

TAMING THE LAND: PEAK DISTRICT FARMING AND RITUAL IN THE BRONZE AGE

By JOHN BARNATT

(Archaeology Service, Peak District National Park Authority, Aldern House,
Baslow Road, Bakewell, Derbyshire, DE45 1AE)

SUMMARY

The Peak District has many Bronze Age sites, including exceptional survival of settlement, fields and cairnfields on the gritstone East Moors together with stone circles and barrows. These are complemented by a large number of excavated barrows on the central limestone plateau. An explanation of the nature of Bronze Age society is presented here which contrasts sedentary farming at this time with a more mobile lifestyle in the Neolithic. A picture is presented of the Bronze Age that, contrary to traditional explanations of regions like Wessex, stresses farming families rather than hereditary elites. Sustained use of specific areas of land by small 'family' farms may have developed at an earlier date than in parts of lowland Britain and continued in use long after the creation of planned landscapes in areas such as Dartmoor. The people who lived in these farms had 'family' monuments, which dominate the ritual landscape of the region. Many barrows have multiple burial of individuals and grave goods are usually simple. The frequent correlation of barrows and stone circles to specific agricultural areas indicate that all farming families had access to these.

SETTING THE SCENE

Life in the Bronze Age: Regional Variation in Farming and Ritual

The primary aim of this paper is to explore the Bronze Age in Britain from one local perspective, that of the Peak District, in order to highlight distinct regional differences when comparing the highland zone of northern England with better documented areas further south. These differences occur both in regard to the nature and chronology of farming and in the character of ritual, particularly that appertaining to burial. Thus, the paper illustrates differences in our perception of the period when compared with the traditional Wessex-centric view.

A decade ago, it was thought that the Neolithic and Bronze Age of the Peak District was understood. The distribution of known settlements and monuments had been recorded (Hart 1981; Barnatt 1986; 1987), socio-economic land-use models had been postulated (Hawke-Smith 1979; Bradley and Hart 1983) and these had been placed within wider frameworks (Bradley 1984). Chronological contrasts were drawn between activities in the Neolithic and Bronze Age. These postulated a core area on the limestone plateau where settlement had concentrated in the Neolithic. Later, as the peripheral gritstone uplands were settled in the second millennium BC, differences in status between core and periphery were stressed. Much of this has now been questioned and new explanations are presented (Barnatt 1996a; this paper).

Underlying previous interpretation of the Peak District in the Bronze Age has been the assumption that sedentary settlement was central to the Neolithic way of life. Recently there has been a growing awareness that across Britain the situation may have been very different in the fourth and third millennia BC, with people's way of life having much in common with their Mesolithic forbears who moved through the countryside in a seasonal round to harvest different resources (Bradley 1987; Edmonds 1987; 1995; Pryor 1988; Thomas 1991a; 1996a; 1996b; Barrett 1994). Central to our understanding is the realisation that past peoples may well have perceived space very differently to ourselves and that rights of access to land are often related to concepts of tenure rather than more restricted ideas which assume ownership (Ingold 1986; Thomas 1991a; Barrett 1994; Tilley 1994). People in such societies often claim tenure of paths and places, and of their physical and spiritual resources, rather than ownership of territory. As individual groups travelled from place to place, they may well have shared resource areas with others, either in the same season, or by visiting any one place at different times. In regard to the Peak District such interpretations have been explored elsewhere (Barnatt 1996a). These emphasise the extensive use of the region as a whole rather than focusing on the limestone plateau.

Sedentary groups whose people invested large amounts of time in 'permanently' settled 'family' farms were probably not fully established across Britain until the second millennium BC (Thomas 1991a; Barrett 1994; Edmonds 1995), although in exceptional locations, such as Orkney, this demonstrably started in the Neolithic. It is suggested here that this 'settling down' may also have started prior to the second millennium BC in other but perhaps not all regions of Britain. Concentration on specific parcels of land may well have been concomitant with fundamental changes of perception of the world. These perceptions would now emphasise the identity of individuals with specific places, creating a more bounded sense of being. With such investment went the importance of lineal history, that defined inheritors of 'family' wealth, social position and obligation which could accumulate over generations. In the Peak District the explanations explored here place emphasis on local farming families who settled both on the limestone plateau and gritstone uplands, probably in the Later Neolithic or Earlier Bronze Age. Little difference in the character of societies inhabiting the two zones is apparent.

New ideas on the interpretation of Later Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age monuments have moved away from the traditional model of a simplistic dichotomy between communal Neolithic monuments and Bronze Age ones which stress the burial of a newly emerged elite (Barrett 1988, 1990; 1991; 1994; Garwood 1991; Thomas 1991a; 1991b; 1993; 1996a; Bradley 1993; Tilley 1994). Aspects of these new interpretations that are pertinent to discussion below include, how monuments have social memories encoded in their architecture and the objects within them, and also how their design often symbolised community while at the same time could be manipulated to sectionalise society. The character of grave goods, often thought of as symbols of status (e.g. Clarke *et al.* 1985), has been called into question (Parker Pearson 1982; Bradley 1988). Burials in barrows in the Peak District are argued here to reflect the beliefs and aspirations of farming families rather than the status of elite groups.

Regional differences in Later Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age societies, as visible in monuments and burials, have been stressed as significant (Bradley 1984; Pryor 1984; Barnatt 1989a; Harding 1991; Thomas 1991a; 1996a). Some of these differences are

displayed in the types of ritual monuments discussed below. The widely varied scale, design and distributions of stone circles and henges across Britain illustrate strong regional contrasts which may well reflect differences in social organisation (Barnatt 1989a). Earlier Bronze Age burial practices in Wessex are well documented, previous accounts have emphasised round barrows of various designs, often in cemeteries, and single burial, often with grave goods and which occasionally include exotic 'status' items (Grinsell 1957; 1959; Ashbee 1960; Garwood 1991; Barrett 1994). However, the Wessex data is badly in need of detailed reassessment to establish if our preconceptions of its character hold true. Other regions commonly exhibit differences in burial practice (Burgess 1980), which in some instances may suggest local societies varied in character from that in Wessex. Such contrasts are illustrated by multiple burial as frequently found for example in East Yorkshire (Petersen 1972), or by the lack of anything other than token burials, as for instance commonly found in Cornwall (Miles 1975; Barnatt 1982). Excavations at Peak District barrows have provided a rich record of single graves, often with several examples in any given barrow, with many of the usual types of the more common Bronze Age grave goods. However, these have been argued to have been deposited within a tradition of the burial of 'family' representatives and to have little to do with identifiable elite groups (Barnatt 1996d).

Examination of prehistoric fields across Britain also reveals strong contrasts (Fowler 1983). The most notable of these is that between the small fields and cairnfields found in the highland zone, as well illustrated in the Peak District (Barnatt 1986; 1987) and the North York Moors (Spratt 1993; Harding with Ostojka-Zagorski 1994), and large co-axial field systems, as for example those in the Cambridgeshire fenlands at Fengate (Pryor 1980) and those on Dartmoor (Fleming 1978; 1983; 1988). This dichotomy creates a set of contrasts in the Later Bronze Age, between areas with grand field systems and those such as the Peak District that continued farming from small 'family' farms. The latter were set outside the context of a physical farming landscape which was communally planned, but rather continued to use small irregular fields which had grown organically round each farm. This of course does not negate the possibility of communal co-operation here, but reflects a lack of desire to make visible statements about community.

In the discussions below it is not possible nor appropriate to adhere strictly to the Bronze Age. For monuments in particular what is addressed often applies equally to the Later Neolithic, while when discussing prehistoric settlements on the East Moors several of the more favourably located are now known to continue well into the Iron Age. Some at least of the East Moors settlements remained in existence when the hillforts were built and the dynamics of this hierarchical structural development still needs to be addressed.

The Peak District: Sites in the Landscape

The Peak District, like many other upland landscapes, has good if selective survival of prehistoric features which facilitate our understanding of the period. This is particularly true for the Bronze Age.

The region divides into three main topographical zones, a central limestone plateau, deep shale valleys which surround it, and beyond these gritstone uplands on all sides except south (Fig. 1). These have had different landscape histories both in terms of

prehistoric activities that took place there and in historic developments which have affected the survival of evidence for earlier land-use. The limestone plateau and shale valleys have been the focal areas for intensive agricultural use in historic times and therefore much of the surface evidence for earlier activity has been destroyed. However, many of the higher parts of the plateau were open commons in the Medieval period and may well have been used for open grazing from prehistory until Enclosure in the late 18th/early 19th centuries. Continuing use as pasture has led to the good survival of monuments such as barrows. Lower shelves and basins on the limestone plateau may well have been optimal locations for sustained settlement from the Bronze Age onwards but these areas have been subject to intensive subsequent use. The shale valleys have also been intensively used in historic times. The gritstone uplands, where of sufficiently low altitude, have often been used for rough grazing since prehistory but were farmed more intensively in the second and first millennia BC. This is particularly true of the East Moors where survival is exceptional. In contrast, the northern gritstone moors are higher and have never been used intensively. The western moors are also high in parts but this landscape is more dissected and the relatively small lower areas that exist have been extensively improved in Post-Medieval times, presumably destroying evidence for prehistoric farming. In contrast, much of the East Moors were not improved, probably because extensive areas were used by large estates for grouse shooting from the early 19th century onwards.

Prehistoric settlements and associated agricultural areas survive extensively on the East Moors (Barnatt 1986, 1987), where there are over 70 cairnfields and areas with bounded fields (Fig. 1; Appendix 1), some covering several hectares, many associated with scattered 'house' platforms. While a handful of small cairnfields are known elsewhere in the region, discussion below concentrates on the East Moors as here there is the greatest potential for reconstructing the organisation of the Bronze Age landscape and interpreting aspects of the society that created it.

Where surface remains are destroyed, reconstruction of settlement patterns across large parts of the region has been attempted previously using lithic scatters (Hart 1981, 54, fig. 6.2). However, while many recognisably Bronze Age artefacts are known in collections, there are major problems identifying activity dated specifically to the Bronze Age. Most lithic scatters are palimpsests of different periods and sometimes they cover wide areas. This problem is compounded by major differences in the amounts of ploughing undertaken across the region and the variable extent of local collection by various enthusiasts (Garton 1991; Myers 1991; Barnatt 1996a; Barnatt *et al.* in prep.). For these reasons lithic scatters are not considered further here. Other Bronze Age artefacts are rare outside burial contexts, and could add little to the discussions below.

Recently it has been confirmed that Earlier Bronze Age copper mining was taking place on Ecton Hill, near Wetton (Barnatt and Thomas 1998). While this is an important discovery in the context of early mining studies, the exploitation of copper here may have been only relatively small in scale in comparison with mines such as those on Great Orme in North Wales, and probably had little significant effect on the character of settlement in the Peak District.

Bronze Age ritual monuments are common in the region (Fig. 2). These include over 40 small stone circles and ringcairns, again mostly found on the East Moors (Appendix 2; Barnatt 1990; 1996c), together with a few standing stones (Appendix 3). There are

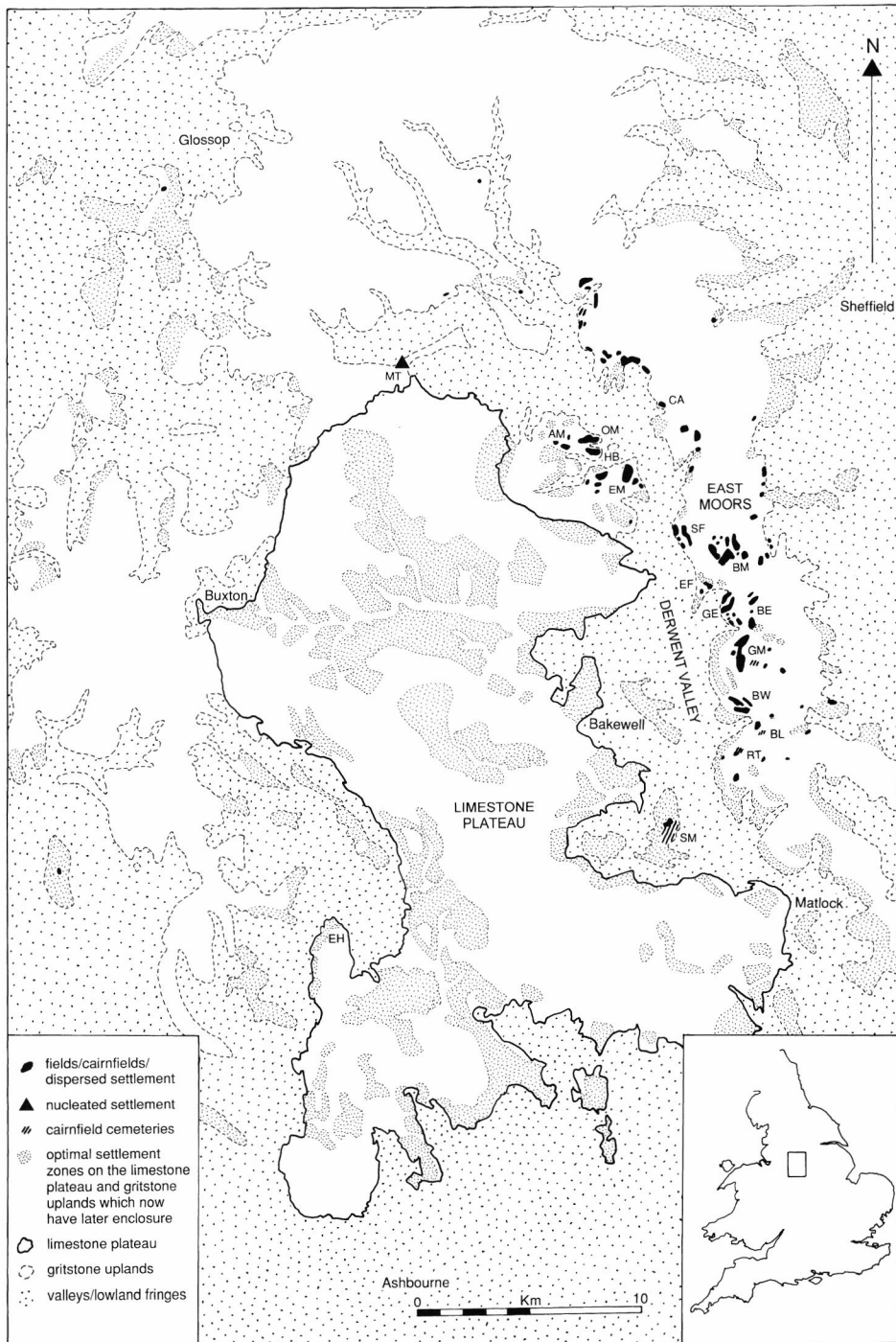


Fig. 1: The Peak District in the Bronze Age, showing the distribution of settlement, fields and cairnfields (MT: Mam Tor, AM: Abney Moor, OM: Offer-ton Moor, HB: Highlow Bank, EM: Eyam Moor, CA: Callow, SF: Stoke Flat, BM: Big Moor, EF: Eaglestone Flat, BE: Birchen Edge, GE: Gardom's Edge, GM: Gibbet Moor, BW: Beeley Warren, BL: Beeley Moor, RT: Raven Tor, SM: Stanton Moor, EH: Ecton Hill).

well over 500 known prehistoric round barrows distributed throughout the region (Barnatt 1989c), with high concentrations on the central limestone plateau and the East Moors. Gaps in the limestone plateau distribution are mostly coincident with areas of intensive later agricultural activity, or in the case of the south-eastern area, with extensive lead mining which makes the recognition of barrows problematic.

About 70 further barrows can now be added (Appendix 4) to a corpus recently published (Barnatt 1996f). For the most part these discoveries fill out the known pattern of barrow distribution.

There are three exceptions:

1. The previously known barrows on the limestone plateau north of the Wye gorge had a sparser distribution than further south; the new additions have made this area more comparable to other parts of the White Peak.
2. Until recently virtually no barrows were known in the Derwent Valley. The valley running south from Hathersage, an area of relatively intense Medieval and later settlement, had only one or possibly two recorded barrows. Three to four new barrows, all but one in Chatsworth Park, illustrate that this important if heavily wooded valley was far from ignored in the Bronze Age. Other than in exceptional circumstances, later agricultural activity has presumably destroyed the evidence. This picture has also been complemented recently by excavation of a flat grave at Beeley (Barnatt and Robinson 1998).
3. The most significant addition to the distribution pattern of barrows is in the high northern parts of gritstone upland. Extensive fieldwork here shows that barrows flank the upper reaches of the Derwent, in areas where agriculture is likely to have been concentrated in the valley itself, as the shelves above were probably too high for sustained cultivation.

A significant number of small cairns on the East Moors also exist well away from cairnfields. Many have been recently identified and some at least may be funerary (Appendix 5). While a few small mounds occur on the limestone plateau it may be that a significant number here have been destroyed.

This paper is designed as a synthesis of our present state of knowledge on the Bronze Age in the Peak District so will inevitably skirt various detailed arguments on interpretation that are presented elsewhere (Barnatt 1986; 1987; 1990; 1995a; 1996a; 1996d; in press; in prep.). Many specific projects have been undertaken over the last fifteen years, including excavations at several monuments and cemeteries (Barnatt 1994a; 1996b; 1996c; 1996e; 1997; Barnatt and Robinson 1998; Wilson and Cleverdon 1987; Collis 1996; Guilbert unpublished — Barbrook I stone circle) and fields/cairnfields (Barnatt 1991a; in press). Of particular importance are the excavations at Eaglestone Flat (Barnatt 1994a) and those at Gardom's Edge which are ongoing (Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996; 1997). Excavations have been complemented by detailed survey undertaken by the Keele Office of the Royal Commission on Historic Monuments for England (RCHME 1986; 1987a-d; 1990; Everson 1989) and by the author (Barnatt 1989b; 1991a), including collaborative projects on Gardom's Edge and Big Moor (RCHME and PPJPB 1993; RCHME and PDNPA 1998). Detailed palaeo-environmental work has added greatly to our knowledge of the duration of farming on the East Moors (Long 1994; Long *et al.* 1998).

