

# TO EACH THEIR OWN: LATER PREHISTORIC FARMING COMMUNITIES AND THEIR MONUMENTS IN THE PEAK

By JOHN BARNATT

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

## INTRODUCTION

Recently I have reviewed in some detail my current understanding of the Peak District's Bronze Age archaeology, together with continuing farming practice in the Iron Age (Barnatt 1999). This is complemented by the contrasting evidence for the Neolithic (Barnatt 1996a). These papers stress very different ways of living, with relatively mobile populations in the Neolithic, practising farming as part of a seasonal round, whereas in the Bronze and Iron Ages the evidence points to a more 'sedentary' existence with 'sustained' family farms becoming the norm.

The aim of this third paper is more specific. It will review local differences within the region in the character of settlements, fields and monuments in later prehistory, defined for present purposes as the last two millennia BC. In the light of these differences, and our changing perceptions about the nature of later prehistoric society, the local identities of communities and how people organised themselves in their landscape will be explored. While this paper is part of a wider debate about the nature of prehistoric settlement across Britain, for the sake of brevity in an already long text, bibliographic references to relevant over-arching texts are omitted here as they have already been given in the previous two papers noted above.

After setting the interpretative scene, each part of the region will be reviewed briefly in turn. However, the best area in which to investigate 'local communities' is the gritstone East Moors as survival here is exceptional; thus this area will be examined in some depth.

The recent appraisal of barrows in the Peak District (Barnatt 1996c) highlighted the lack of evidence for Earlier Bronze Age status burial and reinforced the local character of the evidence, with each family group having its own farms and monuments. What evidence exists with potential for recognition of how family groups expressed their local identity and divided the landscape amongst themselves? The possibilities for identifying boundary zones between core settlement areas will be explored, as will differences in the form and use of fields and monuments between local areas, together with their interplay within each of these.

Recent work has highlighted the extended chronology of the East Moor cairnfields and fields, some of which were not only used through much of the Bronze Age but continued in use through the Iron Age (Long 1994; Long *et al.* 1998; Barnatt *et al.* 1995 *et seq.*). Thus local differences could be explained alternatively as chronological rather than as expressions of local identity. Evidence which may point to significant change in farming practice and location through time will also be examined.

With these points in mind, the archaeological evidence for the East Moors will be reviewed in detail, with emphasis placed on how settlement, fields and monuments may have been used by local communities. Finally, attention will be turned to local variation which may indicate the local identities of communities, their social boundaries and the nested relationships with people both on and beyond the East Moors.

While this paper concentrates on the local, the reader should not forget that local communities undoubtedly had broader social and political affiliations, exploration of which lies outside the self-imposed scope of this text.

### THE PEAK DISTRICT: PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES, WAYS OF LIVING AND CHANGE THROUGH TIME

In recent papers it has been argued that much of the archaeological evidence from the Peak District for the second (and first) millennia BC, including settlements and monuments, is best interpreted in a local or 'farming family' context with 'sustained' mixed farming being the norm (Barnatt 1996a; 1996c; 1999). This contrasts with much of the Neolithic where the evidence points to communal monument building, probably in the context of seasonally moving agricultural populations who shared tenure over the land (Barnatt 1996a; 1999). It is only later, probably in the early first millennium BC, that communal monuments were again built, this time in the form of 'hillforts'.

Once 'sustained' farming developed the emphasis in monument building was transferred to a local perspective (*cf.* Barnatt 1999). This does not mean that there was not a wider socio-political community in the Peak District; it seems inherently likely that this would have been the case. However, with a lack of clear expression of this in the archaeological record for the Bronze Age, it remains conjectural to what extent social stratification, and all that went with it, had developed. This could range from kin-group and tribal leaders, much as must have existed in the Neolithic, to established hereditary elites with much greater power and influence. The henges at Arbor Low and the Bull Ring, built in the Later Neolithic, must reflect a wider community, but neither these nor the later 'hillforts' need necessarily be interpreted within a framework of powerful hereditary elites; equally they could have been built because of the desires and aspirations of the wider community. These monuments will not be discussed further here, as the concern of this paper is with the local. However, the fact that local farming communities from the Neolithic onwards were part of a wider social world should not be lost sight of.

#### **Prehistoric Farming: A Surfeit of Options**

In attempting to talk about the nature of Peak District farming communities in later prehistory, general terms such as 'sedentary', 'sustained', 'shifting' and 'mobile' are used here. These do not fully address the detailed character of land-use nor the communities who lived here. Anthropological studies illustrate a bewilderingly broad spectrum of possibilities throughout the world which potentially may be relevant to our understanding. However, many of those technologically-simple, relatively unstratified, but far from socially-simple societies which appear most pertinent to our study of later prehistory in Britain are situated in non-temperate parts of the world, or in places with radically different topographies and vegetational regimes. Their relevance therefore is questionable because their range of viable subsistence options is different. More fundamentally, there

may well have been further variation in prehistory now lost to us. It seems inevitable that archaeological evidence limits our ability to fine tune our understandings, even though in recent years we have pushed the bounds of legitimate archaeological explanations outwards in radical ways, we are still forced to talk in broad and over-simplified terms. In one sense the main relevance of anthropological data is that it makes us question our preconceptions, based on our own more recent past, about the nature of societies and their ways of life. For example, we must query to what extent farming in later prehistory was sedentary, whether individual communities lived in one place or several, and whether communities saw themselves as based on locale, kinship and/or task groups.

In Britain, current explanations have recognised that Neolithic peoples' way of life may well have been very different from those of later periods. However, this simplistic picture hides a number of unresolved interpretative issues and problems. At present there is debate regarding exactly when people abandoned a relatively 'mobile' way of life, with a seasonal round between optimal locales for the harvesting of both natural and managed resources, to adopt more 'sedentary' lives. Within each of the two basic subsistence strategies there is a wide variety of ways people could potentially have lived, and a range of options combining elements of both 'mobile' and 'sedentary' practices. Further complications arise which inhibit our ability to recognise and explain the detailed character of later prehistoric farming; it is likely that radical change in ways of life and farming method involved a long period of transition. Similarly, at a less radical level, communities are likely to have been constantly changing, with relations between them being relatively fluid. Finally, it is perhaps inherently unlikely that all people in any given region and at any moment in time were living in exactly the same way. In the end, perhaps all we can meaningfully talk about in the absence of extensive excavations are general underlying trends and how these will be reflected in the archaeological evidence. If so, then simplified and general models of explanation are the most appropriate. Thus, a distinction between what are termed here 'mobile' and 'sustained' farming ways of life is retained as the basis for discussion.

In functionalist terms, the change from one basic way of life to the other may well have been by matter of degree rather than absolute. Thus for the Bronze and Iron Ages the term 'sustained farming' is preferred here to 'sedentary farming'. The latter is a term which carries with it a lot of intellectual baggage, resulting from our previous preconceptions that later prehistoric farming was much like that practised in Britain in Post-Medieval times. The term 'sustained farming' allows for the possibility that people may still have used the land in a relatively fluid way, with specific task groups moving through the landscape seasonally, while particular areas became locales where 'sustained' farming effort and time was committed through the creation and maintenance of fields. In cognitive terms, the change from more 'mobile' ways of life to 'sustained' farming will eventually have radically altered peoples' view of the world. In 'mobile' societies people often claim tenure of paths and places, and of their physical and spiritual resources, rather than 'ownership' of land. As individual groups travelled from place to place, they may well have shared resource areas with others in overlapping ways, either in the same season or by visiting any one place at different times. With 'sustained' farming there would be an increased emphasis on the identification of individuals with specific places, creating a more bounded sense of being. With such investment the importance of lineal

history probably developed, defining inheritors of 'family' wealth, social position and obligation which could accumulate over generations.

Much of the argument developed below relies on the premise that 'sustained' farming had become common in the Peak District at a relatively early date, probably in the Earlier Bronze Age. However, if people still practised a predominantly more 'mobile' way of life until the late second or first millennium BC, then the relationships between settlement, fields and monuments would have to be explained using different frames of reference. This said, I think that the Peak District evidence for much of the Bronze Age supports 'sustained' farming better than it does a significantly more 'mobile' model of explanation. Cogent reasons why 'sustained' farming would be adopted in upland regions at an early date can be proposed, based on the relative environmental fragility of these areas (*cf.* Barnatt 1999). The changes in societies' attitudes which would result from 'sustained' farming sit well with a general model that explains the radical differences in the character of monuments built in the Neolithic and the Earlier Bronze Age, which transferred emphasis from the communal to the local (Barnatt 1996a; 1999). The nature of much of the field evidence for agricultural practice on the East Moors also appears to fit more comfortably into a model of 'sustained' rather than 'mobile' communities (*cf.* Barnatt 1999; and below). All this said, a final differentiation between the two models, distinguished here for simplicity of arguments sake, is probably inherently beyond proof.

Irrespective of exactly when in later prehistory 'sustained' farming developed and became common, it is unlikely that these Peak District farmers were even remotely similar to those of Post-Medieval times, with their nuclear families, patriarchal inheritance structure and strong emphasis on private ownership. Nor are the ways farming tasks were organised and carried out likely to have been the same. The social, political and historical conditions were radically different. It may be that these early farmers placed more emphasis on kin group and wider communal ties, on communal tenure over land and on co-operation in carrying out tasks. While 'sustained' investment of effort into particular areas of land may well have reinforced a sense of identity, private or individual ownership may have been an alien concept. Different farming activities, such as cereal growing, herding, and craft production, may have been carried out by separate task groups based on choice, age, gender, kin or clan. While prehistoric farmers may have been very different from those of more recent times, we should not for one moment view them as having a utopian way of life; undoubtedly there were just as many (if different) social inequalities and conflicts as today, with some individuals, kin or task groups having greater prestige, while others were subservient or the victims of prejudice. Similarly, gender roles and their relative prestige are not well understood.

### **Changing Lives: The Neolithic/Bronze Age Transition**

My use of a simplistic distinction between a 'mobile' Neolithic and a 'sustained' Bronze Age in relation to chronology and ways of life is a shorthand; clearly there was a period of transition between the two postulated 'extremes', both of which in themselves probably included highly variable social structures and subsistence strategies. In the Peak District, this 'transition' is argued to have taken place some time in the Later Neolithic and Earlier Bronze Age and given the scale of the change it seems likely this would have spanned several hundred years. In the context of this paper the most



fundamental issue is whether some of the field remains analysed here are sufficiently early to have siting characteristics which are not appropriately viewed in the context of the 'sustained' patterning under examination.

The exact timing of this 'transition' and its duration are not well understood as the field remains cannot be precisely dated. This is partly due to the absence of extensive excavations, but even if these were to take place many sites may be inherently undatable except in broad terms given the inexactitude of radiocarbon dating and comparative artefact and environmental analyses. Much of the field evidence used to discuss Neolithic patterning (Barnatt 1996a) relates to the period *c.* 4000–2500 cal. BC (and perhaps a little later) as far as can be determined by analogy with sites in other regions; with the exception of Lismore Fields no Neolithic sites in the Peak District have been adequately radiocarbon dated (Barnatt 1995a). Similarly, with the later prehistoric fields and cairnfields all that can be said is that they appear to have dates starting sometime in the Earlier Bronze Age (Barnatt 1999). Radiocarbon dates from Big Moor and Eaglestone Flat focus around *c.* 1700–1300 cal. BC, while structured spatial relationships with Earlier Bronze Age monuments suggest many 'field-areas' have origins dating to *c.* 2000–1500 cal. BC ('field-areas' are defined as locations where there were prehistoric fields; some today have visible field boundaries while others are primarily identified by the presence of a cairnfield); all stone circles and many barrows are placed either in close association with 'field-areas' or at their opposite topographic extreme. There are no monuments on the East Moors which clearly contradict these structured spatial patterns and stand out as candidates belonging within a 'mobile' context before the establishment of 'sustained' farming (although some are inevitably ambiguously sited in the context of either model). The case that bounded fields had been established at the time stone circles and barrows were being built, rather than the former being later additions in the same agriculturally-advantaged and discretely-defined areas of land, is supported by the significant number of instances where monuments are placed at the edges of 'field-areas', often sited in particular directions (see below). While these areas may well have been used in an earlier 'mobile' context (as well as later), use would have been intermittent at this time, and thus it seems likely that any monuments built before the structuring of the land for 'sustained' use would have been more 'randomly' sited within the 'advantaged' areas.

In short, there is potentially a 'transitional' period of maybe around 500 years in the late Neolithic and earliest Bronze Age in which fields suitable for 'sustained' use and 'local' monuments sited to respect them were first created.

In broader social terms, the continued building/use of 'local' monuments such as the stone circles and barrows of the East Moors that are sited adjacent to or within bounded fields may also be seen as a later phase of the 'transition', in the sense that throughout the Earlier Bronze Age spirits and ancestors were overtly referenced to help legitimise the new 'sustained' ways. Only when 'sustained' farming had become long established, after generations of using the land in this way, at about half way through the Bronze Age, did monuments stop being built. This may well result, in part at least, from this way of life no longer being contested, people who practised more traditional 'mobile' ways of life had presumably been subsumed or integrated into the new social orderings.

Turning now to dating specific types of field evidence, it may well be that some clearance features within the many cairnfields and fields on the East Moors are early in

date, created at a time before 'sustained' farming was established. However, there is a fundamental interpretative problem in that these cannot be recognised on the basis of their character as unexcavated field monuments. It may well be that 'mobile' and more 'sustained' agriculturalists often used the same limited number of suitable areas of light soils on the East Moors. Many of the places where there are extensive visible field layouts today have characteristics such as defined field boundaries which indicate that 'sustained' farming took place; differentiating those features such as clearance cairns relating to use at an earlier date is impossible, as stone clearance undoubtedly took place throughout the agricultural life of these areas. The real issue is are there cairnfields without visible boundaries that relate mainly or exclusively to early activity? With the majority of the medium to large cairnfields there are patterned relationships with Earlier Bronze Age monuments identical in character to those where developed field layouts are visible (*cf.* Barnatt 1999), thus these cairnfields should be considered within a 'sustained' context. It is only with some of the small cairnfields where significant uncertainty exists. In some cases, their location on high ground in 'boundary' zones may suggest that they are early in date (see below).

The patterned siting characteristics of stone circles, ringcairns and barrows in relation to 'field-areas' (detailed below) demonstrates that these ritual monument classes also need consideration within the context of 'sustained' farming. While stone circles in Britain have Neolithic origins, those on the East Moors mostly have a distinctive architecture and may well be consistently Bronze Age in date (*cf.* Barnatt 1990); this is supported by radiocarbon dates from Barbrook II and Brown Edge (Barnatt 1995a).

As the unchambered round barrow tradition started in the Neolithic it is important to ask whether some of the barrows on the East Moors are early in date and thus predate the advent of 'sustained' farming; this is an issue particularly pertinent to those built well away from settlements and fields. No characteristic graves with distinctive suites of Neolithic artefacts have been found on the East Moors, while some are known from the limestone plateau (Barnatt 1996d, 128–29, 133–36). However, many Neolithic burials may well be unrecognisable in antiquarian contexts because they have no distinctive grave goods and have not been radiocarbon dated. This, combined with the relatively small number of adequately recorded excavations on the East Moors compared with the limestone plateau, makes it impossible to rule out the possibility that some barrows on the gritstone uplands are early. This said, in the better recorded barrows of the White Peak the evidence strongly suggests that while some have Neolithic origins, the majority were either built in, or contain graves of, Earlier Bronze Age date; thus even if early they are pertinent within a study of 'sustained' agriculture. On the East Moors, one factor that may reinforce the idea that the majority of (or all) barrows here are of Earlier Bronze Age date is that no Beakers have been found, whereas they are relatively common on the limestone plateau (Barnatt 1996c, 30–31). Assuming the traditional interpretation is correct, that these pots tend to be earlier than Food Vessels and Collared Urns, this could indicate a lack of early barrows on the East Moors. It may be that barrows were not built here while people continued their seasonal round between different parts of the Peak District because the limestone plateau was seen as the appropriate focus for this kind of ritual activity (*cf.* Barnatt 1996a). If so, then an important distinction can be drawn between the limestone plateau and the East Moors. The former contains a proportion of round barrows built in the Later Neolithic, these examples reflecting the

earlier transitional phases of social transformation towards concern with lineal descent and changing perceptions regarding land-use. In contrast, the monuments on the East Moors are potentially all of a developed Earlier Bronze Age date, built at a time when 'sustained' farming strategies had been established and people no longer had the same 'everyday' access to the limestone plateau.

Finally, a more fundamental issue is to what extent did patterns of tenure change between the Neolithic and Bronze Age? The simple answer is we do not know. It is axiomatic that if ways of living changed from 'mobile' to 'sustained' then people were using land differently in important ways. However, given that the Neolithic peoples were probably moving through the landscape in small extended family or kinship groups for much of the year, then each may well have had relatively restricted areas which they traditionally grazed or cultivated at particular times. Thus, it could be that the 'local community areas' postulated below to exist in the Bronze and Iron Ages may have had much earlier origins. Local tenure of land at the time people established 'sustained' farms may in some ways have been legitimised by many preceding generations, if at the same time transformed by a different view of the world and how land could be used. If this is true, then the building of round barrows in watershed locations on the East Moors for example, may both reflect 'mobile' and 'sustained' patterns of use. When such barrows were first built will remain unclear until extensive excavations are carried out, although the frequency of artefacts such as Collared Urns indicates they continued to be extensively used in the developed Earlier Bronze Age, at a time when 'sustained' farming was being practised and the patterned relationship of barrows to land and how people used it certainly had relevance.

## THE PEAK DISTRICT: LATER PREHISTORIC COMMUNITIES AND HISTORIC DESTRUCTION PATTERNS

### **The Topography of the Peak: Viable Settlement and Land-Use Options**

The Peak District has several topographic zones (Fig. 1), each with its distinctive character. At its heart is the limestone plateau which is an area of rolling ridges and rounded hilltops, highest to the north and west, and dissected by deep gorges and dry valleys. In prehistory the narrow, cliff-lined gorges would have been thickly wooded and acted as natural barriers. Similarly many of the dry valleys are narrow and offer little opportunity for agriculture. In contrast, there are extensive shelves above the sides of the main river gorges, particularly to the east. In historic times these have been the prime focal points for settlement and agriculture. They have the advantage of lower altitude than the ridgetops and commonly have light and fertile soils, apparently of loessitic origin. These shelves were no doubt also attractive to prehistoric farmers. However, given that later prehistoric settlement can be demonstrated on the eastern gritstone moors extending to over 350m OD, it may well be that land above the lower limestone shelves was also widely utilised. The higher shelves and lower ridgetops have thin but light soils that were suitable for cultivation. Figures 1 and 2 show both these potential 'sustainable' settlement areas combined, and demonstrates that much of the plateau except to the west and north was low enough to have supported such farming in later prehistory. This said, the areas identified in Figure 1 are based on topography and altitude and probably over-represent the extent of prehistoric settlement. Surviving

remains on the eastern gritstone moors demonstrate that prehistoric farmers were sensitive to local differences in soils and also that not all good farming land was covered by 'sustained' fields and farmsteads. Large areas appear to have been set aside for open grazing. This may well also have been the case throughout the limestone plateau, including the higher ridges and hilltops, which by the Bronze Age may have been largely open grassland (Barnatt 1996a).

Beyond the limestone plateau to the east is the Derwent Valley and associated tributary valleys, the main one being the lower Wye Valley. These cut deep into shales between the limestone and gritstone uplands, and have been extensively settled in historic times. This is particularly true to the east between Calver and Matlock, where confluences make the valley zone wider and more attractive for agriculture. Similarly there are broad valleys to the north centred at Hope and at Edale, and valleys running north-westwards from Chapel en le Frith. The extent to which all these areas were used for settlement and agriculture in prehistory remains unclear. While they have the advantage of shelter and lower altitude, they would have been naturally heavily wooded and have predominantly heavier soils which would have been harder to cultivate. To the west of the limestone plateau there is a more topographically isolated area of broad valleys in the upper reaches of the Rivers Dove, Manifold and Hamps; downstream they pass through deep gorges cutting the south-western part of the limestone plateau. These upper valleys are not as advantageous as the Derwent, both because of higher altitude and because their bases are poorly drained over significant areas. In historic times settlement has largely comprised scattered farms on low ridges and valley sides.

The northern gritstone upland, the Dark Peak, is a high exposed plateau, mostly over 400m OD. Much of this is covered in blanket bog, formation of which started in Later Mesolithic and Neolithic times. In later prehistory these areas were probably not attractive, except perhaps for hunting and rough grazing. Dissecting the gritstone plateau's heart are the deep and steep-sided upper valleys of the Derwent and its tributaries. These have narrow bottom-lands suitable for farming which have been utilised in historic times by scattered farms sited along them. That they were used in prehistory has recently been demonstrated by collections of lithics from along the shorelines of the reservoirs here (Paul Ardron *pers. comm.*). Flintwork of Mesolithic to Later Neolithic/Bronze Age has been recovered. However, the nature of use in later prehistory is not clear. There are also a number of small shelves above the Derwent centred on Crook Hill which are similar to those on the East Moors. Further shelves and ridges of low enough altitude for 'sustained' prehistoric farming concentrate at the fringes of the upland massif to the east and west. Again the suitable areas indicated on Figure 1 are based in topography and altitude and may well overstate the extent of exploitation (this applies to all the gritstone areas with the exception of the western parts of the East Moors — see below). All these areas have been extensively enclosed in historic times thus few signs of prehistoric occupation are visible.

The western gritstone moors are more heavily dissected than those to the north, although their bleak tops are again often over 400m OD. There are shelves around the periphery low enough for 'sustained' farming in later prehistory although they are usually of limited extent, separated from each other by steep and narrow valleys. A notable exception lies immediately west of the limestone plateau on the low ridges between the valleys of the Dove and Manifold, and the shelves around Warslow and

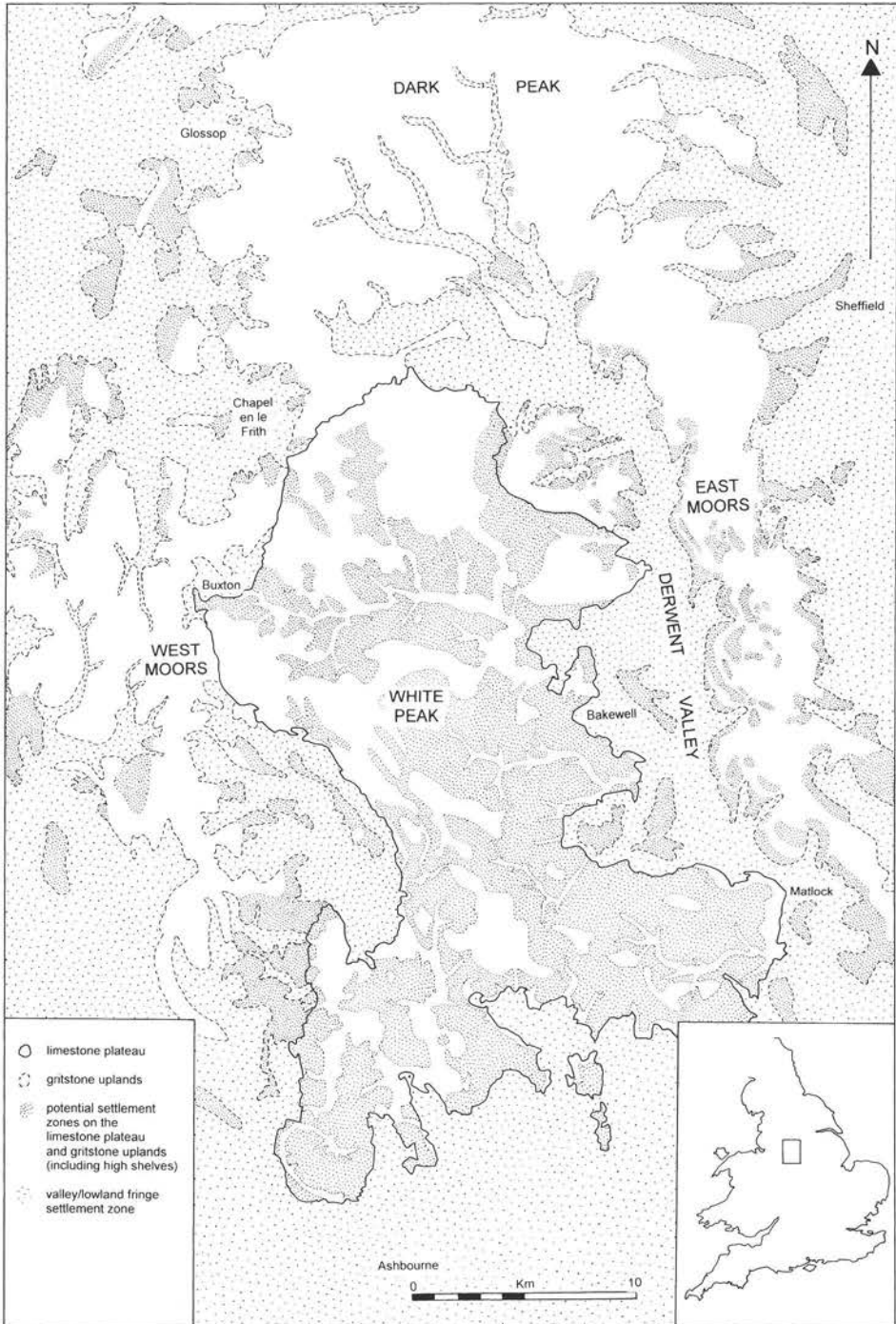


Fig. 1: The Peak District; topography and potential later prehistoric 'sustained' settlement areas.



Grindon. The latter extend a short distance onto the limestone plateau and here are fertile. However, further west there are extensive areas of limestone-shales, part-covered with clay and drift which would only have been patchily attractive in prehistory. All these areas have been extensively farmed in historic times.

The gritstone uplands of the East Moors are exceptional. Large areas are low enough to have been attractive for 'sustained' farming in later prehistory. Survival of upstanding archaeological remains is good, as large areas were set aside for grouse shooting by the Dukes of Devonshire and Rutland in the nineteenth century rather than being improved for farming. Something like half the total area probably once covered by prehistoric settlements and fields to the western side of the East Moors retains prehistoric remains (see Fig. 20). This western side, including steep-sided upland outliers on the west side of the Derwent at Offerton/Eyam Moors and Stanton Moor, is exceptional in that topography and soils are regularly patterned and thus the approximate locations of prehistoric fields within now-improved areas can be predicted. Here there is generally a main scarp, often with precipitous cliffs below which the land drops steeply to the Derwent far below, while further east there is a lower but equally steep upper scarp (Plate 1). Between the two is a broad relatively flat shelf particularly suitable for prehistoric farming. This is complemented by further sharply-defined shelves, east of Baslow, above the sides of streams which breach the upper scarp. The scarps are of Millstone Grit and other coarse sandstones and have light sandy soils on their crests. Between these gritstone beds there are others of shale with clay soils. These are found on the lower parts of the shelf dip slopes and on the lower scarp slopes. The sandy soils on the shelves, where not boulder-strewn, were ideal for 'sustained' exploitation in prehistory while the clays were not. Thus, the predictability of locations of prehistoric fields can be further refined and the areas shown on Figure 1 are a clearer reflection of suitable areas than those shown in the rest of the region; if the same principles had been applied as elsewhere, based solely on altitude and topography, well over half the East Moors would have been stippled on the map. All this said, the suitable areas here (as depicted) are still something of an overstatement of the area actually covered in fields/cairnfields (see Fig. 20). Pressure on land was presumably not so intense that all the available area was used in this way, and people chose to leave some as open pasture or woodland. The 'sustained' settlement zones of the eastern fringes of the East Moors, which are largely enclosed today and have more complex geology, are not as easy to predict and here only altitude and topography have been applied in their definition.

