has become considerably lower than further north, and south of it there are more such access points as the cliff becomes lower and lower. From this crack southwards there is increasing shell on the ground between the foot of the cliff and the beach (now with sand dunes) and generally increasing evidence for recent human activity, flotsam taken from the beach but also rubbish from hunters / passers by. Occasional conch also begins to be seen. 350 m south of the crack, just north of Cave 34 two pieces of



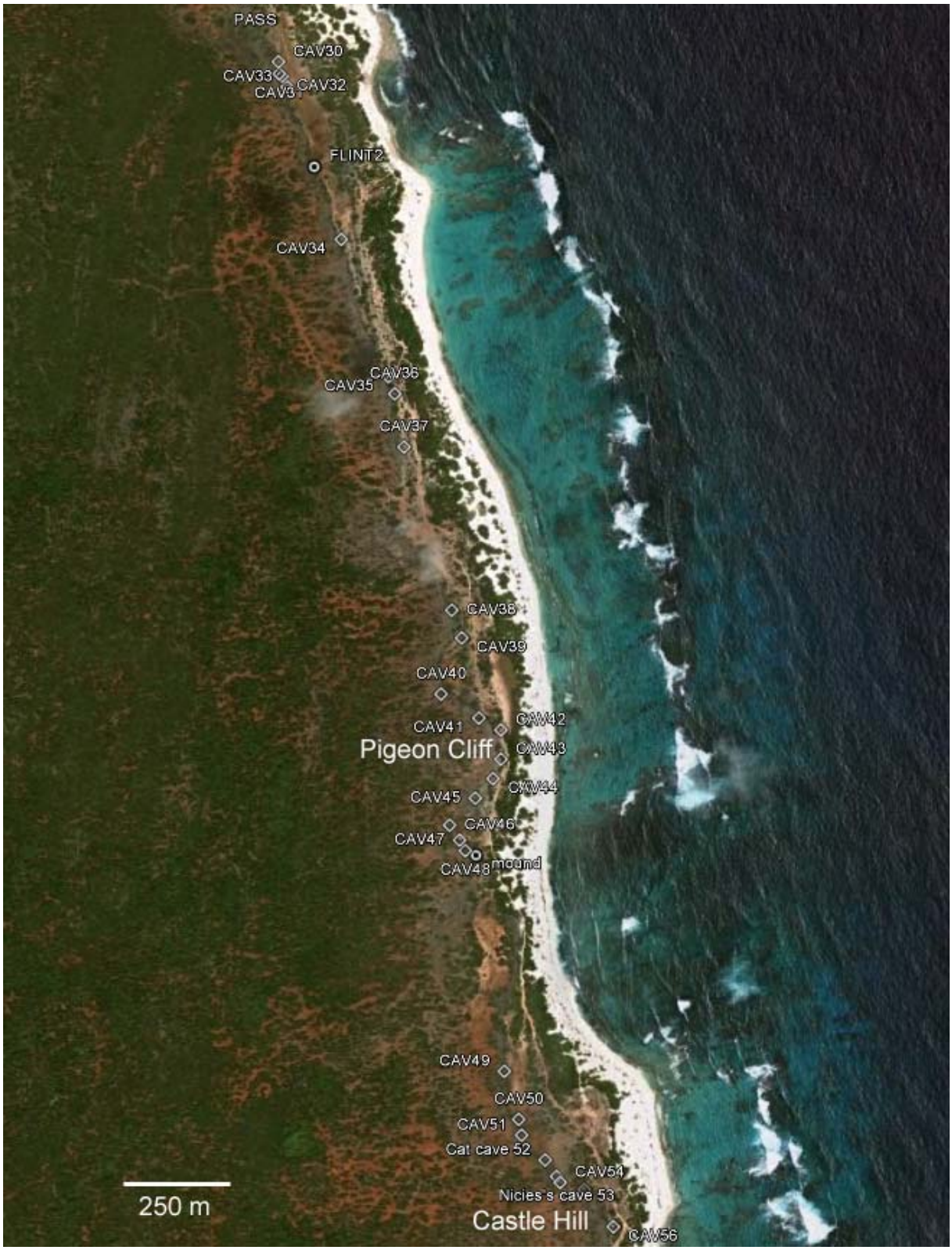
Fig. 3. Mound east of Cave 48, from WNW.

flint, not Long Island but probably Antiguan according to Vincent Rousseau, were found lying on the grassy ground, some 12 m from the cliff. There is very low density shell in this location and it is not close to any cave. The two pieces look like they came from the same rock but there was nothing to give them any context in this place.

Cave 36, with a recent hunter's camp and a dry-stone enclosure, has thick soil at the back. It has some similarities with the layers in Caves 7, 8 and 22, but is not as compact or fatty. It is more than 20 cm thick.