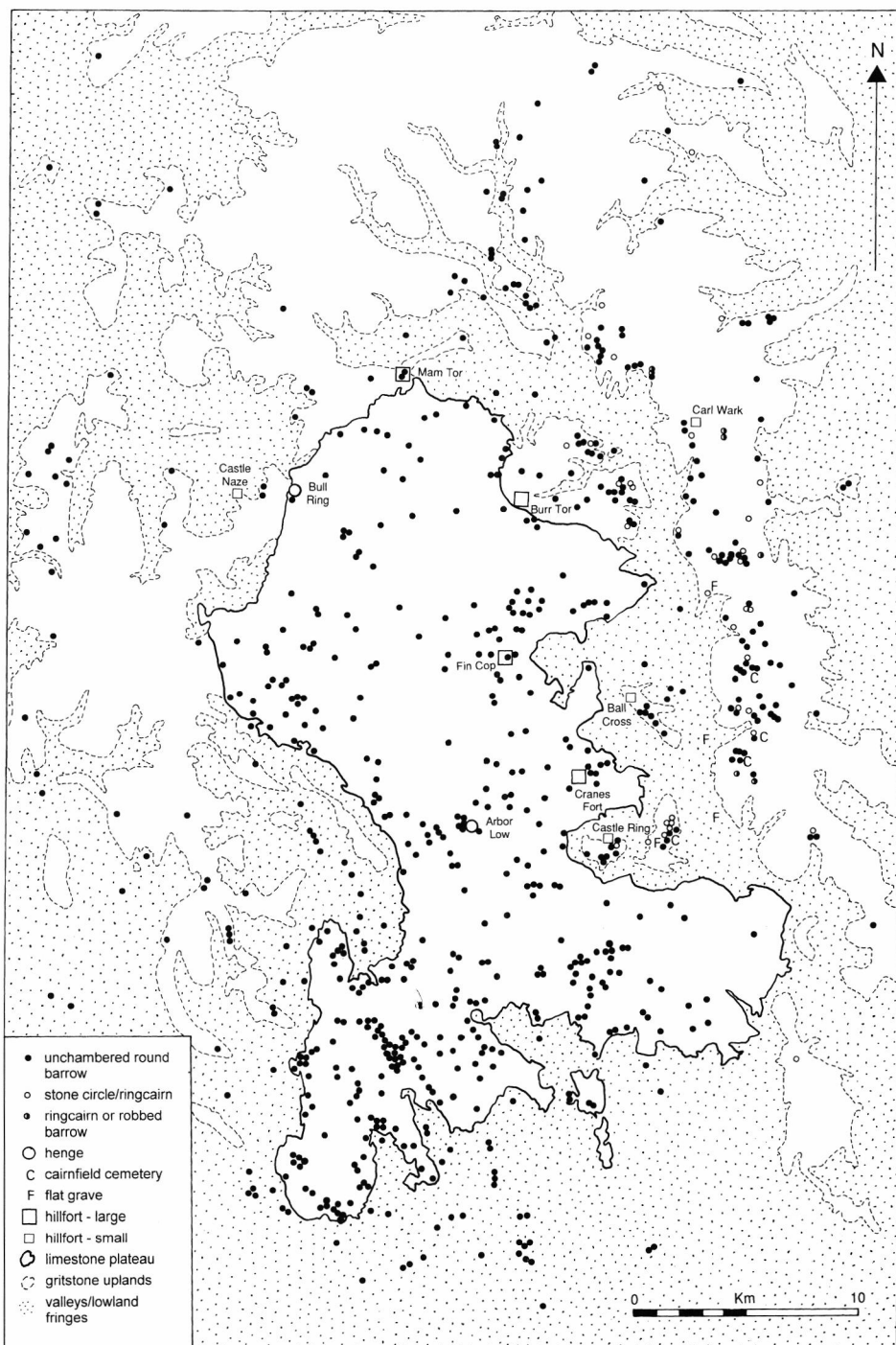


Fig. 2: The Peak District in the Bronze Age, showing the distribution of monuments, including selected Neolithic and Iron Age sites (unchambered round barrows of known or possible Later Neolithic/Bronze Age date are included, while known Anglian sites are excluded).

A TIME TO SETTLE DOWN; THE FIRST FARMS

Clearing the Land: Piles of Stone or Hedged Fields?

The character of the fields and cairnfields on the East Moors has been described in detail elsewhere (Barnatt 1986; 1987) and only a brief summary is given here. However, during this review it will be indicated where recent excavations have added significantly to our knowledge.

Prehistoric fields which today have boundary banks, and those areas which now comprise only cairnfields, appear to represent areas where sustained farming took place (be it permanent, seasonal or otherwise periodic). These were divided into fields which were probably originally bounded by hedges and/or fences. While sites with visible boundaries were clearly agricultural in nature, it used to be thought that many of the cairnfields were essentially funerary in character (Hart 1981, 56–63). With rare exceptions (see below) this is now thought to be untrue (*cf.* Barnatt 1987). The difference between the two types of site is rather a product of factors governing the present visibility of boundaries. Whether we still see surface evidence for prehistoric field boundaries is potentially the product of factors such as; the natural degree of stoniness of the land; the extent to which specific areas were used for arable through time; and the relative propensity for soil loss to take place due to local variation in topography.

Continuous prehistoric field boundaries are occasionally visible today, as for example at Big Moor, Stoke Flat and Birchen Edge North. These are normally earthen and were either formed by 'hedges' trapping soil blown from the fields or were built from turves, possibly striped from areas prior to cultivation (Figs. 3, 4) (Barnatt in press). Turf built banks could also have supported hedges or other forms of fences. While arable cultivation may well have been only intermittent (see below), there is no reason to suggest the need to strip areas of well established turf prior to cultivation. Controlled use of pigs to break the swathe could have been equally effective and disposal of turf may not have been an issue.

Stone-built features partially defining boundaries are common, as for example at Big Moor, Stoke Flat and Callow. These are usually discontinuous and often may well result from clearance against boundaries, often in discrete heaps that eventually merged together. Their gradual accretion has been confirmed by excavation at Eaglestone Flat (Barnatt 1994a) and more recently at Gardom's Edge (Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996; 1997) (Fig. 5).

While naturally or anthropologically defined linear boundaries accumulated linear clearance, other unwanted surface stone within fields found away from boundaries was

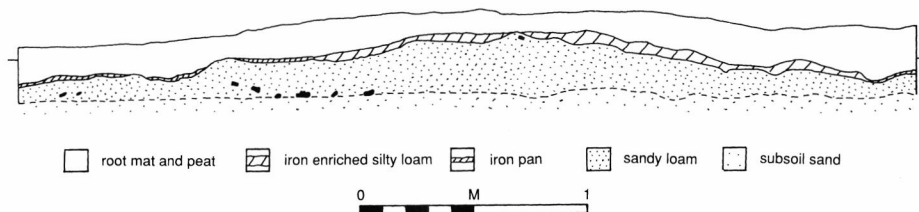


Fig. 3: A section through one of the earthen field boundary banks on Big Moor (after Barnatt in press).

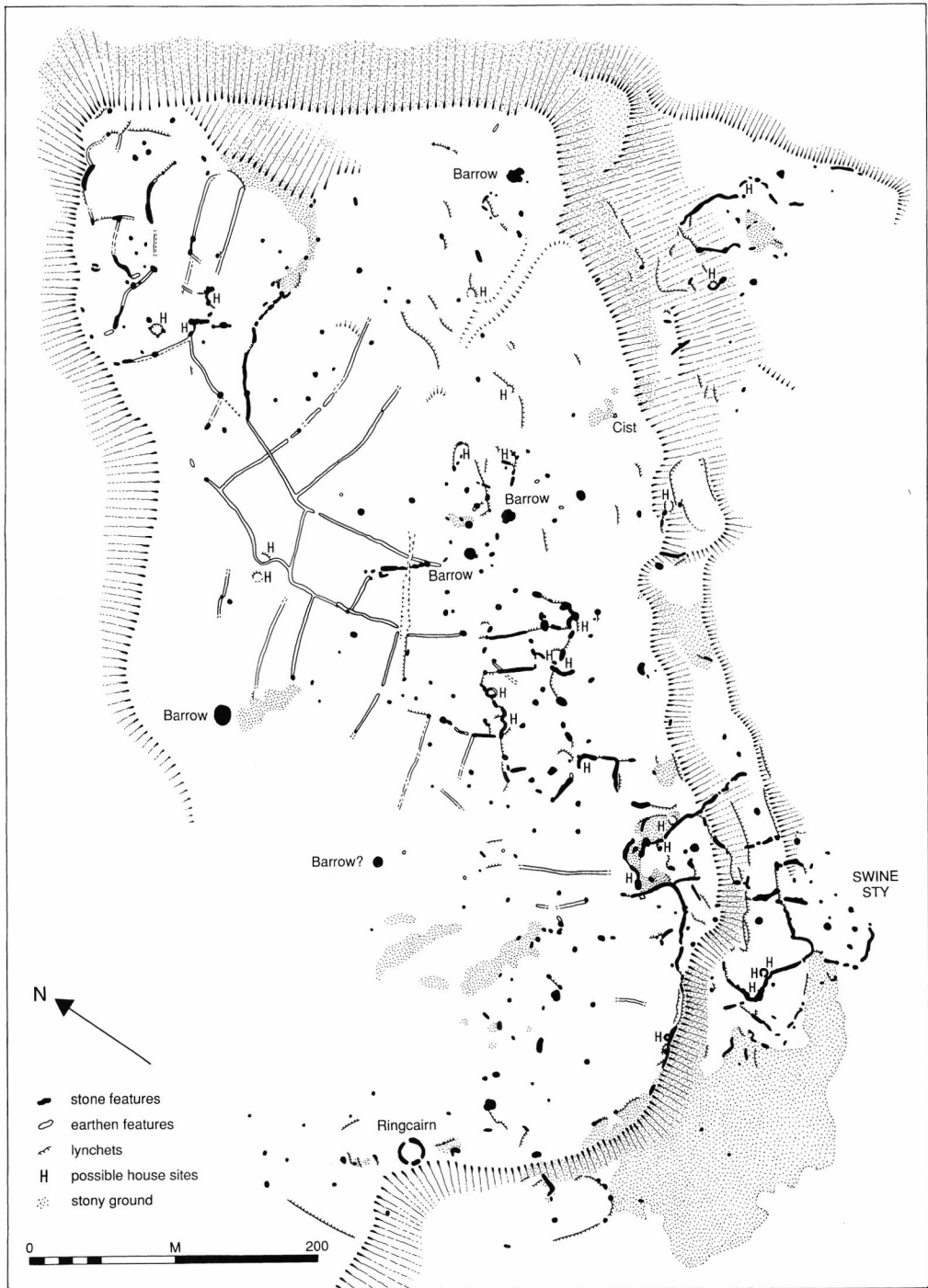


Fig. 4: The Big Moor fields showing earthen and stone features (after RCHME and PPJPB 1998).

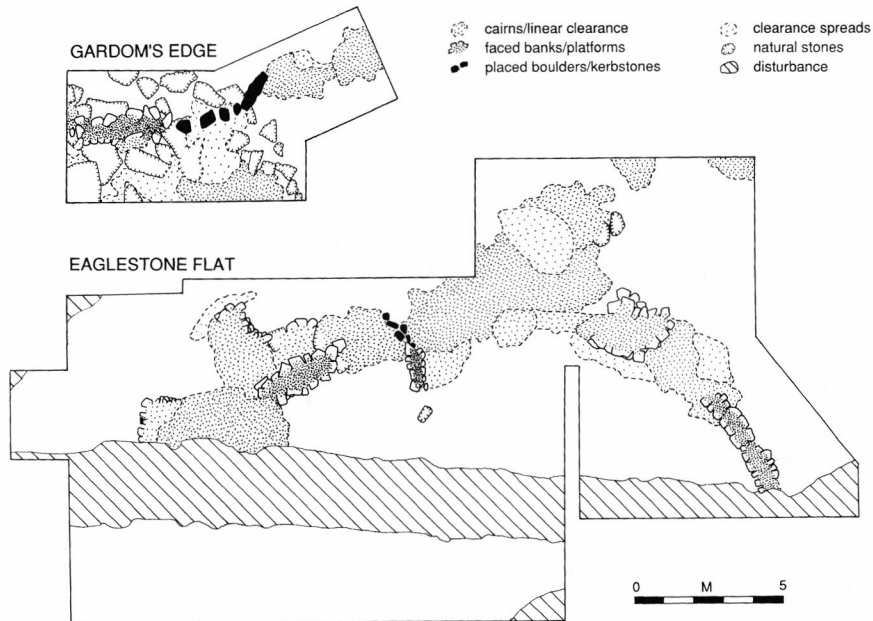


Fig. 5: Detail of excavated linear clearance features at Eaglestone Flat and Gardom's Edge.

commonly cleared into roughly circular clearance heaps. Excavation and survey have shown that these commonly occur over patches of stony ground unsuitable for cultivation or over large earthfast boulders that were difficult or impossible to move (Barnatt 1991a; 1994a; RCHME and PPJPB 1993; Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996; 1997).

The crucial conclusion to be drawn is that there was no functional difference between the fields and cairnfields of the East Moors, both represent agricultural areas and there is no evidence to suggest that the character of farming in each differed.

The nature of the 'hedged' boundaries is far from clear. Purposefully planted and carefully managed stock-proof hedges are certainly a possibility, but alternatively boundaries left between plots may soon have acquired scrub vegetation under certain grazing regimes; in such cases it may have been difficult to prevent this happening (Barnatt in press). However, field boundaries should not be assumed to have been stock proof. One section of a boundary excavated recently at Gardom's Edge (Fig. 5) ran over a rock outcrop where a hedge could not have grown. Here, in part, the boundary was defined only by a single line of boulders which was certainly not stock proof. At one end of this line, and also running over the natural outcrop, was a low bank faced on both sides with small boulders. This feature could have been surmounted by an earthen bank and thus have been designed to support a hedge. However, similar boundaries have been excavated at Eaglestone Flat (Fig. 5) but here they were discontinuous and ran over ground where hedges would have grown without building a formal bank. It may not be appropriate, therefore, to explain such boundaries in terms of functional necessity.

The visible fields on the East Moors are generally small. Often these are sub-rectangular to irregular in shape and form aggregated layouts which appear to have

developed over time (Fig. 4). In other instances small clusters of often narrow but long co-axial fields occur (Fig. 4). These small fields may have been planned together. However, they are radically different in scale and purpose to the large co-axial systems found, for instance, on Dartmoor (Fleming 1978; 1983; 1988). With the Peak District examples there are no implications of communal planning, rather each may well have been laid out within the context of a single farm. The different types of fields found on the East Moors may well be one of cultivation regime and/or chronology. Small rectangular/irregular fields, as in areas recently excavated on Gardom's Edge, are often on stony ground with internal barriers to continuous cultivation. In many instances they may well have been hand cultivated. The shape of the co-axial fields is more suitable for the use of ards and these fields often occur in areas that are less stony, although the method of cultivation remains unresolved. However, where both types of field occur in the same layout the co-axial fields appear to be added perhaps at a later date than the rectangular fields and it is tempting to suggest changes in agricultural method. There are also some instances, as in the north-western part of Gardom's Edge, where atypically large rectangular fields are found (RCHME and PPJPB 1993). Their size may again suggest ard cultivation. The aggregation of field types again contrasts with areas like Dartmoor, where the co-axial reave systems largely swept away any fields which may have preceded them, with the occasional exception of small irregular enclosures associated with settlements.

On the East Moors, identifying true field boundaries in some cases needs to be approached with care. On Gardom's Edge, for example, there are frequent natural barriers to cultivation in the form of low stony breaks of slope (RCHME and PPJPB 1993). These often acquired clearance features but are not necessarily field boundaries. Thus, a distinction needs to be drawn between plot boundaries and field boundaries, the former not supporting formal boundaries such as hedges and being the product of practical necessity, the latter being purposefully planned in terms of the conceptualisation of what a field should be like as well as by practical farming requirements. Any single field may have contained several plots, each separated by ground that was unsuitable for cultivation.

The intermittent use of fields for arable is suggested by the nature of recently analysed pollen sequences, both from buried soils at various excavations in the last decade (Barnatt 1991a, 1994a, 1996c) and from nearby peat bogs (Long 1994; Long *et al.* 1998). Episodes of cultivation have been demonstrated at most sites investigated by the presence of small quantities of cereal pollen. The use of fields for pasture also seems likely. While the use of land in this way is inherently difficult to identify in any pollen record, and the acid soils on the East Moors have destroyed any bone record, the nature of the topography and soils of the East Moors suggests mixed farming was likely to have been the norm. The fields are surrounded by large expanses of unenclosed upland and these also may well have been utilised for stock. Thus, it can be envisaged that in any one year some of the fields were used in summer for growing cereals and root crops, and possibly as hay meadows, while the surrounding open land would have made good summer grazing. It may well be that the fields were used for grazing over winter, but the extent to which they were also used for stock in summer months remains unclear. However the land could not have sustained indefinite cultivation, and it may well be that fields were used as meadows or for pasture far more frequently than for arable crops.

Living on the Land: Stone-Footed Shielings or Timber Houses?

Until recently the only excavated Bronze Age domestic structures in the Peak District have been those at Swine Sty on Big Moor dug by the Hunter Archaeological Society in the 1960s (Richardson and Preston 1969; Machin 1971; Machin and Beswick 1975). A ringbank on Beeley Moor previously suggested to be a domestic site (Radley 1965) is more likely to be a ringcairn (Barnatt 1990, 66), although a small trench was dug through a nearby structure which may well have been a building (Barnatt 1996c). The one stone-footed building at Swine Sty is exceptionally small and only a handful of potentially comparable structures have been found in the region. One of these on Gardom's Edge excavated recently proved to have only a superficial resemblance and was not circular (Barnatt *et al.* 1996). The small stone-footed buildings may be particularly late in the sequence and could be shielings, built at a time when many of the field areas were all but abandoned except for rough grazing. However, this remains to be proved, currently the only evidence of relative chronology is provided by a possible timber house underlying the stone-footed one at Swine Sty. If correctly interpreted, this was about twice the size of the latter and was identified by several possible postholes and by the way the adjacent enclosure bank curved as if to respect a circular structure. When first excavated the site as a whole was thought to be of Early Bronze Age date. However, re-examination of the lithics and pottery suggests an extended period of activity ranging from the Later Neolithic to the Iron Age (with small quantities of earlier and later material), although not all this was necessarily associated with the buildings (Garton and Beswick in prep.).

That the normal type of building associated with the fields is likely to have been larger timber houses has been demonstrated by the work of the staff of the Keele Office of RCHME (RCHME 1986; 1987a-d; 1990; Everson 1989; RCHME and PPJPB 1993; RCHME and PDNPA 1998). They were the first to identify circular terraced platforms associated with the majority of the field layouts of the region, although the presence of small yards and curved sections of field banks had been previously identified as indicating the sites of houses (Barnatt 1986, 84). In 1995 the excavations on Gardom's Edge tested the interpretation of these as circular building platforms for the first time. The one investigated indeed marked the site of a timber building (Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996). This had large rectangular-cut door posts and a hurdle wall defining its perimeter; a house-form paralleled for example at Danebury and Moel y Gaer (Cunliffe 1978, 176-77). Associated with the Gardom's Edge example were numerous sherds of Later Bronze Age/Earlier Iron Age pottery (Pauline Beswick *pers. comm.*) which is similar, but with a more limited range, to that found within the Mam Tor hillfort (Coombs and Thompson 1979). A second postulated house site, never seen as anything more than a possible example, was excavated in 1997. This was indicated by an arc of stone and proved to be one side of an inturned entrance to a field or 'enclosure' rather than a house (Barnatt *et al.* 1997). A further 'house' of larger size than the first and with what appears to be an internal ring of posts, again with many sherds of pottery and other artefacts, is currently under excavation (June 1998).