### **Later Prehistoric Settlement — The White Peak**

Virtually no certainly identified prehistoric settlements with associated fields survive as upstanding earthworks on the limestone plateau, although excavations at Staden have illustrated that the Romano-British settlement here had late Iron Age origins (Makepeace 1995). The strong possibility exists that a significant proportion of Romano-British settlements (Makepeace 1998) have earlier origins (Bevan 1999, 11–14; *in press*). However, it is far from clear if any date back to the Earlier Bronze Age and thus their distribution cannot be compared with the barrows of this date.

There are several hundred unchambered round barrows in the White Peak. These are scattered across the zone, usually sited singly, or in small loose concentrations rather than in barrow cemeteries (Fig. 2).

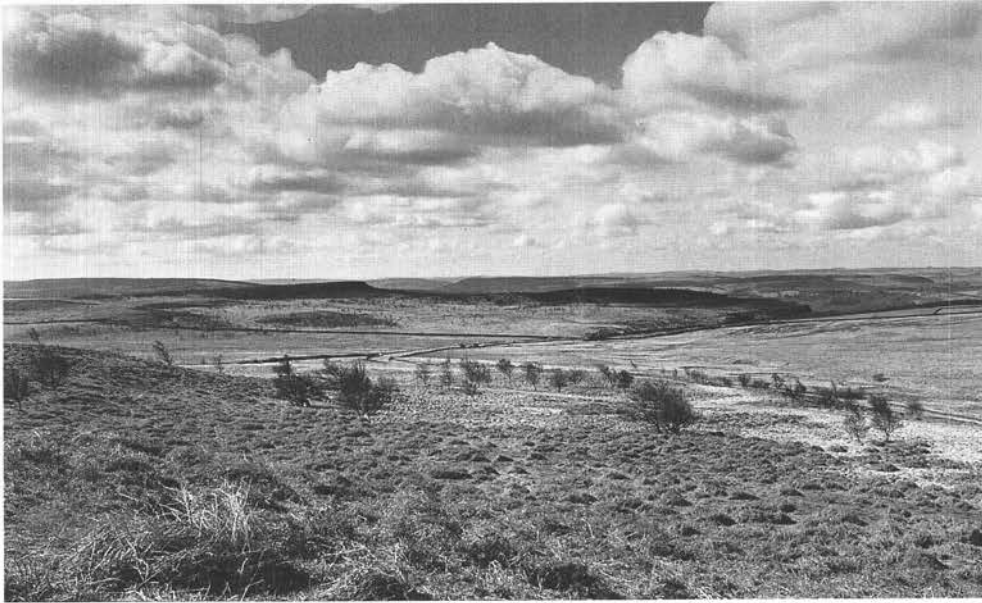


Plate 1: The East Moors main western shelf, between the scarp at Gardoms Edge (right) and upper scarp at Birchen Edge (left), viewed from near Swine Sty. The deeply dissected Derwent Valley is out of sight to the far left. This shelf was extensively used in later prehistory; in the area visible there were once extensive fields and scattered farms, while the Gardom's Edge Neolithic enclosure now lies hidden in the shadowed area of birch trees on its crest. Copyright: Peak District National Park Authority.

Gaps in the distribution can largely be explained by later destruction within core Medieval cultivation areas (*cf.* Barnatt 1996c, 5–11). This is particularly true on the shelves flanking the Wye around Taddington (Fig. 2: 1) and Tideswell (Fig. 2: 2), and at the head of the Lathkill around Monyash (Fig. 2: 3). Both are areas of extensive Medieval cultivation where there is a paucity of rocky sites where barrows stood a good chance of surviving. The relative lack of barrows to the south-east (Fig. 2: 4) may well reflect the nature of lead mining here, with many small veins covering swathes of landscape, making barrow identification difficult and presumably having led to greater destruction. The one meaningful gap in barrow distribution is to the north-west (Fig. 2: 5) where barrows are uncommon on the highest parts of the plateau except at sites that overlook lower land.

Many surviving barrows throughout the plateau are at hilltop/ridgetop locations, and thus have escaped later destruction. However, they still concentrate on the predicted 'sustained' settlement zones indicating an association with prehistoric agricultural activity and/or the higher populations using these areas. The particularly high density of barrows to the south-west (Fig. 2: 6) is uncertainly explained. It may be simply a product of differential survival, or due to increased prehistoric competition for land here. Good land is relatively scarce, the area being dissected by the wide and deep gorges of the Dove, Manifold and Hamps. Given that this part of the plateau protrudes, promontory-like, into lowlands north and south, it may be that groups who farmed land both on and

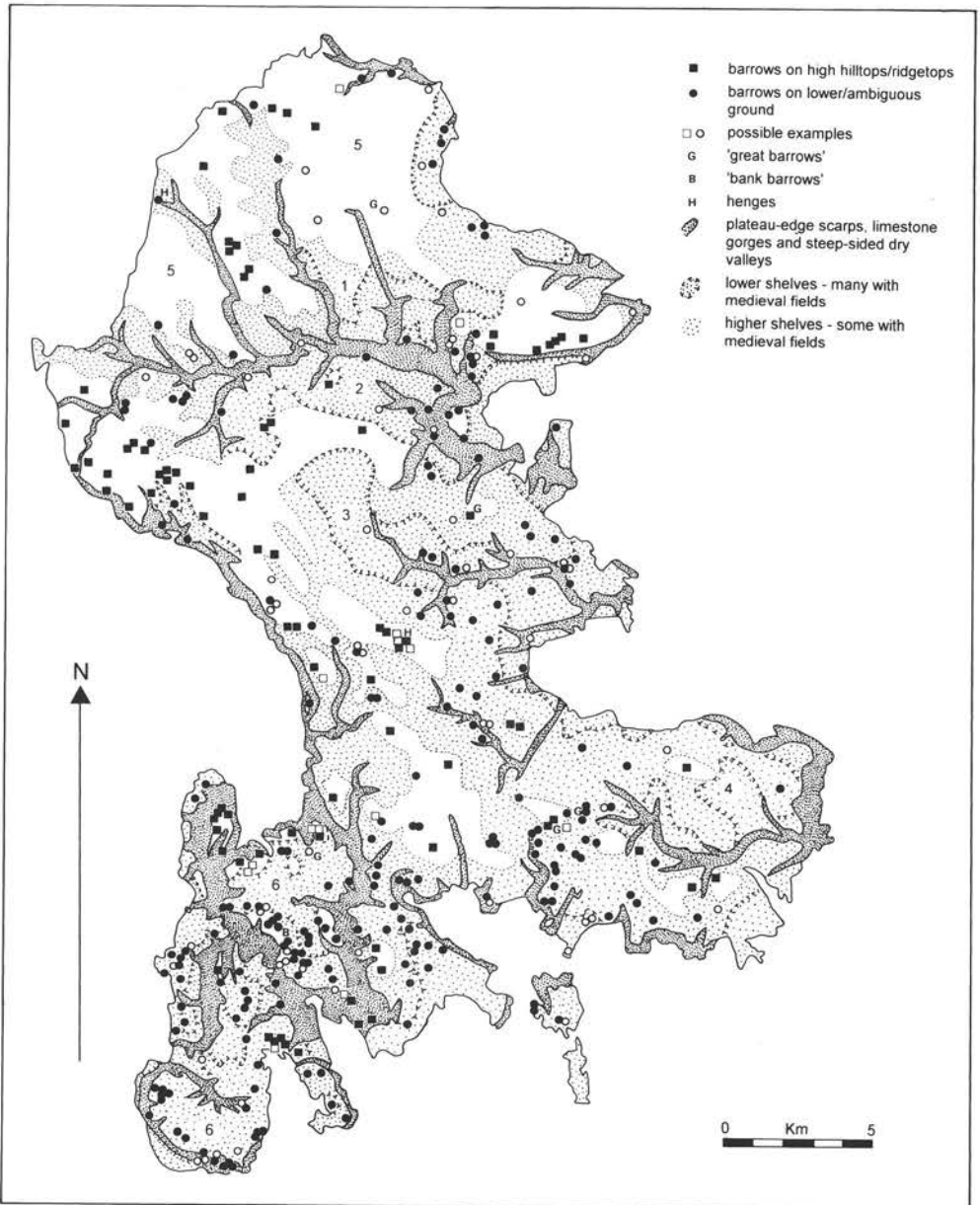


Fig. 2: The distribution of barrows and 'sustained' settlement areas in the White Peak (1-6 see text).

off the plateau were more frequently placing barrows here than elsewhere along the plateau edge.

Although the nature of the settlement pattern(s) of the White Peak in the last two millennia BC is not known in any detail, there is nothing inconsistent with an

interpretation of scattered 'sustained' farming communities, each with their own barrows, sited both within fields and overlooking higher open pastures, as can be reconstructed for the East Moors (see below). The absence of Wessex-type barrow cemeteries, the lack of evidence that even the prestigious grave goods found in some graves need be ascribed to anything other than farming families (*cf.* Barnatt 1996c, 32–46, 67–80), and the dense but relatively even spread of barrows support this view. However, as noted above, a proportion of the round barrows of the White Peak were built in the Later Neolithic or earliest part of the Bronze Age. Thus, it may well be that they relate to land use during the earlier part of the transition between 'mobile' and 'sustained' farming regimes, and were therefore perhaps sited initially with regard to Neolithic traditional seasonal routines rather than specifically 'sustained' farming locales.

Figure 2 distinguishes between barrows on high ridgetops and others elsewhere. The former at least are presumably sited on higher pastures away from 'sustained' settlement zones. Some of the other barrows were undoubtedly placed within or close to fields. However, given their chronological time depth and that settlement of the developed Earlier Bronze Age within the shelf areas presumably only had fields over a proportion of the available land, it should not be assumed that all barrows in these zones were thus sited.

There are acute problems interpreting lithic scatters, both in regard to achieving an unbiased picture of densities over the plateau as a whole and more importantly in isolating Bronze Age from earlier material (*cf.* Barnatt 1996a, 47–48), and the outlook for reconstructing the latter prehistoric settlement pattern in any detail currently seems bleak.

### **Later Prehistoric Settlement — The Derwent Valley**

Little can be said about this area because of the high levels of destruction, except that it was certainly not ignored in later prehistory. This is indicated for example by the recent discovery of three to four barrows in and around Chatsworth Park where chances of survival are atypical. These complement isolated survivals elsewhere at Baslow and in the Hope Valley. The density of sites around Chatsworth possibly suggests levels of Earlier Bronze Age activity comparable to elsewhere in the region. However, as a note of caution, ongoing fieldwalking in a transect which runs across this topographic zone is failing to find extensive spreads of Later Neolithic and Bronze Age lithic material here when compared to the limestone plateau and the East Moors (Barnatt *et al.* in prep; Danny Hind and Willy Kitchen *pers. comm.*).

### **Later Prehistoric Settlement — The Dark Peak**

Recent systematic fieldwork in the upper Derwent Valley and the surrounding uplands (Bevan 1998), has identified several barrows to complement the few already known (Fig. 3). The distribution of barrows here, and in Edale to the south-west, clearly indicate that these valleys were utilised in the Earlier Bronze Age. With the exception of one particularly isolated and unusual site on Margery Hill (Fig. 3: 1), they concentrate around the narrow valley bottoms and shelves above. In contrast the bleak high areas to the north-west are devoid of monuments. In some cases barrows have survived in the valleys themselves (Fig. 3: 3, 4, 16), while others are on shelves at relatively low altitude

(Fig. 3: 7, 8, 11, 13); these may all have been located close to prehistoric settlements and fields. The remainder of the barrows are on higher ground only suitable for rough grazing (Fig. 3: 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19) and were presumably within various open pastures, each used by a community living below. Their distribution pattern is not inconsistent with the model of land use proposed for the East Moors, with small 'sustained' farming groups, each using the more suitable land and an upper pasture nearby. However, in contrast to the East Moors, there are large expanses of high land beyond, where no monuments or other evidence of activity are found. The exception is the occasional stray barbed and tanged arrowhead, perhaps suggesting that these isolated areas were used for hunting.

Unlike the East Moors the opportunities for 'sustained' farming on suitable shelves above the valleys was extremely limited. The exception is shelves around Crook Hill and Crookstone Hill and these have associated barrows (Fig. 3: 11, 13). Today these shelves are enclosed but in one instance there are fragmentary remains that suggest cairnfields were present. The shelves further up the Derwent Valley are at higher altitudes and it seems unlikely they were settled. Where land remains unenclosed today nothing has been identified, except perhaps at Birchenlee Pasture. The scrappy remains here are unconvincing as a cairnfield, only the barrow (Fig. 3: 9) is certainly a Bronze Age structure. The shelves around Pike Low and Bone Low (Fig. 3: 7, 8) have been enclosed in the nineteenth century but in large parts are not obviously improved. This may well suggest that the barrows here were on upper open pastures rather than near settlements, as there are no remains of prehistoric fields or cairnfields.

It seems likely that any later prehistoric 'sustained' settlement concentrated in the narrow valley bottom-lands, a suggestion supported by the recently identified lithic spreads noted above. No surface remains of prehistoric fields or cairnfields survive, presumably because of later farming. Spreads of Romano-British pottery (Pauline Beswick and Paul Ardron *pers. comm.*) at the reservoir edges complement known extensive Late Medieval and Post-Medieval farming patterns in the valley (Bevan 1998).

### Later Prehistoric Settlement — The West Moors

Again the barrow distribution mirrors the location of shelves low enough for 'sustained' farming; as with the northern Dark Peak, the core of the high moors is avoided (Fig. 4). These shelves have been enclosed and there are virtually no extant cairnfields or fields.

To the north there are extensive enclosed shelves around Werneth Low, Ludworth Intakes and Mellor Moor, all ideally suited for prehistoric 'sustained' settlement (Fig. 4: 1), while above there is a barrow on Coombes Edge (Fig. 4: 2). Even here this land may have been farmed as there are fragmentary remains of what may be a cairnfield; however, it is unclear if this is agricultural or funerary in character. The shelves east of Coombes Edge are far less suitable than those to the west and the area of settlement may be overstated on Figure 4; they are relatively high and dissected by steep-sided stream valleys. One of the most isolated barrows of the region lies high to the east on Kinder Low (Fig. 4: 3), from where there are extensive views westwards.

There is only limited shelf development above the valleys around Chapel en le Frith (Fig. 4: 4) and in the Goyt Valley (Fig. 4: 5), but barrows associated with these probably indicate settlement. In contrast, there are more extensive shelves at the western fringe of the core upland (Fig. 4: between 6 and 7) but few surviving barrows. Further south there



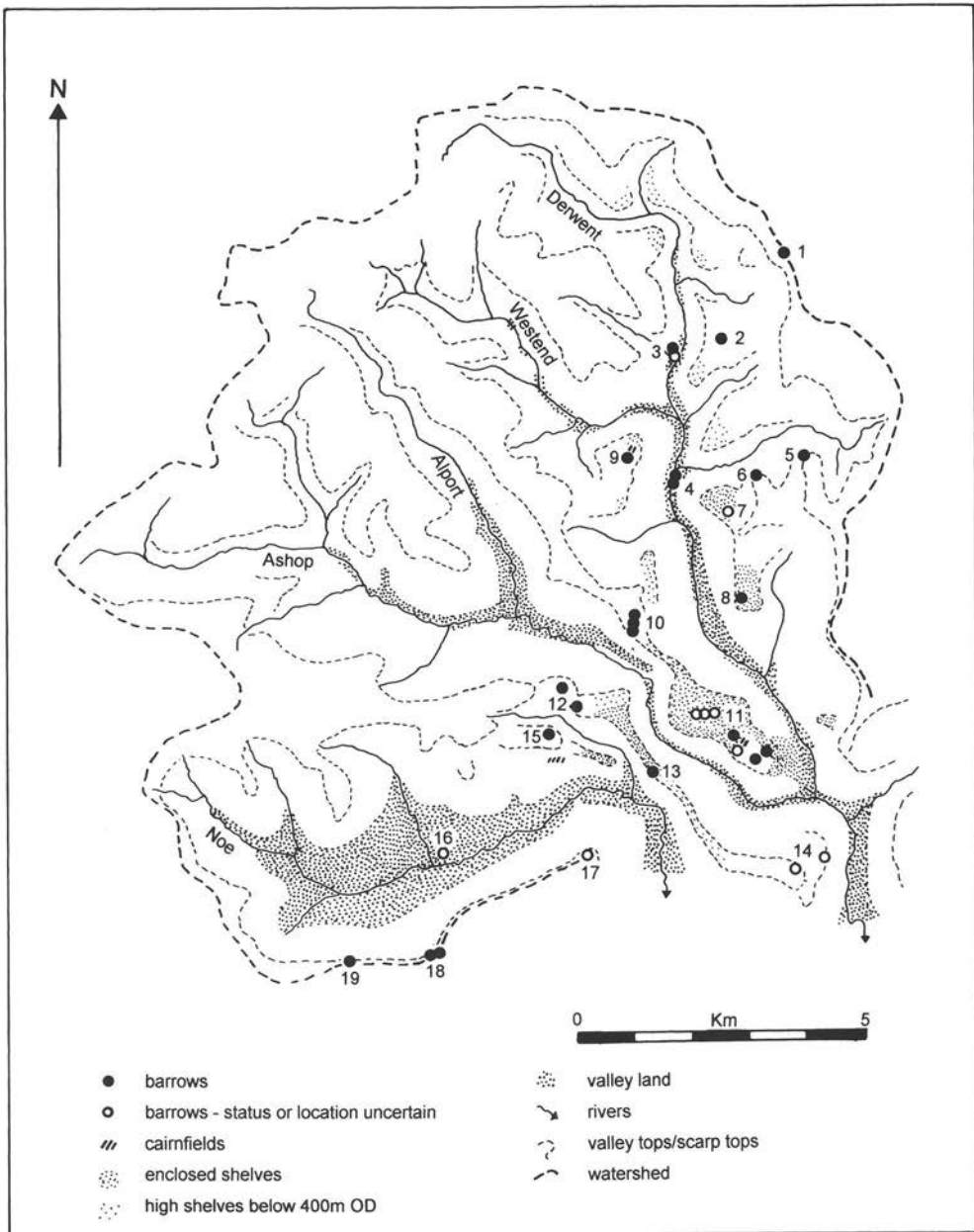


Fig. 3: The distribution of barrows and cairnfields in the Upper Derwent Valley (1 — Margery Hill, 2 — Upper Hey, 3 — Howden Reservoir, 4 — Low Field, Abbey, 5 — Howden Dean, 6 — Forest Knoll, 7 — Bone Low, 8 — Pike Low, 9 — Birchinlee Pasture, 10 — Lockerbrook Heights, 11 — Bridge End Pasture and Crook Hill, 12 — Crookstone Hill, 13 — Hope Brink, 14 — Win Hill, 15 — Druids Altar, 16 — Edale, 17 — Lose Hill, 18 — Mam Tor, 19 — Lords Seat).

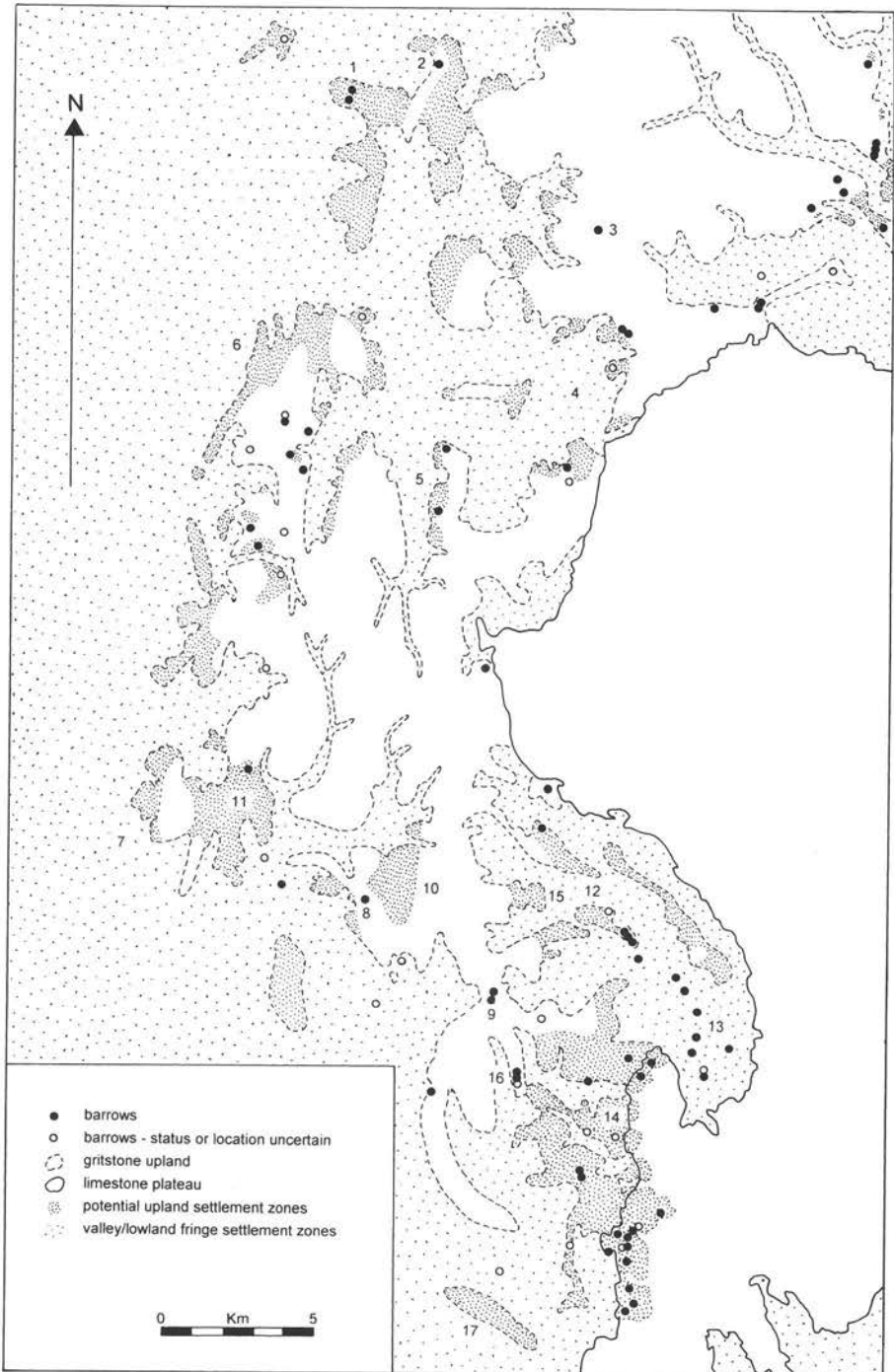


Fig. 4: The distribution of barrows on the western gritstone uplands (1–17 see text).

are two good examples of barrows sited on high ground well above settlement, on the Roaches (Fig. 4: 8) and Merryton Low (Fig. 4: 9). Shelf settlement in this area may not have been as extensive as that suggested by Figure 4; the area around Goldsitch Moss (Fig. 4: 10) is largely badly drained, while around Wincle (Fig. 4: 11) much of the land is either relatively high and not certainly suitable, or is dissected by steep-sided stream valleys.

In contrast, there is good evidence for extensive use of the low ridges flanking the upper reaches of the Dove and Manifold (Fig. 4: 12, 13) and to a lesser extent the shelves between Warslow and Grindon (Fig. 4: 14). In the former area there are a large number of barrows on the lower ridges, while to the north-west, the place-name Barrow Moor (Fig. 4: 15) may well indicate the former presence of others. As noted above, the Warslow/Grindon shelves may not have been as extensively used as indicated on Figure 4, due to areas of poorly drained land; the barrows concentrate noticeably on those small areas of the shelves to the east which are limestone. There are barrows placed high above the shelves at Elkstone (Fig. 4: 16). On an isolated upland outlier to the south-west, Gun Moor (Fig. 4: 17), there is a scattering of a few small possible cairns that may be the last vestiges of a cairnfield.

#### **Later Prehistoric Settlement — The East Moors**

The eastern gritstone upland has exceptional survival of prehistoric remains. There are many areas of prehistoric fields and cairnfields. Accompanying these are house platforms and monuments, including stone circles, standing stones and barrows. Beyond the 'field-areas' there are large expanses of land with no prehistoric remains except the occasional monument; these places were presumably used as unenclosed pastures and, where wooded, for such resources as timber and fuel. The distributions of the remains are given in detail in subsequent sections of this paper.

Detailed description and interpretation of the 'field-areas' and monuments of the second and first millennia BC on the East Moors has been given elsewhere (Barnatt 1986; 1987; 1990; 1996a; 1996b; 1996c; 1999); the background to interpreting the character of farming in later prehistory has been given above. A brief résumé of my preferred explanations is given here to contextualise what follows.

At locations where prehistoric field boundaries are visible today, and at the majority of cairnfields with few or no linear boundaries, there are many archaeological features which are agricultural in character. Originally the prehistoric field boundaries were probably mostly hedges or fences, some perhaps associated with turf banks, while today's visible boundary remains are mostly the result of field clearance or soil loss in prehistory. The fields were undoubtedly used within the context of a mixed farming regime, with livestock probably the mainstay, although the latter currently lies beyond proof as animal bone does not survive here in the acid soils. Animals were probably grazed extensively beyond the fields on the open upper or otherwise less-favourable parts of the upland. The fields were probably used for — grazing, perhaps largely in winter — for arable cultivation, including the growing of cereals — and possibly as hay meadows. Amongst the fields are potential house platforms, usually found singly in small groups which strongly suggests scattered farms rather than nucleated settlement. Each farmstead and its fields may have been the 'domain' of an extended family or kin group. The majority of the identified farmsteads and their fields are argued to be part of a 'sustained'

farming regime rather than short-lived episodes of activity. Whether occupation was permanent, seasonal or otherwise periodic is not clear. However, in many cases, it may well be that farming commonly took place in a 'sustained' way within any one 'field-area' for hundreds of years. In some more favourable 'field-areas', farming may well have been taking place over much of the second and first millennia BC.