Some 30 m ESE of Cave 48 there is a 10x10 m mound, 1 m high with high density of shell on the surface. It is ca 30 m west of the road and 250 m south of Pigeon Cliff (Fig. 3). There are at least two other similar but lower and more sandy mounds, 20-30 m E and NE of this one. No artefacts were observed but these mounds look distinctly anthropogenic.

Northeast of Cave 49 a more or less continuous shell concentration begins at the foot of the cliff stretching south of Cave 50, over a distance of some 200 m. No artefacts were observed but there is dense shrub over most of this stretch and it may



Map 4. Surveyed caves on the east coast of Barbuda. Southernmost section of cave-survey area.

be contiguous with shell concentrations in front of the Cat cave (Cave 52) 100 m further south.

To sum up, the coastal strip between Rubbish Bay and Castle Hill exhibits a general southwards trend of increasing anthropogenic impact (past and present). It can be divided in the three zones:

1) The northernmost 1,5 kms with practically no soil cover and hence no survival of cultural deposits outside the caves (Caves 1-17, see Map 2).
2) The next 3 kms have more soil and a single shell concentration observed but generally limited indications of human activity, archaeological or recent (Caves 18-29, see Map 3)
3) The final 3 kms, between the pass and Castle Hill, have still more soil and more varied vegetation with much more frequent signs of human activity, mainly recent but also prehistoric, including confirmed Ceramic Age deposits in Cat cave (Caves 30-56, see Map 4).

Although it would be interesting to know more about the nature of the deposits found in caves 7, 8 and 22, it seems that a closer look at the southernmost zone would be most productive and likely to turn up new evidence.

SURVEY NOTES 2. FROM CASTLE HILL TO GRAVENOR BAY

A systematic survey was not carried out south of Castle Hill. This area was however walked along different tracks in conjunction both with the cave survey and the reconnaissance of the shell ridge (Vésteinsson 2012) and efforts were made to define the extent and condition of the two known Ceramic Age sites in the area, Welches (also known as Pelican Bay) and Sufferers.

The site know as Pelican Bay in David Watters' description and Welches in CUNY reports is 3 kms south of Castle Hill, easily visible as the road cuts through it. In 2010 the CUNY team excavated a 1x1 m test trench in this site revealing an undisturbed stratigraphy with frequent artefacts and well preserved faunal remains. From this it seems that Welches is a Ceramic Age site, later in time than Seaview, likely falling within the time range of 500 to 1500 AD (Perdikaris et al. eds. 2012). The site is defined by a fairly uniform distribution of shell and ceramics visible on the surface some 145 m along the road (c. N-S) while it is some 100 m wide. On the northern and western sides there seems to be a ridge which marks the limit of the



Map 5. Sites between Castle Hill and Gravenor Bay discussed in the report. At Sufferers the yellow indicates the extent of in-situ (if disturbed) remains but the darker shade the likely original extent of the site before its destruction.

site, perhaps similar to Seaview. A single piece of flint (STONE2) was found on the road nearly 500 m north of the site, and another (STONE3) 575 m south of it. There is also a discrete concentration of shell along the road 160 m south of the site (W3). These finds suggest that while the site itself is fairly distinctly demarcated it is surrounded by lower density deposits or possibly secondary sites. Apart from the limited damage done by the road it seems, both from surface remains and the 2010 excavation that this site is more or less intact.

This is in stark contrast to the other Ceramic Age site in this part of the island. More than a decade ago Watters (1999, 182) described the destruction of Sufferers but it is clear that its condition has deteriorated since then. Two radiocarbon dates have been obtained from this site suggesting it was in operation in the second half of the first millennium AD (Watters 1999, 196). The remains of Sufferers are visible along the road which was cut through it to get to the sand dunes south of Pelican Point. Shell can be seen on a 75 m long stretch but in a clearing east of the road there is a mound with a very high concentration of shell and artefacts, flint and ceramics. This mound is the western end of a ridge which continues 45 m SE and may be intact to some degree. Otherwise it seems this site has been well and truly gutted and only its northern edge can be traced with certainty. The whole western and southern along with central sections of the site have been bulldozed to smithereens. Some 90 m NW of the road there is a ridge which may be intact and seems to define the NE edge of the site as it hugs the foot of the slope which it is situated under. This ridge is at least 20 m long and parallel to it, on the south side, there is a stretch of what may be the remains of a stone wall – hard to tell if it is recent or archaeological. The site is at least 350 m SE-NW and may have been as much as 200 m wide on the west side, judging from shell frequencies on the bulldozed surface, but it was narrower on the east side. Watters' map (Watters 1999, 188) shows the site tapering towards the east end and this was also the impression gained from the 2012 visit although there is in fact not much to go on anymore.