Building platforms are commonly found singly or in small groups amongst the East Moors fields and this strongly suggests the latter were created and used by people using individual farm buildings scattered amongst the fields. Whether these 'farms' were

occupied throughout the year or seasonally remains unclear; seasonality is difficult to prove or disprove from the archaeological record (Pryor 1995).

Using the Soil: Careless Exploitation or Careful Husbandry?

Significant progress in dating the East Moors settlements and fields has been made recently. It used to be thought that the upland cairnfields in the Peak District represented short term cultivation episodes in the Earlier Bronze Age, with soils soon becoming exhausted and people moving on to 'pastures new'. This now seems highly unlikely. Each group of fields/ cairnfields may well have been used over hundreds of years, while some were in use for much of the second and first millennia BC. This is supported by pollen sequences indicating clearance and cereal cultivation over this extended period and by a growing series of radiocarbon dates. This data complements that from Earlier Bronze Age ritual monuments, pollen sequences and radiocarbon dates (Barnatt 1995a; Long 1994). However, the character of some of the field layouts themselves provides the strongest evidence for prolonged use. This is illustrated at Big Moor (Fig. 4) where the complexity of the arrangement of fields suggests use and modification over generations (Barnatt and Smith 1991, 27). While, the possibility that this prolonged use was only intermittent cannot be discounted, there is no positive evidence. Rather, in those areas with well-defined field boundaries, the lack of evidence for conflicting field layouts disregarding earlier layouts strongly suggests that occupation was sustained in character, each generation making changes and additions with reference to what went before.

The possibility that some fields may have origins in the Neolithic should not be ignored. This could be indicated by pollen data indicating woodland clearance (Hicks 1971; 1972); by evidence for cereal cultivation well before the building of Bronze Age structures at Eaglestone Flat (Barnatt 1994a); and by the lithics from the excavations at Swine Sty, some of which are of Later Neolithic type (Garton and Beswick in prep.). However, this possibility is still far from clearly interpreted. The earliest clearance episodes (which are hard to identify) may be seen with equal plausibility either as small plots cultivated as part of a seasonal round and/or as the product of reduction of woodland for (or by) grazing (Barnatt 1996a).

Confirmation that areas of fields on the East Moors were extensively used in the Earlier Bronze Age is given by a strong spatial correlation with all stone circles and over half the barrows which date from this period (Fig. 6) (Barnatt and Smith 1997, fig. 17). These monuments are found within or just beyond the edges of the fields, rather than randomly scattered in the extensive areas of upland left unenclosed in prehistory. They are often at peripheral locations strongly suggesting that the field/cairnfield areas were already in full agricultural use, rather than being exploited in a more casual way, when the monuments were built. Only barrows are found in the extensive unenclosed areas and these examples tend to be found near natural boundary positions, often well above the field/cairnfield areas near watersheds (Barnatt in prep.).

Complementing these Earlier Bronze Age monuments are the radiocarbon dates from Swine Sty and Eaglestone Flat (Barnatt 1994a; 1995a). Those from Eaglestone Flat, if taken together, span much of the second millennium when calibrated at 2 sigma. They indicate an absolute minimum period of use of the site for both agriculture and burial (see below) of at least 200 years, in the centuries immediately before 1500 BC, and a more probable use for at least double or treble this period of time.

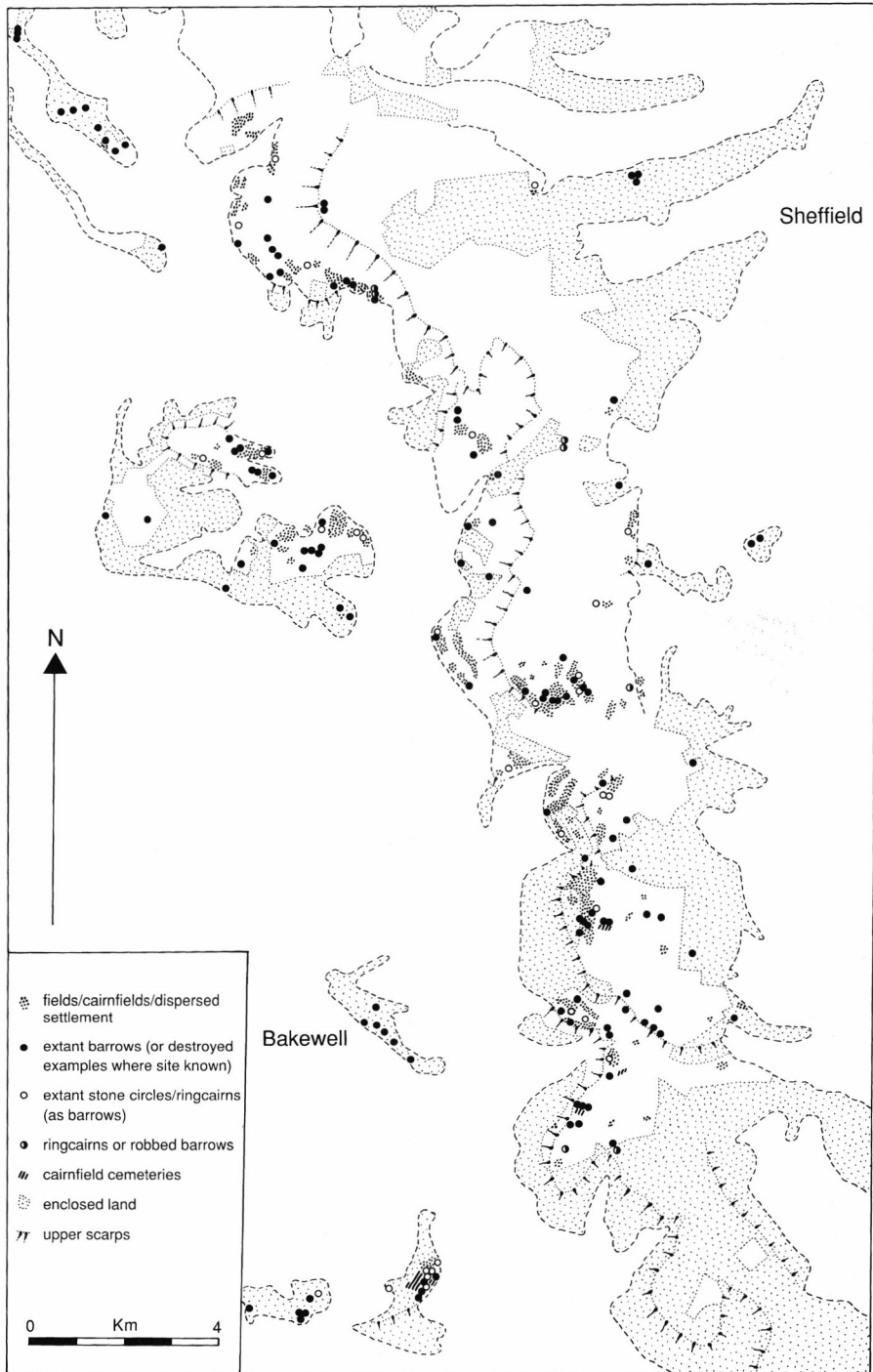


Fig. 6: The correlation between fields and monuments on the East Moors.

That the fields continued to be used after monuments ceased to be built is indicated both by Later Bronze Age radiocarbon dates from small excavations at earthen banks on Big Moor (Barnatt *in press*), and more recently at Gardom's Edge where the first excavated building is associated with Later Bronze Age or Earlier Iron Age pottery (Pauline Beswick *pers. comm.*; Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996). Recent pollen analysis at peat bogs adjacent to some of the more topographically-favourable examples of fields/cairnfields has demonstrated cereal cultivation took place into the late first millennium BC and this sequence has been radiocarbon dated at Stoke Flat (Long 1994; Long *et al.* 1998).

The first excavated Gardom's Edge building has produced similar pottery to that from the large settlement within the Mam Tor hillfort (Pauline Beswick *pers. comm.*), demonstrating that by this time the scattered farms were complemented by the nucleated settlement on this exposed hilltop (Coombs and Thompson 1979). Whether the hillfort is also of this date is still a matter of conjecture as no direct link between the ramparts and interior features has been demonstrated, nor has dateable material been found at the multi-phased ramparts themselves. In its final form at least, with inturned corridor entrances, the hillfort has been suggested to be more probably of a mid to late first millennium BC date (Guilbert 1996, 12). However, irrespective of whether the hilltop settlement had ramparts or not, it is of atypical size and in a very unusual, exposed, topographical location. The site is visually impressive and at a nodal point overlooking several distinctive upland and valley landscapes, together indicating the specialness of the place.

There are several other hillforts in the region (Preston 1954; Hart 1981; Hart and Makepeace 1993), at least some of which may have hilltop occupation contemporary with the earlier phases of activity at Mam Tor. The small example at Ball Cross above Bakewell has produced similar pottery (Stanley 1954). The four to five larger forts are each placed at a dominant position overlooking their own topographic 'territory' with complementary upland and lowland resource areas (Barnatt and Smith 1997, 43–44). All are sited on locally high places between the limestone plateau and major shale valleys below. In the cases of Mam Tor and Burr Tor they also lie adjacent to extensive high gritstone uplands suitable for rough grazing.

Using the Land: Shifting Agriculturalists or Settled Farmers?

We turn now to more general interpretation of the settlements and fields of the Peak District. Barrett has stressed the important transformation from a Neolithic-type lifestyle in Britain, where the people had a relatively mobile existence, to the sedentary nature of societies which he argued developed in the Bronze Age (Barrett 1994). In the latter period, people invested large amounts of time in 'permanently' laid out 'family' farms, probably inhabited on an extended family or kin group basis.

It is a matter for debate exactly when in the Later Neolithic and/or Bronze Age the transformation in lifestyle took place, with its concomitant alterations in perceptions of the world people inhabited, how gradual the process was, and whether it happened synchronously across Britain. Barrett suggests that a sedentary lifestyle reached a critical point of development part-way through the second millennium BC, with the creation of large field systems, such as the celtic fields in Wessex and the parallel reaves of Dartmoor (Barrett 1994, 132–53). While the importance of what these fields represent must be

stressed, there is a need for re-assessment of Barrett's suggestion that earlier evidence for cultivation, such as the cairnfields of the British uplands, represents temporary arable plots made by farmers using the land as part of a seasonal round (Barrett 1994, 144). In the Peak District this interpretation of cairnfields (and fields) seems unlikely, or at least an over-simplification. While they may have origins within such a way of life, they developed into agricultural foci which were used over an extended period in a sustained way. Here, the evidence reviewed above suggests that they were used through much of the second millennium BC and in some cases continued in use through the Iron Age. Cairnfields elsewhere in northern Britain need re-evaluation against the Peak District evidence.

While the field layouts on the East Moors were small scale in comparison with the reave systems of Dartmoor for example, they may well reflect the early stages of an attitude towards land that stressed permanency and all this implies. It is over simplistic to view the farming history of Britain in terms of early small scale activity followed by large planned landscapes (Barnatt 1996a). In areas such as the uplands of northern Britain large field systems never developed but sustained farming was established and continued on different lines, more in keeping with the landscapes within which it took place. Here there were topographic constraints which did not allow the development of relatively large populations spread over extensive conjoined areas. Thus, reaves are only one aspect of farming in the Later Bronze Age. This point is critical in gaining a deeper understanding of the overall regional dynamics of the sedentary farming that developed in the later millennia of British prehistory. Similarly, within all types of sustained farming regime, a complex interweaving of year-round, seasonal and periodic use over longer periods is anticipated and has yet to be successfully addressed.

Large co-axial field systems in Britain were established at different dates, ranging from the Later Neolithic in Western Ireland to the Iron Age or Roman period in the Yorkshire Dales and Essex (Fleming 1987). Similarly, the advent of simpler field layouts around individual farms may well not be synchronous across Britain. While in some regions ambitiously planned field systems provide the earliest identified evidence for sustained farming this does not necessarily mean that they were the first farms here. It would be highly surprising if large co-axial field systems emerged out of a vacuum where the only farming that had taken place was in small temporary plots and where sustained farms with fields were not already a tried and tested strategy. In most or all regions co-axial field systems may well have been preceded by smaller fields developed piecemeal around individual farms before the desire for large-scale communal planning arose.

As noted above, the present archaeological visibility of ancient fields depends on three main factors:

1. *The relative degree of stoniness of the land.* This determines the extent to which stone clearance features were created. Hence, as on the East Moors of the Peak District, relatively stony or thin-soiled land has the most obvious surface traces of cultivation.
2. *The extent to which arable cultivation took place.* As no lynchet formation would occur in fields used exclusively for pasture these fields may now be invisible unless they were defined by built banks or walls.
3. *The extent to which fields continued to be cultivated once soil deterioration and soil loss were taking place.* This partly determines both the degree of lynchet formation and

stone clearance. Thus, visible evidence for fields may sometimes reflect the later phases of the lives of field layouts once soil deterioration had taken place.

In favourable conditions, once abandoned, ancient fields defined by fences or hedges may well have left little permanent trace in the landscape, particularly if they were used mainly or exclusively for pasture rather than arable. In places like Wessex, so influential in the interpretation of British prehistory, extensive evidence of early fields that predate large planned field systems is difficult to find. It is debatable if this is because they were never common, or only due to the evidence not being readily recognised. Similarly, on Dartmoor even the large parallel reave systems may well have been built in the context of largely pastoral farming, except for arable plots in the immediate vicinity of dwellings. These are often less regularly laid out than the parallel boundary systems within which they sit and some can be seen to predate the reaves (e.g. Fleming 1988, 101, fig. 65). It may be that on Dartmoor earlier boundary features are only visible where stone was extensively cleared for arable and that outlying fields once existed that were used predominantly for pasture which have left little surface trace. It cannot be assumed that pre-coaxial fields were not common on the basis that they have no clear archaeological footprint in today's unexcavated landscape.

A lack of synchronicity in the evolution of farmed landscapes is predicted. Regions where deterioration of the soil within prehistoric fields is likely to have first occurred are those with thinner soils and/or higher rainfall. Examples are upland areas like Dartmoor and the Peak District, and other regions where rainfall may well have been higher as in Western Ireland. If stress on agricultural production and thus social relations is seen as a critical factor in the development of new methods of farming, comprising firstly the laying out of the first 'permanently' located 'family' farms and later the creation of large planned field systems, then it may well be those areas that were the most fragile where adoption first took place. Thus, the first sustained farms in Britain may have been established in uplands and other delicately balanced landscapes such as fen edges rather than in heartlands such as those in Wessex and south-eastern England.

Similarly, the creation of ambitious field systems can be interpreted as replacing earlier smaller and more organically evolved fields around individual farms at a time when intensification was necessary to increase farming yields, perhaps due to rising populations and/or deteriorating soil conditions. Alternatively, the desire to build large field systems may be explained in social terms. Such fields may have evolved in areas where local population levels were high and social coherence relatively great. Thus, it was felt desirable that planned farming should take place and/or that visible expression should be given to the social co-operation amongst the people who built these field systems. Even here environment would have been an influencing factor because in areas with low populations this may never have been a desirable option. Such a place is the East Moors of the Peak District, where evidence of the earlier types of fields survive well because they were never replaced by large co-axial systems. In areas where competition between groups was greatest there appears to have been the most ambitious communal expressions of identity (Barnatt 1989a). While the earlier fields stressed local consciousness and placed emphasis on the 'family' and the first 'owning' of the land, the large co-axial systems mark the reintroduction of corporate planning on a scale not seen since the building of large henges. Such field systems can be viewed as new expressions of community, built at a time when large monuments may have ceased to have relevance.

Seeing the Land: Changing Visions

The Later Neolithic/Earlier Bronze Age has been argued to be a time of major transformation not only in terms of the nature of settlement and of agricultural change but more importantly in the way in which people viewed the world (Barnatt 1996a). This change in practice and attitude is likely to have taken place gradually. It seems probable that the transition had its origins in traditional Neolithic practice, in that once traditional tenurial rights of pasture came to be seen as in the control of a 'single people' then this allowed greater freedom to use land differently. This transformation may well have come about not so much by the displacement of other groups but through the socially unifying influence of monuments such as henges. The coming together of disparate segments of the local population to build and subsequently use such sites may have led to a people seeing themselves as one. Concomitant with this is presumed development in seeing coherent relations of authority. This set the scene for the dividing up of the landscape. This critical transformation involved change from inter-group tenure across the landscape to the holding of land and the rise of personal or 'family' power. Communal tenure had revolved about a traditional seasonal round and a sharing of the land's resources, while the new sense of boundedness and perhaps sense of ownership permitted greater manipulation of the land.

In the Peak District, although much of the surviving evidence comes from the East Moors, 'family' farms may well have been established widely on both the limestone plateau and the gritstone uplands. While later large communal field systems were never built on the East Moors, and in contrast many of the farms continued in use into the first millennium BC, it remains unknown if such co-axial fields were ever laid out on the favourable parts of the limestone plateau. Particularly suitable areas would have been the wide and relatively low shelves at the plateau's eastern side and flanking the gorges of the Wye and Lathkill. Here all surface evidence of prehistoric farming has been swept away as this land continued as one of the Peak District's main arable zones in historic times.

RITUAL MONUMENTS: THE LAND OF SPIRITS AND ANCESTORS

This second half of the paper discusses the many monuments built in the region that were created for overtly ritual purposes. However, it should be remembered that it may well be that all activities practised by Bronze Age people, today categorised as functional, were imbued with ritual meaning. Thus farming, for example, would have comprised far more than functional acts concerned with growing or husbanding food and would have been inextricably linked to the farmers' beliefs connected with the spirits of place and the animal and plant life around them. Equally ritual acts carried out at stone circles and barrows would have been 'functional' for the people who used them in that they were probably designed to further the well-being of the individual and/or community.