Associated with the farmsteads and fields are a variety of monuments built in the Earlier Bronze Age (and in some cases possibly in the Later Neolithic). In or adjacent to the 'field-areas' are stone circles, ringcairns and barrows, in numbers consistent with an interpretation of each farming area having its own 'family' monuments. Beyond the fields there are scattered barrows and other funerary structures, again sited so as to suggest that the open grazing was divided into a series of areas where tenurial grazing rights were established by tradition (see below). The contents of barrows on the East Moors, as well as their density and the character of their sitings, reinforce the local nature of these monuments; they do not contain prestige artefacts needing to be explained in a high-status context and the barrows can be interpreted more successfully as containing the grave or funerary-goods of extended farming families or kin groups (Barnatt 1996c).

#### THE EAST MOORS: TRANSFORMATIONS THROUGH TIME AND SPACE

This section of the paper begins the search for evidence that could identify and characterise local communities on the East Moors. The obvious place to start is to quantify any local differences. Unfortunately local settlement cannot be examined directly as the evidence is incomplete. The common form of building was the circular timber house (Barnatt 1999); only two certain examples have been excavated. While many potential unexcavated examples are now identified, the overall settlement pattern cannot be reconstructed as house recognition is only possible when they have been terraced into slopes or are respected by arcs of stone banks added against them; there are presumably significant numbers elsewhere which remain unrecognised. Thus, local settlement patterning has to be approached indirectly by a study of the fields surrounding the houses. This seems a reasonable approach as the majority of 'field-areas' have visible potential house sites scattered in small numbers within them. However, the possibility that the later prehistoric settlement pattern may have changed radically through time cannot be discounted, therefore it cannot be assumed that all examples within the patterned distribution of 'field-areas' across the East Moors were occupied contemporaneously. Detailed chronologies are at present impossible to address and this is a caveat to some of the arguments given below. Where possible, comment will be made.

This section will examine evidence for differences in the field/cairnfield morphology and variation in the ritual monuments built. It will also discuss general patterns of distribution and siting preferences common to the East Moors as a whole. The subsequent sections will consider in detail the specific placing of fields and monuments in their local landscapes.

#### **Fields of Many Shapes and Sizes**

A broad if over-simplistic division can be drawn between those 'field-areas' found in what can be called favourable or preferred areas and those at 'less advantaged' sites (Figure 5). The former are characterised today by well-defined field layouts, often with a

variety of field types present (Table 1). Figure 5 shows that they are sited at locally low altitudes and concentrate in the central, lowest part of the East Moors. They are centred on Bar Brook and Heathy Lea Brook (Fig. 5: A/B); the only examples elsewhere are at Dennis Knoll and Callow to the north (Fig. 5: C) and Beeley Warren to the south (Fig. 5: D). However, in the last area many of the more-favourable shelves have been improved and 'sustained' prehistoric settlement here may have been extensive. With all the surviving examples, factors such as aspect are also pertinent and these can sometimes be seen to explain the juxtaposition of complex and simple layouts. In contrast, Figure 5 also shows that cairnfields with no or poorly-defined visible boundaries are found throughout the East Moors.

In examining field shape care has to be taken to identify true field boundaries. On Gardom's Edge in particular, which in parts is particularly stony, but also at Gibbet Moor West, stony scarps have attracted field clearance as they were natural barriers to cultivation. These are termed here plot edges and are not true field boundaries. The latter can be clearly distinguished as in part they run over natural barriers to cultivation such as boulder strewn land. They define larger, more regular areas than the plots within them.

Table 1 illustrates that commonly 'field-areas' contain small rectangular/irregular fields, and/or the field boundaries are poorly defined. Irregularly placed clearance cairns are also very common.

Examples of poorly defined layouts are given in Figure 6. Even here, there are often clear indications that boundaries once existed, as for example with the fragments of linear clearance and lynchets at Eyam Moor (Fig. 6), Winyards Nick (Fig. 6) and Beeley Warren North-West and North-East (Fig. 7). Small rectangular/irregular fields are twice found as the major component of a field layout, at Dennis Knoll SE and Callow (Fig. 6), both to the north. However, such fields are more commonly part of complex layouts, as at Stoke Flat East and West, Big Moor Central (Fig. 11), Gardom's Edge NE (Fig. 8) and Gibbet Moor West.

It has been argued previously that the difference between well and poorly defined layouts reflects the relative duration of use (Barnatt 1986; 1987; 1999). It is also recognised that this explanation must be tempered by — the degree of stoniness at each location — the relative amounts of arable cultivation that took place — and by the amount of soil loss due not only to the amount of cultivation but also the degree of exposure of the location. However, all this said, it may well be that the degree of boundary visibility is a general guide to the length of time over which each area was in use. This is consistent with the distribution of well developed boundaries in favourable areas. It may be that in areas of poor boundary definition total duration of use can be measured in tens or hundreds of years, while those areas with well developed boundaries could be counted in hundreds or thousands.

Many 'field-areas' with well defined boundaries contain fields of various types, including large rectangular and narrow co-axial examples, in complex aggregated arrangements. This may well also suggest extended chronological depth. Further indications of the long use of some 'field-areas', ranging from the Earlier Bronze Age to the Later Iron Age, is given by radiocarbon dates and pollen sequences (Barnatt 1995a; 1999; Long 1994; Long *et al* 1998). Houses with pottery of Later Bronze Age/Earlier Iron Age type have recently been excavated on Gardom's Edge (Barnatt *et al.* 1995 *et*



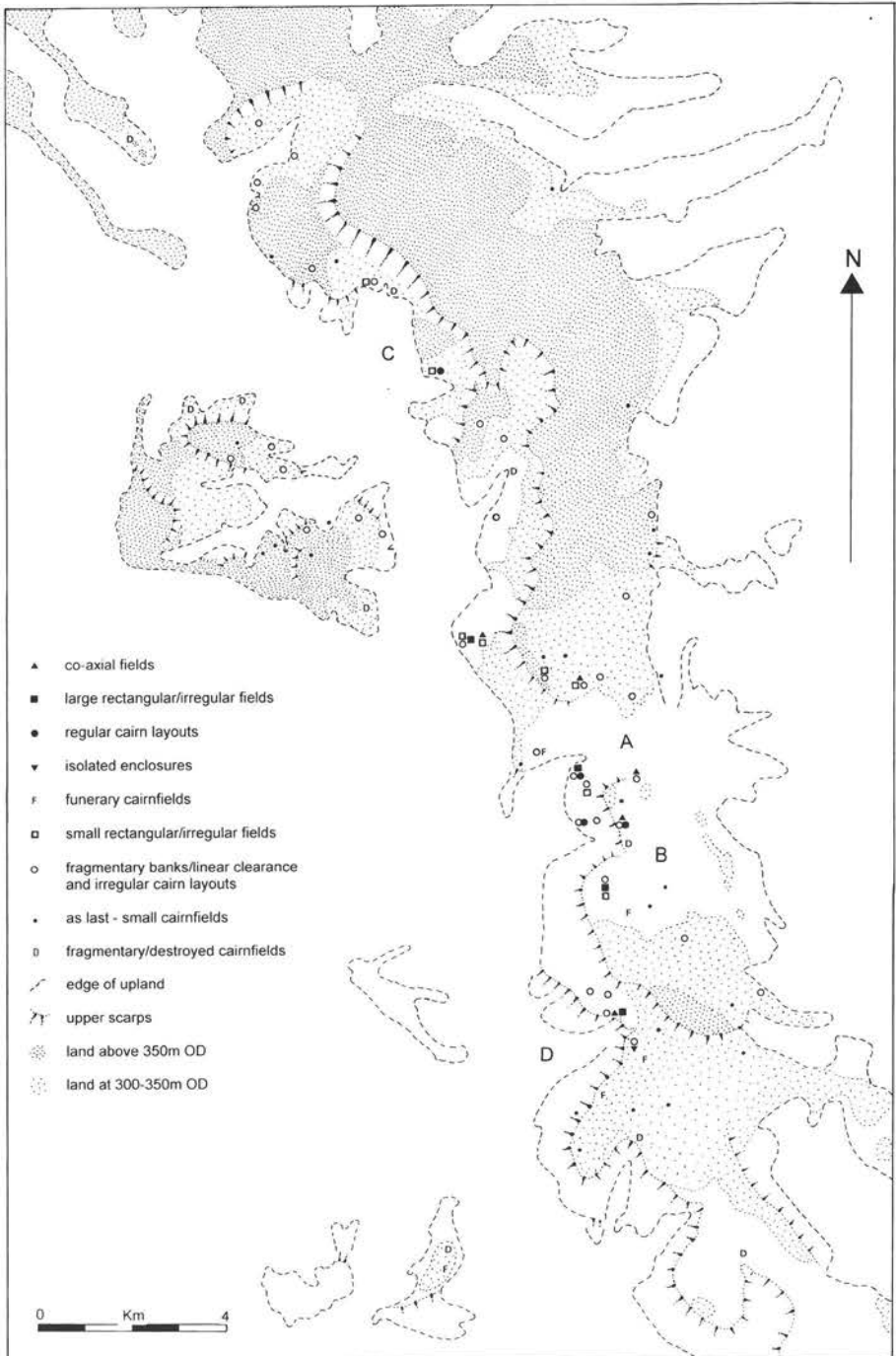


Fig. 5: The distribution of 'field-area' types on the East Moors (examples defined in Table 1 as minor/uncertain are not shown).





**Locally high locales — ill-defined field layouts**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
13	Bamford Edge						X		X	
14	Houndkirk Moor								?	
14	Brown Edge South								?	?
14	Salter Sitch								X	
16/17	Hipper Sick								X	
17	Raven Tor								x	X
17	Raven Tor South-East								?	?
17	Big Bumper Piece								X	
18	Sir William's Hill						X		X	

Note: some 'field-areas' were not considered above as they are probably minor survivals of much larger layouts which have mostly been destroyed by later agricultural activity, or they have now been fully destroyed. These are: North Lees, Longshaw Lodge, Burbage Moor South, Robin Hood Farm, Woodbrook Quarry, Matlock Moor, Shatton Edge, Glover Bank, Top of Riley and Stanton Moor NW.

*seq.*), while many 'field-areas' have Earlier Bronze Age monuments. To date, research that has extended the chronology of the East Moors 'field-areas' through the first millennium BC has concentrated on the larger more-favourably located sites. It remains unclear if the less-advantaged sites were used at this date; a significant proportion of these have associated monuments of Earlier Bronze Age date and it may be that settlement was more extensive in the second millennium BC. The extended chronology begs the question; how much of the field-shape variation reflects changing agricultural practice through time rather than local variation between communities?

Variation in form may alternatively reflect the different uses to which fields were put. The extent to which field boundaries are visible may be a product, in part, of the relative amounts of arable cultivation as opposed to grazing undertaken. The variation in field size and shape may well also reflect different agricultural practice. Many of the small irregular/rectangular fields are suitable for hand cultivation, an impression strengthened by the irregular placing, sometimes densely, of clearance cairns within them. In the case of many parts of the Gardom's Edge fields, for example, the frequent plot edges make it difficult to imagine that any other form of cultivation took place. Whether such cultivation is best described as agriculture or horticulture is a mute point; the term agriculture in its broadest sense is used here to cover a spectrum of options. In contrast to the small irregular plots, the larger rectangular fields and thin co-axial fields found in some places may have been designed for ard cultivation.

It is difficult to identify distinctive features which may be early in the field sequence. One possible exception is what are termed here 'isolated enclosures'. Such features are rare on the East Moors, suggesting an important but not understood regional difference from places like Dartmoor and the Yorkshire Dales where they are common. On Dartmoor at least, some of the 'pounds' can be seen to date from the Bronze Age and may relate to transhumant activity (Fleming 1988, 103–05). On the East Moors the only certain example of an 'isolated enclosure' is on Beeley Moor (Fig. 6). This contains both a probable house site and a ringcairn of Earlier Bronze Age type. The enclosure's circuit

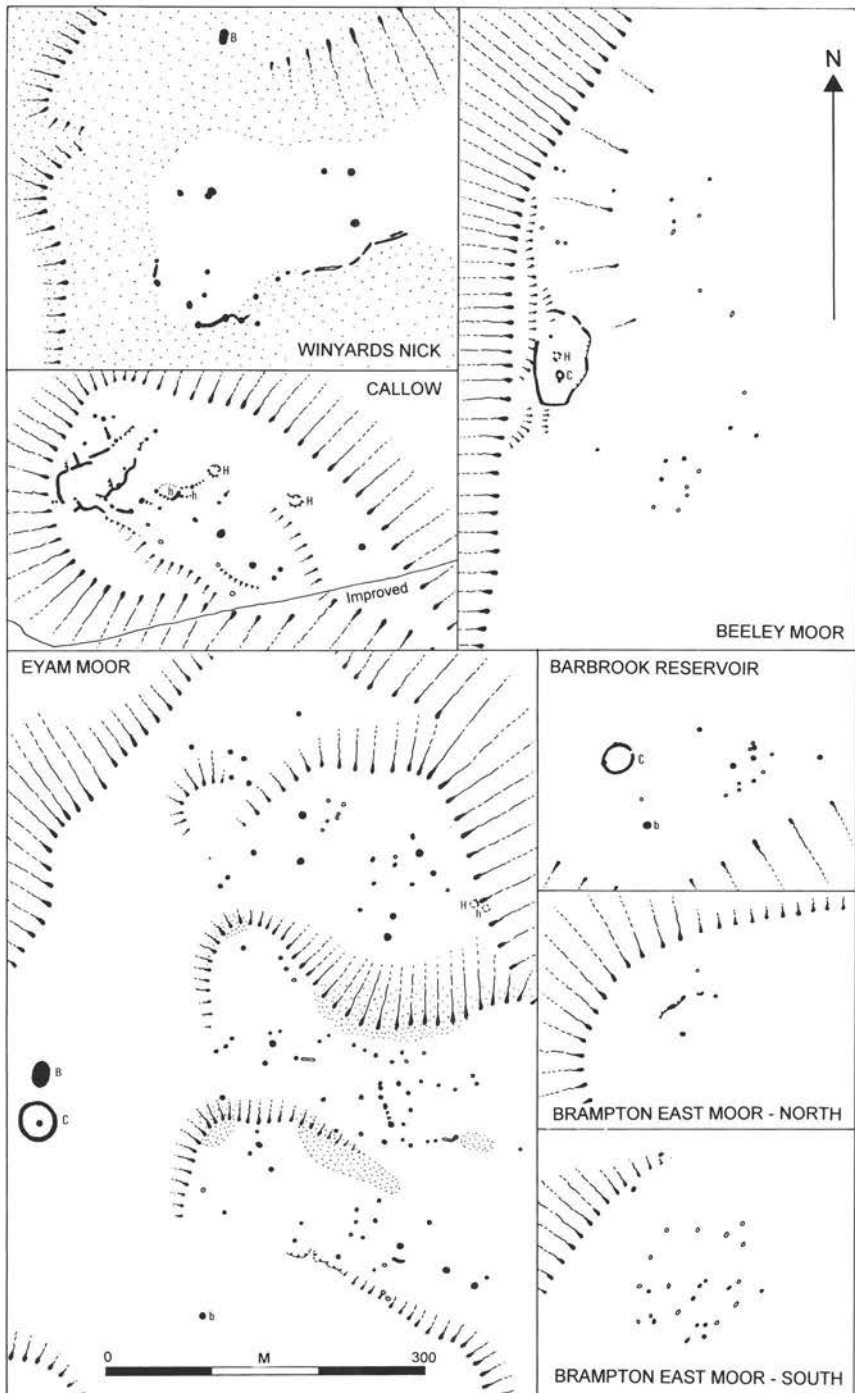


Fig. 6: Examples of 'field-areas' with ill defined boundaries and isolated 'enclosures' on the East Moors (Winyards Nick and Barbrook Reservoir after Barnatt 1986; Callow after Barnatt 1991; Eyam Moor after Barnatt 1995b; Beeley Moor, Brampton East Moor — North and South after Barnatt 1998b). For a key see Fig. 10.



is not fully defined, suggesting its boundary is more about field clearance, or a symbolic delineation of its extent, rather than any functional form of protection. In contrast, the surrounding cairnfield has no visible field boundaries today. One or perhaps two similar 'enclosures' exist on Gardom's Edge (see Fig. 8: 7/8). That to the north-east is clearly defined, if only by a slight bank in one half. Recent partial excavation shows that the 'enclosure' bank was abutted by, or overlain by, the one field bank which adjoins it (Barnatt *et al.* 1997). The other postulated enclosure is only ephemerally defined and thus is a dubious example. In both cases they can be alternatively interpreted as nothing more than somewhat atypically-shaped fields, given their context within areas which contain a palimpsest of fields of a variety of shapes and sizes. Recent excavation trenches and test pits have failed to find significant quantities of cultural material in the north-east enclosure (7), as might be expected if houses had ever stood here, although this does not preclude an interpretation as a stock enclosure. Other possible examples are even less securely identified. Those at Big Moor Central (Fig. 11: areas G, H, and below F to the south-west) are probably different in character to the sites noted above, their definition in part being a product of separation from the main area of fields by a steep scarp. In the case of Swine Sty (G) and that to the north-east (H) they are parts of a series of yards and/or garden plots rather than single enclosures, the only difference being in both cases one 'enclosure' is more strongly defined than those adjacent. This may reflect long use for settlement at these particular spots. The irregular shape and relationships to surrounding boundary features of the 'enclosure' at Swine Sty suggests a complex sequence of development here and in the surrounding yards or gardens before the central 'enclosure' took on its present form. That below area F is probably nothing more than an isolated field. The irregular possible examples at Callow (Fig. 6) and Eaglestone Flat again may be nothing more than fields or yards/gardens.

In contrast, five or six banked enclosures are known in the White Peak, focused round the highest parts of the plateau to the north (Hart 1981, 77–80). These are defined by relatively substantial banks and are more clearly settlement or stock 'pounds' similar to those in other regions. However, none has been excavated and they are currently insecurely dated. Their distribution may suggest that the highest parts of the plateau (which as noted above, have a relative lack of Earlier Bronze Age barrows) were used by transhumant groups from elsewhere in the region.

Potentially late features in the field sequence on the East Moors can be postulated, but equally tenuously. They take two forms. At six sites there are small groups of co-axial fields, each field significantly longer than it is broad. That these may have been used for arable cultivation could suggest they are relatively late in the sequence. However, the known horizontal-stratigraphic relationships between these fields and other associated features is ambiguous at best. At Birchen Edge North (Fig. 7) there are at least two such fields and these are the only defined fields here. The area has a ringcairn at its western end and this may suggest the fields do not date to any later than the middle of the Bronze Age. However, the ringcairn bank is overlain by a small cairn and it is unclear if the clearance cairns in this vicinity in turn pre-date the fields to the north-east or are contemporary with their use. At Birchen Edge South (Fig. 7) and Beeley Warren South (Fig. 7) there are larger groups of co-axial fields and these are associated with 'cairn-grids' (see below) and rectangular fields respectively; unfortunately there are no clear indicators of chronological relationships. At Big Moor Central there is a group of at least five co-axial

fields at the western edge of the main area of fields (Fig. 11: E). The horizontal-stratigraphic relationships between the two can be interpreted in two ways. Superficially it appears as if the co-axial fields were added at the edge of an established core area of fields further east and thus are late in the sequence. However, alternatively it may be that the co-axial fields (which in themselves may be laid out in more than one phase) are in part overlain by relatively small rectangular fields (see below). Further east within the core of the 'field-area' there are also other isolated long, thin fields (Fig. 11: A1, B4, F), and further examples are found at Big Moor West (Fig. 10). Some of these may be modifications of pre-existing layouts (see below). At Stoke Flat East the majority of boundaries in the southern half of the area are co-axial and include two narrow fields which superficially appear to abut an irregular-shaped field. In the northern half of the area there are also fragmentary co-axial boundaries. At Gibbet Moor West a small area of fields at its eastern edge has fragmentary but parallel, closely spaced, boundaries and may be a late co-axial addition. However, at both Stoke Flat and Gibbet Moor the possibility that the co-axial fields are early in their respective sequences, and were subsequently partially overlain, cannot be discounted.

The other distinctive fields which may have been for arid cultivation and thus perhaps late in the sequence are large rectangular fields. These are most clearly seen at Gardom's Edge North-West. Here there is one, or more probably two, exceptionally large fields (Fig. 8: 1, 2), the north-western edges of which separate the field interiors from small, irregular clearance areas at the edge of the boulder-strewn land adjacent to the Edge; some of these irregular areas may be earlier in date (see below). A significant number of the clearance cairns within these fields are arranged with a regular spacing in grid-like fashion. Similar 'cairn-grids' also exist further south, suggesting there was a third similar cultivation area, the boundaries of which cannot now be clearly defined. All three areas are conjoined in co-axial fashion. The size of these 'fields' and the 'cairn-grids' could suggest traction cultivation by arid rather than hand digging. However, ongoing excavations here are raising potential problems with such an explanation; there are numerous large earthfast boulders just below surface which would have made the use of ards difficult and may have led to their frequent damage. This said, cultivation in the excavated part of the central field appears to post-date settlement activity and thus the large field may have been created late in the local sequence. Further examples of large rectangular fields exist in the northern half of Stoke Flat West; these are somewhat fragmentary but again are clearly co-axial. At Gibbet Moor West boundaries are again only partially visible but at least two large rectangular fields are identifiable. At Beeley Moor South (Fig. 7) there is at least one large rectangular field with narrower co-axial fields on the same alignment further to the west. At Birchen Edge South there is a good example of a 'cairn-grid' in its southern half (Fig. 7), with cairns regularly spaced across the whole interior of a large, roughly-rectangular, cleared area. Similar arrangements exist at Gardom's Edge South-West and probably Callow (Fig. 6). At Big Moor East there is a very different cairn layout (Fig. 9: 1). Here no 'continuous' field boundaries are visible, but lines of cairns define two large sub-rectangular 'fields'. Whilst the areas these cairns define are relatively large, environmental evidence perhaps suggests that they are relatively early in date (see below). Similar lines of cairns along boundaries exist at Big Moor West (Fig. 10: 9) and elsewhere.

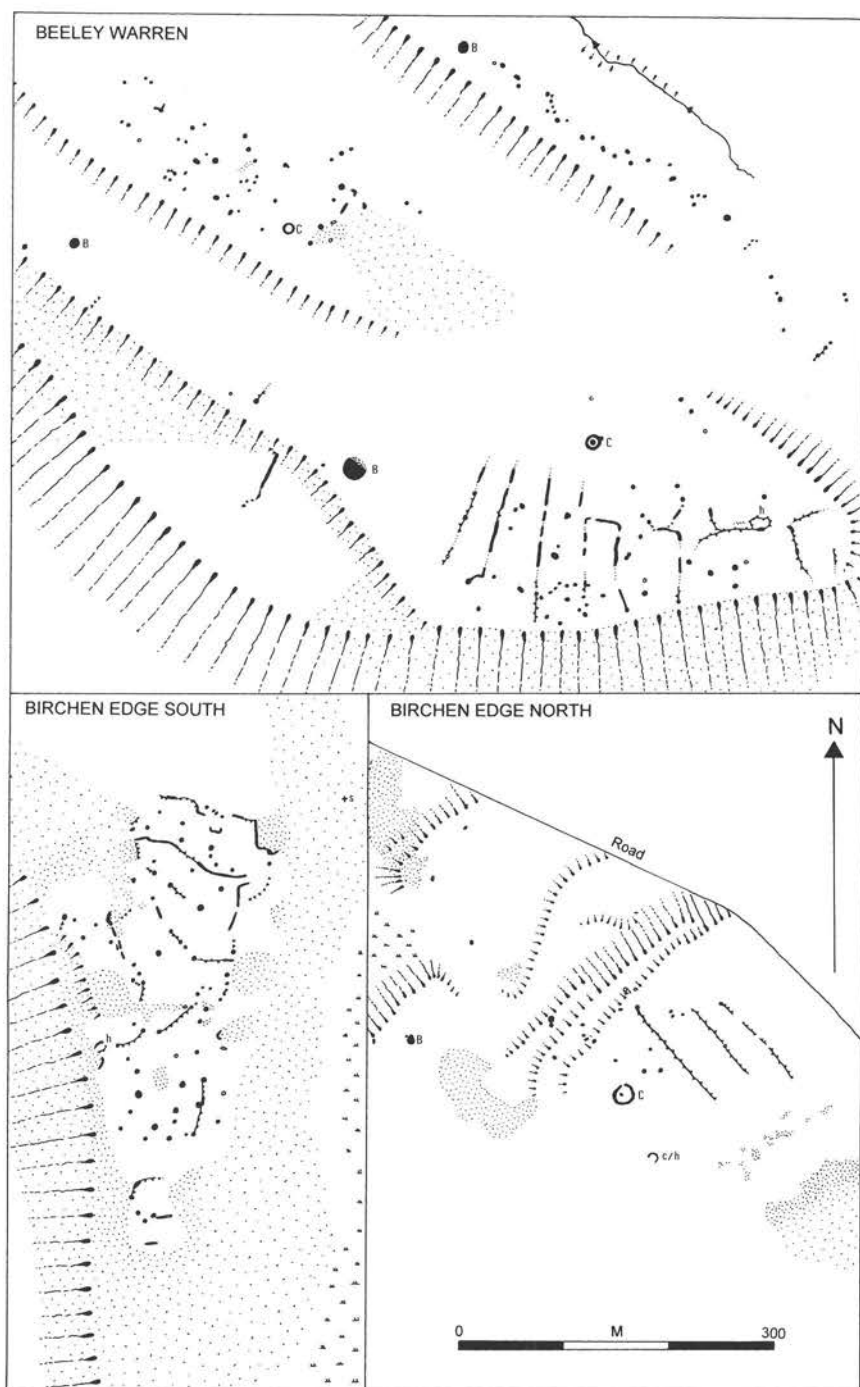


Fig. 7: Examples of co-axial fields on the East Moors (Birchen Edge South after Barnatt 1986; Beeley Warren South, North-East and part of North-West, after Barnatt 1998b; Birchen Edge North after RCHME and PPJPB 1993 — a few cairns north-east of the road were not surveyed in the early 1990s and are excluded here). For a key see Fig. 10.

With the co-axial and large rectangular fields just discussed there are instances where the horizontal stratigraphy may suggest they are late in the sequence, but these are few and the evidence for a chronological distinction is far from clear. Thus, while it is tempting to suggest that traction cultivation with ards is a development that may have been introduced in the Later Bronze Age or Iron Age, no clear-cut case for this can be demonstrated and there are potential problems with such an interpretation. An alternative explanation, that field shape and 'cairn-grids' reflect differences in prehistoric farmers cognition of how a field and its clearance should look, may be more appropriate than a model which relies on cultivation method.

An atypical development which is certainly late in the overall sequence is observed only at Gardom's Edge. This takes the form of two cross-shelf boundaries; these will be discussed in the next section.