Along the main road leading northwards to Castle Hill, northwest of Sufferers two shell concentrations were observed. SHELL 2 is some 70 m in diameter with no artefacts observed but SHELL 3, 200 m further south and some 400 m from Sufferers, is ca. 50 m in diameter and here 10 pieces of worked flint were picked up, among them Long island flint (Vincent Rousseau pers. comm.). A third shell

concentration (SHELL4) was observed by the western shore of the brackish pond south of Pelican Point. This is ca 20 m in diameter with no observed artefacts.

Considering that no systematic survey was being attempted in this area and all the walking was done along roads and tracks these finds suggest a high frequency of possible archaeological sites in this part of Barbuda. SHELL 3 is definitely an archaeological site, possibly to be viewed as an outlier from Sufferers, but while the shell concentrations without observed artefacts may be from any period (including the present) they are clearly signs of human activity, and may hold clues to the utilization and management of this landscape in prehistoric times. Rather than conceiving of the prehistoric landscape as made up only of discrete habitation sites this suggests that sites such as Welches, Sufferers, Seaview and Indian Town Trail are but home bases in a possibly extensive network of sites, including coastal shell ridges and larger and smaller outliers, including caves, which may be temporary or secondary dwellings sites, specialized activity or resource utilization areas or some mix of these options. This impression is also given by the site SV13 close to Seaview, interpreted as a "small multi-purpose work site" (Look 2009). It is to be expected that many more of these minor sites will be found with more detailed fieldwork, and gaining an understanding of their dating, nature and distribution must be regarded as essential for reconstructing the prehistoric landscape of Barbuda.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON GUT

In 2011 a brief visit was made to a site variously called Gut, Ghaut or Hilltop (BA13) described in the Antigua&Barbuda National Parks site inventory as a 'huge site, ceramics in several mounds' and given a date range (presumably based on typology) of 500-900 AD. This site is located in the centre of the island, on the western edge of the Highlands. When visited in January 2011 it turned out to have been quite recently destroyed or badly damaged by limestone quarrying. Low-fired pottery, griddle fragments and conch shell were observed on the surface, but further work is needed to assess the extent of the damage and retrieve what information there is still to be had on the size, date and function of this site.

CONCLUSIONS

The caves of the east coast of Barbuda are not full of archaeological remains. In fact the precondition for the survival of such remains – soil on the cave floors – is only met in a little more than half and of those only three have definite cultural layers, four have possible cultural layers inside or in front and in a further 10 the formation of anthropogenic deposits can conceivably have taken place. This result does not mean that many of these caves may not have been utilized by humans in the past, but simply that the shape and situation of the caves is not conducive to the accumulation and/or preservation of archaeological deposits. In the survey area deep caves are the exception and the majority is relatively shallow and open to the elements and this seems to be the main reason for the limited archaeology associated with them. The more frequent remains of modern camping in these caves suggest that they may have been the settings for similar activities in the past. Another reason for the lack of archaeological remains in the caves is the marginality of this part of Barbuda. In the 5 kms of the coastal strip south of Rubbish Bay in particular the vegetation is exceedingly sparse and this part of the coast is also relatively inaccessible as it can only be entered along the coast, from north or south. Just as there is no road along this part of the coast at present so it seems to have been one of the most unfrequented parts of the island in the past.

There is greater archaeological potential in the southernmost section of the coastal strip, the last 3 kms north of Castle Hill, not only in the caves but also on the surface between the cliff and the coast.

With an eye to develop methodologies for a more systematic and detailed survey of archaeological remains in Barbuda some observations were made on surface deposits in the southeast part of the island. These suggest that apart from the known major Ceramic Age sites, there may be a much greater number of smaller sites, some potentially earlier. Identifying and characterizing those would be one of the major objectives of a systematic and detailed archaeological survey of Barbuda. In order to realize this, methodologies will need to be developed to:

a) Ensure recognition. Most of the sites so far observed are exposed by roads or other recent disturbance and it may be that the visibility of most others is very low, e.g. in undisturbed bush. A variety of methods are available (from

intensive fieldwalking to soil chemistry surveys) and these will need to be tested to find the most applicable one.

b) Characterize the landscape setting of each site, i.e. which landscape attributes are significant for the location of a site? Is it soil thickness/quality, vegetation, water source, aspect, distance to other sites or any other factors?
c) Characterize the dating and function of the site from its surface remains/minimal intervention. Are there patterns in the species composition of fauna? Does the absence of ceramics indicate that a site is pre-ceramic?

A first step would simply be to walk the frequent tracks that crisscross most parts of the island. This should give a general sense if site density is different from one part of the island to another. Greater attention also needs to be given to the more cultivated areas closest to Codrington village. The absence of known prehistoric sites (apart from a few isolated finds) in this area is curious and may be a consequence not of an actual absence but of historic period cultivation and construction having obscured earlier remains.

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