Circles of Stone: The Seasonal Round and Rites of Passage

In the Peak District there is a strong dichotomy in the types of stone circles found (Radley 1966; Burl 1976; Barnatt 1989a; 1990; 1996c). On the limestone plateau are two large circle-henges of probable Later Neolithic construction at Arbor Low and the Bull Ring. In contrast, on the East Moors, where survival of Bronze Age remains in general is

exceptional, over 40 small embanked stone circles and ringcairns exist. These architecturally closely-related forms are of a type found through northern and western England and southern Scotland, but which are most common in the Peak District (Barnatt 1989a). They are characterised by low retained banks defining a flat central area often 5–20m across. The majority have low orthostats on the inner edge of the bank, sometimes with a single larger stone in the south-western quadrant. In the case of most ringcairns without visible orthostats, in the absence of excavation it is unclear if stones once existed. Many sites have had their interiors levelled to produce a flat platform on which to stand. There are also architectural variations. At Nine Stone Close all the surviving stones are tall and the ring appears to be free-standing, as does that on Hordron Edge. At Doll Tor the interior had been filled with a low kerbed mound but this may post-date a recently identified platform built to level the interior (Barnatt 1997). On Gibbet Moor there is a diminutive four poster, a type of monument most common in eastern Scotland but found through much of highland Britain (Burl 1988; Barnatt 1990, 21, 62, 64). Nearby two possible examples of two-stone settings have recently been identified (see Appendix 3).

The small stone circles/ringcairns are sited in close association with fields/cairnfields in every case, except where later agriculture is likely to have destroyed evidence of settlement (Fig. 6). Thus, they are local monuments and every small farming community may well have had one.

This local focus contrasts with the two large centres at Arbor Low and the Bull Ring. As Pryor has recently argued, monument complexes often have two basic phases of life, termed 'establishment' and 'respect', the latter usually of long duration (Pryor 1995). The two Peak District circle-henge complexes, whilst established at an earlier date may well still have been in use when the East Moor circles were being built. Both complexes had round barrows built here indicating that they were certainly not ignored. While the building of many small circles on the East Moors in the Bronze Age reflects a narrowing of individual people's focus, which goes hand in hand with the establishment of 'family'-owned farms across the landscape, use of the henge complexes may have reflected wider socio-political affiliation. However, such a dichotomy begs the question of why did people not build small stone circles on the limestone plateau in the Bronze Age; this will be returned to in the final section.

While the circle-henges are undoubtedly communal monuments used intermittently for large gatherings, the small stone circles and ringcairns have been argued, from deposits found upon excavation, to be strongly associated with burial (Burl 1976, 40–41). However, to conclude this was their main purpose is probably wrong or at least over-simplistic; they may well have been monuments for the living. Even barrows serve the living (see below), but stone circles may have been used 'by the living for the living' in a more overt way. The archaeological data are biased, for of all the rituals one can envisage at stone circles, such as rites of passage at birth, puberty, marriage and death, and seasonal rituals at such times as solstices, those rites associated with death are the most likely to leave buried deposits. As with the larger henges, the smaller circles could have been used for an indefinite period of time without leaving evidence in the archaeological record. As these monuments have a design suitable for holding living participants and are commonly found in association with Bronze Age farms on the East Moors, it may well be that they were the main local community monuments of their time,

used for a variety of 'family' rituals concerned with rites of passage and seasonal festivities.

Circular Barrows: Mounds for the Living and the Dead

Well over 500 unchambered round barrows are known in the region, of which 187 have been dated by excavation to be prehistoric, while only 15 are certainly of Anglian construction; thus the majority of undated examples are likely to be prehistoric (Barnatt 1989c; 1996d; 1996f). The majority of round barrows superficially are simple round mounds between 10 and 20m in diameter; very few exceed 30m in diameter. Ditches are rarely visible except at a few of the largest mounds, although they have rarely been looked for during excavation.

Unlike stone circles, barrows are more obviously concerned with burying of the dead. Although even here their construction was as much for the benefit of the living as for the dead. Formal funerals not only allowed the living to reassess their social position, but the use of grave goods and treatment of the dead allowed people to make statements about their beliefs, affiliations and aspirations in regard to their position in the world around them and their relationship with other groups of people with whom they had contact. The presence of a visible burial marker provided a permanent reminder of 'family' ancestors and their presence in the land of the living. Also a barrow could be instrumental in providing continuing validation of rights to specific areas of land through use by previous generations of the same 'family'.

Of the relatively few barrows that have been excavated in modern times in the Peak District about half have evidence that they are multiphased structures enlarged and modified over time, often with the addition of further burials. Equally there is strong evidence that many were 'open' sites, sometimes certainly used for extended periods of time, before they were enveloped in a mound. This is usually indicated by the occurrence of a relatively large number of burials on or under the old ground surface across much of the internal area of the barrow. It is hard to imagine that a site such as Bee Low, with its five buried cists and rock-cut graves and five other burials on the old ground surface (Marsden 1970), was not open for some time before the mound was built. No evidence was found that any of these burials were inserted into pits dug through the mound and it seems unlikely that the majority of burials (excluding those purposefully placed in deep rock-cut graves) would coincide with the old ground surface rather than being deposited above or below such an horizon, the finding of which may well have been difficult or irrelevant, especially in the case of earthen mounds. At Hind Low the prolonged use of the site prior to the adding of the mound was indicated by a multiple burial of at least 10 individuals found together in the southern part of the interior. Here the skeletal remains of different individuals were in various states, from partly-articulated contracted inhumations to scattered and decayed bones (Ashbee and Ashbee 1981). At Harland Edge on the East Moors, where inhumations do not survive due to the acid soil, the central area of a barrow had a small area with three food vessels in shallow pits associated with the cremated remains of at least four individuals (Riley 1966). In some cases, as at Hind Low and Harland Edge, the site may have initially been defined by the kerb that later retained the barrow mound. However, this is normally difficult if not impossible to demonstrate on the basis of available data. There has been little serious investigation of the possibility of kerbs being structurally independent. However, at recent excavations,

by English Heritage, at two barrows on Longstone Edge, one was a complex multi-phased structure and the site may have been used as an exposure platform. It had a circular bank defined by kerbs which probably pre-dated the mound which enveloped it (Peter Reeves *pers. comm.*). A variation on the theme of 'open' burial was demonstrated at Wigber Low (Collis 1983). Here a large flat-topped cairn was built to be used as an exposure platform. Evidence was found for at least 21 bodies whose skeletal material was subsequently removed from site except for occasional bones which had made their way down between the stones of the cairn.

The nature of the burial rite was varied in Peak District round barrows, and included inhumation and cremation, burial in rock-cut graves, cists, on the old ground surface and high in the mound (Fig. 7; Table 1). As much of the information on the character and position of graves is derived from antiquarian excavations, notably those by Bateman and Carrington (Bateman 1848; 1861; Carrington n.d.), there are significant biases in the data. Following common practice of the day, digging was usually confined to central trenches and much of the mound sides was left unexcavated. Peripheral graves may post-date the first phases of activity on site, given the common trend for barrows to be enlarged. Thus, the data as presented here distinguishes between central and peripheral zones. A second significant bias in the presented information is that unburnt bones do not generally survive in the acid soils found in the gritstone and shale landscapes surrounding the limestone plateau. Thus the data used in Figure 7 and Table 1 are confined to burials located in the latter topographic zone. They are also confined to burial deposits which appear to have been intact rather than seriously disturbed subsequent to burial. Taking the 'intact' burials on the limestone plateau as a whole, there are over twice as many inhumation graves as cremation burials. There is also a trend for more inhumations to be given additional 'protection' by placing them in cists or rock-cut graves. While 41% of inhumations are treated in this way (111 instances), only 17% of cremations have been found in cists or rock cut graves (18 instances). Of those cremations not protected in this way, only about a quarter were given alternative 'protection' by a funerary urn. A similar proportion of those in cists or rock-cut graves were within urns. A slightly higher percentage of inhumations than cremations are found in central positions below barrows. Only 13% of inhumations are found in the upper parts of mounds (34 instances) whereas 34% of cremations are found in this location (36 instances). Both these trends could indicate changes of ritual practice through time or alternatively may reflect a desire to bury inhumations deeper or otherwise give them more protection from animal scavengers. Too few modern excavations have taken place to assess these possibilities or more importantly to attempt to fine tune the chronology of the different ritual practices, as for example has been attempted in Wessex (Barrett 1990; 1994; Garwood 1991).

The number of people buried in any one barrow in the Peak District is difficult to estimate as so few sites have been extensively excavated. Bateman typically dug less than *c.* 10% of any barrow, concentrating on the centre and stopping once an artefact-rich grave was found which he considered to be the primary burial. Re-examination of his data and comparison with modern excavations, show that the picture his data creates is significantly biased as a result, tending to give a normative view consistent with data from Wessex. Analysis of the better information available shows all barrows over 12m in diameter have five or more buried individuals and this total often exceeds twenty

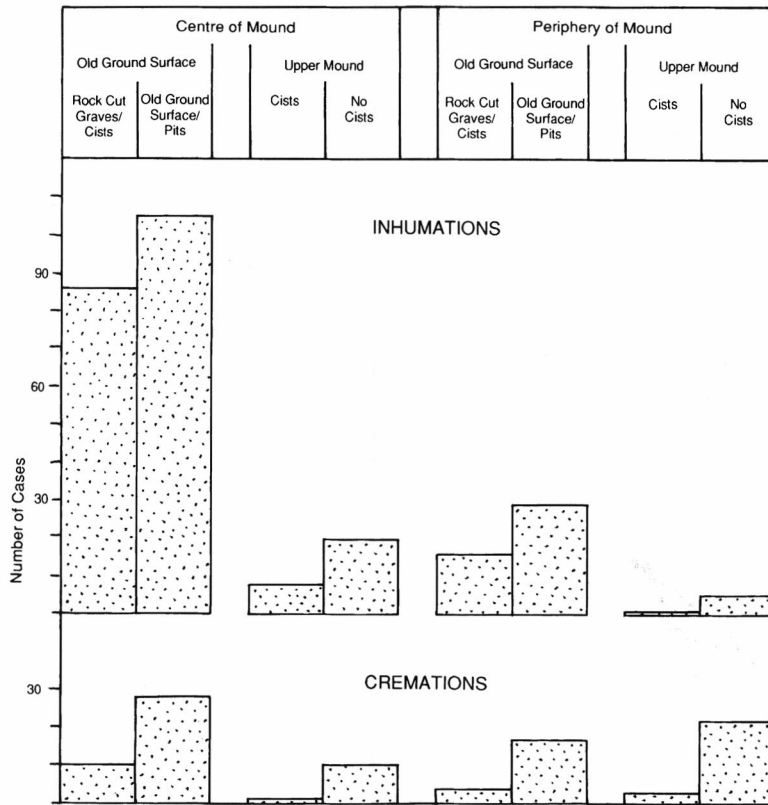


Fig. 7: The position of different types of graves in barrows on the limestone plateau of the Peak District (after data in Barnatt 1996d, 51–52, table 1.9).

(Barnatt 1996d, fig. 1.5). It has been suggested that while many barrows in Britain have multiple burials there is usually one that can be regarded as primary and distinguished by the quality of its grave goods and/or the special treatment of the body (Bradley 1984, 84–85). While this may be true in Wessex, it is not the case in the Peak District. An analysis of those local barrows that have been extensively excavated shows there are often several graves under the central zone of the mound which have been given similar treatment, in that bodies are placed in cists or rock-cut graves and are also accompanied by suites of grave goods of similar complexity (Barnatt 1996d, 41–46, 50–56).

While round barrows often contain several graves, each of the latter usually contains a single individual (200 instances — 71% of total). Less common are inhumations where there is an adult accompanied by a child, two adults or children together, or an inhumation accompanied by a cremation (68 instances — 25% of total). In only 14 instances have 3 or more individuals been found buried together, although in further cases antiquarians may have overlooked such data. From these figures it is clear that round barrow burial in the Peak District stresses the individual, in that burials within any given mound are commonly placed separately rather than having their bones purposefully jumbled as previously in many Neolithic chambered tombs. The emphasis



Fig. 8: Types of grave good assemblages accompanying burials in Peak District barrows (after data in Barnatt 1996d, 43, table 1.6).

is on ancestry rather than communal ancestors (Garwood 1991). This was a labour intensive strategy, for the change in emphasis from building a few large communal chambered tombs and henges in the Neolithic to the raising of hundreds of round barrows built in the Bronze Age, involved moving more earth and stone despite the much smaller scale of each site.

In a few instances burial took place with a variety of 'fancy' grave goods, defined here as objects that either involved complex or time consuming input of labour to produce or which were of a symbolic or funerary character. Such items include Beakers, Food Vessels and Collared Urns; bronze knives and axes; flint daggers and stone battle axes; and jet necklaces. However, the majority of burials had few or no grave goods (Fig. 8; Table 1). Before examining these data more closely a fundamental point needs making, as stressed by Barrett (1988, 1990); inhumation and cremation burials cannot be directly compared. Any artefacts present on a funeral pyre may not have been transferred to the grave when cremated bones were buried. Thus, inhumations need to be examined separately. Of the 268 inhumation graves represented in Figure 8 nearly 65% (172 instances) have no grave goods or only simple items such as flint tools or bone pins. Of the remainder, just under 35% (87 instances) have only minor examples of 'fancy' grave goods, such as bronze awls, flint arrowheads, jet buttons and bone spatulae, and/or they are accompanied by a single 'fancy' item such as listed at the beginning of this paragraph. There are only nine inhumation graves with more than one such 'fancy' item. Of over 400 excavated prehistoric inhumation and cremation graves in Peak District barrows which can be suggested to be undisturbed only two have complex suites of artefacts. One of these is the classic Later Neolithic cist burial found at the centre of the Liffs Low

barrow high on the limestone plateau near Biggin, where the grave goods accompanying a male skeleton included a unique pottery flask, two edge polished flint axes, two lozenge-shaped arrowheads, two boars tusk blades and an antler macehead (Bateman 1848, 41–43; Barnatt 1996e). The other ‘rich’ grave was at Green Low situated *c.* 2km south of Liffs Low. Here a central rock-cut grave in a small barrow contained a male skeleton with a Beaker, a flint dagger, three bone spatulae, seven barbed and tanged arrowheads and a plano-convex knife (Bateman 1848, 59–60; Marsden 1963). These burials are the exceptions and it must be stressed that artefact suites with Peak District barrow burials are usually confined to a handful of items at most.

The information presented in Table 1 demonstrates that the types of grave goods found in graves below the centres of barrows are also found elsewhere in the mounds. Only 31% (60 instances) of inhumation graves on or under the old ground surface at barrow centres had ‘fancy’ grave goods, while 22% (17 instances) of such graves occurred elsewhere, either in the upper mound or mound periphery. However, irrespective of position in the mound there is a significant trend for graves with ‘fancy’ grave goods to

INHUMATIONS		Old Ground Surface		Upper Mound		Totals
		Rock Cut Grave or Cist	Old Ground Surface or Pit	Cist	No Cist	
Central Area	Burials with grave goods	46	14	2	0	62
	Burials with minor or no grave goods	40	91	6	20	157
Peripheral Area	Burials with grave goods	6	5	1	3	15
	Burials with minor or no grave goods	10	24	0	2	36
Totals		102	134	9	25	270
CREMATIONS		Old Ground Surface		Upper Mound		Totals
		Rock Cut Grave or Cist	Old Ground Surface or Pit	Cist	No Cist	
Central Area	Burials with grave goods	2	3	1	1	7
	Burials with minor or no grave goods	8	35	2	21	66
Peripheral Area	Burials with grave goods	0	16	1	3	20
	Burials with minor or no grave goods	4	1	0	7	12
Totals		14	55	4	32	105

Table 1: The position of burials within barrows on the limestone plateau of the Peak District (after data in Barnatt 1996d, 51–52, table 1.9)

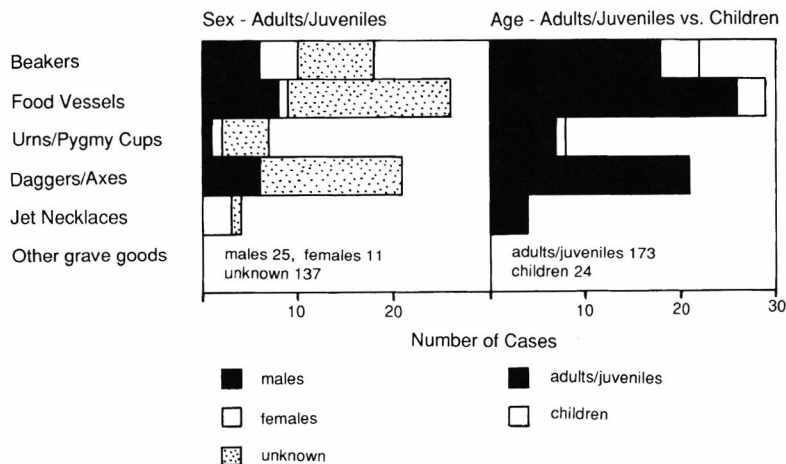


Fig. 9: The age and sex of individuals buried in barrows in the Peak District compared with selected artefacts that accompany them.

be given special treatment in that they are placed in cists or rock cut graves. 50% (55 instances) of cist/rock-cut grave burials have 'fancy' artefacts, which can be compared with 86% (137 instances) of burials placed simply on the old ground surface or in pits in or under the mound which have only simple or no grave goods. This is the only identified clear evidence for the ranking of Peak District barrow graves. However, this does not necessarily suggest that graves with 'fancy' artefacts are those of people of higher status; this issue will be returned to below.

The Peak District barrow graves have no recognisable biases towards specific gender or age categories. Burial of both sexes and of children and adults is common (Fig. 9), although children are under-represented, perhaps because of their relative tendency not to survive in the limestone plateau soils which are somewhat acid (although much less so on average than those on the gritstone) and because they may sometimes have been overlooked by antiquarians. Although much of the data on the sex of individuals is derived from Bateman's comments on whether skeletons were male or female he may well have used reliable criteria for determining this. A re-analysis of skulls retained by Bateman confirms his interpretations (Jervis 1981). Further skulls which Bateman did not sex have now been added to the data in Figure 9, thus changing slightly the totals previously presented (Barnatt 1996d, 44–45, table 1.7). Males, females and children each have their fair share of 'fancy' grave goods. The only trends are that males are found with daggers and other weapons, females have jet necklaces and children do not have daggers, axes or jet necklaces. No trends can be identified which suggest males and females were treated differently in terms of the orientation of the grave, the side the body was laid upon, or the positioning of grave goods (Barnatt 1996d, 45, 93–94).

Given that unchambered round barrows were probably used in the Peak District for over a thousand years, through much of the Later Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age, and that the region's population at any moment in time was undoubtedly in the thousands rather than hundreds (Barnatt 1987, 410), it is an unavoidable conclusion that the vast majority of dead people were buried, or otherwise disposed of, away from barrows. Some

at least can be traced to cemeteries of various sorts. On the East Moors these sometimes lie in amongst the fields.