### Extensive Field Layouts — Complexity Over Time

Two of the most complex field layouts on the East Moors, on Big Moor and Gardom's Edge have recently been surveyed and analysed in detail (Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998; RCHME and PPJPB 1993). These are used here as examples of the potential complexity present on the East Moors and the results of analysis are given in summary. Similar, if somewhat smaller or less instructive examples also exist at Stoke Flat, Gibbet Moor and Beeley Warren.

**Gardom's Edge:** A striking characteristic of the 'field-areas' on the northern half of Gardom's Edge is the differences in form found in each place they occur. While catalogued in Table 1 as comprising two areas of fields, North-West and North-East, for descriptive purposes here, the latter is subdivided into conjoined North-East and Central parts. The north-east part occupies a slight ridge east of the main scarp, while the central part is on the main scarp dip-slope and partially overlies a large Neolithic enclosure (Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998). Unusually in an East Moor context, there are slight lynchets, together with low stone cairns and linear clearance features, across the clay soils between the two gritstone/coarse-sandstone outcrops, indicating that cultivation took place here on such soils. While the North-West area of prehistoric remains is 'complete', the North East/Central area has been truncated by Medieval/Post-Medieval enclosure to the south. Interpretation here is based primarily on the detailed survey undertaken in 1990–91 and subsequent analysis (RCHME and PPJPB 1993), but in some instances has been modified in the light of ongoing excavations (Barnatt *et al.* 1995 *et seq.*).

The North-Western 'field-area' has one to two distinctive large rectangular co-axial fields (Fig. 8: 1, 2), defined in part by linear boundaries and 'cairn-grids'. There are slighter remains to the north-east where there appear to have been smaller fields (Fig. 8: 3). The better boundary definition at the centre may indicate more prolonged use. In most cases the boundaries around field 1 appear to be complex aggregates of clearance features which accumulated over time; the bank to the south-west is slighter and is earthen, it is currently unclear if it was turf-built or developed slowly though soil movement. At the north-western edge of field 1 and part of field 2, near-continuous clearance banks separate the fields from a narrow band of much more haphazard clearance into the edge of the boulder-field, which imposed its own boundaries (Fig. 8: 4).

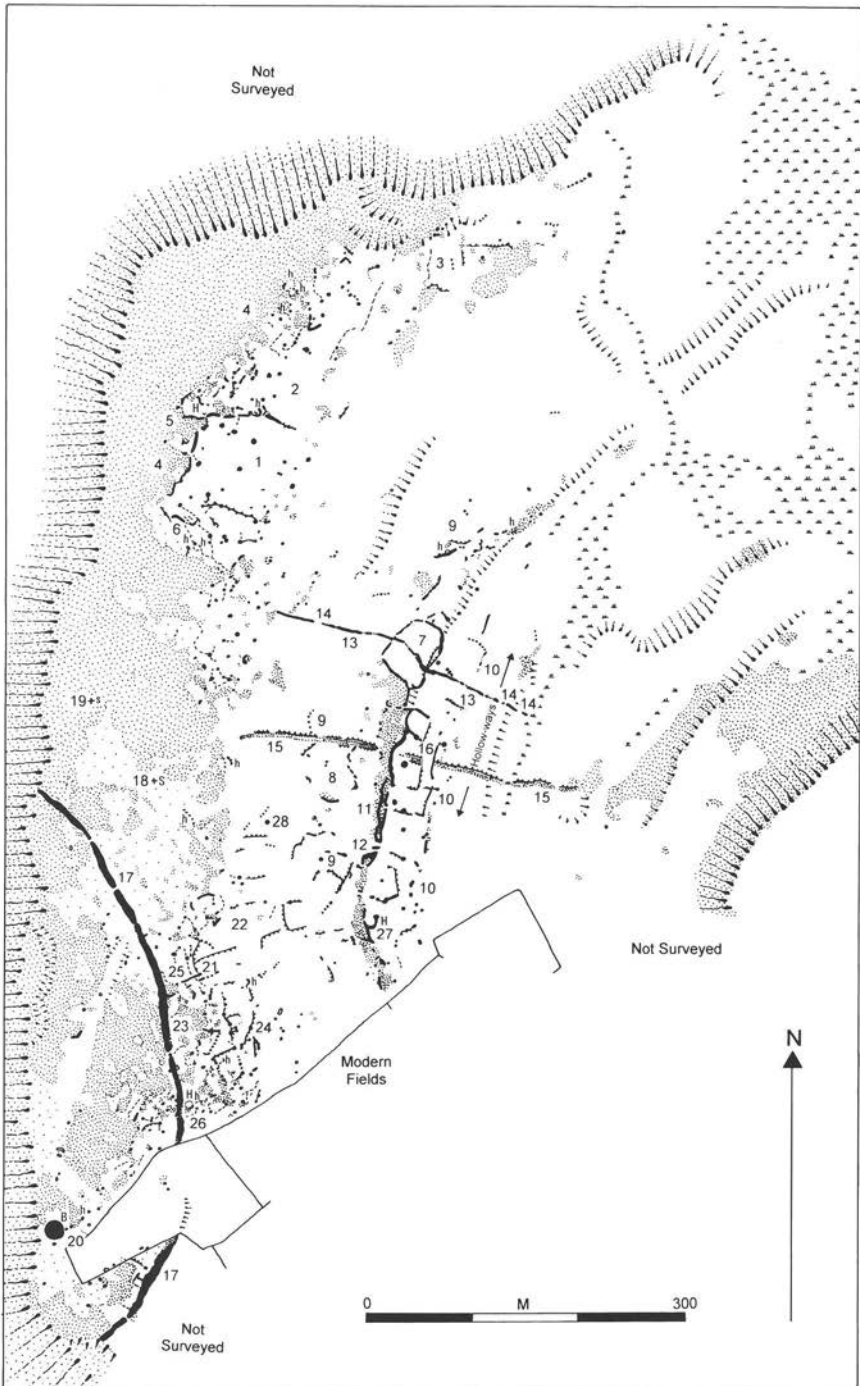


Fig. 8: The 'field-areas' at Gardom's Edge North-West and North-East (after RCHME and PPJPB 1993). For a key see Fig. 10.



Some of this clearance is presumably earlier in date and may well represent shorter-lived cultivation plots in areas which were only marginally viable; in places there are residual amounts of surface stone and these areas may have ceased to be cultivated once the extent of land usable long-term was established. However, such an interpretation does not in itself account for the near-straight nature of the field 1 north-western boundary. This may be explained as a result of changes in cultivation method. A straight boundary is well suited for working with an ard while hand cultivation could more readily follow a sinuous field edge. The large size of the field could also suggest the use of ards. However, ongoing excavations are showing that such simplistic explanations may not be appropriate. One of the internal cairns in the grid-like arrangement here, placed on a low boulder scarp, has indications of different histories of use on upslope and downslope sides, and there may be internal divisions of field 1 which remain invisible without excavation. Also, throughout this trench and in another nearby, there are numerous large earthfast boulders in the prehistoric topsoil may have hindered ard cultivation. A possible alternative cognitive explanation has been noted above.

Two or possibly three gaps in the strongly-defined north-western boundary of field 1 provide gateways to the boulder strewn ground adjacent to the scarp, indicating that this was not viewed as un-usable land; it may well have been grazed.

Not all the boulder-field edge clearance was necessarily abandoned early. In two locations (Fig 8: 5, 6) strong banks, in part running over the edges of boulder strewn ground, indicate that they are true boundaries rather than clearance edges. They, together with other features, partially define relatively small areas. These both contain potential house sites and may well be settlement yards and/or garden plots associated with the larger fields. In contrast to those habitation areas deduced from the surface remains, ongoing excavations near the centre of field 1 have found extensive cultural material that may well suggest domestic (and possibly ritual) activity at the heart of this large, postulated, cultivation area. As yet the exact character of this 'settlement' and whether or not it relates to activity prior to the creation of the large field (although subsequent cultivation seems likely to have disturbed the domestic site) is far from clear. This excavation reinforces the probability that the visible remains within 'field-areas' often represent only the end points of what may well be long, and potentially radical, aggregated changes in layout over time.

The North-Eastern part of the other main group of fields on Gardom's Edge has generally much smaller fields than those just described. The majority of these are partially defined by stony banks and lynchets, with enough visible to show that they were often rectangular in shape and here aligned with, or parallel to, the axis of the low ridge. This ridge is boulder-strewn along much of its scarp and this forms a spine to the area. There are one or possibly two noteworthy exceptions to this arrangement of rectangular fields (Fig. 8: 7, 8). The clearest (7) is a sub-oval enclosure or field which takes in both the ridge scarp and land to the west, at the point where the scarp ceases to be as stony. The second possible example (8) has been discussed above. These could be early features. They are either enclosures predating the rectangular fields, or belong to a less regular field layout (of any date in the sequence) to the west of the ridge spine, as may be suggested by several other boundaries here which today are only discontinuously-visible (Fig. 8: 9). Excavation has shown that an entrance at the south-east corner of 'enclosure' 7 opened onto the ridgetop but that this had subsequently been blocked, either when the



rectangular fields here were first laid out, or subsequently. Two further unexcavated breaks in the enclosure to south-west and north also appear to be genuine.

Linear clearance of stone at the eastern edge of the spinal scarp is in parts near-continuous, but to either side boundaries are mainly visible as shorter stretches of linear clearance and lynchets. To the east a distinct band of such features (Fig. 8: 10) may well represent the eastern side of the fields. Between this and the wet flush yet further east the ground appears to have been suitable for cultivation but there is no clear indication that this ever took place; parts still have scattered surface stone.

Clearance to the west side of the spinal ridge is generally more ephemeral than to the east and there is no continuous clearance at the edge of the spinal band of stone-strewn ground. Excavation has shown that the soils westwards of the scarp are clay-based. It could be that the fields here were used for cultivation for a shorter period or more intermittently. However, the caveat is that the soils here may well have been naturally less stony and thus less clearance was necessary. One continuous stretch of stony bank (Fig. 8: 11) follows the spinal ridge with naturally stone-strewn areas to either side, indicating that this was more than simple clearance at a cultivation edge, but rather the site of a true field boundary along the scarp. At its southern end is a purposefully made break, with linear clearance up its centre (Fig. 8: 12). This is a 'twin' gateway or short droveway between the fields to either side.

This part of the Gardom's Edge shelf also has two boundary features which are unparalleled elsewhere on the East Moors. Crossing the central portion of the 'field-area' is a substantial rubble bank (Fig. 8: 13) which runs from the wet flush on the east, to the edge of the North-West 'field-area'. This bank is very different in scale and character to the field-boundary features and is a land boundary which divides the shelf into northern and southern parts. It is continuous except for 2–3 narrow gaps (Fig. 8: 14) and several later breaks where shallow hollow-ways cut the feature and stone has been purposefully placed to the sides. That this land boundary cross-cuts the North-Eastern fields but not those to the North-West may suggest that the former were seen as disused at the time of its inception, while the others were still being farmed. However, this 'abandonment' may well have been only temporary and such interpretation could be an over-simplification. The two stretches of bank to either side of 'enclosure' 7 are out of alignment and perhaps they were built as separate structures only joined later by a bank bisecting the enclosure. On the south-eastern perimeter of 'enclosure' 7 excavation has confirmed that the boundary bank is overlain by a clearance cairn, while differences in the soils to either side of the bank, in two excavation trenches within the enclosure, again suggests that some cultivation took place after the bank was built.

A short distance south of the boundary bank just described, and running roughly parallel to it, is a very different linear feature (Fig. 8: 15). It comprises a 'ditch' with a low bank to the north and in parts a similar feature to the south. Surface inspection suggests that in some places the 'ditch' comprised discrete but closely spaced circular or oval pits, while elsewhere these tend to merge together, particularly on wetter land. A small excavation in 1998 sampled one of the discrete pits, while excavation in 1999 has shown that in one place at least the pits are cut into the base of a more continuous ditch. This boundary feature again runs from the base of the western dip scarp to the peat-filled stream gully at the east, but in this case it continues beyond, stopping amongst the boulders of the lower scarp slope of Birchen Edge. Here it looks 'unfinished', as if pit

digging stopped as the slope became prohibitively boulder-strewn. At the spinal ridge of the North-East 'field-area' there is a short break in the 'ditch'; perhaps because of the sandstone bedrock close to surface. Until the evaluation excavation was dug in 1998, it had been thought this boundary earthwork was not a prehistoric feature (RCHME and PPJPB 1993, 25–26). However, it is now known that the upcast banks have no peat layer beneath them, while the pits have deep peaty deposits within them (Barnatt *et al.* 1998). This is a strong indicator that the feature is of some antiquity, probably created in later prehistory. Thus, it is a rare example of a 'pit alignment' which has survived as an upstanding earthwork. The reason that it was thought not to be prehistoric is that it overlies the projected course of several of the shallow hollow-ways which cut the stone boundary bank to the north. While this relationship demonstrates that the pit alignment is later in date than the stone bank, the implication now is that the hollow-ways are also prehistoric in date. This is confirmed at one point where a hollow-way alongside one of the field boundary banks has been respected by the pit alignment (Fig. 8: 16). That the multiple hollow-ways which follow the ridge can be argued to be prehistoric is again currently unparalleled in the region. Although they are mostly only slight and hard to trace, they indicate that the ridge was a well-established communications route. The apparently purposeful lack of fields and/or cultivation on the eastern part of the ridge, despite its suitability for agriculture, may reflect the presence of this route throughout the life of the fields. The two boundary banks may well have been built as a response to this route, representing episodic attempts to control its use.

The Central Gardom's Edge 'field-area', which overrides the large Neolithic enclosure (Fig. 8: 17; Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998), is different again in character. Only the northern part survives, further south there is more recent enclosure and improvement, thus the full range of variability may not be represented. Beyond the 'field-area' to the north there is ground which has never been cleared even though some is suitable; thus the gap between this and the North-Western 'field-area' is real. In this uncleared ground is a tall standing stone (Fig. 8: 18) and nearer the Edge the probable stump of a second (Fig. 8: 19). Two small flat areas of ground here were recorded for completeness sake as potential house sites, but in my opinion are far from convincing examples and may well have a geological explanation. On the crest of Gardom's Edge, adjacent to clearance features, is a large but low, stone-built, round barrow (Fig. 8: 20). Within the 'field-area' is a fine example of cup and ring art on an earthfast boulder (Fig. 8: 21); excavation failed to demonstrate whether the rock art was contemporary with or earlier than adjacent field clearance features (Barnatt *et al.* 1996). Similar ambiguity exists with the standing stones and the barrow, although with the latter the common association between barrows and 'field-areas' throughout the East Moors makes contemporaneity with the first phases of field creation on Gardom's Edge a likely possibility.

The surviving part of the Central 'field-area' is particularly stony, with the result that within each partially-defined field there are many internal plot boundaries because of immovable barriers to clearance and/or cultivation. These small plots could only have been cultivated by hand digging. Some, at the edges of the boulder-field, are only partially cleared and still have a residual amount of surface stone. The small number and size of clearance features here suggests that they were used for only short periods and either abandoned as unviable or because their use was unnecessary. Elsewhere in the 'field-area' the cairns display frequent indicators of chronological depth, with many

overlapping and conjoined heaps. Some cairns and linear clearance have discrete heaps of different-sized stones, interpreted as representing initial clearance of larger stone — subsequent cultivation when smaller stone was removed — and late cultivation when soil loss was again bringing more larger stone close to surface. Excavation at other cairns has shown that they are more haphazardly created. Stones are of variable size, with larger examples added intermittently to the cairn's edges, presumably placed there because they were too heavy to conveniently lift to the crest of the heap.

The majority of the Central 'field-area' has poor field boundary definition. However, it is possible to make out moderate to small-sized rectangular fields with parallel boundaries, both in the stone-free area to the east (Fig. 8: 22) and amongst the boulder strewn area to the west (Fig. 8: 23). In one small area there is one, or possibly two, NNE/SSW boundaries (Fig. 8: 24) set at awkward angles to the rest, suggesting the establishment of a modified field layout. This rare occurrence can be clearly demonstrated elsewhere only in two instances, both on Big Moor (see below). Further north two intermittently-defined parallel boundaries run close together across boulder-strewn ground (Fig. 8: 25). These could either represent further evidence of boundary shifting, or they may be contemporary. If so, they may suggest a boundary between two farming foci, each with its own buildings and fields, with a narrow 'no man's land' between the two stone banks.

To date (July 1999) two certain house sites have been excavated at Gardom's Edge. That to the south-west appears to be a single phase structure (Fig. 8: 26). The other site had a complex sequence of modification of use both before and after the date of the one clearly recognisable circular house (Fig. 8: 27). Both sites have produced large quantities pottery which is provisionally dated to the Later Bronze Age and/or Earlier Iron Age (Pauline Beswick *pers. comm.*), as well as evidence of the use of flint and chert tools. The north-eastern site (27) has produced a lead object which may be Later Iron Age in date but specialist analyses are needed before this suggestion can be confirmed. A blue glass bead from the same trench dates from somewhere between the Later Bronze Age and Later Iron Age and again awaits specialist analysis. Radio-carbon analysis of charcoal from within pits is awaited. In the North-Western 'field-area' two adjacent trenches have produced artefacts from prehistoric topsoils which probably span the Later Neolithic to the Iron Age. While the tops of a large number of potential cut features have been exposed, their interpretation will remain unclear until excavations are completed next year; a third house site is one likely possibility although again there may well be further features of different dates. Many other excavated features elsewhere within the 'field-areas' have had little cultural material associated with them. It is hoped that analysis of pollen sequences within buried soils will throw further light on their date. Excavation over five years has demonstrated extensive complexity in the way agricultural boundary and clearance features have been created, suggesting that the chronological depth of the visible features on Gardom's Edge may be great.

**Big Moor:** Three main 'field-areas' exist on Big Moor, each with very different characteristics. That at the centre (Figs. 11, 12) is a complex palimpsest of many of the different field forms found on the East Moors, while in contrast the remains east of Bar Brook (Fig. 9) and those to the west on the White Edge dip slope (Fig. 10) have a variety of apparently simpler layouts.

The Eastern 'field-area' is dominated by cairns (Fig. 9). Despite this there are indicators that the primary function of this area was agricultural rather than funerary. At least seven stretches of linear clearance, six lynchets, an earthen bank, two patches of clearance stone and three potential house platforms have been identified. The strongest indicator of agricultural use is the linear arrangements of the cairns to the north (Fig. 9: 1). It is hard to see how this patterning can be interpreted except as reflecting a now ephemeral field layout, with cairns distributed along boundaries and with further examples at the field centres (Fig. 9: 2). The size of cairns across this part of the cairnfield varies, on the flatter upslope areas they are relatively small, while downslope on steeper land they are significantly larger. While some of these superficially look like small barrows, this seems unlikely as this would then stand out as the only linear barrow cemetery in the region. Given that the cairns appear to lie at the edge of a field it is more likely that they are clearance features. The ground was probably stonier here when compared with the areas upslope. That the prehistoric farmers chose to build larger cairns here rather than create a greater number of smaller heaps perhaps reflects the lack of numerous, immovable, earthfast boulders. More interestingly, the building of large cairns rather than the creation of linear clearance heaps along field boundaries may reflect real, if not understood, differences in the character of farming or the choices local farmers made here when compared with those on the other side of the stream and at the majority of sites elsewhere on the East Moors. The building of larger cairns is also known elsewhere, as at Dennis Knoll, Winyards Nick (Fig. 6), Toads Mouth and parts of the Gibbet Moor, Gardom's Edge North-West (Fig. 8) and Birchen Edge South (Fig. 7) 'field-areas'. None has a linear arrangement as at Big Moor East, but mostly appear to lie within rather than at the edge of fields.

While the size and shape of the fields defined at Big Moor East may be an indicator of arable tillage, the environmental evidence from the Barbrook II stone circle (Fig. 9: 3) could suggest a relatively early date (Barnatt 1996b); this is consistent with the idea that a relatively short period of use has led to poor boundary definition. The stone circle has a radiocarbon date from charcoal immediately under its bank of 2120–1690 cal. BC (OxA 2440). Thus the monument's bank was built at or shortly after this date, at a time when pollen evidence shows that a heather-dominated vegetation had replaced the woodland and grassland previously prevalent at the site. A small excavated cairn nearby (Fig. 9: 4) was also built in similar heathland conditions (Henderson 1963). Taking the environmental evidence at face value suggests that the cairnfield, as an area of cultivation and rich grazing, had become degraded or unviable by the end of the Earlier Bronze Age at latest. However, given the locations of the two sample sites peripheral to the 'field-area', the results should not be accepted uncritically. Pollen from buried soils is thought to reflect the vegetation in the immediate vicinity, perhaps in a 50–200m radius. Thus, the evidence for vegetational change to heathland may be heavily influenced by what was occurring beyond the fields on the heavy soils immediately to the north-east. The possibility therefore of intermittent cultivation in the fields, or of their prolonged use for pasture, in the Later Bronze Age and Iron Age should not be discounted.

It may be that the cairnfield at Big Moor East is divided into two discrete cultivation areas, to the north-west and south-east, perhaps farmed by different 'family' groups. Between the two is a hollow occupied by the Barbrook I stone circle and a barrow (Fig. 9: 5). Each cultivation area has a further barrow (Fig. 9: 6, 7) and there is a second



Fig. 9: The 'field-area' at Big Moor East (after Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998), For a key see Fig. 10 (1-8 see text).



stone circle (Fig. 9: 3) at the edge of this cultivation area. The barrow to the north-west has a large but low platform to one side which may suggest it is a multiphased funerary structure with conjoined or overlapping architectural elements (Fig. 9: 6). Small isolated cairns to the north (Fig. 9: 8) may be funerary rather than clearance.

The 'field-area' to the far west of Big Moor, on the White Edge dip slope (Fig. 10), can be divided into four parts, where different types of field remains exist. The southernmost part again is a cairnfield with poor boundary definition (Fig. 10: 1). This is conjoined with the 'field-area' on the shelf above Swine Sty and it is unclear if the two were conceived as separate entities in prehistory, or whether the division is of our creation, based purely on topographic distinctions. In one area of this southernmost dip-slope cairnfield there is a high cairn density (Fig. 10: 2) but this may be explained simply by the ground here being likely to have been naturally stonier. Intermittent evidence for field boundaries exist throughout much of this area, although not enough is visible to recreate the layout.

Immediately to the north the central part of the dip slope has significantly better field boundary definition (Fig. 10: 3). Here there were several relatively large fields, today extensively defined by earthen banks and lynchets, with a number of stony features incorporated. Away from the banks there are few cairns, in strong contrast to other areas of fields on Big Moor. Distinctive unusually-long stretches of linear clearance within the banks may result from the removal of clearance features from within the fields. While several of the boundaries run down the slope roughly co-axially, the shape of the fields is far from regular. Between two long and thin fields there is a larger wedge-shaped area (Fig. 10: 4), with two or three boundary features which do not sit comfortably with those nearby. These may well suggest chronological depth and changing layouts, as may a boundary feature (Fig. 10: 5) within the southern long field. One possible interpretation is that the southern long field is part of a separate layout (Fig. 10: 6) to that to the north. The latter may be part of a layout with boundaries mostly aligned east/west (Fig. 10: 5, 7). The fact that both layouts have earthen boundaries suggests cultivation did take place, if only intermittently, the banks having been formed by soil loss/accumulation or by deturfing prior to cultivation. However, one explanation for earthen boundary formation is that they are the product of wind-born soil, so differences in the relative visibility of each layout cannot be used with confidence to determine chronological sequence. These differences may be the result of varied emphases on arable and pasture at different times. Whichever of the two layouts is the earlier, the survival of redundant boundaries has implications for the character and use of the fields. The second phase either had little cultivation, leading to the survival of earlier and easily removed boundary features, or the nature of cultivation was such that it was easy to go round barriers; perhaps trees or shrubs still grew along parts of earlier hedged boundaries.

Still further north there are again indicators that relatively large fields also existed, but here boundaries are far less visible (Fig. 10: 8) and are largely recognised by lines of cairns (Fig. 10: 9) and linear clearance, which suggests either less soil erosion or more intermittent arable use. There were several fields, some at least probably sub-rectangular in shape.

To the north-east is a small area with stony sinuous boundaries (Fig. 10: 10), which, while fragmentarily defined, the impression is that the enclosures here were smaller and less regular and may be yards and/or garden plots.



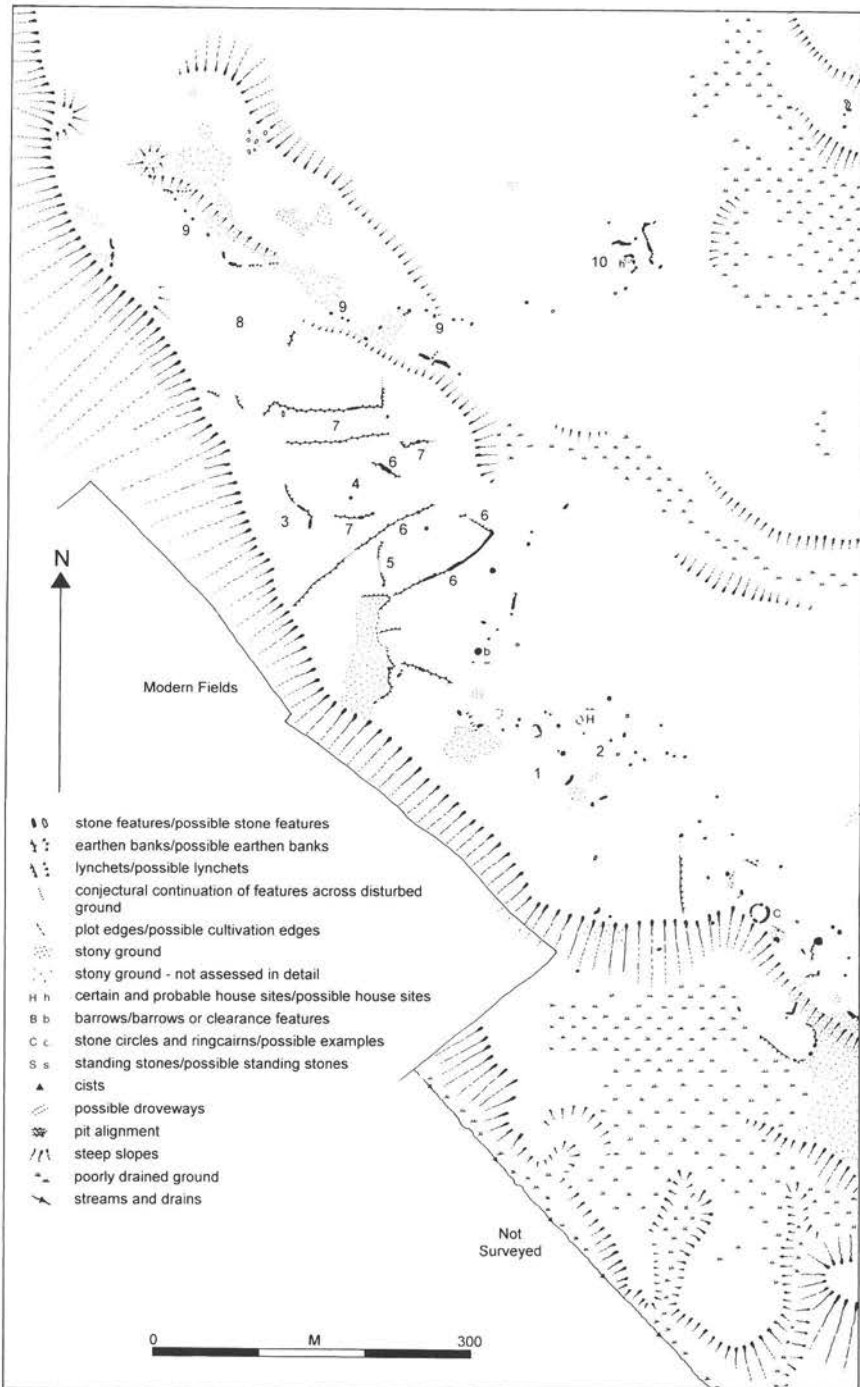


Fig. 10: The 'field-area' at Big Moor West (after Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998). (1-10 see text).

The extensive Central 'field-area' on Big Moor occupies much of the main shelf above Swine Sty, together with further sheltered locations below the shelf scarp, and another smaller shelf to the north (Fig. 11). The remains comprise a complex palimpsest of different forms. Stone features are frequent where natural stone density can be predicted to be highest. Earthen banks are most common where stone features are small. However, this should not be taken to imply that these were built because of a lack of stone. The banks mostly occur in the area that is the most exposed; the lack of continuous field boundaries in more sheltered locations downslope to the east, which were probably farmed to an equal extent, suggests capture of wind-blown soil by hedges is the most likely explanation for the visible boundaries above. In addition, if the stone-defined boundaries are only visible because of clearance stone placed against hedges or fences, then the lack of stone is irrelevant.

Despite good boundary definition, no overall chronological sequence can be proposed because clear indicators of time depth in one part cannot be correlated with others elsewhere. For the purposes of description here, nine main areas are identified.

**Main Shelf — Area A:** This has well defined fields. They are mostly small and irregular, the impression given is that the visible boundaries represent the end result of several modifications to field layout; there are several specific relationships between features which bear this out. Two distinctive long stretches of linear clearance (Fig. 11: 1) may result from the removal of clearance features from within the fields. One exception to the overall irregular layout is a long narrow field with parallel boundaries (Fig. 11: 2).

**Main Shelf — Area B:** This again has good boundary definition, mostly in earth, with one notable stone-built exception comprising conjoined and overlapping heaps (Fig. 11: 3). The fields are larger than those in area A but are also variable in shape. Again there is one long but narrow field with parallel but curving boundaries (Fig. 11: 4). Excavation of one boundary junction (Barnatt in press) has helped elucidate the chronological sequence (Fig. 11: 5). The earliest feature in Area A appears to be the long curved boundary which delimits a large area of better aspected land to the east (Fig. 11: 3, 6). Later expansion took place to the south-west (Fig. 11: 7) and then west (Fig. 11: 8). Internal subdivisions of the eastern area (Fig. 11: 4) probably took place at the same time.

**Main Shelf — Area C:** This is characterised by a complex series of fields, often well but not continuously defined by prominent stone cairns and linear clearance, commonly with slight lynchets between the stone features. These lynchets clearly indicate some soil movement during cultivation. The defined fields are moderate to small in size and tend to be sub-rectangular in shape. Some may well be yards and/or garden plots. There are two possible short driveways through the fields (Fig. 11: 9, 10). The evidence for chronological depth, some of which may well be explained by gradual and piecemeal change, also includes indications of radical field re-alignment (Fig. 12). Early fields have north/south and east/west boundary alignment, which corresponds with the fields in area B. These were overlain by others with co-axial boundaries oriented closer to north-west/south-east; these continue into area F. The easternmost boundary of the later layout is aligned on one of the two barrows placed centrally on the Swine Sty shelf. It is probably not coincidence that this only

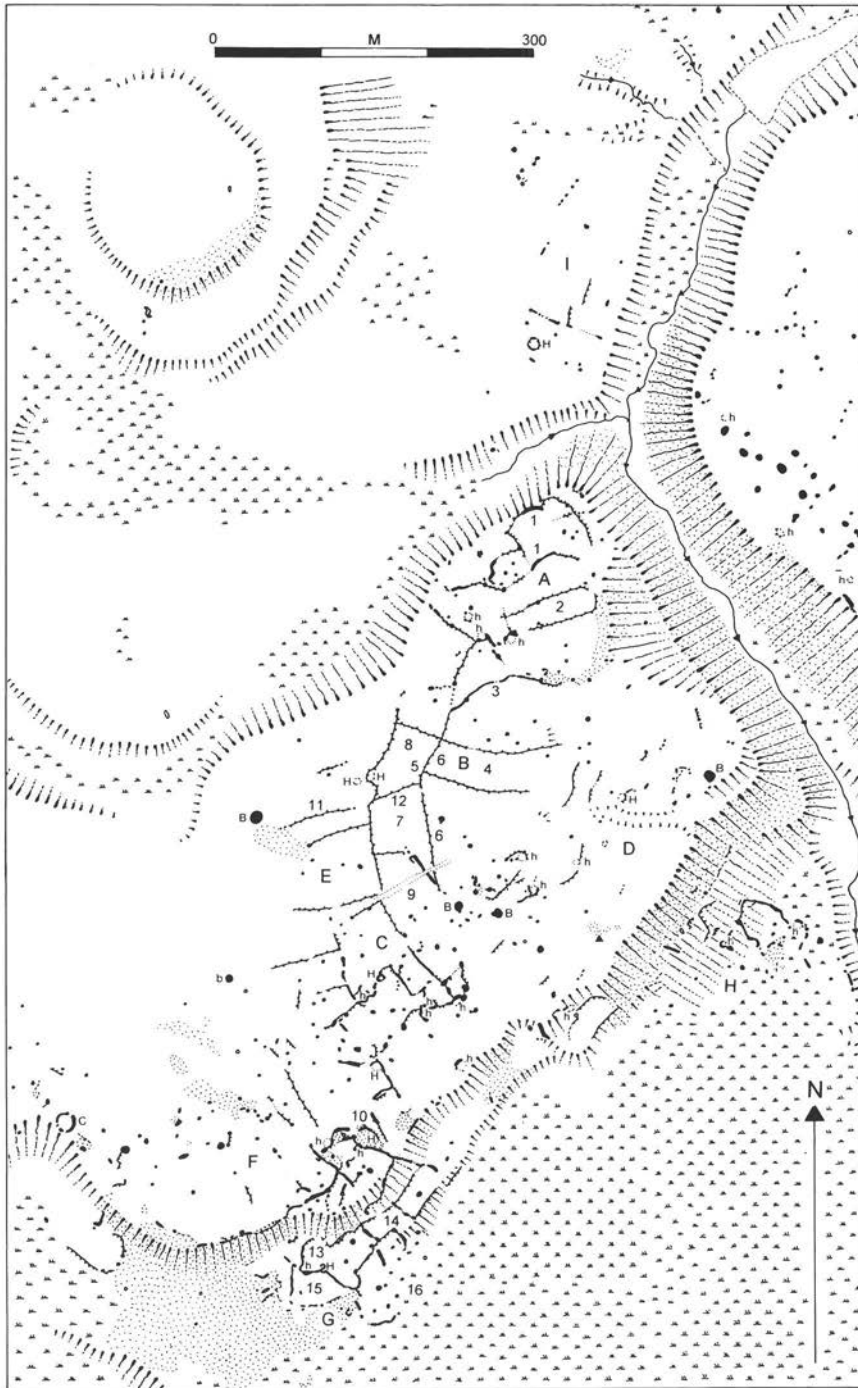


Fig. 11: The 'field-area' at Big Moor Central (after Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998). For a key see Fig. 10 (A-I and 1-15 see text).

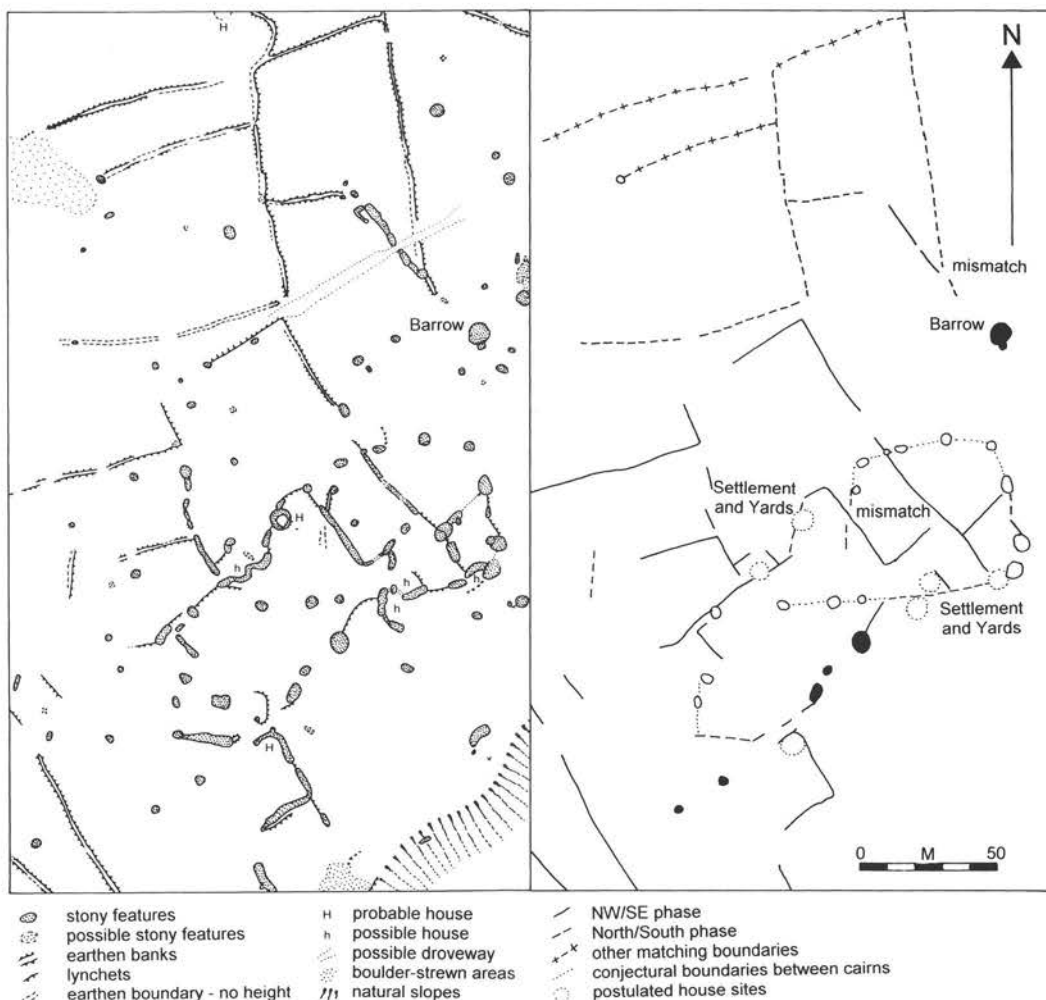


Fig. 12: The central part of the Big Moor Shelf (area C), illustrating the changes and mismatches in field layout orientation.

example of radical change occurs half way across the shelf, perhaps it reflects fluctuating fortunes of different groups occupying the two halves of the shelf (see below).

**Main Shelf — Area D:** This has relatively poor boundary definition, and some of the identified linear features run parallel to the shelf edge suggesting that they may be geologically defined breaks of slope. However, there is enough to indicate this area was once field-covered and there are several potential house sites. It may well be that it was less stony and less prone to wind erosion and it would be perverse to suggest that prehistoric farmers under-utilised this favourable area. To the south-west, at the centre of the Swine Sty shelf as a whole, there are two barrows. There is a third

to the north-east, placed on a spur at the edge of the fields and overlooking the stream below.

**Main Shelf — Area E:** This has the low earthen banks of six roughly co-axial, partially-defined, boundaries. These define rectangular fields, some long and narrow. Superficially they appear to abut the fields in areas B and C and may be particularly late in the sequence. However, one of them (Fig. 11: 11) aligns with a boundary in area B (Fig. 11: 12), which may indicate that the co-axial fields once extended further east but have been overlain here by fields of different shape. The three southern co-axial boundaries may belong to different phases of layout (Fig. 12). West of the fields, at the edge of the central 'field-area' as a whole, is one or more probably two barrows, the peripheral location mirroring that of the barrow at the north-eastern end of area D. One of the field boundaries is aligned on the smaller of these two monuments.

**Main Shelf — Area F:** This again is characterised by poor boundary definition. In the eastern parts there are sufficient boundary fragments to suggest a series of narrow co-axial fields on the same alignment as some of the more rectangular fields of area C. Near the western end of area F is a ringcairn.

**Southern Scarp — Area G:** This area, known today as Swine Sty, contains a complex arrangement of yards, garden plots and/or small fields associated with domestic activity, part-excavated in the late 1960s and early 70s (Richardson and Preston 1969; Machin 1971; Machin and Beswick 1975, Hart 1981, 63–65; Garton and Beswick in prep.). There are indicators of chronological depth, both from the excavation and from the horizontal stratigraphy, and there was clearly prolonged if possibly periodic occupation. The core parts, including the irregular excavated 'enclosure' (Fig. 11: 13) and the more-rectangular 'enclosures' to the north-east (Fig. 11: 14), were probably utilised over a long period. Other areas to the south-west (Fig. 11: 15) may well have been abandoned after an early phase of use. To the south-east a cultivation area with regularly spaced cairns (Fig. 11: 16) could be of any date within the sequence.

**Southern Scarp — Area H:** This particularly sheltered spot is similar in character to Swine Sty (area G). A well-defined enclosure at the centre may have been used over an extended period, while surrounding areas have much slighter remains.

**Northern Shelf — Area I:** This small shelf has scattered clearance features and fragmentary boundaries, suggesting utilisation was relatively short-lived. Beyond small streams to the north-east, one certain and three possible small cairns may be funerary.

Across the central 'field-area' as a whole there is evidence for 7 focal areas of settlement, each with 2–3 identified potential house sites, together with 2–4 single potential house sites elsewhere. While two of the foci occupy relatively sheltered locations below the main shelf scarp, the others are on the shelf top. Given the likely extended chronology, settlement has probably moved around the 'field-area'. Even allowing for the fact that some of the structures would have been outbuildings, it seems likely that there are too many to have been in use at any one time. This said, the complex layout characteristics of the fields, suggests there may well have been more than one contemporary focal area for much of the time. Given that there are probably multiple settlement foci, each part of

the field layout may have developed organically (as a physical entity) in a way that was relatively independent of the others, except in terms of the amount of land available to each. The possibility certainly should not be ignored that some foci farmed larger areas than is apparent today and fields have been partly overridden by later developments from different foci. Each settlement focus may have had varying fortunes; in this respect it is interesting to note the boundary re-alignments noted in area C (Fig. 12). In social terms there would no doubt have been complex inter-relationships between neighbours and kin across the 'field-area' as a whole, both in terms of who farmed specific areas and in what way.

It is difficult to assess whether the settlement foci below the shelf at G and H ever utilised the fields on the shelf above, because in both cases there are further settlement foci relatively close above. Given that the extended chronology at Swine Sty (G), probably indicating this site is not simply a forerunner or replacement of one on the shelf above, it is possible that the different settlement foci were used in different ways and/or at different seasons; perhaps sheltered locations were preferred in the winter months, while those above were more convenient in summer. This speculation in turn highlights the possibility that for the East Moors as a whole, models which include seasonal or otherwise episodic occupation may in the long term offer better explanation than those which view 'sustained' as equating with 'permanent' or 'sedentary' in an over-simplistic way.

### **Cairnfields for the Dead**

As well as the many agricultural cairnfields of the East Moors there are a few that are explicitly funerary (Barnatt 1999). These are distinguished by the high incidence of small cairns with formal architectural characteristics and by their atypical locations. By far the largest is that at Stanton Moor and its size may have been influenced by the topography. This funerary cairnfield, together with several stone circles and large barrows, occupies the one restricted piece of high ground in the vicinity. It is flanked on three sides by somewhat lower and now mostly improved land suitable for prehistoric agricultural use. Two other funerary cairnfields, at Gibbet Moor East and Raven Tor, are again on high ground. The first lies on an isolated steep-sided hill on the east side of a stream which separates it from the extensive agricultural remains on better aspected land to the west. The Raven Tor cairnfield is isolated high above agricultural areas well to the south, placed on a false crest to overlook land in this direction but not northwards. There is a very small probable example of a funerary cairnfield at Beeley Moor South. Other small cairnfields at Brown Edge South, Eaglestone Flat South-West, Round Knoll and Raven Tor South-East, may on topographical grounds be suggested to be possibly funerary (see below), although they do not have cairns with formal architectural characteristics.

With recent extensive fieldwork on the southern parts of the East Moors (Barnatt 1998b) it has become clear that in addition to discrete funerary cairnfields, there are further 'funerary zones' in the landscape. These are defined here as areas where there is a thin scatter of small cairns, sometimes associated with larger barrows, which are usually on higher less-favourable land than nearby 'field-areas'. To the south, four 'funerary zones' have been defined on Harland Edge (Fig. 23), while elsewhere they exist on Big Moor (Fig. 22) and Eyam Moor (Fig. 24). Although these zones contain funerary monuments but no obvious agricultural features, this does not imply that they were set



aside exclusively for ritual activity. There is no reason to believe that this land was not also used for grazing or other everyday activities.

I used to think that all cairnfields would have had human burials placed in a proportion of the 'ordinary' clearance cairns within the fields. However, the excavations at Gardom's Edge have demonstrated that cremation burials at least are not normally found (Barnatt *et al.* 1995 *et seq.*). In the 21 cairns investigated from 1995 to 1999 not a single cremation has been found. In one case an atypical cairn covered a pit of suitable size to have contained a crouched inhumation, but because of the acid soils no bones were recovered; phosphate analysis of the sampled pit soils have yet to be carried out. This cairn stands out from all the other excavated examples in that it has both formal characteristics and is non-randomly sited (Fig. 8: 28). It has a kerb of boulders and the stones throughout the cairn had been carefully placed, hence none were broken; the clearance cairns elsewhere on site have a small percentage of broken stones, presumably from stone being dropped casually or thrown onto the heap. The cairn is sited at the very edge of the 'field-area', a location common with larger barrows on the East Moors, at a low spot midway between the two gritstone/coarse-sandstone outcrops whose soils dictate the distribution of the majority of agricultural remains on Gardom's Edge. The excavation of this cairn raises the issue of how many small, stone-built 'barrows' exist unrecognised within cairnfields. While burial is clearly not the norm in all small cairns, such exceptional sites may be an important element in our understanding of the relationship between the sacred and the profane in the vicinity of settlements and fields.

A second instance of funerary activity within a cairnfield is provided by the excavated remains at Eaglestone Flat (Barnatt 1994). Here again the small cairns and other features were atypical. There were cremations both under cairns with formal characteristics and deposited in pits without covering mounds. This stony spot within the 'field-area' appears to have been chosen as a special funerary and burial place rather than such activities having been carried out at random throughout the cairnfield. It is anticipated that there may be further examples of such sites within 'field-areas' on the East Moors. However, identifying these without excavation, and for that matter knowing where to dig, is problematic.

### **For Each Monument a Place**

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the stone circles and ringcairns of the East Moors is their distribution within or close to prehistoric 'field-areas' (Barnatt 1990, 1999). The exceptions, at Nine Stone Close, Seven Brethren, Top of Riley, Doll Tor and possibly at North Lees and Ciceley Low (which may be robbed barrows), all lie within or close to improved areas where evidence for prehistoric field boundaries and small cairns may well have been removed. This spatial correlation between these small monuments and agricultural areas strongly suggests that individual farming communities each had their own monument for 'family' rituals and ceremonies. The circles, together with a significant proportion of the barrows of the East Moors found in similar locations, may well have provided the foci for many of the ceremonies concerned with rites of passage and seasonal festivities practised by farming groups.

Although the circles and ringcairns are always 'close to home' their precise siting also suggests they were built in relatively hidden or private locations, chosen to set them to one side or apart from everyday activity. At Big Moor, for example, the three 'circles' are

placed peripherally so that known habitation locales cannot be seen (Barnatt 1998a, 103–04). At Eyam Moor this trend is explicit (Fig. 6); the Wet Withens circle and an adjacent barrow are placed on a shelf below low scarps to the east, with the extensive ‘field-area’ largely invisible beyond. The peripheral siting of such monuments, which is the norm, indicates that the agricultural areas were already extensively used at the time the ritual sites were built.

The round barrows of the East Moors are of a similar size range and morphology to the rest of the Peak District (Barnatt 1996c); on the East Moors the majority are stone built. The grave goods and character of burial in the East Moors barrows appear to be comparable to those from the limestone plateau, although they are not as well understood because there is a relative lack of good antiquarian documentation and because preservation of bone and other impermanent materials is poor due to the acidity of the soils. While round barrows across Britain have traditionally been seen as places of prestige burial for elite groups, there is no evidence to support this view in the Peak District. The density of barrows generally, the character of the burial deposits, and most importantly the frequency of occurrence of these mounds in association with ‘field-areas’ on the East Moors is a strong indicator that every farming ‘family’ had its own barrows in which selected representatives of the local community were buried.

With all stone circles and many barrows, the siting close to fields indicates a desire to place these close to the focus of local community life. This may be for convenience of use, but there is a greater likelihood that the reasons were more to do with ritual beliefs concerned with re-enforcing ‘ownership’ of these ‘family heartlands’ and/or with their well-being.

The majority of large and medium-sized ‘field-areas’ have associated monuments (Table 2). Taken at face value there are 41 ‘field-areas’ listed and of these 21–26 (51–63%) have stone circles, ringcairns or other stone settings/standing stones, 20–23 (49–56%) have barrows and 11–15 (27–37%) have both stone circles (etc.) and barrows. Only five (12%) have no monuments; of these three are within or close to ‘destruction zones’ and monuments may have been destroyed. In a number of cases the ‘field-areas’ listed separately in Table 2 lie in close proximity to each other. These can be grouped together as potentially being parts of the agricultural area of one local community; the gaps in visible field remains may be nothing more than areas of unsuitable soils or topography, often poorly drained or excessively stony. Taking these areas together, there are 26 grouped ‘field-areas’. 13–17 (50–65%) have stone circles (etc.), 14–17 (54–65%) have barrows, 8–11 (31–42%) have both. Only three (12%) have no monuments, of these two are within or close to ‘destruction zones’. Given how easily small stone circles and barrows may have been destroyed in the past, all the above positive correlations may well be understated. Many of the monuments that do survive on the moorlands are far from complete but have suffered the ravages of stone robbers. It may even be that some monuments were destroyed in Later Bronze Age and Iron Age times, although conversely perhaps respect for these ‘monuments of the ancestors’ continued at this time.

Independent examination of the 10 grouped sites placed in more favourable locales (Table 2, column C), shows that 6–9 (60–90%) have stone circles (etc.), 8–9 (80–90%) have barrows, 5–8 (50–80%) have both, while there are no cases without monuments. Settlement areas with well defined field layouts (Table 2, column D) give similar results.

Thus the places where settlement is most likely to have been at its most extensive over the longest period have the strongest correlation with monuments.

Only the smallest of cairnfields lack such an obvious association with monuments. Of the 27 cases listed in Table 1, eight are close-to or within destruction zones and may once have been more extensive; of these four cairnfields have associated monuments. Six others are close to larger 'field-areas' and in social terms may be better interpreted as parts of these. A further three to seven cases are in themselves funerary complexes, while six isolated small agricultural cairnfields have no known monuments. It is these last examples that can be interpreted as representing short-lived and perhaps unproductive cultivation areas.

The siting of barrows on the East Moors is more varied than that of stone circles and ringcairns. Taking those sited beyond 'destruction zones', many are within or close to 'field-areas' (c. 55%), while others are placed at a distance. In a significant number of cases they are at the opposite extreme, placed close to watersheds (c. 35%). However, to view these two location types as a straightforward dichotomy is over-simplistic. As with stone circles, even those close to agricultural areas are often hidden away or otherwise set aside from the fields. Others are built away from agricultural areas within 'funerary zones', not all of which are at watershed locations. Another consideration is whether barrows at 'fields-areas' and those elsewhere were built by different task groups, each with different criteria based on a different logic relating to their everyday practices in different parts of the landscape. Inevitably some barrow sitings are now ambiguous due to changes in the landscape or to our perception of it.

It may be that many barrows, irrespective of their placing in relation to 'field-areas', were sited to place them 'outside the land of the living' for ritual purposes, reflecting the builders' views of the world and the relationships between the living, the dead, and their place in the land (Barnatt 1998a). Barrows placed in high locations have sometimes been suggested to signal to outsiders that land is 'owned', but examination of the exact siting of such mounds on the East Moors suggests they are often not particularly visible despite being sometimes placed on high spots. Here barrows are often just off the watersheds and thus are directional and 'inward-looking' in that one view is given preference. It may be that the siting is designed so that the dead can oversee the pastures of a particular living community. The architecture of some barrows also suggests this. For example, two barrows on top of Stanage Edge (see Fig. 13: 14), although of large diameter, are low mounds and not readily visible from the extensive areas of Bamford Moor which they overlook (Barnatt 1998a, 104–05). Such sitings are 'territorial' in that they suggest that individual communities or task groups within that community had (or had aspirations towards) long-term tenure over specific areas. Although such 'local-landscape' relationships are focused upon in this paper, it should be borne in mind that the siting of monuments is complex and is likely to work on several nested spatial levels at once (*cf.* Barnatt 1998a). For example, at the site specific level, the exact barrow site may also reflect the desire for placing near other pre-existing monuments or natural features regarded as sacred places. At the other extreme, the location may be important in that it offers views of far distant places of special significance; perhaps long-venerated sites such as Arbor Low or Minninglow were important. Similarly, distinctive topographical features such as Win Hill, or views of distant settlement areas in the Derwent Valley or on the limestone plateau may have been referenced. Thus, while a number of potentially

Table 2: The correlation between large and medium-sized 'field-areas' and monuments.

**Key**

Column A: Figure number

Column B: 'Field-area' name

Column C: 'Field-area' on locally favourable land

Column D: 'Field-area' with well defined layouts

Column E: Stone circles, ringcairns, stone settings or standing stones present

Column F: Barrows present

'Field-areas' which may be parts of the same local community area are grouped together.

'Field-areas' within or near 'destruction zones' are placed in parenthesis.