Burial Amongst the Fields

A small proportion of clearance cairns at most cairnfields on the East Moors may have cremation burials within them. This has been shown to be the case at some cairnfield excavations in other uplands in Britain. For example, at Brennig in North Wales one cairn contained a burial while four did not (Lynch 1993), while at Millstone Hill in Northumberland two simple cairns had no burials while three conjoined kerb-cairns each covered a cremation (Jobey 1981). In contrast, at three cairns at Danby Rigg on the North York Moors no burials were found (Harding with Ostoja-Zagorski 1994). The only agricultural cairnfields in the Peak District where several cairns have been investigated are at Eaglestone Flat (described below) and at Gardom's Edge where the ongoing excavations have investigated 13 cairns to date without finding a single cremation (Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996; 1997); although in one or possibly two cases there were indirect indications that inhumation burial may have taken place. At the Big Moor East cairnfield two small cairns have been excavated (Henderson 1963; 1979), as has one at Highlow Bank (Barnatt 1991a), none of which contained cremations.

In the Peak District the Gardom's Edge results in particular stand out as in contrast with those from the Stanton Moor cairnfield, suggesting that the latter is a non-agricultural cairn cemetery (Barnatt and Smith 1997, fig. 16). Here Heathcote demonstrated that the majority of small cairns in this large hilltop complex had burials and several had formal architectural characteristics such as rectangular shape or external kerbs (Heathcote 1930; 1936, 1939, 1954). Cairns here are widely spaced across the moor top, unlike most other cairnfields in the region where cairn distribution is denser. Cairnfields with the characteristics of Stanton Moor are rare in the region. Only two or possible three other small sites are known, on Gibbet Moor, Beeley Moor and Raven Tor. These are in exposed locations and have a high proportion of cairns with formal architectural characteristics, including small kerb cairns with earthen interiors. Excavations at Raven Tor have investigated three conjoined barrows and a small rectangular cairn built over a cremation (Radley 1969).

A potentially common but rarely identified burial tradition on the East Moors is the flat cemetery. A probable example with at least 11 cremations, most with Collared Urns, was found during quarrying in the 1920s at the edge of Stanton Moor (Storrs Fox 1927). More recently spectacular results came from small excavations on Eaglestone Flat (Barnatt 1994a). Sixteen cremation burials were excavated in a small stony patch of ground within an area cultivated in prehistory. Most of the burials were in flat graves, while 2–5 were associated with small cairns and platforms. All the analysable burials were of women and children. One of the most interesting aspects of the burials was that they had been deposited in two distinct ways. About half the cremations had taken place on site, pyres were found and the bones were placed in burial pits which had burnt pit sides. None of these burials were placed in urns, while in contrast all the burials in urns were placed in pits with unburnt sides. This suggests that the urns were used to bring the cremated bones from elsewhere. Where the soil associated with pyre debris in an urn was analysed for pollen, the character of the vegetation indicated did not fit comfortably with the site pollen sequence and this suggests that pyre debris had been imported from off

site. Bringing of the dead from elsewhere has implications for the local community's sense of identity with place, perhaps associated with lineal concerns and the need for burial alongside other 'family' members.

A further example of a flat grave site was found more recently on a prominent river terrace spur adjacent to the River Derwent at Beeley (Barnatt and Robinson 1998). This site offered a rare opportunity to look at Bronze Age activity in the Derwent Valley, an area for which little is as yet known. Somewhat further south in the valley, at Darley, five cremations in urns were found in 1863, possibly from under a destroyed barrow but more probably in a flat cemetery (Jewitt 1864). At Beeley, a Collared Urn with cremation was rescued from a river terrace side, but unfortunately later trial excavations failed to find further burials. Lithics and pottery show that the vicinity had been used episodically for what may well sometimes be domestic/agricultural as well as ritual activity from Mesolithic times onwards.

Some small cairns on the East Moors are sited well away from cairnfields and a significant proportion are probably funerary. Studies in uplands elsewhere, as for example on Bodmin Moor (Barnatt 1982, 106–10), have highlighted the difference in the locations of small funerary cairns from larger barrows. While barrows often have non-random locations, carefully sited in relation to the centres and peripheries of farming areas (see below), small cairns appear to be more randomly sited, or placed at a convenient distance from settlement, and to have a strictly funerary purpose. They are not designed to make overt statements about the geography of the land the people inhabited.

Local Farmers or Tribal Leaders?

Returning to the nature of burial in barrows in particular, while such burial clearly denotes the unusual and specialness of this event, we must question the common assumption that this relates to the status of the individual being interred. The single burial rites that emerged in the Later Neolithic display an identifiable concern with recognising the dead as individuals rather than an undifferentiated part of the ancestral heritage. However, it is not axiomatic that this increased emphasis on the categorisation of individuals means society was becoming increasingly hierarchical. An alternative social transformation stressing increased emphasis on the local will be explored here.

In the Later Neolithic, monuments such as henges and stone circles replaced chambered tombs and long barrows as places to reaffirm communal behaviour and identity. This released barrows as an architectural form from such a role, allowing them to become places permitting individuality to be stressed at a local level, each mound probably being built and used by specific descent groups. That monument forms can operate at different organisational levels at different times is vital to our understanding of the nature of societies in the past. All too often monuments have been treated as if they generally give information regarding an overall socio-political situation. The expression of family, kin group and tribal affiliation, and the position of individuals within the social hierarchy, could have operated at several levels, and specific monument types may well often have only selective relevance in these terms; this could also change through time. Many expressions of social identity may have been made visible in ways other than in those we see at monuments. Thus, the picture we get from monuments may well be partial and only reflect selected aspects of any given society. Burial in a round

barrow could have operated independently of expressions of status and may alternatively represent the aspirations and concerns of ordinary farming families rather than socially important individuals. I argue here that the majority of families living in the region had access to a barrow.

Grave goods such as Beakers, bronze daggers, stone battle axes and jet necklaces have traditionally been thought of as indicators of status. However, it is now recognised that this is not necessarily true. While such fine objects may often be non-utilitarian and were probably used as symbols of prestige, it is now accepted that it does not follow that a buried person accompanied by them was more important than one that was not. People often value objects because of their exclusiveness and as they become more common the same type of object loses its prestige value. Other objects can take on additional value because of their individual biographies (Edmonds 1995). People also tend to display overtly by such acts as burial with 'fancy' or valued grave goods only when they feel threatened or their position is ambiguous; at other times grave goods are less important (Parker-Pearson 1982; Bradley 1988).

It also used to be thought that Inhumation burials with Beakers and Food Vessels were of higher status than cremations in funerary urns. This is again can be re-interpreted. As noted above, that cremations usually have fewer grave goods is the product not only of the fact that some funerary objects would be destroyed in the pyre, but more fundamentally that the funeral itself took place at the pyre rather than the burial site. Therefore, as the pyre may well have been the point of transformation of the dead, there may not have been a need to transfer the artefacts which had acted as symbols at the funeral from here to the grave.

The 'localness' of the barrow builders of the Peak District is stressed when their distribution on the East Moors is examined (Fig. 7). As with stone circles, many are found in close association with prehistoric fields/cairnfields and associated settlement. The settlement areas are argued above to have been created and used by local farming groups probably operating at the level of extended families or kin groups. Thus, each 'family' had access to its own barrow(s) within or close to its fields.

Some barrows on the East Moors are also found away from the agricultural foci. A proportion are in areas of post-prehistoric farming and may originally have been associated with now destroyed prehistoric fields. However, there are other barrows on moorland which are at locations opposite in character to those found near settlements. These are usually near watersheds or similar boundary positions. When their locations are carefully examined they are often found to lie just off exact topographical boundaries, sited to overlook land in particular directions, as if again the barrows and the land they lie within was 'owned' by the people that built them. That they function locally is illustrated by two adjacently placed, large diameter but flat-topped barrows on Stange Edge, one of the most prominent topographic landmarks in the region. These barrows cannot be seen from a distance so do not signal to outsiders that land is 'owned', nor was it important that the people who built the sites could see them. In contrast, the barrows are sited so that they occupy an 'other' place well away from the land of the living, while at the same time the ancestor(s) of the farmers below had a clear view over the settlements and fields of their descendants (Barnatt 1998a; in prep.).

Virtually every large intact area of fields on the East Moors has a least one associated barrow nearby. Thus, if every farming 'family' had one, then there is no indication that

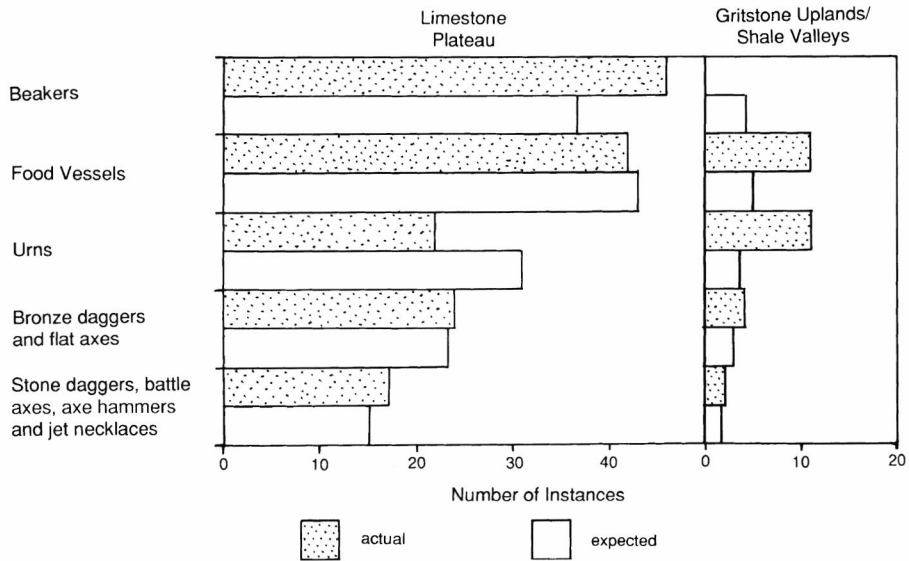


Fig. 10: The numbers of barrows containing particular grave goods, comparing the central limestone plateau with the surrounding gritstone upland and shale valleys of the region (after data in Barnatt 1996d, 30, table 1.4). *Actual* is defined as the number of sites containing the artefacts in question. *Expected* is defined as the number of sites expected to contain the artefact type in question if all other factors are equal (values calculated from the percentage of excavations that fall within each zone compared to the total number of sites containing the artefact type in question).

burial in a barrow denotes any level of status above that of the 'family'. This observation can be extrapolated to other barrows in the Peak District, most notably those of the limestone plateau where they are particularly common. The limestone plateau barrows have previously been suggested to contain richer grave goods than those on the East Moors, and other zones, once thought of as peripheral (Bradley and Hart 1983; Bradley 1984, 89–91). This is not true. When the relative number of excavations in the two zones is taken into account, there is a similar proportion of graves with 'fancy' grave goods in both (Fig. 10). The only potentially meaningful pattern here is the lack of Beakers off the limestone plateau; this will be returned to in the next section. The barrows on the limestone are found spread relatively evenly throughout the plateau, usually singly or in pairs. Large barrow cemeteries do not occur and again the distinct impression is that barrows were the preserve of very local communities.

THE PEOPLE OF THE PEAK

Several years ago it was suggested that the Peak District could be viewed as a limestone core which had been the centre of activity from Neolithic times onwards, and a gritstone periphery first extensively settled in the Bronze Age. This latter area was argued to be socially distinct in that there was only lower ranked settlement here (Hawke-Smith 1979; Bradley and Hart 1983; Bradley 1984, 68–95). However, much of the data used to

support these distinctions in the Bronze Age have been refuted (Barnatt and Smith 1991; Barnatt 1996d) and Neolithic exploitation across the region as a whole has been suggested (Barnatt 1996a).

The picture which now emerges for the Peak District for much of the Bronze Age is one where sedentary farming of similar character was the norm throughout. This is a time for which the archaeological evidence stresses the local. Each farming 'family' had its own fields and small monuments nearby. This stands in contrast with the Neolithic, where the various topographic zones were used differently, a trend most noticeable for the limestone plateau which is the zone where monuments concentrate. This was the place where small but relatively mobile farming groups were most likely to meet and interact.

The only meaningful Bronze Age distinctions between the limestone and gritstone zones of the Peak District, which cannot be easily explained as the result of post-depositional factors, are the apparent lack of small stone circles on the limestone plateau and possibly the restricted distribution of Beakers which in contrast appear to be confined to the plateau.

The confinement of Beakers to the limestone plateau may be explained chronologically. Traditionally, Beakers are seen on average as of somewhat earlier date than Food Vessels and Collared Urns. It may be that their deposition reflects the continuing Neolithic practice of using the limestone plateau for ritual activity at a date before the region became fully subdivided between its many farming groups into 'sustained' holdings of restricted extent. Alternatively the Beaker distribution could be nothing more than coincidence; the number of pots found on the gritstones may be small because so few documented excavations have taken place.

The lack of stone circles on the limestone plateau, while they are common on the East Moors, is less easy to explain away and this pattern may reflect true socio-political difference between the two zones. That the farming 'families' on the East Moors each chose to build their own small monuments, perhaps reflects a loss of access to the traditional henge complexes on the limestone plateau. Alternatively, explanation may be sought in Neolithic difference between the two zones, in that while the limestone had long established patterns of use of monuments, on the East Moors this zone has no identified earlier monument tradition (although the possibility of Later Neolithic unchambered round barrows should not be discounted). Thus, the people who first settled on the gritstone upland in a 'sustained' way may have been starting with a clean sheet and thus built monuments such as small stone circles to best suit their needs rather than adapting pre-existing patterns of monument use. It remains unclear whether farming groups on the limestone plateau generally continued to use the two henge complexes, perhaps implying greater social cohesion than on the East Moors. Alternatively the equivalent 'family' rituals were perhaps undertaken at sites other than stone circles.

By the Later Bronze Age or Iron Age a very different 'territorial' or 'cognitive' division of the landscape is suggested by the distribution of larger hillforts. By this time the emphasis had changed away from the heart of the limestone plateau with its henge at Arbor Low, to the fringes of the plateau and beyond (Fig. 2). Here the integration of the landscape as complementary resource areas can again be stressed. Hillforts overlook both main valleys as well as limestone and gritstone uplands. In the Iron Age it may be that the main valleys took on greater significance as climatic and/or anthropogenic

factors led to the lessening importance of the uplands. Why farms on the East Moors were eventually abandoned is still far from clear, although evidence is emerging that suggests simple explanations in terms of climatic change may well not be appropriate (Long *et al.* 1998).

Irrespective of the meaning of the distinctions just discussed, it is possible to see the Peak District as a whole through much of the Bronze Age as a place where small extended families or kin groups lived in scattered farms wherever the land was most suitable for agriculture (Fig. 1). Of particular importance were large parts of the limestone plateau and lower gritstone uplands. The extent to which the shale valleys and particularly that of the Derwent was extensively settled remains conjectural. This essentially sedentary lifestyle and the social transformations that went with it were probably established in the Later Neolithic and/or Earlier Bronze Age. The most obvious advantage of the holding of specific parcels of land by 'families', rather than having access to land in common with other groups, as has been argued for the Neolithic (*cf.* Barnatt 1996a), is that it allowed greater intensification of exploitation. When having long term tenure over the same piece of land there was greater incentive to make greater input to improve its capacity and thus increase the food and other resources available for the group. This may well have been particularly the case where field layouts were created, as here tenure may well have been exclusive to well-defined small groups. The adoption of a sedentary lifestyle of course did not come without cost. There was presumably less access to complementary resources to be found in other parts of the region. Some areas of land had greater potential than others and thus there was increased propensity for inequality between groups. Over time there may well have been greater capacity for some families or individuals to acquire wealth and thus increase social differentiation. It is open to question as to when this trend led to established hereditary elites, operating on a 'tribal' rather than 'family' level, with long-term power over the majority of the population. The siting of hillforts suggests that land was again being viewed from an inter-zone perspective in the Later Bronze Age or Iron Age, but it remains a matter for debate what the social context for this was.

The presence of tribal leaders or hereditary elites in the Bronze Age is not established for the Peak District and is perhaps contradicted by the evidence from both the contents and locations of barrows. Despite a long standing assumption that barrows are the place to look for evidence of status, a careful examination of the evidence has failed to substantiate this (Barnatt 1996d). There are strong regional variations in how prehistoric societies were organised across Britain (Bradley 1984; Barnatt 1989a, 211–226). What was happening in areas such as the Peak District may well be ill-served by seeing this as a weak reflection of the traditional explanation of the situation in Wessex, which has long dominated our thinking about British prehistory. We must ask if the lack of evidence for hereditary elites in some regions is just that they are not visible in the archaeological record, or is it because they did not exist?

APPENDICES

The aim of these appendices is to bring together and summarise information on a significant number of newly discovered, later prehistoric sites in the region which help underpin the explanations given above.

It seems apposite to review known sites now because in the case of cairnfields, fields and small isolated cairns no update has been produced for over ten years (Barnatt 1986; 1987) and much new data is now available. Stone circles, ringcairns and barrows have been reviewed more recently (Barnatt 1990; 1996c; 1996d; 1996f), but in the case of barrows a number of new sites are now known which modify the distribution picture. A significant number of new house sites have been identified associated with cairnfields and fields on the East Moors but these are to be the subject of a paper summarising the work over recent years by RCHME (Stewart Ainsworth *pers. comm.*). Similarly, although the hillforts of the region may well be contemporary with the later phases of use of many of the settlements and fields on the East Moors, a discussion of their distribution and significance is beyond the scope of the present paper.

APPENDIX 1: CAIRNFIELDS AND FIELDS

Since a corpus of cairnfields and fields on the East Moors was first published (Barnatt 1986) there have been several new discoveries and additions to known sites. A small number of possible cairnfields are also known elsewhere in the Peak District. Thus an updated corpus is presented here in Table 2, and locations are illustrated on Figure 1.

The previously presented corpus (Barnatt 1986) confined itself to the East Moors, between Hordron Edge/Moscar Moor and Beeley Moor/Fallinge Edge, where the bulk of well preserved sites survive. The comprehensive corpus of known sites presented here illustrates that, while prehistoric farming may well have extended southwards from Beeley Moor, little has survived agricultural improvement and afforestation. In contrast, north of Moscar Moor, the shelves and upper moors rapidly become too high for prehistoric farming. One relatively extensive cairnfield exists on Derwent Moor, immediately north of the area previously surveyed, while west of the River Derwent only small areas around Crook Hill and Hope Cross appear to have been sufficiently low to have supported prehistoric farms. These areas are now largely improved but the distribution of barrows and the occasional small cairn suggests the former presence of cairnfields and prehistoric fields here.

Elsewhere in the Peak District the lack of surface evidence for prehistoric farming often may well be the product of later destruction. The limestone plateau of the White Peak and the Derwent Valley have been almost exclusively improved in historic times.