A	B	C	D	E	F
13	(Derwent Moor				)
13	Hordron Edge			X	
13	Priddock Wood North Priddock Wood South			X?	
13	Bamford Moor				X
13	Dennis Knoll (and Dennis Knoll NW)	X	X	X?	X
13/14	(Callow		X		)
14	Winyards Nick			X?	X
14	Toads Mouth	X		X?	X
14	(Sheffield Plantation	X			X)
14/15	Stoke Flat West	X	X	X	X
14/15	Stoke Flat East	X	X	X	
14	Brown Edge North		X	X	
14/15	Barbrook Reservoir		X	X	
14/15	Big Moor Central	X		X	X
15	Big Moor West			X	X
15	Big Moor East	X		X	X
15/16	(Eaglestone Flat NE	X		X	)
15	Ramsley Reservoir (and Ramsley Moor)				X?
15/16	Gardom's Edge NW	X	X	X	
15/16	(Gardom's Edge NE	X	X		X)
15/16	(Gardom's Edge SE	X	X		)
15/16	(Gardom's Edge SW	X	X	X	)
15	Birchen Edge North		X		X
15/16	Birchen Edge South	X	X	X?	X?
15/16	Gibbet Moor West	X	X	X	X
16/17	Brampton East Moor — South				

16/17	Beeley Warren South	X	X	X	X
16/17	Beeley Warren NW	X		X	X
16/17	Beeley Warren NE	X			X
16/17	(Longside Moor				X?)
16/17	Beeley Moor			X	
18	Offerton Moor East			X	X
18	Smelting Hill			X	
18	Highlow Bank			X	X
18	Eyam Moor			X	X
18	(Eyam Moor SE			X	)
18	Stanage				X
19	(Stanton Moor			X	X)

suitable sites were near a watershed, at the edge of a grazing area, one place may have been given preference because of other special attributes. It is the frequency with which barrows are placed slightly-off watersheds on the East Moors which gives strong support to one aspect of their siting being 'inward-looking' and concerned with peoples use of specific areas of land, but this is clearly not the only reason why each barrow site was chosen.

The exact characteristics of barrow sitings in relation to settlement, fields and the local topography, and what this may tell us about how people used the land, is one of the main themes of the rest of this paper.

## THE EAST MOORS: LOCAL PATTERNS AND DISCONTINUITIES

In this section the detailed distribution of settlement, fields and monuments on the East Moors is reviewed, description being given area by area. The main aim is to concentrate on the local, noting pertinent patterns and discontinuities. The issue of identifying 'real' boundaries between local prehistoric communities, and at what scale these operated, is deferred until later. In the initial descriptive stage given here, each local area has been initially bounded for convenience, using topography and gaps in the surviving evidence.

### Derwent and Bamford Moors

This northernmost area is characterised by the relatively high altitude of its main shelves, dominated by Stanage Edge (Fig. 13: 1). 'Field-areas' are restricted to the lowest and most favourable parts of the shelves; the central part of Bamford Moor (Fig. 13: 2) was apparently too high for this type of use. The Derwent/Bamford Moors area is topographically separate; to the south-east, the shelf at Carhead Rocks (Fig. 13: 3) rises significantly and was an unattractive settlement option, to the north the land is generally too high for 'sustained' settlement.

To the north of the Bamford Moor watershed the cairnfields are small and have few developed field boundaries. With the possible exception of that on Derwent Moor, the full extent of each can be seen, and they are separated from each other by streams leading down to Ladybower Brook. Only one small shelf is perhaps un-utilised (Fig. 13: 4),

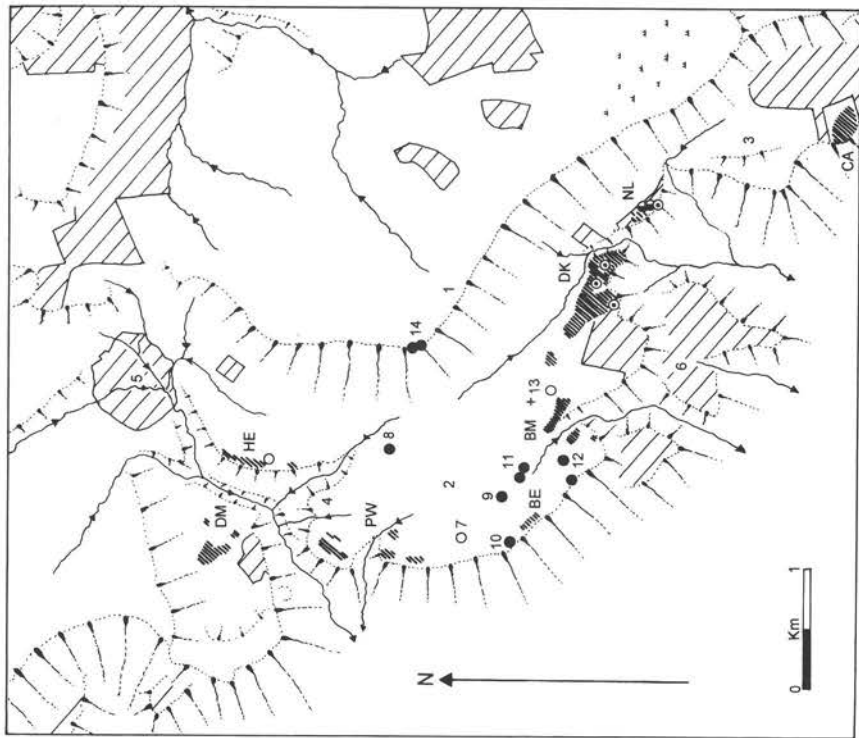


Fig. 13: The distribution of 'field-areas' and monuments in the Derwent and Bamford Moor area (for Key see Fig. 16) (BE — Bamford Edge, BM — Bamford Moor South, CA — Callow, DK — Dennis Knoll, DM — Derwent Moor, HE — Hordron Edge, NL — North Lees, PW — Priddock Wood) (1–14 see text).

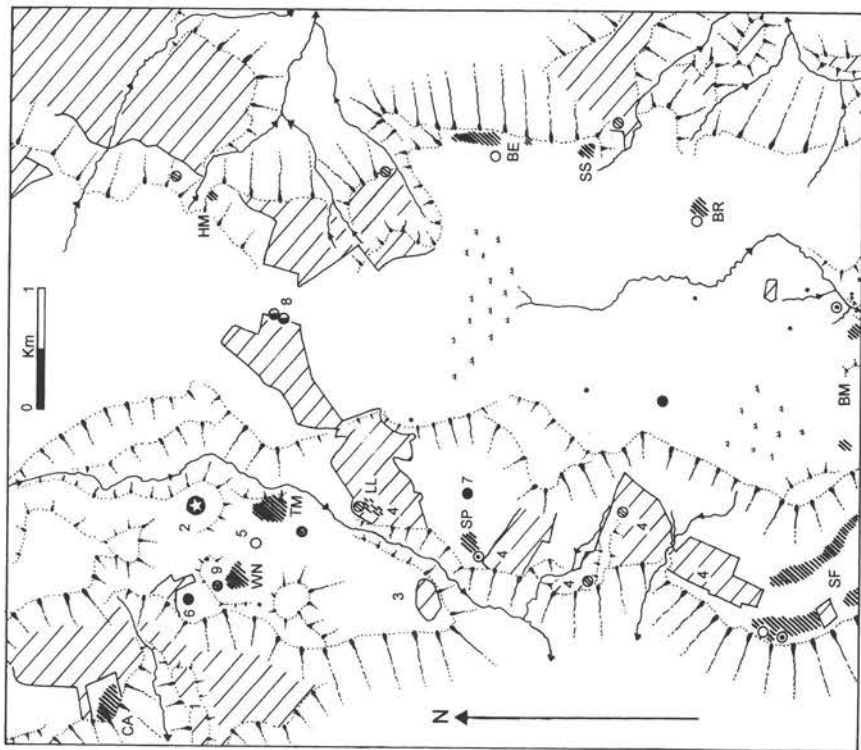


Fig. 14: The distribution of 'field-areas' and monuments in the Hathersage Moor, Tolley Moor and White Edge area (for Key see Fig. 16) (BE — Brown Edge, BM — Big Moor, BR — Barbrook Reservoir, CA — Callow, HM — Houndkirk Moor, LL — Longshaw Lodge, SF — Stoke Flat, SP — Sheffield Plantation, SS — Salter Sitch, TM — Toads Mouth, WN — Winyards Nick) (1–8 see text).



although it should be noted that Makepeace identified a cairnfield here, noting it was a '*small clearance on edge of outcrop with a number of clearance cairns*' (Makepeace 1987, 46). Later survey by the author failed to relocate this and further fieldwork after heather burning is needed to clarify this issue. Narrow lower shelves in the northern area appear to be unused. Although the area near the head of Ladybower Brook, around Moscar House, is now enclosed (Fig. 13: 5), it seems unlikely there was further prehistoric settlement here as the soils were probably predominantly poorly drained.

On the southern half of Bamford Moor there are three small and intact cairnfields on the higher shelves. In contrast, at the south-east end of the moor there are more extensive remains with well-defined field boundaries on the more favourable land around Dennis Knoll. Beyond a small but steep-sided stream valley the fields and/or monuments continued onto the smaller North Lees shelf, an area which has now been largely improved. Unlike the remains north of the Bamford Moor watershed, those to the south may well present a far from complete picture, in that there is a series of improved lower shelves centred on Upper Hurst (Fig. 13: 6). Hurst has been farmed since at least Medieval times and these shelves could well have been attractive in later prehistory. Thus, there may have been a significantly larger prehistoric presence than is apparent from the known field remains.

The northern cairnfields on Bamford Moor have few monuments in close proximity, with the exception of the Hordron Edge stone circle. Atypically the Bamford Moor North ringcairn lies some distance above the nearest cairnfield (Fig. 13: 7). Two other monuments lie at a greater distance. The first of these, a small atypical cairn with orthostatic kerb, is hidden away on sloping land with views northwards (Fig. 13: 8). This ambiguously-sited monument may well fall into the 'funerary zone' category identified elsewhere on the East Moors, characterised by siting well above the fields, often in open pastures running up towards watersheds. The paucity of further monuments in this category on the northern half of Bamford Moor perhaps reflects the small and relatively short-lived nature of settlement here. The second monument is a similarly hidden barrow (Fig. 13: 9), which, while close to others beyond the watershed to the south, is not visible from these and in contrast again commands views northwards. This site is typical of several others on the East Moors, in that while adjacent to a watershed, it is placed to one side so that its views are directional, in this case suggesting it was built by people whose focus was the cairnfields to the north.

The pattern of placing monuments above the fields is again seen on the southern half of Bamford Moor. Barrows lie upslope of the three small cairnfields (Fig. 13: 10, 11, 12), while the small Bamford Moor South stone circle and tall menhir nearby (Fig. 13: 13) are similarly sited above the extensive Dennis Knoll/North Lees 'field-area'. Although the monuments lie closer to the Bamford Moor South cairnfield this is hidden beyond a ridge, whereas the siting of the circle on a slope suggests it relates to the fields to the south-east which it overlooks. The placing of this stone circle at some distance from its fields mirrors that of the ringcairn further north. The Dennis Knoll/North Lees group of fields is the only one in this area which has barrows within it, perhaps reflecting the long-term importance of this location for settlement.

High above, on the crest of Stanage Edge at Crow Chin, are two large but low barrows (Fig. 13: 14) with fine views over Bamford Moor. These are particularly instructive, for while they have extensive views they are not clearly visible from below. This perhaps



Plate 2: Looking north along Stanage Edge. This imposing scarp, over 6km long and one of the most impressive topographic features in the Peak District, has two flat-topped barrows on its crest (far distance) which are set apart and are invisible from the inhabited lands below on Bamford Moor (out of shot to left), while the bleak landscape above the Edge was too high for 'sustained' exploitation. Copyright: Peak District National Park Authority.

suggests that the ancestors or spirits rather than the living were doing the overlooking. That monuments are hidden, even in such a topographically prominent location (Plate 2), is a re-occurring theme in monument location on the East Moors. It seems that places divorced from the 'everyday world' were sought. However, this was often a matter of compromise. If all parts of the East Moors were freely available to every local community to use as they pleased, then monuments would be predominantly sited in particularly isolated places like Stanage Edge; this is not the case. If local kin groups or families had well defined tenure over very specific areas of land, then choice of monument site would be significantly restricted. This is the pattern observed on the East Moors, and would explain the location of barrows such as those on Bamford Moor (e.g. Fig 13: 8–12).

While the two barrows on Stanage Edge have views over much of the moor below, they may have been built by one specific community, such as that on Hordron Edge. Alternatively, their location may be relevant to the moor as a whole, built by a broader 'community' comprising all the families who farmed Bamford Moor. Such ambiguities make the definition of 'local communities' problematic.

### **Callow to Stoke Flat**

This area is characterised by only intermittent survival of its remains (Figs. 14, 15); there are only two moors where 'field-areas' remain virtually untruncated.

On the main western shelf the remains at Callow are surrounded by later enclosure. However, much of this to the east is on sheltered but poorly drained areas where there may have been little prehistoric settlement. To the south at Scrapperlow (Fig. 14: 1) there may well have been a similar small exploited area, but this area has been improved and no prehistoric features are known. Scrapperlow is separated from cairnfields to the east by a prominent scarp.

Beyond the scarp, on the west side of Burbage Brook, are the Winyards Nick and Toads Mouth cairnfields. They are sited below the undated 'hillfort' of Carl Wark (Fig. 14: 2), both carved out of a largely boulder-strewn landscape. Further south, at Lawrence Field (Fig. 14: 3), there is an extensive area that has parts ideally suited for 'sustained' prehistoric settlement. This was almost certainly never used, the only significant feature here is a small Medieval assart, with associated long house and outbuilding (Hart 1981, 134), which although containing clearance cairns has not a single example beyond the Medieval boundary bank, strongly suggesting there are no prehistoric components. Thus, the Lawrence Field area provides a classic example where prehistoric people chose not to build houses and fields and the possibility that this fell on a 'boundary' between communities needs consideration.

South of Burbage Brook the shelf is dissected by streams, small marshes, boulder-strewn areas and in one instance a narrow steep-sided ridge. Between these there are six relatively small areas which could have supported prehistoric settlement. That at Sheffield Plantation has been overlain by a Medieval assart, while the others have been thoroughly improved (Fig. 14: 4). In contrast, further south still, where the land rises slightly, the prehistoric fields on Stoke Flat are largely untruncated. Beyond these the land rises again (Fig. 15: 1), and despite an altitude similar to the lower parts Bamford Moor, there are no prehistoric fields. Thus this area can be suggested to be a 'boundary' zone similar to that at Lawrence Field. The complex field layouts at Stoke Flat suggest the Callow to Stoke Flat shelves were a long exploited area, and the Medieval remains again witness the relative suitability for agricultural use of shelves here. At Callow there is also good boundary development and only at the cairnfields below Carl Wark is this poor.

There are several barrows sited within or close to prehistoric fields at Winyards Nick, Toads Mouth and Stoke Flat. Others are sited within areas of later enclosure but were probably originally close to prehistoric fields. The probable ringcairn on Hathersage Moor (Fig. 14: 5) is placed midway between the two cairnfields, next to a small stream, with the Carl Wark crag dominating the scene. This siting at some distance from the fields is consistent with circles further north. However, further south, the more normal siting, at the edge of fields, is found with the stone circle at Stoke Flat.

Some barrows are also placed a little further from fields, as at the small examples on Hathersage Moor (Fig. 14: 6) and Sheffield Plantation (Fig. 14: 7). These are ambiguous; they may be 'funerary zone' monuments. The large barrow south of Stoke Flat (Fig. 15: 2), while close to the fields, is out of sight on higher ground. Given the postulated 'boundary' zone here, this barrow is both close to fields and to one side of a 'watershed', visually isolated from the 'land of the living'. While it is sited so there are

extensive views over the Derwent Valley this may be coincidental in the context of its positioning in relation to the farming area of the people who built it. This is suggested by a second barrow, at the northern end of the Stoke Flat 'field-area', which while sited relatively close to the edge, is set back and invisible from below. There are surprisingly few barrows along the East Moors main western-scarp sited so there are good views into the Derwent Valley, the only other examples being those on Bamford Moor (Fig. 13: 10, 12) and Gardom's Edge (Fig. 15: 14). This paucity of examples suggests an 'inward-looking' focus by the barrow builders, the concern being with the land surrounding the settlements on the East Moors rather than with the wider world.

The only sites on the high moors are the two adjacent rings at Ciceley Low (Fig. 14: 8). While these superficially look like ringcairns and the possibility of a destroyed cairnfield to the west cannot be ruled out, their high siting suggests an interpretation as the rims of robbed barrows is more likely. If so, then they are 'watershed' barrows placed between open pastures to the west/south and the bleak upland landscape of Burbage Moor to the north. This area, and its northern continuation above Stanage Edge and beyond, may well have lain above the upland pastures where specific groups had traditional tenure, and was perhaps seen as a 'wild' and 'unowned' land used for hunting (Plate 2).

### **Big Moor**

This area (Fig. 15) is characterised by the range of its remains, at one extreme the large and complex 'field-areas' of Big Moor, at the other the small cairnfields on less favourable land at Ramsley Moor. Only around Eaglestone Flat has there been truncation. Thus, the Big Moor area is particularly important for the completeness of the visible prehistoric pattern and includes areas that, while marginal now, were not then.

The location of the Big Moor 'field-areas', isolated on sheltered upper shelves to either side of Bar Brook, has led to exceptional survival. Here there is a core area with complex arrangements of fields on the main shelf west of the stream, with extensive but less complex remains to either side (see above). Further east on Ramsley Moor the cairnfields are smaller with poor boundary development. To the north of Big Moor/Ramsley Moor the shelves become higher and thus less attractive for 'sustained' farming (Fig. 15: 3). To the south there are extensive areas of lower but poorly drained land (Fig. 15: 4), thus effectively 'bounding' the Big Moor area of settlement. In contrast to Big Moor the remains at Eaglestone Flat, on the main western shelf, are badly damaged. The cairnfield is mutilated by extensive hollow-ways. In addition, Post-Medieval enclosure to the north has probably destroyed areas of prehistoric remains, although the distribution of these was probably restricted (see Fig. 23), as the land covered by these later fields includes extensive areas of heavier poorly-drained soils. South-west of Eaglestone Flat there is a lower spur (Fig. 15: 5) which again may have been utilised in prehistory; this area was part of the Medieval open fields of Baslow.

The Big Moor 'field-areas' have a relatively large number of associated barrows and three stone circles/ringcairns. The majority of monuments are in non-random locations, placed centrally or at the edges of the 'field-areas'. The circles are particularly instructive (Barnatt 1998a, 104). The Barbrook I circle (Fig. 15: 6) is sited in a small dip and hence views from it of the nearby landscape are restricted, ending at the three barrows in the vicinity; little of the adjacent fields can be seen. If it had been placed elsewhere in the

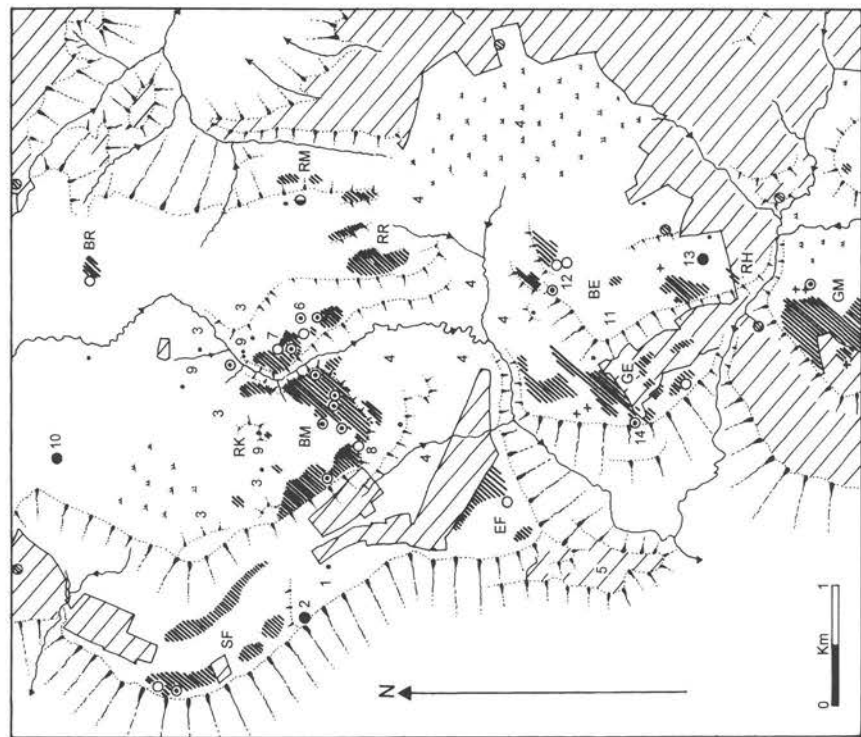


Fig. 15: The distribution of 'field-areas' and monuments in the Stoke Flat, Big Moor and Gardom's Edge area (for Key see Fig. 16) (BE — Birchen Edge, BM — Big Moor, BR — Barbrook Reservoir, EF — Eaglestone Flat, GE — Gardom's Edge, GM — Gibbet Moor, RH — Robin Hood's Farm, RK — Round Knoll, RM — Ramsley Moor, RR — Ramsley Reservoir, SF — Stoke Flat) (1–14 see text).

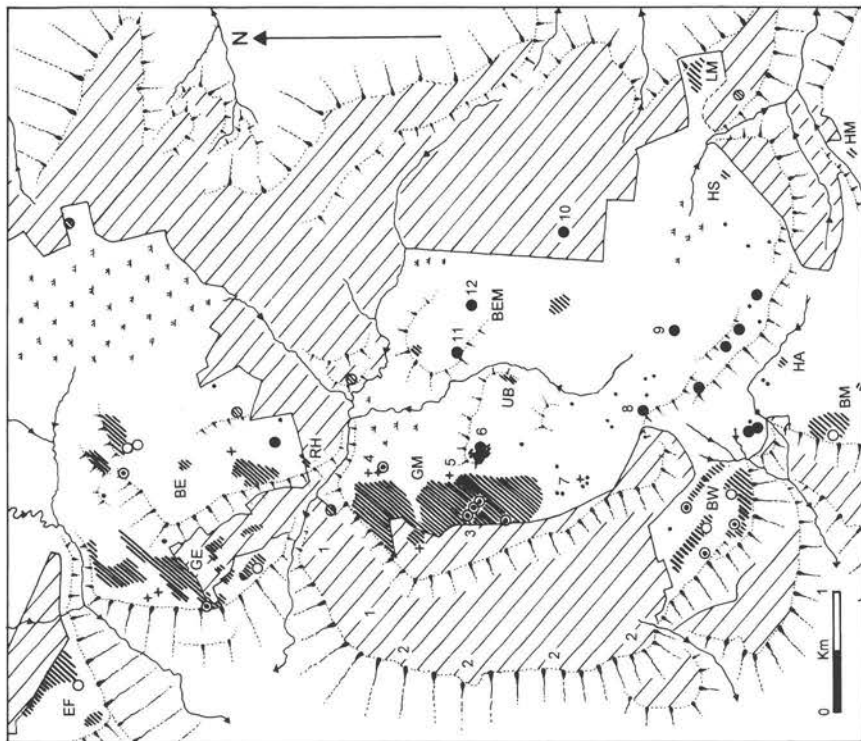


Fig. 16: The distribution of 'field-areas' and monuments in the Gardom's Edge, Gibbet Moor and Beely Warren area (for Key see Fig. 16) (BE — Birchen Edge, BEM — Brampton East Moor, BM — Beely Moor, BW — Beely Warren, EF — Eaglestone Flat, GE — Gardom's Edge, GM — Gibbet Moor, HA — Harland Sick, HM — Harewood Moor, HS — Hipper-Sick, LM — Longside Moor, RH — Robin Hood's Farm, UB — Umberley Brook) (1–12 see text).



cairnfield views of these could have been greatly increased and the impression gained is that it was purposefully hidden from view by the choice of location. The Barbrook II site (Fig. 15: 7) is placed on flat land at the edge of the cairnfield. While a small part of the cairnfield can be seen immediately downslope, more extensive 'open pasture' areas to the east are visible. Alternate siting to the south-west or north-west would have brought more of the fields into view. The Big Moor ringcairn (Fig. 15: 8) is again placed at a site where views of the fields are restricted. It is sited similarly to Barbrook I in that it may well be located in a nodal position between two discrete farming areas. Alternate siting up the slope rising to the north-west would have brought more into view. None of the identified house foci within the central 'field-area' are visible from the ringcairn, whereas if it had been built further east this would not be the case.

On higher land immediately upstream of the Big Moor fields there are thin scatters of small cairns (Fig. 15: 9). These may well be funerary cairns and together comprise an example of what is termed here a 'funerary zone'. In this case the siting suggests burial in areas set aside from the fields but at the same time conveniently 'close to home'.

Eaglestone Flat also has a ringcairn adjacent to the main 'field-area'. Further to the south-west there is a small cairnfield that is difficult to interpret. Although there is a small adjacent enclosure of uncertain purpose, the cairns beyond it to the south may comprise a small funerary cairnfield, sited on an exposed knoll midway between the main Eaglestone Flat cairnfield and the postulated 'field-area' on the Baslow spur to the south-west.

High on Big Moor, near the low Hurkling Stone outcrop, is a mutilated probable barrow (Fig. 15: 10). This is sited in a classic near-watershed location, placed not at the crest of White Edge but behind it. Thus it is 'inward-looking', with views over the upper pastures of the Bar Brook valley, rather than the main Derwent Valley and beyond. Distant lands seem irrelevant to its purposes. It is hidden away, not clearly visible as there is somewhat higher land to the north-west, and placed as far away from 'the land of the living' as possible. It is a place of bleak and relatively featureless pastures, unobtrusive rock outcrops and sky above.

### **Gardom's Edge**

This area (Figs 15, 16) lies between Bar Brook and Heathy Lea Brook, the only two streams in this part of the East Moors that dissect the main western scarp. It is a landscape of contrasts in that the northern parts have intact prehistoric remains (Plate 1), while there has been significant but not total truncation by later farming on the better aspected slopes to the south.

Both halves of the Gardom's Edge shelf are extensively covered with prehistoric remains, and this was clearly a core settlement area in later prehistory. There is a wide variety of features in this stony landscape, including a large Neolithic enclosure (Ainsworth and Barnatt 1998) and varied later prehistoric fields. To the south later features indicate not only Post-Medieval but also probably Medieval farming; it may be that these southern slopes have been farmed continuously since prehistory. To the east, beyond the upper scarp, Birchen Edge, the 'field-areas' are more scattered; the uppermost parts of the Edge (Fig. 15:11) having been avoided as high and in parts boulder-strewn. On the southern slopes the Birchen Edge South fields have well-developed visible



boundaries. To the north, in a more exposed location, the Birchen Edge North 'field-area' has simple co-axial boundaries with fewer signs of chronological complexity, as if this area was farmed for a shorter period (or periods).