The western gritstone uplands are often similar to the northern ones in that they are too high. However, to the west the landscape is more dissected and there are areas of lower shelves at suitable altitude for prehistoric cultivation. These again have all been subject to later improvement. The western uplands have had very different historic land-use from the East Moors, with a 19th century emphasis on expanding farming, whereas on the East Moors large estates often used the upland extensively for grouse shooting rather than for creating intake farms. The only surviving possible cairnfield features found to date are on Gun Moor where several possible small cairns may suggest a cairnfield once existed here.

The only other upland zone in the Peak where prehistoric farming is to be anticipated is the eastern and western fringes of the high northern gritstone upland. To the west there are shelves between Glossop and New Mills, centred on Ludworth Intakes and Mellor Moor, which again have been largely improved. A small probable cairnfield survives on

higher enclosed land above Coombes Edge. To the east there are extensive shelves and ridgetops between Penistone and Sheffield. These contain several ancient field systems and enclosures, centred on Wharncliffe Chase, which appear to be Romano-British in date (Beswick and Merrills 1983, 18–25), although prehistoric origins certainly should not be discounted. The ancient fields at Smallfield have previously been suggested to be prehistoric (Beswick and Merrills 1983, 21–22), but these have morphological characteristics in common with the sites on Wharncliffe Chase rather than those on the East Moors. A postulated cairnfield at Ewden Beck is unconvincing.

The newly discovered cairnfields on the East Moors, of which there are 26 examples listed in the new corpus, largely comprise minor infilling of the previously known pattern. In some cases, as at North Lees, Longshaw Lodge, Fallinge Edge and Glover Bank, this comprises minor survivals within later intakes which had not been searched by 1986. Elsewhere the new discoveries are mostly minor cairnfields with only a handful of cairns. Two notable exceptions are the cairnfield around the enclosure on Beeley Moor (cairnfield 38), and the badly damaged example on Eaglestone Flat which was discovered during intensive fieldwork in conjunction with excavations here (Barnatt 1994a). The most important new discoveries are several small cairnfields on relatively high land to the south, centred on Beeley Moor. These moorlands are difficult to search because many of the areas here with prehistoric sandy soils are relatively stone-free and cairns are small and only identifiable after heather has been burnt. Over the last few years extensive areas have been examined under suitable conditions, but other parts may well continue to hide further remains. Given their high altitude and scrappy nature, these cairnfields may be of relatively early date, created before areas where sustainable farming was possible had been well established. However, it is inherent in the nature of the field remains that without excavation it is not possible to determine if these cairnfields relate to seasonal Neolithic activity or whether they are later in date.

Extensive searching of zones of clay soils on the East Moors has largely failed to find evidence for prehistoric cultivation. If sustained farming had ever occurred then it is anticipated that lyncheting and some cairn building would have taken place. The only exception is at Gardom's Edge, where a limited area at the watershed between two cairnfields on sandier soils has slight lynchets and small cairns (RCHME and PPJPB 1993). This land may be somewhat better drained than many other areas of clay soils. Alternatively, the use of clay areas here, beyond the available sandy soils, may be a response to the need to increase the extent of enclosed land in this archaeologically-crowded landscape. Recent excavation has shown that clearance features, immediately to the sides of the sandy areas, are placed on clay soils which have an enhanced sand content due to natural erosion and/or cultivation (Barnatt *et al.* 1997).

Table 2 lists all known prehistoric cairnfields and fields in the Peak District. To facilitate comparison with the original corpus (Barnatt 1986, 90–91) the same catalogue numbers are retained. Supplementary notes are provided below the table.

The East Moors

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
N	Derwent Moor	207873	L1	M	(T)	
N	Ash Cabin Flat	269862	L4	S	T?	C
1	Hordron Edge	215869	L1	M	C	C

2	Priddock Wood North	208863	L1	M	C?	
3	Priddock Wood South	208858	L1	M	C?	C
4	Bamford Edge	210847	H1	S	C	2B
5	Bamford Moor South	218844	L1	M	C	3B
6	Dennis Knoll NW	224845	L1	S	C	C, S
7	Dennis Knoll SE	229840	L1	L	C?	3B
N	North Lees	236838	L1	?	F	B, 2B or C
8	Callow	243822	L1	M	(T)	
9	Winyards Nick	253811	L1	M	C	B, C
10	Toads Mouth	259808	L1	M	C	B
N	Longshaw Lodge	260800	F1	S	F	B
11	Sheffield Plantation	256792	F1	M	T	1-2B?
12	Stoke Flat West	250764	F1	L	C?	2B, C
13	Stoke Flat East	250764	F1	L	C	
14	Burbage Moor South	c. 270805	H2	?	F?/L	2B or 2C?
N	Houndkirk Moor	285814	L4	S	C	
15	Brown Edge North	289791	L4	L	C	C
16	Brown Edge South	289787	L4	S	C	
17	Salter Sitch	288782	L4	S	C	
18	Barbrook Reservoir	284773	L4	M	C	C
19	Eaglestone Flat SW	262738	F1	S	C	
N	Eaglestone Flat NE	266740	F1	M	T	C
(20)	Sandyford Brook	Now rejected)				
N	Big Moor NW	265761	L3	S	(T)	
N	Round Knoll	270758	L3	S	C	
21	Big Moor West	266755	L3	L	C	
22	Big Moor Central	273755	F2/L2	L	C	5B, C
23	Big Moor East	278757	L2	L	C	2B, 2C
24	Ramsley Reservoir	285751	L3	M	C	
25	Ramsley Moor	291756	L4	S	C	C
26	Birchen Edge North	284736	L3	M	C?	B, 1-2C
27	Gardom's Edge NW	273736	F1	M	C	1-2S
28	Gardom's Edge NE	275732	F1	L	T	B
29	Gardom's Edge SE	276727	F1	M	T	
30	Gardom's Edge SW	274724	F1	M	T	C
N	Birchen Edge Central	282730	L3	S	C	
31	Birchen Edge South	282724	F2	M	C	S? B?
32	Robin Hoods Farm	283720	F2	S	F	
33	Gibbet Moor West	280709	F2/L2	L	T	4B, C, 2S
34	Gibbet Moor East	284706	L2	S	C	2B, F
N	Umberley Brook	290704	L2	S	C	
N	Brampton East Moor - North	292711	L3	S	C	
N	Brampton East Moor - South	296699	H3	M	C	
N	Hipper Sick	306685	H3	S	C	
N	Longside Moor	315688	L4	M	T	
N	Harewood Moor	308675	L4	S	C	
35	Beeley Warren NW	277688	F1	M	C	C
36	Beeley Warren NE	281686	F1	M	C	B
37	Beeley Warren South	281684	F1	M	C	3B, C
N	Harland Sick	291680	L2	S	C	

38	Beeley Moor	286677	L3	M	C	B, C
N	Beeley Moor South	288673	L3	S	C	F
39	Raven Tor	279667	H2	S	C?	5B, F
N	Raven Tor SW	275664	L1	S	T?	
N	Raven Tor SE	284666	H2	S	C	
N	Falling Edge	275655	L3	S	C?	B or C
40	Woodbrook Quarry	285657	L3	?	L	B?, B or C
N	Big Bumper Piece	292664	H3	S	C	
N	Matlock Moor	c. 310635	L3	?	L	2B, C
41	Offerton Moor East	211806	L5	L	(T)	3B, C
42	Offerton Moor West	203807	L5	S	C	
43	Smelting Hill	204804	L5	M	C	C
44	Highlow Bank	213801	L5	M	C?	3B, S?
45	Shatton Edge	c. 190810	L5	?	L	
N	Glover Bank	205816	L5	?	F?	
46	Eyam Moor	228791	L5	L	C	B, C
N	Eyam Moor SE	233788	L5	M	C?	2S
N	Eyam Moor NW	797222	L5	S	C?	
47	Stanage	217788	L5	L	C	B
48	Sir William Hill	219782	H4	S	C	
49	Jubilee Plantation	211785	L5	S	(T)	B
50	Top of Riley	c. 230770	L5	?	F?/L	1-2B, C
51	Stanton Moor	247630	L5	L	(T)	3-4B, 4-5C
N	Stanton Moor NW	247633	L5	S	F	

The Northern Upland

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
N	Edale	148870	L5	S	C?	
N	Crook Hill	180871	L5	S	F?	B?
N	Birchinlee Pasture	161923	H4	S	C?	B

The North-East Fringes

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
(N	Smallfield	Rejected)				
(N	Ewden Beck	Rejected)				

The Western Upland and Fringes

A	B	C	D	E	F	G
N	Coombes Edge	020909	H4	S	F?	B
N	Gun Moor	970615	H4	?	F?	

Key

Column A: Field layout/cairnfield catalogue number (after Barnatt 1986). Sites identified after 1986 are not numbered but designated with an N.

B: Name of cairnfield-area.

C: Map reference, approximate centre (all prefixed by SK except Gun Moor which is SJ).

D: Location type.

Favourable locales

- F1 Main western shelf
- F2 Shelves along upper scarp valleys

Less-favourable locales

- L1 Main western shelf
- L2 Shelves along upper scarp valleys
- L3 Upper scarp
- L4 Eastern ridges
- L5 Shelves west of Derwent

Locally high locales

- H1 Main western shelf
- H2 Upper scarp
- H3 Eastern ridges
- H4 Upper moors west of Derwent

E: Size of field layout/cairnfield

- L: Large (greater than *c.* 10 hectares).
- M: Medium (*c.* 3–10 hectares).
- S: Small (under *c.* 3 hectares).

F: Assessment of degree of survival

- C: Complete.
- C?: Probably complete in extent but with damage by overlying enclosure or quarrying.
- T: Truncated by later enclosure or quarrying.
- (T): Minor truncation, usually by later enclosure.
- F: Probably on a fragment of a severely truncated field layout/cairnfield.
- F?: Possible slight remains.
- L: Documented but now lost.

G: Monuments present

- B Barrow.
- C Stone circle or ringcairn.
- S Standing stone.
- F Small monuments within cairnfield.

Table 2: Fields/cairnfields in the Peak District and a correlation to monuments associated with them.

Sites Not Previously Described

Derwent Moor — This moderate-sized cairnfield outside the area surveyed in the early 1980s was discovered by Paul Ardron and subsequently assessed by the author and Bill Bevan. 35–41 small cairns, 8 linear clearance features and 3 possible house platforms have been recorded (Bevan 1998, site 13.1).

Ash Cabin Flat — A few small cairns south of the stone circle have very recently been identified in a heather burn (Phil Sidebottom *pers. comm.*); these have not yet been visited by the author.

North Lees - These fragmentary and mostly ploughed-over remains in improved farmland, comprise a barrow, 2 probable barrows or possible ringcairns, and 2–3 smaller cairns in improved farmland (Barnatt 1991b, site A7).

Longshaw Lodge — This site comprises a barrow with 2 adjacent clearance cairns in the corner of an improved pasture (Barnatt 1994b, site 1). Presumably further features have been removed as this is an ideal site for prehistoric cultivation. It also offers an alternative location for the documented remains listed previously under Burbage Moor South.

Houndkirk Moor — This comprises 1–3 very small cairns on shelving ground and its interpretation is uncertain. The area has many slight hollow ways in the vicinity.

Eaglestone Flat NE — This fragmented cairnfield, comprising 6–7 cairns, 3–4 stretches of linear clearance (1 fully excavated), a possible house platform and a ringcairn, was discovered during detailed assessment of this shelf (Barnatt 1994a).

Big Moor NW — This consists of a small cleared area with 13–14 small low cairns and 6–7 stretches of linear clearance within a relatively stony area. It is truncated to the north-west by extensive braided hollow ways (RCHME and PDNPA 1998).

Round Knoll — This possible small cairnfield comprises 1 small cairn and 2 possible low patches of cleared stone. Alternatively the cairn may be funerary and the stone patches fortuitous. There is a second small cairn on the knoll above, placed on boulder strewn ground (RCHME and PDNPA 1998).

Birchen Edge Central — This comprises at least 2 cairns and 2 stretches of linear clearance in a small cleared patch within a generally stony area. The area has yet to be systematically re-assessed.

Umberley Brook — This possible cairnfield comprises 2–11 small cairns/mounds, some of which contain particularly small stones, others are masked by peat and do not certainly contain any stone (Barnatt 1998b, site 14.19).

Brampton East Moor (North) — This comprises 2–3 small cairns and two stretches of sinuous linear clearance, one of which has evidence for coursed stone (Barnatt 1998b, site 15.11).

Brampton East Moor (South) — This discrete cluster of features has 7–27 small cairns/mounds. As at Umberley Brook a significant number have no visible stone and are of uncertain interpretation. However there are sufficient true cairns to classify this as a cairnfield (Barnatt 1998b, site 16.14).

Hipper Sick — This comprises 2–6 small cairns and a possible stretch of linear clearance (Barnatt 1998b, site 17.11).

Longside Moor — This possible cairnfield comprises 17 or more scattered peat and vegetation-covered small mounds. It is unclear if these are prehistoric structures or whether they have a natural explanation (Barnatt 1998b, site 23.8).

Harland Sick — This comprises 5–6 small cairns in a discrete cluster (Barnatt 1998b, site 21.3).

Beeley Moor South — This comprises 6 small probable cairns. One has a formal kerb and is a diminutive kerb-cairn, another is similar. It is not clear if the others are funerary or agricultural (Barnatt 1998b, site 26.19).

Harewood Moor — This comprises 4–5 small cairns, 2 stretches of linear clearance and a possible house site (Barnatt 1998b, site 25.2).

Raven Tor South-West — This comprises the sites of 2 probable prehistoric houses and a short stretch of stony bank, all just above improved ground. One house comprises a sub-circular platform, the other is defined by a semi-circular rubble bank (Barnatt 1998b, sites 27.16–17).

Raven Tor South-East — This possible cairnfield comprises 1–4 small cairns. It could be alternatively interpreted as an isolated funerary cairn (or cairns) and fortuitous stone clusters (Barnatt 1998b, site 27.5).

Falling Edge — There are 15 low cairns and a lynchet in partially improved ground; some may be more recent features (Barnatt 1998b, site 30.9). A cairn near the Edge, recorded previously (Barnatt 1986, cairn 83) may well be part of the cairnfield.

Big Bumper Piece — This probable cairnfield comprises only 1–2 small amorphous cairns (Barnatt 1998b, site 29.7).

Matlock Moor — This site, outside the area surveyed in the early 1980s, was described in the late 18th century as comprising a stone circle called the Seven Brethren, two large barrows and several smaller ones (Rooke n.d.; Barnatt 1990, 68; 1996c, 44–45). A Boundary Award map of 1779 places the circle at about SK 310635 (Adrian Henstock *pers. comm.*; Nuttall 1779).

Glover Bank — Three ploughed-over mounds may possibly be vestiges of a cairnfield (Barnatt 1989d).

Eyam Moor South-East — This fragmentary cairnfield is sited on moorland and continues into woodland (Barnatt 1995b, site 93). There are 4–6 small cairns on the open moor and two previously recorded stone circles (Barnatt 1990, 73–74). The continuation of the cairnfield in the woodland comprises at least 5 small cairns; this area has yet to be systematically assessed.

Eyam Moor North-West — This small group of features of uncertain date and interpretation, comprises two probable cairns, a possible lynchet and four possible house platforms (Barnatt 1995b, sites 84, 86).

Stanton Moor North-West — The boundary features and cairns here (Fig. 16) were noted in 1986 but argued to be unlikely to be prehistoric. They are included here to allow for the possibility that the earliest phase of activity here may well be prehistoric (Stewart Ainsworth *pers. comm.*). This part of the moor needs to be distinguished from the cairns further south (site 51) which appear to be funerary.

Edale — A narrow shelf, part way up the steep side of the Edale Valley, has 4 small cairns that may well be clearance features (Barnatt 1993, site 266).

Crook Hill — All that survives here (Barnatt in Bevan 1998, sites 29.12–13, 29.16), on moorland at the edge of later enclosure, is a small cairn and a somewhat larger one nearby which is either a clearance feature or a small barrow. On the ridgetop within the later fields is a barrow. The date of the 2 moorland features is uncertain.

Birchinlee Pasture — This site comprises a barrow and several smaller, amorphous cairn-like features (Sidebottom in Bevan 1998, sites 25.11–14). Several of the latter today look as if they may well be fortuitous while others are associated with Post-medieval disturbance. However, the daughter of E. H. Peat, a local gamekeeper, dug into 6–7 small mounds here in the 1930s, finding what were described as burnt bones and ashes. It is now unclear whether these findings were reliably interpreted, thus the cairnfield should be treated with caution. One possibility is that the burnt bones came from the barrow rather than elsewhere in the vicinity. Given its high altitude, if a prehistoric cairnfield, it may well have been funerary in character.

Smallfield — This site, centred at SK 250942, has previously been suggested to be of probable Bronze Age date (Beswick and Merrills 1983, 21–22). It comprises an enclosure, irregular fields and clearance cairns. Some of the linear boundaries are of

double orthostatic construction which regionally is usually taken to signify Romano-British construction (Hodges 1991, 31–33); the site is morphologically comparable to several others further east centred on Warncliffe Crag which have been dated to the Romano-British period (Beswick and Merrills 1983, 18–25).

Ewden Beck — An extensive cairnfield centred at SK 237966 has recently been Scheduled. It lies west and south of the stone circle in an area where several cairns have previously been suggested by the Ordnance Survey (Barnatt 1990, 42). Recent inspection by the author, armed with the detailed plan used as the basis of scheduling, failed to find a single cairn that is a convincing example of a clearance feature comparable to those found on the Eastern Moors. The features inspected appear to be a mixture of natural knolls, fortuitous natural stone concentrations and more recent features associated with surface quarrying.

Coombes Edge — A small barrow in improved upland pasture has 6–7 small cairns and linear clearance features nearby. This may well be a small Bronze Age cairnfield but other interpretations cannot be discounted.

Gun Moor — The enclosed but unimproved top of this hill has several scattered, possible cairns that may be the last vestiges of a prehistoric cairnfield.

New Information on Previously Described Sites (Barnatt 1986)

7: *Dennis Knoll SE* — Part now surveyed in detail (RCHME 1987d).

8: *Callow* — Now surveyed in detail (RCHME 1987c).

12: *Stoke Flat West* — Part now surveyed in detail (RCHME 1987b).

14: *Burbage Moor South* — Some or all of the remains documented by antiquarians that have been listed (Barnatt 1986, 36–37) may alternatively be sited further west at the newly discovered site at Longshaw Lodge.

20: *Sandyford Brook* — The stony bank has been reassessed after bracken spraying and it comprises part of one of several sub-rectangular enclosures of probable Medieval or early Post-Medieval date. The cairn recorded previously may well be a fortuitous natural feature.

21: *Big Moor West* — This now includes small numbers of cairns and linear features to the north and south of the areas previously identified, added during detailed survey by a team led by Stewart Ainsworth of RCHME and the author (RCHME and PDNPA 1998).

22: *Big Moor Central* — This now includes an area west of Bar Brook and north of the field layout as published in 1986, discovered after heather burning in 1989. Here there are several cairns, linear features and a house platform. Further minor detail has also been added during detailed survey throughout the field layout (Barnatt 1989b, RCHME and PDNPA 1998).

23: *Big Moor East* — This has now been extended slightly to the south-east to include several more cairns found during detailed survey by a team led by Stewart Ainsworth of RCHME and the author (RCHME and PDNPA 1998).

24: *Ramsley Reservoir* — This has been extended westwards (by Paul Ardron and the author) to include several cairns in woodland north-east and south of Ramsley Lodge. The area has yet to be systematically re-assessed.

25: *Ramsley Moor* — This has been extended (by Paul Ardron and the author), northwards to include a second small area of clearance cairns in woodland, and

southwards to include possible cairns along the southern half of the ridge. The area has yet to be systematically re-assessed.

26–28: *Birchen Edge North/Gardom's Edge NW/NE* — Now surveyed in detail by Stewart Ainsworth of RCHME and the author and many new features added (RCHME and PPJPB 1993). This area is currently the subject of research excavations (Barnatt *et al.* 1995; 1996; 1997).

30: *Gardom's Edge SW* - Now surveyed in detail (RCHME 1987a; Lund 1998).

33: *Gibbet Moor West* - Now surveyed in detail and extended slightly to the north-east and south (RCHME 1990; Barnatt 1998b, site 13.3/14.1).

34: *Gibbet Moor East* — Now surveyed in detail (RCHME 1990; Barnatt 1998b, site 13.25).

35. *Beeley Warren NW* — Now extended slightly to the north-west (Barnatt 1998b, site 19.10).

37: *Beeley Warren South* — This has been extended westwards (by Frank Robinson and the author) to include 3–4 small cairns, a possible lynchet and a stone-built field boundary (Barnatt 1998b, sites 19.11, 19.14, 19.21).

38: *Beeley Moor* — The previously recorded enclosure here has a recently identified cairnfield lying beyond it on all sides but west. This comprises 11–25 small cairns and 2 short stretches of linear clearance, spaced intermittently between stony areas (Barnatt 1998b, site 26.1).

39: *Raven Tor* — A further 1–3 small cairns have been identified to the south-west which have no formal characteristics and may be clearance features (Barnatt 1998b, site 27.8). There is also a second small barrow further to the south-west (Appendix 4, barrow 29.47).

44: *Highlow Bank* — Now surveyed in detail (Barnatt 1991a).

46: *Eyam Moor* — Further detail has been added to the west, while some of the cairns to the east, near the Eyam Moor II stone circle, have now been rejected as fortuitous (Barnatt 1995b, site 74). Others here are now included in the Eyam Moor South-East cairnfield.

47: *Stanage* — This has now been extended (Barnatt 1995b, sites 53, 62, 67). There are 6–15 small cairns, 2–5 linear features and a possible house site to the north-east on bracken covered shelves. To the north-west at some distance are 2–4 small cairns on spur shelves. The two uncertain examples lie within improved land and may be vestiges of further prehistoric cultivation. The other two are either clearance or funerary structures (Table 5).

50: *Top of Riley* — Parts of the general area of this lost site has been systematically searched with only limited success — One area was only improved in recent years, and here there is one ruined barrow, the remains of a possible second barrow and one small cairn which may well be a prehistoric clearance feature (Barnatt 1992, sites 3–5).

51: *Stanton Moor* — Now surveyed in detail (RCHME 1986).

APPENDIX 2: STONE CIRCLES AND RINGCAIRNS

An update on the corpus of stone circles and ringcairns has recently been published (Barnatt 1990; 1996c). Only minor new developments need to be reported here.

The Doll Tor stone circle was badly damaged and has now been restored (Barnatt 1997). The spate of damage to stone circles over recent years continues with the erection of spurious orthostats at Wet Withens and Bamford Moor South, each of which currently has one additional upright stone; there are plans to remove these.

The position of the lost Seven Brethren stone circle on Matlock Moor (Barnatt 1990, 68; 1996, 44–45) has been clarified by inspection of a 1779 boundary map which shows its approximate location (Nuttall 1779). It stood at the north-eastern end of the moor at about SK 310635. This improved area has been searched but no surviving vestiges of the monument were found and it may well have been destroyed in the late 18th century when this land was enclosed.

On Stanton Moor, the King Stone, close to Nine Ladies, lay within a low and somewhat mutilated penannular bank measuring *c.* 14–16m externally and *c.* 6m internally (RCHME 1986; Everson 1989, fig. 2.2). Since survey in the 1980s by Stewart Ainsworth for RCHME, the site has had soil dumped on it masking the bank and it has suffered damage from the frequent building of hearths and the lighting of fires. It may well be a ruined stone circle or a ringcairn with a single orthostat, but only excavation will confirm this interpretation.

One atypical site has been newly identified, on Crook Hill (SK 18478711). This comprises a ruined ring, with two 0.4–0.6m high stones and two fallen stones, with a *c.* 6.0m diameter (Barnatt in Bevan 1998, site 29.6). Originally it probably had 5 or possibly 6 orthostats. Patches of rubble in the interior suggests it was an atypical site, with affinities to kerb cairns, probably with a mound filling its interior. An almost identical site exists *c.* 3.5km to the south-east on Moscar Moor (Barnatt 1990, 85–86). Similar sites are also known at Strawberry Lee (Barnatt 1990, 85) and Doll Tor (Barnatt 1990, 79–82; 1997). With the exception of Doll Tor, there is no evidence to suggest these monuments ever stood as free-standing rings and they may have been designed from the outset as kerbed barrows.

APPENDIX 3: STANDING STONES AND STONE SETTINGS

Single standing stones are rare in the Peak District and their known distribution on the East Moors was reviewed in 1986 (Barnatt 1986, table 7). The only other certain example is a tall slab on the limestone plateau near Wirksworth (SK 27405420). Of those listed in 1986, one of those on Gardom's Edge is now rejected as fortuitous (table 7, no. 3), while the King Stone on Stanton Moor is reinterpreted as probably part of a stone circle or ringcairn (see above). This leaves two certain tall stones, the Old Woman's Stone on Bamford Moor (no. 1) and another on Gardom's Edge (no. 2), two probable smaller stones on Gibbet Moor (nos. 6, 7) and three possible examples elsewhere (nos. 4, 5, 8). To these can be added a further possible stone on Gibbet Moor which stands 0.85m high (SK 28046965; Barnatt 1998b, site 14.12).

Two probable stone settings have been identified on Gibbet Moor. One of these lies near the north-east end of the Gibbet Moor West cairnfield and comprises two small slabs that stand 0.6 and 0.5m high, in a short north-west/south-east line (SK 28277138; RCHME 1990; Barnatt 1998b, site 13.7). It is unclear if further stones have been lost, as the site is heavily disturbed by hollow ways. Superficially the monument appears to be a

two stone setting crudely aligned with a taller standing stone some distance to the north-west (Barnatt 1986, table 7, no 6). There is a possible barrow adjacent to the setting (see Appendix 4, table 3, barrow 29.61). The other setting lies beyond the southern end of the same cairnfield and comprises a 0.9m high orthostat with a second probable stone nearby to the north-east, now leaning, but if once upright standing 0.5m high (SK 28136975; Barnatt 1998b, site 14.11). This again appears to be a two-stone setting. Nearby there are 1–3 small cairns (see Appendix 5, table 5). It may well be significant that Gibbet Moor also contains another atypical and perhaps related monument form, the Four Poster stone circle. This is sited midway between the two two-stone settings, at the eastern edge of the cairnfield. Such architectural anomalies illustrate the local distinctiveness of the Bronze Age communities of the region (Barnatt in prep.).

APPENDIX 4: BARROWS

A significant number of barrows have been identified, mostly by fieldwork, since the published barrow corpus was compiled in the early 1990s (Barnatt 1996f), based primarily on work carried out in the late 1980s (Barnatt 1989b). These are included in Figure 1. The National Park is currently being systematically searched for archaeological features by the Peak District National Park Authority's Archaeology Service and as a result new barrows are being found every year. Currently only about a quarter of the Park has been searched. Thus, it is anticipated that significant numbers of barrows await discovery, although comprehensive survey coverage is many years away.

Table 3 lists newly identified barrows and to facilitate comparison with sites in the main corpus (Barnatt 1996f), the new sites are given catalogue numbers consistent with the sub-regional system used in the initial corpus (Barnatt 1996d, 3–5). In a few instances comment on sites previously catalogued are also included.

The published version of the barrow corpus (Barnatt 1996f, 180–263) contains a number of typographical errors which result from the author not being given adequate opportunity to read page proofs. As these errors effect the usability of this corpus, the opportunity is taken here to document these in Table 4.

APPENDIX 5: ISOLATED SMALL CAIRNS ON THE EAST MOORS

There are over 50 small cairns on the East Moors which outwardly at least look much like typical clearance features but each is located in isolation and it is often unclear if they are agricultural or funerary in character. They are scattered across most parts of the East Moors but appear most common to the south, centred on Gibbet Moor and Beeley Moor (Barnatt in prep.). This in part reflects systematic fieldwork here (Barnatt 1998b).

Table 5 lists all known isolated small cairns on the East Moors. A previous corpus (Barnatt 1986; table 3) has now been substantially modified. This included all isolated cairns below 10m diameter irrespective of character. Some of these have now been listed as small barrows (Barnatt 1996f; table 4).

Table 3: An update to the published barrow corpus for the Peak District (Barnatt 1996f).

Key

- A: Site Number
 B: Site Name
 C: Map Reference
 D: Present Diameter
 E: Notes

The Limestone Plateau

A	B	C	D	E
1:13	Wall Cliff	SK 13487760	9.5 × 9.0m	Possible barrow in unusual location at the base of a slope, adjacent to a dew pond.
1:14	Cave Dale	SK 14728221	9.5 × 9.0m	Probable barrow — undisturbed?
1:15	Hurd Low	SK 13808181	c. 8.0m	Possible disturbed barrow or natural knoll.
1:16	Tideswell Moor	SK 15297764	c. 10.0m	Possible barrow — flat-topped, in small walled plantation (K. Smith <i>pers. comm.</i>).
1:17	Tideswell Moor	SK 13817953	21.0 × 10.5m	Possible long barrow or fortuitous natural knoll.
1:18	Bradwell Moor	SK 13468006	7.0m	Possible barrow — between natural hollows but not obviously upcast from these.
1:C	Winnats Head	SK 13468253	—	Previously catalogued as 1.12 — now located — a natural knoll.
2:12	Pictor Hall	SK 08857305	6.0m	Possible barrow with west side removed.
3:12	Mich Low	SK 16778179	?	Possible barrow (Graeme Guilbert <i>pers. comm.</i>).
4:9/ 4:10	High Rake	SK 20887342 SK 20867341	—	These two barrows were extensively excavated in 1996, by Central Excavation Services English Heritage, after serious land slip into the adjacent open-cut threatened their long term future. In the barrow corpus it was tentatively suggested that Bateman's 1848 excavation took place at site 9. The excavations showed that it was barrow 10 that Bateman dug (Peter Reeves <i>pers. comm.</i>). Evidence for extensive funerary/ritual activity was recovered in 1996.
4:26	Hassop	SK 22217254	6.0m	Possible barrow with slight disturbance at centre.
4:27	Calver Peak	c. SK 236. 745		Possible barrow recorded by Bateman (1861, 109) — not dug by him.
5:23	Priestcliffe Lees	SK 14657298	5.5 × 4.5m	Probable undisturbed barrow.
5:24	Waterlees	SK 16217122	10.0 × 9.0m	Probable undisturbed barrow or possibly a natural knoll.
5:25	Taddington	SK 15137126	c. 13.0 × 11.0m	Possible barrow or natural knoll — small disturbance at the centre.
6:16	Shacklow	SK 18586966	5.5 × 4.0m	A small cairn with three visible kerb stones.
8:41	Moatlow Knob	c. SK 20156360	?	A prominent natural knoll perhaps modified to be used as a barrow.
10:2	Roystone Grange	SK 20355710	11.0	This barrow had a trench excavated across in 1993, prior to the rebuilding of a wall (Barnatt 1996b).

10:51	Carsington Pasture	SK 24405425	20m +	Previously listed as lost — now relocated (Graeme Guilbert <i>pers. comm.</i>). Largely undisturbed except for a small disturbance at the centre made by Webb in 1983. This illicit excavation is thought to have produced a bronze sword (Ken Smith <i>pers. comm.</i>).
10:P	Ivonbrook Grange	SK 23625878	—	A slight rise was recently identified as a possible barrow. Subsequent trial excavation by the Oxford Archaeological Unit demonstrated it was not a barrow.
11:61	Ecton Hill	SK 10115786	c. 10.0m	Probable barrow — ploughed down.

The Northern and Western Gritstone Uplands and the Upper Derwent Valley

A	B	C	D	E
18:14	Hope Brink	SK 16428671	15.5 × 13.5m	Stony barrow — interior extensively robbed for stone.
18:15	Crookstone Hill	SK 15268786	4.5 × 3.5m	Cairn with possible kerbstone.
18:16	Edale	SK 12848542	22.5 × 17.5m	Possible ploughed-over barrow.
18:17	Bridge End Pasture	SK 17288773	8.0 × 7.5m	This mound, together with 18.12 and 18.18, look ancient but they may be the product of 20th century field clearance; there are several other mounds in the general vicinity which are more obviously modern.
18:18	Bridge End Pasture	SK 17418773	8.0 × 6.5m	Mound of uncertain interpretation (see 18.17).
18:19	Crook Hill	SK 17858740	14.5 × 12.5m	Barrow — southern half extensively robbed.
18:20	Crook Hill	SK 17968714	6.5 × 6.0m	Cairn or clearance cairn, with a much smaller clearance cairn nearby.
18:21	Crook Hill	SK 18258696	6.5 × 6.0m	Stony barrow in an impressive location in the saddle between the twin crags of Crook Hill.
18:22	Crook Hill	SK 18478711	c. 6.0m	A ruined site comprising two low orthostats and two further fallen stones. While this may be a stone circle, patches of rubble in the interior suggest it was a typical kerb cairn, similar in design to those at Barnford Moor (28.2), Strawberry Lee (27.10) and Doll Tor (Barnatt 1990, 79–82, 85; 1997).
18:23	Lockerbrook Heights	SK 16168938	c. 17.0m	Large ringbank a short distance north of sites 18.24 and 18.25. It may well be a robbed barrow rather than a ringcairn.
18:24	Lockerbrook Heights	SK 16168935	6.5m	Cairn between the two larger monuments.
18:25	Lockerbrook Heights	SK 161788932	c. 18.0m	Large ringbank a short distance south of sites 18.23 and 18.24. It may well be a robbed barrow rather than a ringcairn.
18:26	Birchimlee Pasture	c. SK 16109220	10.0 × 9.0m	Cairn with central disturbance. There are ephemeral remains of an uncertainly interpreted cairnfield nearby to the north (see Appendix 1/Table 2). It is unclear if any of the burnt bones noted as found in cairns on Birchimlee Pasture in the 1930s came from barrow 18.26.

- 20:7 Fernilee Upper Hall SK 02137710 11.0 × 10.0m Probable stony barrow with disturbed centre.
- 22:F Lyme Park to 22:I SJ 96468175
SJ 96518156 Sites 22.1 to 22.4 are now rejected as barrows. Sites 22.2 to 22.4, together with a further mound close to 22.4, are formal parkland features built in conjunction with an early avenue of trees running from Lyme Hall southwards to the base of Knights Low. The line of the avenue is continued by at least three pairs of regularly spaced mounds, which include those previously interpreted as barrows. 22.1 is a fortuitous area of disturbed ground which was only included because of its proximity to 22.2 and 22.3.
- 27.2 Bar Dyke SK 24499459 — This site has previously been interpreted as a possible ringcairn (Barnatt 1990, 42), but inspection after heather burning confirms that it is almost certainly a robbed barrow.
- 27:19 Margery Hill c. SK 188958 c. 28m This extremely remote and unusual site is currently being investigated by Central Excavation Services, English Heritage. An erosion scar in deep peat has revealed a small cairn with parts of a slight penannular drystone bank. Remote sensing, auguring and trial trenching indicates the central cairn is of c. 6.0m diameter and that there is a lower mound of fibrous peat that extends towards the outer bank or kerb.
- 27:21 Howden Dean c. SK 19109225 11.0 × 9.5m Stone-built barrow with a small disturbance at the centre.
- 27:22 Forest Knoll c. SK 18359195 5.0 × 4.0m Probable stone-built barrow with a small disturbance at the centre.
- 27:23 Upper Hey c. SK 17739431 6.0 × 4.0m Probable stone-built barrow — high altitude makes it unlikely to be clearance.
- 28:13 Low Field, and Abbey SK 16929190 c. 24.0m/
16.0m The barrow here was previously recorded as lost. Together with a previously unsuspected probable second barrow abutted to the first, it has been relocated below the high water level of Derwent Reservoir. The whole has been denuded of turf and topsoil, and comprises a cairn with robbed centre. Abutted to the south-west side is what appears to be a second low, flat-topped cairn. Where the two abut, in the side of the main mound, is an exposed cist measuring 0.8 × 0.3m internally, with two visible side slabs and a broken capstone nearby. A fragment of cremated bone has been recovered from the surface of the cist.
- 28:19 Howden Reservoir SK 16919396 13.5 × 5.5m Amorphous cairn or clearance cairn below the high water level of the reservoir. Although it does not look particularly barrow-like, a number of cremated bones have been found associated with it.
- 28:20 Howden Reservoir SK 16929407 12.0 × 10.0m Probable stone-built barrow — centre and one side removed.
- 28:21 Win Hill SK 19518524 20.0 × 14.0m? Possible barrow, with robbed sides, on a sloping shelf.

The Derwent Valley

A	B	C	D	E
31:10	Pilsley	SK 23497079	7.5 × 7.0m	Probable barrow with a Medieval cross base at its centre.
31:11	Chatsworth Park	SK 24916940	21.0 × 14.5m	Probable barrow — disturbed at the centre and to one side.
31:12	Chatsworth Park	SK 24806903	c. 14.0m	Probable barrow — ploughed over and one side truncated by Medieval cultivation.
31:13	Lindup Low	SK 25416927	26.0 × 21.0m	Possible barrow — low rim with a small internal mound (of spoil?), of what appears to be a badly robbed feature. Further damaged by the blowing down of several parkland trees leaving hollows at their sites.