The Gardom's Edge area has the usual circles and barrows near the edges of the fields, together with one to four standing stones. On Birchen Edge these monuments are placed at the upslope ends of 'field-areas' (Fig. 15: 12). There are several instances where the geology determines the elongated shape of the 'field-areas', as on Bamford Moor, Stoke Flat, Beeley Warren, Offerton Moor, Abney Moor and Highlow Bank. In all these instances there is a distinct trend for monuments to be at the ends rather than elsewhere. While some have monuments at both ends, the upper one is most commonly chosen. This may be seen as creating a purposeful symbolic link between 'the place of the living' and higher locales beyond.

The Birchen Edge South and Gardom's Edge North-West 'field-areas' are noteworthy in that they are moderate to large in extent but have no associated stone circles or ringcairns. Both areas of prehistoric fields have standing stones nearby (that at Birchen Edge South relatively small and uncertainly interpreted) and it may be that we are seeing local variation in tradition. Further south, on Gibbet Moor, 'normally-designed' stone circles are again absent, while standing stones and a small four-poster circle were erected. Alternatively, the lack of circles at two of the Gardom's and Birchen Edge 'field-areas' could be explained by monuments such as stone circles serving somewhat larger communities (but still local in scale); the extent of each local farming groups' fields were not bounded by the often topographically or geologically determined extent of individual small areas of fields. This is illustrated well at Stoke Flat (Fig. 15) where there are two main areas of fields, their extent and the gap between them governed by the suitability of soils. There is only one stone circle and it may have served the people who farmed both groups of fields. Similar arrangements are seen at Priddock Wood (Fig. 13), Beeley Warren (Fig. 16), and perhaps Bamford Moor/Dennis Knoll (Fig. 13) and Highlow Bank/Smelting Hill/Offerton Moor (Fig. 18). Returning to Birchen Edge South and Gardom's Edge North-West, it may be that both were parts of broader farming areas, the communities who used them having built their circles further south. In the former case this area is now improved and any monuments that may have existed here have been destroyed, while on Gardom's Edge a ringcairn survives on the south-facing slopes.

Close to the Birchen Edge South fields there is a possible barrow within a broad wet flush (Fig. 15: 13). The unusual location could suggest the resemblance of this mound to a barrow may be fortuitous; it may be a natural knoll.

On the crest of Gardom's Edge there is a large but low barrow (Fig. 15: 14). From here there are extensive views over the Derwent Valley and beyond, while in contrast it is virtually hidden from the fields nearby. Only the clearance in the immediate vicinity is intervisible with the barrow. Whether the fine views had significance to the builders is far from clear; the barrow is not obvious from the valley far below. It is tempting, as with the Stanage barrows, to think of the views as important to the 'ancestors' or spirits, linking this site with settlement in the valley. However, given the extensive evidence documented in this paper for the 'hiding' of monuments out of view, the barrow may have been ideally sited by the local Gardom's Edge community for their 'inward-looking' purposes and the views westwards could have been irrelevant; the lack of height to the

monument may have been a purposeful design statement that excluded the valley communities.

The Gardom's Edge area is unusual in that it has restricted areas of higher pastures. Only the crest of Birchen Edge clearly falls into this land category, although the extensive marshes of Leash Fen to the east may also have been used as open grazing. Not a single monument has been identified on the higher parts of Birchen Edge; thus it stands in strong contrast to Stanton Moor, where it is postulated that the restricted extent of higher moor led to it becoming a focal ritual area for the surrounding settlement areas, resulting in the building of a plethora of ritual structures (see below). Why nothing similar happened on Birchen Edge is unclear.

### **Gibbet Moor**

This area (Fig. 16) is similar to Big Moor and Gardom's Edge in that it has extensive remains to the west and much smaller cairnfields to the east. However, it is very different in that the Gibbet Moor West cairnfield is on the upper-scarp dip-slope, while the main western shelf has been fully improved. Although this shelf is large it is unclear how extensive the prehistoric settlement was here. Much land improvement has been undertaken by the Chatsworth Estate in the 18th and 19th centuries and large areas would probably have been poorly drained prior to this. It may be that extensive settlement concentrated in the northern better drained parts (Fig. 16: 1) and to the south on the dry scarp edge and back ridges of Beeley Warren. Here prehistoric field remains survive today, and may once have extended some way northwards. In the central part of the shelf settlement may have been largely restricted to patches of the scarp edge which were well drained and free from boulder-fields (Fig. 16: 2). Much of this area today has well-established woodlands, now mostly managed as commercial plantations. Recent fieldwork here has failed to find any remnants of prehistoric activity. However, it may be that this results from a combination of frequent difficulties with understorey vegetation and high levels of destruction due to several episodes of planting and felling.

The main surviving remains are those at Gibbet Moor West. These are extensive and, although only partially visible, the field boundaries define fields of a variety of types. Unfortunately the area is truncated to the west and a significant part may be lost. The wide distribution of potential house sites, may suggest that there were several conjoined farming foci within the 'field-area', as on Big Moor. Gibbet Moor West was clearly a settlement area of some importance and contrasts with small cairnfields further east at UMBERLEY Brook and BRAMPTON East Moor which may well have been in use for only short periods.

The monuments in the Gibbet Moor area are often unusual in their architecture, and their structured distribution is instructive. At the heart of the fields is a line of three robbed barrows (*cf.* Barnatt 1999). These are sited on a false crest and unusually would have been visible from much of the 'field-area' to the north. The close grouping of monuments is a phenomenon also found elsewhere on the East Moors. There are three barrows within the Raven Tor funerary cairnfield (Fig. 17) and a further probable example at North Lees (Fig. 13); those at Raven Tor are conjoined. Closely associated pairs of barrows are found on Stanage Edge (Fig. 13: 14), Bamford Moor (Fig. 13: 11), Big Moor Central (Fig. 15), Gibbet Moor East (Fig. 16), Beeley Warren (Fig. 17: 3) and probably Ciceley Low (Fig. 14: 8). Conjoined barrows occur at Highlow Bank (Fig. 18),

and possibly at Winyards Nick (Fig. 14: 9), Big Moor East (Fig. 9: 6) and Brampton East Moor (Fig. 16: 11). Why these groupings occur is not clear; perhaps they signify 're-dedication' of fields or open pasture when new farming families took over or inherited tenure and may reflect changing genealogy of the occupants of these areas.

Pairings of stone circles and barrows occur at Stoke Flat (Fig. 15), Big Moor East (Fig. 15), Offerton Moor (Fig. 18) and Eyam Moor (Fig. 18). This is of obscure significance. While it is tempting to see farming groups purposefully building monuments for the living and the dead together at one location, this was clearly not the norm.

More than one circle or ringcairn are found together at Big Moor East (Fig. 15), Eyam Moor (Fig. 18), Stanton Moor (Fig. 19) and possibly Birchen Edge North (Fig. 15). In all cases, except at Birchen Edge where one ring is of uncertain interpretation, this may well be fortuitous as the rings are not particularly closely placed. It may be that they were built by separate farming families who happened to farm adjacent areas.

Beyond the edge of the Gibbet Moor West 'field-area' there are several clusters of monuments. These are characterised by their unusual architecture. To the north-east is a probable wrecked barrow with an adjacent two-stone setting and a larger standing stone nearby (Fig. 16: 4). To the east is a diminutive four poster (Fig. 16: 5). Nearby, on the high knoll to the south-east is a small cairnfield cemetery with two small barrows and several kerb cairns (Fig. 16: 6). To the south there is a second two-stone setting, hidden in a slight dip near the crest of a low knoll. This is set within a 'funerary zone' which contains several scattered small cairns (Fig. 16: 7).

Further south, near the watershed, is the impressive Hob Hurst's House (Fig. 16: 8). This again is architecturally distinctive. The square barrow has an atypical rectangular setting of orthostats at its centre and the mound is surrounded by a steep-sided ditch and outer bank. The siting is particularly instructive. Despite being close to the scarp edge, where there is a panoramic view westwards over the main shelf, the Derwent Valley and beyond, it is sited back from the edge, placed so the view is orchestrated northwards over the pastures of Gibbet Moor. Again the view is 'inward looking' and the mound lies within the upper part of a further 'funerary zone' within which there is a scattering of small cairns.

Further east there is a smaller barrow (Fig. 16: 9), placed on a slope with the views again directed northwards. To the north-east is the Rod Knoll barrow (Fig. 16: 10), which although somewhat mutilated, appears to be similar in design to Hob Hurst's House. It is of similar dimensions, is square in overall plan and appears to have the same type of ditch and bank. The surrounding area is now improved. However, this ground was part of an ambitious 19th century estate intake of marginal land and in prehistory the barrow is likely to have been well away from settlement. It is placed north of the crest of the high knoll on which it is sited, again directing the views away from south. However, in this instance it may well be that the associated settlements were to the north or north-east, in areas where all surface evidence for their presence has been swept away, rather than westwards to Gibbet Moor.

East of Gibbet Moor there are further isolated monuments. At the edge of a prominent southwest-facing shelf is a mutilated site, comprising a large round barrow or possibly two conjoined barrows (Fig. 16: 11). This again is sited to orchestrate views. If placed on the ridge crest a short distance eastwards it would have commanded a wider panorama,

instead the view is directed firmly westwards over the Gibbet Moor pastures and the prehistoric fields beyond. This shelf looks to be ideally suited for cultivation and yet it clearly has never been used, as indicated by the scatter of small stone over significant parts of it. Thus it may well be that this barrow is sited in a 'boundary zone', and the area was not exploited agriculturally for social reasons. This said, the situation is not clear cut. While the shelf was never cultivated, at the northern end of the ridge above the shelf there is a small cleared area at Brampton East Moor — North. Here there are cairns and linear clearance; again there is potential here for more widespread cultivation but this never took place. On the ridgetop, is a second small but mutilated possible barrow (Fig. 16: 12) which, if a prehistoric monument, may have been built by the farmers who occupied the northern end of the ridge. Well to the south is the Brampton East Moor — South cairnfield, located on higher ground that even in prehistory must have been relatively marginal. Both clearance areas on Brampton East Moor give the impression that they represent short-lived farming episodes, perhaps early in date, created before the social and tenorial grain of the landscape had developed long-term traditional patterns of use which excluded some areas from settlement because they were at 'boundaries'.

The architectural variants found within the Gibbet Moor area are a strong indicator of the local focus of the communities of the East Moors. In this case they chose to do things differently.

### **Beeley Warren to Fallinge Edge**

This area has good survival in upper areas, while in contrast shelves below have been fully improved (Fig. 17). Geologically the area is atypical in that the rocks forming the main shelf at Beeley Warren (Fig. 17: 1), as they run southwards, become the upper moor at Raven Tor and beds lower in the geological sequence form a lower shelf here (Fig. 17: 2) which in effect is the topographical equivalent to the main shelf further north.

The 'field-areas' on Beeley Warren include at the one most favourable location well developed and varied field boundaries, while at two other areas on low ridges north-east of the scarp top there are few visible boundaries. There has been truncation to the north and there is a lower shelf, half way down the main scarp, which may well have had extensive prehistoric settlement. There has been intensive improvement here, the result of documented farming from the Medieval period onwards and this area may have been farmed continuously from prehistory.

The cairnfield on the north-facing slopes of Beeley Moor has no visible field boundaries, with the exception of the 'enclosure' which contains a probable house site. This area may have been farmed for only a relatively short period compared with Beeley Warren. Further south the main focus for settlement may well have been on the lower shelf centred on Fallinge (Fig. 17: 2). Now fully improved, again there has been documented farming from the Medieval period. Part way down the main scarp below Raven Tor and just above the top wall of present enclosure, there is a small stone-strewn shelf with what are probably two prehistoric house platforms (Raven Tor South-West); these may represent the upward limit of extensive settlement on the lower shelf at this period. Beyond the southern limit of Beeley Moor the land as a whole has been improved and the prehistoric settlement pattern cannot be reconstructed. Only a few clearance features on Fallinge Edge have survived.





On the main moor east of the Beeley Moor scarp there are small cairnfields at Harland Sick, Big Bumper Piece and possibly Raven Tor South-East, which probably represent short-lived episodes of cultivation in areas that were never subject to 'sustained' settlement.

There are a large number of monuments in the Beeley Warren to Fallinge Edge area, placed in a variety of locations. As usual there are circles and barrows within or close to fields. On Beeley Warren these are near the edges of the fields. The small ringcairn at Beeley Moor is unusual in that it lies within the 'enclosure', adjacent to what may well be a house platform. Between these two settlement areas there is a shelf with streams to either side that would have been ideal for cultivation (Fig. 17: 3). This does not seem to have occurred, for although the area has been extensively damaged by hollow-ways, all that exists are two large barrows and one small cairn; in other areas with similar damage, as for instance on Beeley Warren and Gibbet Moor, a number of small cairns can still be recognised. This contrast suggests that the shelf is another example of suitable land avoided because it lay at a 'boundary'. It appears that the Beeley Moor cairnfield did not extend further downslope and this may also suggest this 'boundary zone' was respected. That the Harland Sick cairnfield was not further developed may be similarly explained, representing a long-term purposeful avoidance, as with the Brampton East Moor cairnfields discussed above.

South of the Beeley Moor cairnfield, on higher ground, there is a small barrow (Fig. 17: 4) with a small probable funerary cairnfield nearby. These are placed on north-facing ground rather than on the highest parts of the plateau-like land above (Fig. 17: 5). Thus the clear intent was siting within the upper pastures of the settlement to the north. At the southern side of the plateau-like scarp top is the Raven Tor funerary cairnfield. This small monument complex includes three small conjoined barrows, two other small barrows, one or possibly two rectangular cairns and several diminutive kerb cairns. It's siting rationale is equally clear, placed at the upper end of the pastures of settlement to the south and probably south-west, at a location hidden high above 'the land of the living'.

On Harland Edge is a large barrow (Fig. 17: 6) and further south-east several small barrows and cairns, including one with a unique internal boat-shaped setting. This barrow and nearby 'funerary zone' cairns (Fig. 17: 7) are all placed on a shelf just below the crest of Harland Edge rather than on the ridgetop. This clearly directs the view south-westwards over Beeley Warren and Beeley Moor. The lack of monuments on this part of the ridgetop (Fig. 17: 8) is analogous to the top of Raven Tor (Fig. 17: 5), the crest of Bamford Moor (Fig. 13), and the Brampton East Moor ridge (Fig. 16). Similarly, the large barrow at Harland Edge is comparable to that on Brampton East Moor (Fig. 16: 11) in that an impressive monument is again placed on a shelf rather than the nearby ridgetop. These arrangements may suggest that such ridgetops were seen as ambiguous or disputed areas.

### **The Eastern Margins**

As noted above most of the eastern margins of the East Moors have been improved and the prehistoric settlement pattern cannot be reconstructed, although the occasional barrow suggests people once farmed here. There are two exceptions where sites survive.



To the north, between Brown Edge and Barbrook Reservoir (Fig. 14), there are three to four small cairnfields on high land, none with good boundary development and perhaps not exploited for as long as those on the main western shelf. Whether the postulated prehistoric farms on the lower now-improved land further east were occupied for longer is not known. Two of the surviving cairnfields have associated stone circles.

To the south there are two to three small cairnfields centred on the Hipper Valley (Fig. 17). These probably represent only the uppermost limit of exploitation. That at Hipper Sick is probably another example of a short-lived cultivation episode. Above this, on the dip slope of Harland Edge, there are three small cairns within a small probable 'funerary zone' associated with settlement further east or north-east.

### **The North-Western Moors**

This topographically isolated but extensive block of gritstone upland (Fig. 18) has a large number of surviving later prehistoric field monuments, but these are mostly confined to three specific areas of higher moorland, whilst much of the area has been improved. This is particularly the case at the centre around Abney (Fig. 18: 1) where there are low favourable shelves, with fossilised Medieval open fields, sited above steep valleys that bisect the upland. There has also been significant later enclosure to the south and south-east, where there are again better aspected shelves (Fig. 18: 2). Further improvements took place in the 19th century in less favourable areas, particularly to the west. At Burr Tor (Fig. 18: 3), a large hillfort with only slight ramparts has survived. This general area is high and exposed, and although improved today, is unlikely to have supported 'sustained' settlement and fields in later prehistory. The hillfort may have been built to serve the wider community, centred on the limestone areas below, placed in a dominating position at the interface with high gritstone pastures to north and east. In four instances elsewhere in the improved areas there is documentation of cairnfields or monuments that have now been destroyed or where slight vestiges remain.

To the north there is a discrete area of unenclosed high moorland (Fig. 18: 4). It is highest to the west, while to the east there is a series of cairnfields, none with good boundary development. There has been little truncation. On the south-eastern moorlands (Fig. 18: 5) the situation is similar, with large cairnfields without visible boundaries, sited on shelves. The Stanage and Jubilee Plantation cairnfields are topographically isolated, but there are small lower shelves, now improved, where there may have been further prehistoric settlement. The main Eyam Moor cairnfield is a discrete defined 'field-area' utilising a high east-facing slope. Evidence for further postulated settlement at some distance to the south-east may well have been largely removed by improvement. The small isolated cairnfield at Sir William's Hill is in a high location and may represent a short-lived area of cultivation never used in a 'sustained' way. A third area of moorland to the west (Fig. 18: 6) is too high and exposed for settlement.

As usual the 'field-areas' have associated circles and barrows. Those on Offerton Moor and Highlow Bank have monuments to either end of elongated 'field-areas'. At Eyam Moor the Wet Withens stone circle and adjacent barrow (Fig. 18: 7) are sited close to the cairnfield but are out of view from virtually all of it, placed on a shelf, which although suitable for cultivation, was set aside for ritual activity. This is perhaps the clearest example on the gritstone uplands of such an arrangement, where the 'family' monuments are close by but at the same time visually apart.

There are several barrows placed at a distance from the fields. On Offerton Moor there is a large but low barrow (Fig. 18: 8), placed in an unimposing location, hidden from view from the cairnfields to the east. A small barrow on Abney Moor (Fig. 18: 9) is probably a 'watershed' barrow built by communities to the east. On Eyam Moor there is a cluster of stone-built barrows and a small cairn on the higher part of the moor (Fig. 18: 10). This is a classic 'funerary zone', set aside out of view from the cairnfields on lower shelves, built in a hidden landscape which unusually includes several barrow-like natural knolls. The area with barrows stands in contrast with Sir William's Hill to the south-west (Fig. 18: 11). This is the highest ridge in the area, creating a north/south barrier which dominates the landscape; it has no known monuments except a recently identified small cairn. As with Harland Edge (Fig. 17: 8), it may have been an ambiguous or disputed area. However, Sir William Hill has small-scale quarrying along its crest and the possibility of monuments having been destroyed cannot be ruled out. With the Eyam Moor 'funerary zone' it is likely that at least some of the northern cluster of barrows were built by people from the large cairnfield to the north-east, but it is not clear if the people from the Stange cairnfield were also involved in the monument building. The southernmost barrow may be the last surviving vestige of a separate monument cluster built by people living to the east or south-east. There is documentation of a large barrow, known as the Round Hillock, which once existed somewhere nearby (probably further to the south) and was destroyed during road building in the 18th century.

### **Stanton and Harthill Moors**

Although the field remains on Stanton Moor are clearly important little can be said for certain about their place in the settlement landscape as all but the summit of the moor has been improved (Fig. 19). On Harthill Moor, which is lower, all has been improved.

The monument complex on the top of Stanton Moor is atypical in that there are several circles and barrows, together with a large number of associated smaller funerary cairns. This unusual concentration may well result from the topographical constraints to settlement on this upland 'island'. The improved shelves to north, south and west may well have been extensively settled in prehistory, while the amount of upper grazing was severely limited. Thus, this area became the focus for ritual structures built by all the communities on the moor. While the barrows all lie within the 'funerary zone', the four northernmost circles also lie at the edge of an agricultural area that includes surviving ancient field boundaries and cairns, some of which are probably prehistoric. The majority of monuments within the 'funerary zone' are sited east and south of the highest parts of the moor top, thus isolating them visually from the settlement areas and setting this land apart for ritual activity. All but two of the larger monuments lie in a rough NNE/SSW line across the moor, which suggests the possibility of procession between them. However, such arrangements are not paralleled elsewhere on the East Moors and if each was built by a different group for their own use then perhaps procession between them is unlikely.

The monuments on Harthill Moor include a stone circle with atypically large stones, possibly of Neolithic date, several Bronze Age round barrows, a later hillfort and a second undated enclosure defined by a broad ditch; near the last there is a probable Neolithic enclosure on the summit of Cratcliff Rocks (Makepeace 1999). Harthill Moor

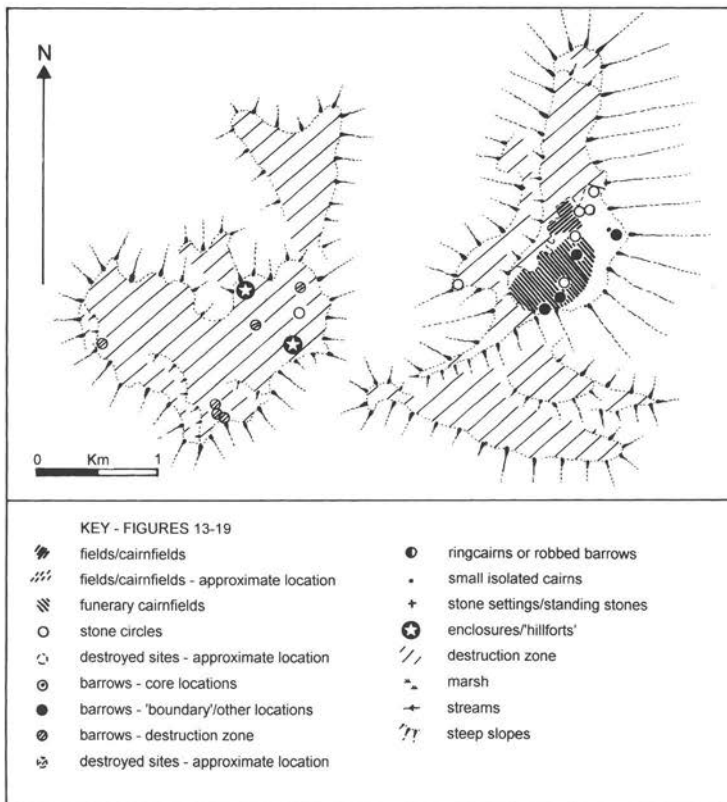


Fig. 19: The distribution of 'field-areas' and monuments on Stanton Moor (east) and Harthill Moor (west), and the key for figures 13–19.

is a particularly favourable area which may well have been extensively settled throughout later prehistory. However, the pattern of this is probably beyond recovery.

#### LOCAL COMMUNITIES, SOCIAL BOUNDARIES AND BOUNDARIES OF CONVENIENCE

While it is axiomatic that 'local communities' must have existed in later prehistory, defining them and the boundaries they perceived as existing between them is problematic. What indirect indicators of boundaries left to us can we trust? More importantly, what do we mean by a local community?

Community works at different levels, from the extended family and kin group, through people who identify with each other either because they carry out similar tasks or because they live in 'one place', to tribal and other overarching socio-political, linguistic or belief-system groupings. Put in modern terms, in this age of global communication and mobile workforces, different senses of identity still exist. People still frequently have a sense of family (although this may be very different to that which applied in prehistory). They often identify with their own village, parish or city, be this their place of origin or adopted

home. Sometimes the same applies to county, region or country. These relationships are often fluid. Distinctions can be drawn for example between people born and bred in a place and incomers, the latter often try harder to forge a sense of belonging than those who take it for granted. Conversely, people who live away from home often cling harder to the identity of their homeland as they once knew it, than those who remained behind and accept change more readily. Despite obvious radical changes in the nature and character of societies of the last two millennia, a sense of belonging may well be a trait that can be applied to later prehistory, if in modified form making due allowance for the major social transformations that have taken place in historical times. Many such ways of relating to place probably stem from the advent of sedentism and/or 'sustained' use of particular areas of land. A sense of family and kin group has undoubtedly existed since early prehistory. However, while people were still 'mobile', a sense of wider community probably revolved around what people did and who they did it with. With the establishment of 'sustained' farms a stronger and probably more bounded sense of place will have evolved in line with the amount of time spent in more restricted locales than previously. This in turn will have eventually transformed the sense of community, increasing the emphasis on the relationships between people of 'one place', neighbours and people from elsewhere. This of course does not deny that some individuals and task groups will have continued to travel widely.

Turning now to the problem of time-depth; to what extent did local boundaries change over the last two millennia BC? While there was undoubtedly fluctuation and even radical change, it may be that some boundaries were recognised over long periods of time (after the first establishment of 'sustained' farming). A more recent example illustrating that such continuity is possible can be seen in many of the civil parish boundaries in the Peak District today; these are township boundaries which at a minimum are a thousand years old (not that I am suggesting for one moment that these boundaries have origins in later prehistory — they could result from, or were radically changed with, the advent of settlement nucleation, probably in the 9th to 11th centuries AD). Returning to later prehistory, it may be that once people became 'relatively-sedentary', local cognitive boundaries governed by where people lived and worked, created a sense of place which had a tendency towards 'long-term' definition, while over-arching boundaries governed by politics and by 'ownership' by elite groups were more fluid.

What do the 'local-area' boundaries, tentatively identified below, represent? If meaning anything, they relate to both extended families/kin groups and to peoples' sense of place. In other words: can we identify groups who thought of their themselves as living in 'one place'? The evidence examined in this paper is not conducive to the study of wider socio-political groupings, thus issues such as whether 'the people' of the East Moors or Peak District had their own identity are not addressed in any detail. It must be recognised that even if local boundaries can be identified, these will always have been more a boundary of the mind rather than a physical barrier. As well as wider socio-political affiliations, there will have been many cross-links, often no doubt polythetic, created through inter-marriage, movement of specific task groups and local economic inter-dependence. Even in our own times, the identity of our villages or parishes often seems real to the people who live there, despite the multitude of links to the outside. Given that people in later prehistory lived in scattered farms rather than the villages common today, one obvious question is whether the 'communal' boundaries were radically different? Were they

significantly small in size as a result, or did the fact that people lived in scattered farms give them more flexibility to form a variety of fluid community ties? The honest answer is that we don't know.

My own view is that the character of the landscape played an important but not deterministic part. What matters perhaps in moulding local community identity is who the prehistoric farmers met on a regular basis, and the bonds they thus formed. In most landscapes people to one extent or another are unevenly scattered because there are places that are more suitable for settlement than others. Thus intervening areas of high land, heavy forest or marshland can play an important part in peoples perception of where they belong. Many of the traditional boundaries in historic times follow topographic features such as rivers and watersheds, and they may have done so in the more distant past. Similarly, imposing features such as the prominent scarp-cliffs of the East Moors, or the distinctive rock formations such as Mothers Cap on Hathersage Moor or the Eagle Stone above Baslow Edge, may have been important in later prehistory. They may well have been highly significant to these people as boundary markers and/or revered places. However, if such features are used as the starting point for analysis there is obviously a danger that topographic determinism is employed to reconstruct past boundaries. While it may be true that topography helps mould identity, in that natural barriers tend to influence the extent to which different groups interact on a daily or regular basis, this must not be overstated. There may well have been many cases where topography was transcended or ignored, while other boundaries probably had no obvious topographic basis.