The East Moors

A	B	C	D	E
27:20	Houndkirk Moor	SK 28638164	8.5 × 8.0m	Probable barrow — the rim remains, interior removed from the downslope side.
27:23	Ciceley Low	SK 27528080	30.0 × 28.5m	This is probably a ringcairn (Barnatt 1990, 50–52). However, the possibility that it is a robbed barrow cannot be discounted; it may be one of the lost Robin Hoods Pricks (sites 29:38–39).
27:24	Ciceley Low	SK 27518078	19.5m	This is probably a ringcairn (Barnatt 1990, 52). However, the possibility that it is a robbed barrow cannot be discounted; it may be one of the lost Robin Hoods Pricks (sites 29:38–39).
28:17	North Lees	SK 23668371	15.5 × 13.5m	This site has recently been surveyed and its dimensions reassessed. It is probably a robbed barrow but the possibility that it is a ringcairn cannot be dismissed (Barnatt 1996c, 41–42).
28:18	North Lees	SK 23668373	14.5 × 13.5m	This site has recently been surveyed and its dimensions reassessed. It is probably a robbed barrow but the possibility that it is a ringcairn cannot be dismissed (Barnatt 1996c, 41–42).
29:14	Birchen Edge	SK 28227352	—	Location revised (RCHME and PPJPB 1993, feature 1243).
29:18	Brampton East Moor	SK 29207078	c. 21.0 × 17.5m	This site has recently been inspected when the bracken was down. This shows the mutilated central area is surrounded by a low intact rim which significantly increases its known diameter. However, an indentation in the rim to the south-east raises the possibility that the site comprises two conjoined barrows (Barnatt 1998b, site 15.8). Now rejected as a clearance cairn of similar size to several others in this extensive cairnfield.
29:19	Gibbet Moor	SK 28147075	—	Location revised (Barnatt 1998b, site 26.15).
29:33	Beeley Moor	SK 28576719	—	Location revised (Barnatt 1998b, site 27.13).
29:34	Raven Tor	SK 27986649	—	Location revised (Barnatt 1998b, site 27.13).

29:36	Falling Edge	SK 27746591	—	It is unclear if this is a robbed barrow or a ringcairn (Barnatt 1996c, 42–43).
29:40	Matlock Moor	SK 31 . . 63 . .	—	Location revised. These two barrows were close to the Seven Brethren stone circle (Barnatt 1990, 68; 1996c, 44–45). New information on the location of this circle (Adrian Henstock <i>pers. comm.</i>) derived from an unpublished boundary map (Nuttall 1779), suggests the circle stood at about SK 310635.
29:41				Probable stone-built barrow (or possibly a clearance cairn) (Barnatt 1998b, site 27.14).
29:47	Raven Tor	SK 27806649	6.0 × 5.0m	Stone-built barrow — centre removed; it may be one of the lost Robin Hoods Pricks (sites 29:38–39).
29:48	Longshaw Lodge	SK 25978012	10.5 × 10.0m	Possible mutilated barrow. This amorphous stone-built feature, which today measures c. 22.0 × 8.0m across, is incorporated into a Medieval assart boundary.
29:49	Sheffield Plantation	SK 25577908	?	Low amorphous feature — either a ploughed-over barrow or a natural rise.
29:50	Tumbling Hill	SK 25377822	10.0 × 7.5m	This is either one side of a barrow, or one end of a natural ridge, truncated by a modern road cutting.
29:51	The Grouse Inn	SK 25937797	21.5m	This excavated triple cairn, although relatively small, is included here as three small barrows. This inclusion seems appropriate given the context within a funerary cairnfield where there is a dichotomy between sites such as these (29:34, 29:47, 29:52–29:54) and very much smaller monuments. It has been extensively described elsewhere (Radley 1969; Barnatt 1990, 89–90). There is also a dichotomy at Gibbet Moor East, the other small funerary cairnfield on the East Moors. However, on Stanton Moor there is a greater variety of monuments and only large barrows are included in the barrow corpus.
29:52	Raven Tor	SK 27946676	8.5m to 6.0m	Mutilated probable barrow with only the much-disturbed basal parts remaining.
to				Although small, the location at the edge of the field system, as with barrow 29.9, suggests this is a barrow rather than a clearance feature.
29:54				Although small, this stands out from surrounding features and it may be a barrow rather than a clearance feature.
29:55	Big Moor	SK 28007548	c. 12.0m	This destroyed monument has been described previously as a possible ringcairn or embanked stone circle (Barnatt 1990, 66–68). The possibility that it was a robbed barrow cannot be discounted.
29:56	Big Moor	SK 27107528	7.0 × 6.0m	This is probably a ringcairn (Barnatt 1990, 59). However, the possibility that it is a robbed barrow cannot be discounted.
29:57	Big Moor	SK 26697539	6.5m	A curved rubble bank, truncated by a field wall — possibly the rim of a wrecked barrow (Barnatt 1998b, site 13.33).
29:58	Woodbrook Quarry	SK 285 . 657 .	c. 11.0m	Possible wrecked barrow damaged by hollow way braids (Barnatt 1998b, site 13.8).
29:59	Ramsley Moor	SK 28957562	23.5 × 21.5	Close to possible stone setting at the north-east end of the Gibbet Moor West cairnfield.
29:60	Robin Hood	SK 27927179	c. 11.0	
29:61	Gibbet Moor	SK 28287136	c. 12.0 × 10.0	

29:62	Gibbet Moor	SK 27847037	c. 15.0	A low curved bank, truncated by a field wall — possibly the rim of a wrecked barrow (RCHME 1990; Barnatt 1998b, site 14.4).
29:63	Brampton East Moor	SK 29607066	c. 6.0 × 5.5m	A ruined sheep fold may possibly be inserted in a small wrecked barrow. Alternatively, the rubble may be associated with the collapse and modification of the fold (Barnatt 1998b, site 15.7).
29:64	Harland Edge	SK 29396898	6.0 × 5.5m	A small barrow which stands 0.5m high (previously identified as a small cairn — Barnatt 1986, site 74) (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.14).
29:65	Harland Edge	SK 29406847	5.5m	This small mound is built of earth and stone and thus may be a barrow (previously identified as a small cairn — Barnatt 1986, site 76) (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.23).
29:66	Harland Edge	SK 29676831	5.0m	This small mound has no visible stone and thus may be a barrow (previously identified as a small cairn — Barnatt 1986, site 79) (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.31).
29:67	Beeley Warren	SK 27566872	c. 7.5m	A small, flat-topped barrow, standing 0.4m high, damaged to the north-east by a fire break (Barnatt 1998b, site 19.19).
29:68	Hurkling Stone	SK 26837764	11.0 × 8.5m	This site, previously rejected (Barnatt 1996f, site 29.D), was recently re-inspected after heather burning. It comprises a low probable barrow rim, visible on the downslope side, with a large central robber pit.
30:31	Top of Riley	SK 23007719	10.5 × 10.0m	Mutilated stone-built barrow — northern part removed, remainder cratered.
30:32	Top of Riley	SK 23107685	13.5 × 12.5m	Either a ploughed-over barrow or a natural knoll.
30:33	Eyam Moor	SK 22397858	12.0 × 11.0m	Previously rejected as a natural knoll (30.G) — true site relocated after heather burning, comprising a barrow rim broken in two places.
30:34	Eyam Moor	SK 22507856	5.0 × 4.5m	Barrow or natural knoll with central disturbance.
32:15	Gratton Grange	SK 20926241	32.5 × 29.0m	Probably the rim of a large mutilated barrow.

Table 4: *Published barrow corpus (Barnatt 1996f) — errata.*

Page	Site	Column	Line	Correction						
180	1:5	C	1	insert '09878098'						
180	1:5	O	2	insert 'FV'						
182				Subtitle 'Destroyed or Lost Sites' should read 'Extant Sites — Possible Examples'						
183				Subtitle 'Extant Sites — Possible Examples' should read 'Destroyed or Lost Sites'						
184	3:2			Two lines have been omitted after line 5 — These have entries in columns M–U which should read as follows:						
		M	N	O	P	Q	R	S	T	U
		M/CI	CI	—	—	—	—	F	S	0
		PA?	EI	—	—	—	—	G	S	0

- 185 3:8 C 1 correct 'c183.775.' to '17167779'
- 187 4:22 P 8 correct '4S' to '4SC'
- 189 5:2 Lines 2-3, columns I to R have been omitted. These should read:
 I J K L M N O P Q R
 B — NP ?U: (NP)
- 189 5:3 Two lines have been omitted after line 4. These have entries in columns I-R which should read as follows:
 I J K L M N O P Q R
 B — NP ?U: (NP)
- 189 5:5 L 1 insert 'P: Bateman 1846'
- 189 5:6 N 12 correct 'Ci' to 'UJ'
- 192 6:9 J/K 5 remove '<M;Ba2> TB-F'
- 193 Subtitle 'Rejected Sites' should read 'Destroyed or Lost Sites — Possible Examples'
- 193 Subtitle 'Destroyed or Lost Sites — Possible Examples' should read 'Rejected Sites'
- 194 7:3 J 3 insert 'M; HU14'
- 194 7:3 J 5 insert 'M; HU14'
- 194 7:3 J 9 insert 'M; HU14'
- 194 7:3 R 11 correct '—' to '—'
- 194 7:3 S 11 remove '0'
- 194 7:3 J 13 insert 'M; HU14'
- 196 7:18 R 1 insert 'AT'
- 197 7:25 A Lean Low is site 25 not 26.
- 197 7:25 L 4 correct 'P: Lucas 1860s' to 'P: Bateman 1847'
- 198 7:34 D-H 1 correct '11486315' to '8.0 x 7.0'
- 198 7:62 C 1 correct '11506313' to '14506313'
- 198 7:63 C 1 correct '11486315' to '14486315'
- 199 7:59 B 1 insert 'Shuttlestone'
- 199 7:60 C/D-H 2 remove 'L4/?/—' from column C and place in column D-H
- 200 7:B C 1 correct '06106916' to '07826990'
- 202 8:8 R-U 12 remove 'BP,PY A S 4' and place on line 11 above
- 202 8:9 J 1 insert 'M;MS2'
- 202 8:13 I 1 insert 'A'
- 202 8:13 I 5 insert 'A'

231	13:44				This site was entered twice — the first of the two entries should be removed as this is in error in column K
234	15:2	O	9		correct '4 + CV' to '4 + FV'
241					The subtitle 'Extant Sites — Possible Examples' is mis-placed. It should be moved to directly above site 20:5
241					The subtitle 'Destroyed or Lost Sites — Possible Examples' is mis-placed. It should be moved to directly above site 20:6
243	22:4	C	1		correct 'SJ96.5181.' to 'SJ965.181.'
245	23:8	D-H	1		correct 'P1/?/—' to '[16.0 × 8.0?]
246	24:9	S-U	3		insert 'B R I'
246	24:9	O	5		correct 'C' to 'CU' U'
249	26:4	R	3		correct '—' to '—'
249	26:4	S-U	3		insert 'A S I'
250	27:3	B	1		correct 'Bar Dyke' to 'Crow Chin'
250	27:4	D-H	2		this line was omitted — it should read: 'G1/R/F,K/B'
251	27:18	J	1		correct 'Hunter18' to 'SMR863'
252					The subtitle 'Extant Sites — Possible Examples' is mis-placed. It should be moved to directly above site 28:17
252					The subtitle 'Destroyed or Lost Sites' is mis-placed. It should be moved to directly above site 28:13 Low Field, Abbey (see corrections below)
252	27:13	A	1		correct '19' to '13' for Low Field, Abbey
252	27:13	B	1		correct 'Low Field' to 'Low Field, Abbey'
252	27:14	A	1		correct '20' to '14' for Win Hill
252	27:15	A	1		correct '21' to '15' for Bone Low
254	29:4	I	1		insert 'B'
254	29:5	I	1		insert 'C'
254	29:5	I	2		insert 'A'
255	29:28	S-U	1		insert 'A S I'
256	29:43	S-U	1		insert 'A S 2'
256	29:43	S-U	3		insert 'B S I'
259	30:22	R	1		correct 'Bs,SBs?' to 'Bs,SB?'
260	30:28	O	1		correct 'LuS' to 'LUs'

Table 5: Small isolated cairns on the East Moors.

A	B	C	D
Hathersage Moor	SK 25528138	2.0m	—
Over Owlter Tor	SK 25168089	5.0 × 3.5m	—
[Longshaw	SK 26107930	—	Rejected after re-inspection as fortuitous.]
Longshaw	SK 26937828	2.5m	Possible cairn.
Lady's Cross	SK 26937826	4.5m	Damaged by hollow way.
Barbrook Reservoir	SK 27677737	2.0m	—
Curbar Edge	SK 25947539	1.5m	—
Big Moor	SK 27737645	3.5 × 3.0m	—
Big Moor	SK 27437660	4.0 × 1.5m	Amorphous — clearance heap or fortuitous.
Big Moor	SK 26777594	c. 3.5m	Heavily disturbed, small cup marked stone amongst cairn stones (RCHME and PDNPA 1998, feature 2431).
Round Knoll	SK 27037589	2.0m	First is possibly part of a small cairnfield (RCHME and PDNPA 1998, features 1220, 1224).
Big Moor	SK 27127478	4.0m	Irregular, possibly disturbed. Four unlikely cairns nearby, more probably fortuitous natural patches of stone (RCHME and PDNPA 1998, feature 2318).
Big Moor East	SK 27837601	1.0m	Relatively isolated and possibly funerary rather than being part of the Big Moor East Cairnfield (RCHME and PDNPA 1998, features 1694, 1705, 1706).
	SK 27687609	2.5m	
	SK 27697609	3.0m	
Ramsley Moor	SK 28947564	4.5 × 2.5m	Adjacent to probable ringcairn (Barnatt 1990, 59; Table 4, 29.58).
[Eaglestone Flat	SK 26667406	—	Reinterpreted after excavation and detailed survey as part of a damaged cairnfield (Barnatt 1994a).]
Gardom's Edge	SK 27697318	2.5 × 2.0m	Built against an orthostat (RCHME and PPJPB 1993, feature 861).
Birchen Edge	SK 28047367	3.0 × 2.5m	(RCHME and PPJPB 1993, feature 1250).
Clod Hall Farm	SK 28937277	6.0 × 3.0m	Near intake wall — may be a surviving fragment of a cairnfield.
Newbridge Farm	SK 28687221	8.0m	Ruined possible cairn.
Gibbet Moor	SK 28506994	4.0m,	Two conjoined cairns, and a possible low example nearby (Barnatt 1998b, site 14.9), all south of the Gibbet Moor West cairnfield — either funerary or a southward extension of the cairnfield.
	SK 28406992	2.5m,	
		4.5m	
Gibbet Moor	SK 28286994	2.5 × 1.5m	On stone-strewn ground.
Gibbet Moor	SK 28136971	2.5m,	1–3 small cairns adjacent to the probable stone setting (Barnatt 1998b, site 14.11) south of the Gibbet Moor West cairnfield.
	SK 28156972	2.5m,	
	SK 28126973	1.0m	
Gibbet Moor	SK 28477025	3.0m	Probable cairn south-east of the Gibbet Moor West cairnfield (Barnatt 1998b, site 14.18) — either funerary or a southward extension of the cairnfield.
Umberley Well	SK 28796982	5.5 × 4.0m	Well-shaped cairn (Barnatt 1998b, site 14.22).
Umberley Well	SK 28646951	3.0 × 1.5m,	A probable cairn with a smaller possible example to the west (Barnatt 1998b, site 14.27).
	SK 28596949	1.5m	

Umberley Well	SK 28866946	3.0m	(Barnatt 1998b, site 16.6).
Harland Edge	SK 28856920	3.0m	Good cairn (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.9), east Hob Hurst House barrow (29.27).
Harland Edge	SK 28986920	4.0m	Low cairn (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.8), east of last.
Harland Edge	SK 29016914	1.5m	Small cairn (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.7), south of last.
Harland Edge	SK 29446827	3.5m	Probable cairn — robbed (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.28).
Harland Edge	SK 29576837	5.5m	Probable cairn (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.30).
Harland Edge	SK 30226856	5.5 × 2.5m	Irregular cairn — may well be clearance (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.37).
Harland Edge	SK 30046835	4.0m	(Barnatt 1998b, site 18.42).
Harland Edge	SK 30076820	3.0m	Carefully built, sub-square mound, probably funerary (Barnatt 1998b, site 18.44).
Beeley Warren	SK 27766902	2.0m	(Barnatt 1998b, site 19.1).
Beeley Warren	SK 28616827	2.5m	Adjacent to barrow 29.32 (Barnatt 1998b, site 20.11).
Harland Sick	SK 28976825	7.0 × 5.5m	Low stony kerb-cairn (Barnatt 1998b, site 20.18), close to next.
Harland Sick	SK 28966823	3.0m	Amorphous cairn close to last (Barnatt 1998b, site 20.18).
Harewood Moor	SK 31826726	2.0m	Small cairn of possible prehistoric date, close to quarries (Barnatt 1998b, site 25.14).
Raven Tor	SK 28436664	2.0m,	One certain, one probable and two possible
	SK 28436666	3.0 × 1.5m,	cairns. Possibly a cairnfield or isolated funerary
	SK 28446667	2.0m,	cairns (Barnatt 1998b, site 27.5).
	SK 28426653	3.0 × 1.0m	
Fallinge Edge	SK 27756592	2.0m	Next to a ringcairn or robbed barrow (Barnatt 1996c, 42–43; Table 3, site 29.36).
[Fallinge Edge	SK 27436566	—	Re-interpreted as part of the Fallinge Edge cairnfield.]
Fallinge Edge	SK 28086592	5.0m	(Barnatt 1998b, site 30.4).
Big Bumper Piece	SK 28776608	4.0 × 2.5m	Possible cairn — may be a more recent feature (Barnatt 1998b, site 29.8).
Eyam Moor	SK 22307837	3.5 × 2.5m	—
Stanage	SK 21527936	5.5 × 4.5m	Close to next.
Stanage	SK 21537932	4.5m	Close to last.
[Doll Tor			Rejected here — this small funerary cairn abuts the Doll Tor stone circle (Barnatt 1990, 79–82; 1997). As the surrounding area has been improved it may well have been associated with a nearby cairnfield.]

Key

- A: Site Name.
 B: Map Reference.
 C: Present Diameter.
 D: Notes.

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Figure 4 is based on a survey undertaken jointly by staff of the Keele Office of RCHME, co-ordinated by Stewart Ainsworth, and the Archaeology Service of the Peak District National Park Authority, co-ordinated by the author. Information on some of the new sites listed here were provided by Stewart Ainsworth, Paul Ardron, Bill Bevan, Eric English, Graeme Guilbert, Adrian Henstock, Frank Robinson, Phil Sidebottom, Ken Smith, Heidi Taylor and John Wilson. Information on the barrows recently excavated on Longstone Edge was provided by Peter Reeves.

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