### **Invisible Boundaries, Indirect Indicators**

In the search for prehistoric boundaries to local communities on the East Moors various types of clues can be used and examples have been given in the section above describing local patterns.

- In a significant number of instances the siting of monuments is 'directional'. This is most apparent at watersheds where barrows are often placed to one side in order to reference particular parts of the landscape, rather than being sited in high places *per se*.
- In several instances there are areas of land that appear to have been ideally suited for agriculture but were not used in a 'sustained' way. These all have scattered surface stone, which would have been moved into obvious clearance features if they had been used in the same way as the many identified 'field-areas'. One possible explanation of the lack of such features in these areas is that they lay at boundaries.
- There is local variation in the architecture of monuments which potentially reflects the different preferences of specific local communities.
- There are topographical barriers which divide agricultural zones, comprising both high land, scarps and streams. There is a regularity to the way the East Moors landscape is partitioned by such features into discrete areas of similar size and character.

There is great temptation to see the obvious topographic divisions on the East Moors as the basis for identifying local community building blocks. What follows attempts to test the validity of this, using the first three sets of clues listed above in the first instance, set against the topography as a secondary factor.



Figure 20 summarises information in the local descriptions given above, showing instances where 'directional monuments' and unused 'agricultural' areas have been identified, and also indicating potential topographic boundaries. Architectural variations are harder to bound into discrete areas as it has diffused edges; the distribution of these differences is deferred until the final section.

All barrows and funerary cairnfields/'funerary zones' which lay beyond the fields are shown on Figure 20 and the potential direction of association shown where apparent. Particularly instructive in identifying potential 'boundaries' are those monuments sited well away from fields. Classic cases are those at Bamford Moor (Fig. 20: 1), Stoke Flat (Fig. 20: 2), Brampton East Moor (Fig. 20: 3), Harland Edge (Fig. 20: 4), Raven Tor (Fig. 20: 5) and Eyam Moor (Fig. 20: 6). In these instances the precise placing of the barrows helps identify watersheds which may well have functioned as boundaries. At Stanage Edge (Fig. 20: 7), Ciceley Low (Fig. 20: 8), the Hurkling Stone (Fig. 20: 9), Rod Knoll (Fig. 20: 10), Abney Moor (Fig. 20: 11) and Stanton Moor (Fig. 20: 12) there are further barrows which sit high within specific upland pastures and this again may denote that they lie close to boundaries. The barrows at Beeley Warren (Fig. 20: 13) lie in a potential boundary area between two streams.

As noted above, the low incidence of barrows on the East Moors sited at the edge of the main western scarp overlooking the Derwent Valley (4 cases — Fig. 20: 14) is strongly suggestive that local communities on the gritstone upland were in some ways 'inward-looking' or self contained. This in turn argues that the field remains on the East Moors probably cannot be interpreted as simply a seasonal component of communities based in the Derwent Valley, or at least that they are not a peripheral part of such a settlement pattern, but had an identity of their own. This impression is strengthened by the character of the main western scarp. This imposing topographical feature, often with cliffs at its crest, drops between *c.* 150 and 200m to the base of the Derwent Valley (Plate 3). Its upper slopes are usually too steep and boulder strewn for settlement and fields. Thus a physical gap must have existed in the settlement pattern. This of course does not mean that people did not travel frequently between the Derwent Valley and the East Moors, nor that there were no strong social ties between the two areas. However, in cognitive terms, the scarp may have influenced how people thought about the two areas, creating a strong sense of their separate upland and lowland identities.

Five 'unused' areas have been identified on the East Moors which may represent boundaries between local communities. These are at Carhead Rocks (Fig. 20: 15), Lawrence Field (Fig. 20: 16), Stoke Flat (Fig. 20: 2), Brampton East Moor (Fig. 20: 13) and Beeley Warren (Fig. 20: 13). While those at Carhead Rocks and Stoke Flat may be argued to be areas locally less advantageous than the lower parts of shelves and therefore not farmed in a 'sustained' way, the other three are less easy to explain away. All have some topographic definition, located adjacent to streams in two instances and a ridge at the third. The fact that such areas, sometimes capable of supporting several families, were not used for 'sustained' agriculture probably indicates that open pasture areas beyond the 'field-areas' were subject to bounded tenurial grazing rights. If there was a 'free for all' situation, this would have left such land open for settlement.

Of the 'unindicated' topographic features which may have functioned as boundaries, and there is a plethora, those which stand out as of potential significance are; the scarp at the western edge of Hathersage Moor (Fig. 20: 17); White Edge, which separates Stoke



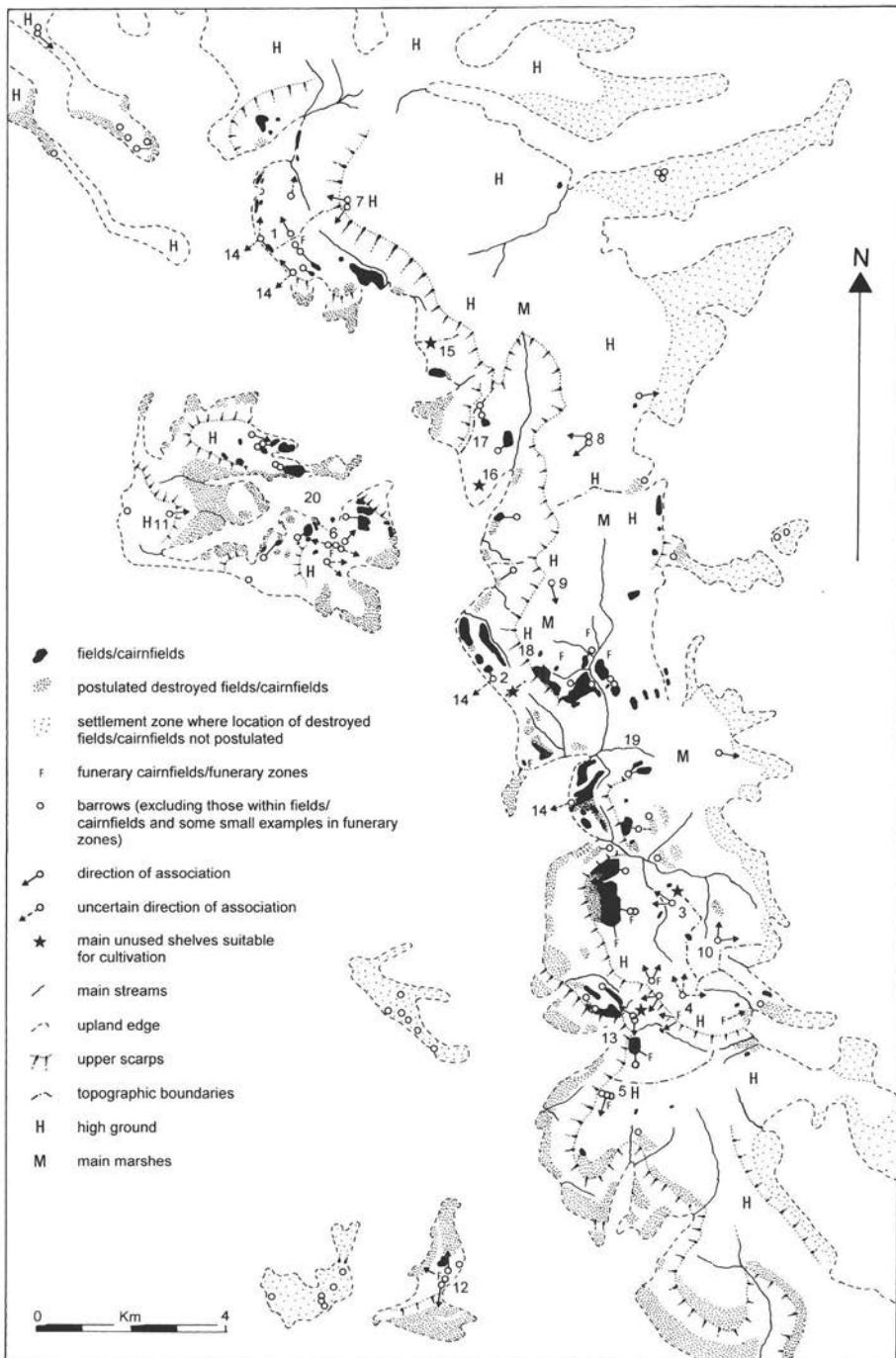


Fig. 20: The evidence for local communities and the boundaries to the land they farmed; the East Moors (1–19 see text).



Plate 3: Part of the main scarp between the East Moors and the Derwent Valley, with Froggatt Edge above to the left and Baslow Edge in the distance. Its precipitous nature may well have influenced how people saw the land, there being a strong distinction drawn between upland and lowland locales in the minds of later prehistoric farmers. Copyright: Peak District National Park Authority.

Flat from Big Moor (Fig. 20: 18); the broad zone of poorly drained land between Big Moor and Gardom's Edge/Birchen Edge (Fig. 20: 19); and the deeply incised streams dividing the north-western moors (Fig. 20: 20).

### **Resting the Land; 'Sustained' Farming in One Place or Several**

Another potential way of viewing the 'unused' agricultural areas reviewed in the last section is that there was never sufficient pressure on agricultural land for them to have been used. This proposal would fit best in a scenario for the East Moors which envisages significantly lower levels of 'sustained' exploitation throughout much of later prehistory

than proposed here. In this alternate model, many of the 'field-areas' would not be in use at any one moment in time, but were perhaps used episodically in shifting fashion. Therefore people would farm one area of fields for a few years and then move on to another, revisiting the first after an interval of several or many years. While such a suggestion may represent a logical progression from the 'mobile' situation envisaged for the Neolithic, my personal view is that it is an unlikely explanation. The distribution and character of 'field-areas' appear to be too structured, with too many patterns repeated. Most 'field-areas' have their own monuments suggesting they were used by separate family groups. If any one group was periodically moving from one area of fields to another would they have built monuments to go with each, or would we see a different pattern, with fewer stone circles for example, sited at convenient places which could be easily reached from a number of farming locales? Although some people in different parts of the world are known to have moved around between farming locales, often to rest the soils, given the topography and climate of the East Moors this may not have been a sensible option. On the one hand the mainstay of the economy may well have been livestock rather than arable, therefore the necessity to rest soils may not have been an acute problem; small scale arable plots could easily be rotated within a single group of fields. On the other hand, once the step had been taken to develop 'sustained' farms, maintenance of what had been created, for example keeping fences and hedges in repair or preventing scrub growth across fields, may well have been easier with regular care and attention; restoring derelict fields once every few years may have involved significantly more work.

One of the main secrets to farming the East Moors in a 'sustained' way, in terms of maintaining soil fertility to give good quality grazing and for occasional arable use, may well have been regular manuring by maintaining stock levels rather than by resting areas by moving elsewhere. The latter approach would probably have led to rapid deterioration in carrying capacity because upland rainfall levels would have encouraged growth of unpalatable vegetation due to loss of soil nutrients. This would also have led eventually to peat formation. The development of the landscape we are familiar with today, dominated by heather and coarse grasses, with few trees, may be the product of the abandonment of many of the later prehistoric farms rather than because of significant climatic decline. People were still farming, in the more favourable areas of the East Moors at least, centuries after the climate is thought to have deteriorated, postulated sometime in the early first millennium BC. Continuous input to maintain pasture quality may have kept these areas viable. Similarly, tree cover did not significantly decline until around the end of the first millennium BC and this may indicate woodland management by careful stock control (and other means) prior to this date. Once the farms were abandoned and the areas were used only for untended upland grazing, new saplings would have been browsed out. It is possible that deterioration of grazing may also have been a problem well before the postulated wetter conditions of the first millennium BC. Environmental sampling at Big Moor East shows that heather growth increased significantly here in the Earlier Bronze Age. Similarly, on Gardom's Edge a phase of enlargement of the Neolithic enclosure bank excavated near its northern end has heavily podsolised soils beneath it. The lessons of good husbandry for the East Moors may well have been learnt early, and deterioration in the carrying capacity of the land may have been an ongoing problem since the start of removal of tree cover from Neolithic times

onwards (if not before). This may even have been instrumental in persuading people to turn to 'sustained' farming in the first instance.

### **The Spaces Between; Boundaries at Various Scales**

Due to the varied preservation of field remains across the East Moors some areas are better than others for attempting reconstruction of local communities and the boundaries between them. Four areas are used below to illustrate more explicitly than in the previous sections how settlements, fields and monuments may relate to each other and the landscape in which they sit. As much of the detailed descriptions have been given above, only comment on boundary-related issues is given here. These examples not only illustrate the potential for identifying boundaries but also the problems involved, some of which are insurmountable.

On Bamford Moor the siting of monuments to either side of the central watershed (Fig. 21: 1) suggests that a boundary between northern and southern communities existed. However, further low ridgetops trending north/south (Fig. 21: 2) divide the moor in such a way that every 'field-area' has its own monument(s), each placed above the fields. Only the barrow on Bamford Edge (Fig. 21: 3) is ambiguously sited in that it is unclear if it related to cairnfields to north or south-east. The lack of agricultural remains on the lower shelves at the northern end of Bamford Moor (Fig. 21: 4) may suggest that the deep valley here was a boundary zone separating people to north and south. The siting of the two barrows on Stanage Edge (Fig. 21: 5) is such that it is unclear if they relate to the Hordron Edge community to the north, or to Bamford Moor as a whole. Taken together, these relationships illustrate the difficulties in reconstructing boundaries to local communities in that several nested choices present themselves. Does each small area of fields have its own social identity, is Bamford Moor divided into northern and southern halves, or does the whole topographic block have a single identity? Similar observations can be made for the three areas described below, where there is again a potential ambiguous nesting of boundary options which are hard to unravel. My suspicion is that all may have some reality within a hierarchy of social relations, but this is beyond proof.

A boundary between Stoke Flat and Eaglestone Flat/Big Moor seems supported by the disused land between them (Fig. 22: 1) and possibly by the steep scarp of White Edge which forms a strong topographical barrier (Fig. 22: 2). There is also the possibility that further subdivisions of boundaries can be drawn between Big Moor and Eaglestone Flat on the basis of the broad swathe of unused land between them. While much of this is poorly drained (Fig. 22: 3), there is a small shelf suitable for agriculture immediately south of Swine Sty (Fig. 22: 4) which was not used. However, it is unclear whether this signifies its boundary position, or just that the community on Big Moor had enough fields for its needs without using this land. Similar observations can be applied to a second unused shelf to the north (Fig. 22: 5). In this case, if a boundary was postulated here, this would suggest that very local distinctions between communities should be drawn, separating the Big Moor West from the Big Moor Central 'field-areas'. This may also be indicated by the nodal siting of the ringcairn (Fig. 22: 6). A similar arrangement of monuments in a nodal position exists east of Bar Brook (Fig. 22: 7). In addition, the Bar Brook stream may separate the East and Central 'field-areas', although in this case the only indicator of such a division is topographical. In contrast, division at this very

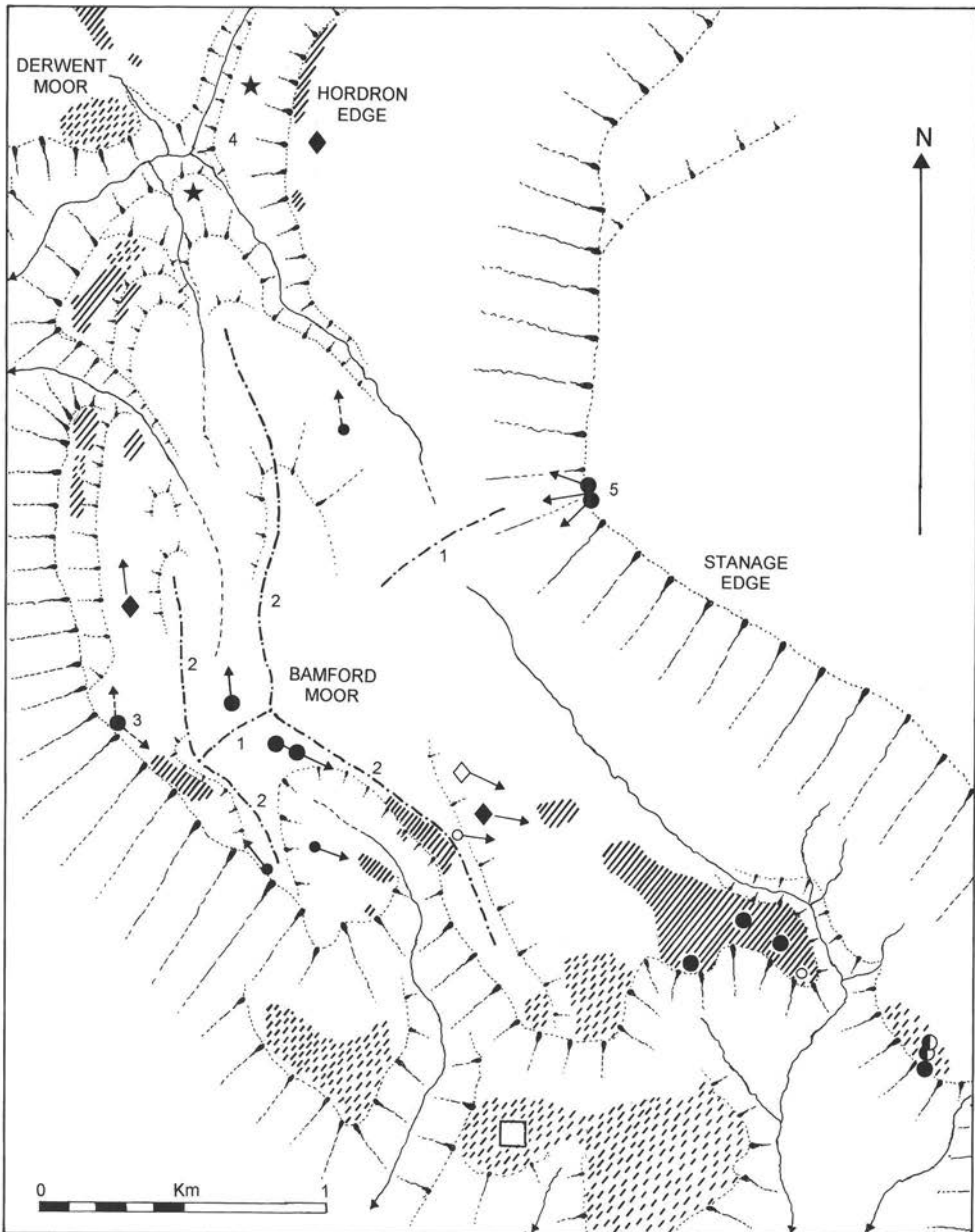
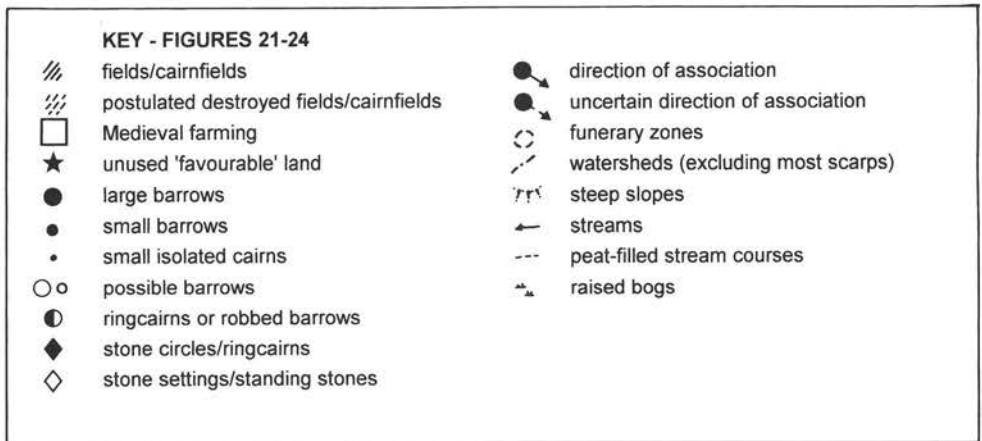


Fig. 21: The evidence for local communities and the boundaries to the land they farmed; Bamford Moor (1–5 see text).

local scale is not supported by the ‘field-areas’ at Stoke Flat, where the eastern fields have no monuments of their own. At a broader scale, the expanse of poorly drained land south of Big Moor (Fig. 22: 3) may well act as a boundary between this area and the Gardom’s Edge settlement. The postulated destroyed cairnfield in this boundary zone



(Fig. 22: 8) has been shown for consistencies sake on Figure 22 purely on the basis of topography and soils. It may be that no fields were ever created here because it lay in an ambiguous location between communities. Fieldwalking over a significant part of this area found Mesolithic lithics but only a little of Later Neolithic/Bronze Age date (Barnatt 1994, 290, 331–32).

The area centred on Harland Edge provides particularly clearly visible relationships between 'field-areas' and the monuments above them (Fig. 23). The Edge forms a watershed, with monuments placed to either side, mostly with views directed to fields at Gibbet Moor West to the north and Beeley Warren/Beeley Moor to the south. A boundary between the last two areas is suggested by the uncultivated area here with its two barrows (Fig. 23: 1). However, it is unclear whether the monuments on the Harland Edge shelf above (Fig. 23: 2) relate to both areas or just Beeley Warren. At a more local scale, the number and placing of monuments on Beeley Warren suggests that each discrete 'field-area' may have had a separate social identity. Brampton East Moor is more ambiguous in that a shelf with a large barrow but no cairnfield strongly suggests a boundary here (Fig. 23: 3), while two small areas of cultivation on the ridge above superficially contradict this (Fig. 23: 4, 5). It has been suggested above that the latter remains are early in date and did not develop further once local communities had established traditional grazing boundaries. It is unclear if the small barrow on higher ground (Fig. 23: 6) was built in association with the southernmost of these early cairnfields (Fig. 23: 5) or whether it was built by communities to the north-west or east.

The north-western moors provide other good examples of the inter-relationships between fields and monuments (Fig. 24). Generally each cluster of cairnfields has its own monuments, thus the very local is stressed. One area of cairnfield-free land (Fig. 24: 1) fits with division at this scale. Two lower shelves (Fig. 24: 2), flanking the deep valley that dissects the north-western gritstone upland, appear not to have been utilised for settlement and agriculture; a small settlement area on a third shelf (Fig. 24: 3) is of uncertain date and interpretation. This avoidance may suggest a boundary between communities to north and south. It is not known if improved shelves further west (Fig. 24: 4) were similarly avoided. Another potential indicator of a boundary at a broad



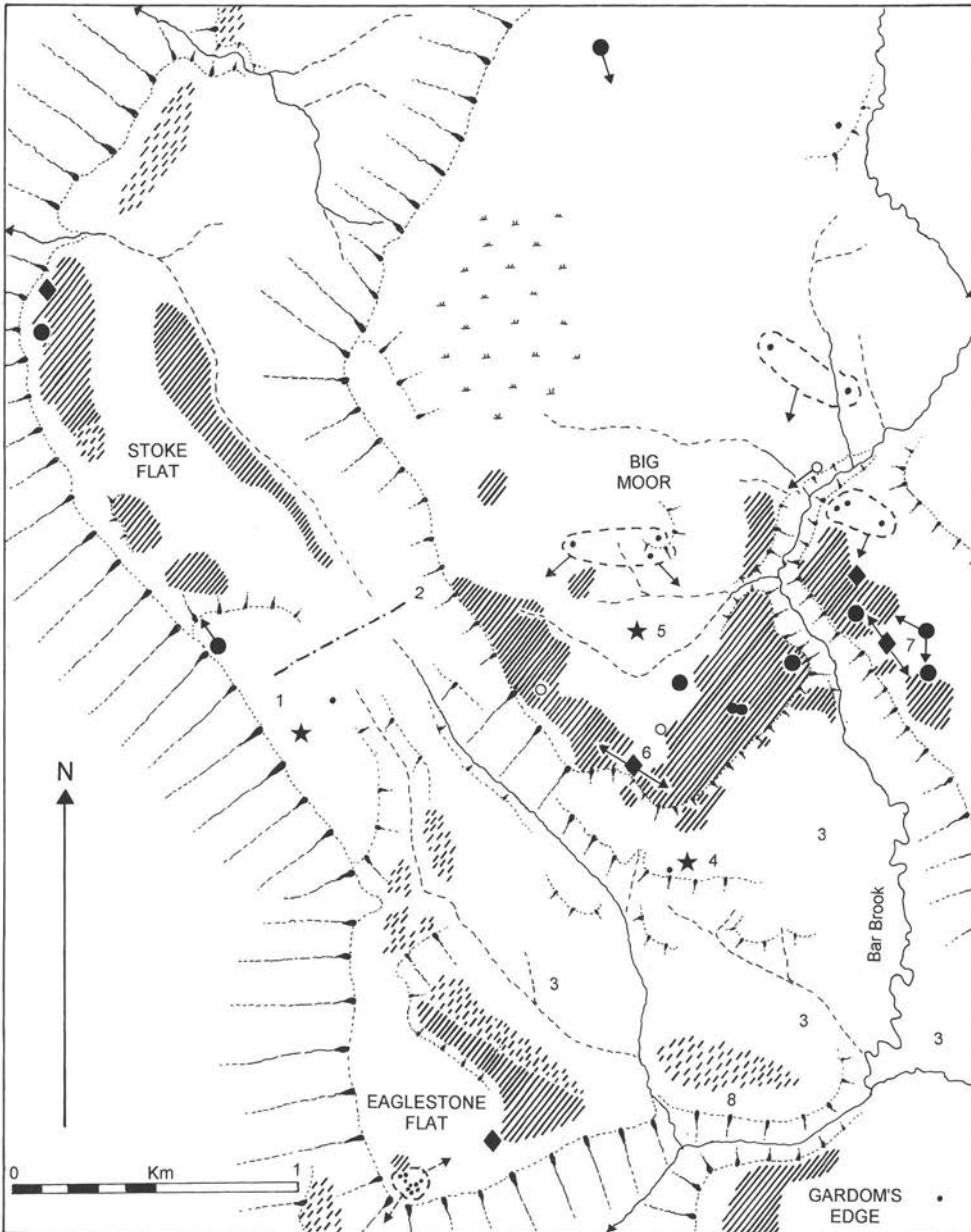


Fig. 22: The evidence for local communities and the boundaries to the land they farmed; Stoke Flat, Eaglestone Flat and Big Moor (1–8 see text).

scale is the 'funerary zone' on Eyam Moor (Fig. 24: 5). However, it is unclear if all the monuments here were exclusively built by the farmers on Eyam Moor to the north-east, or whether the people at Stanage to the north-west and others to the south-east were also

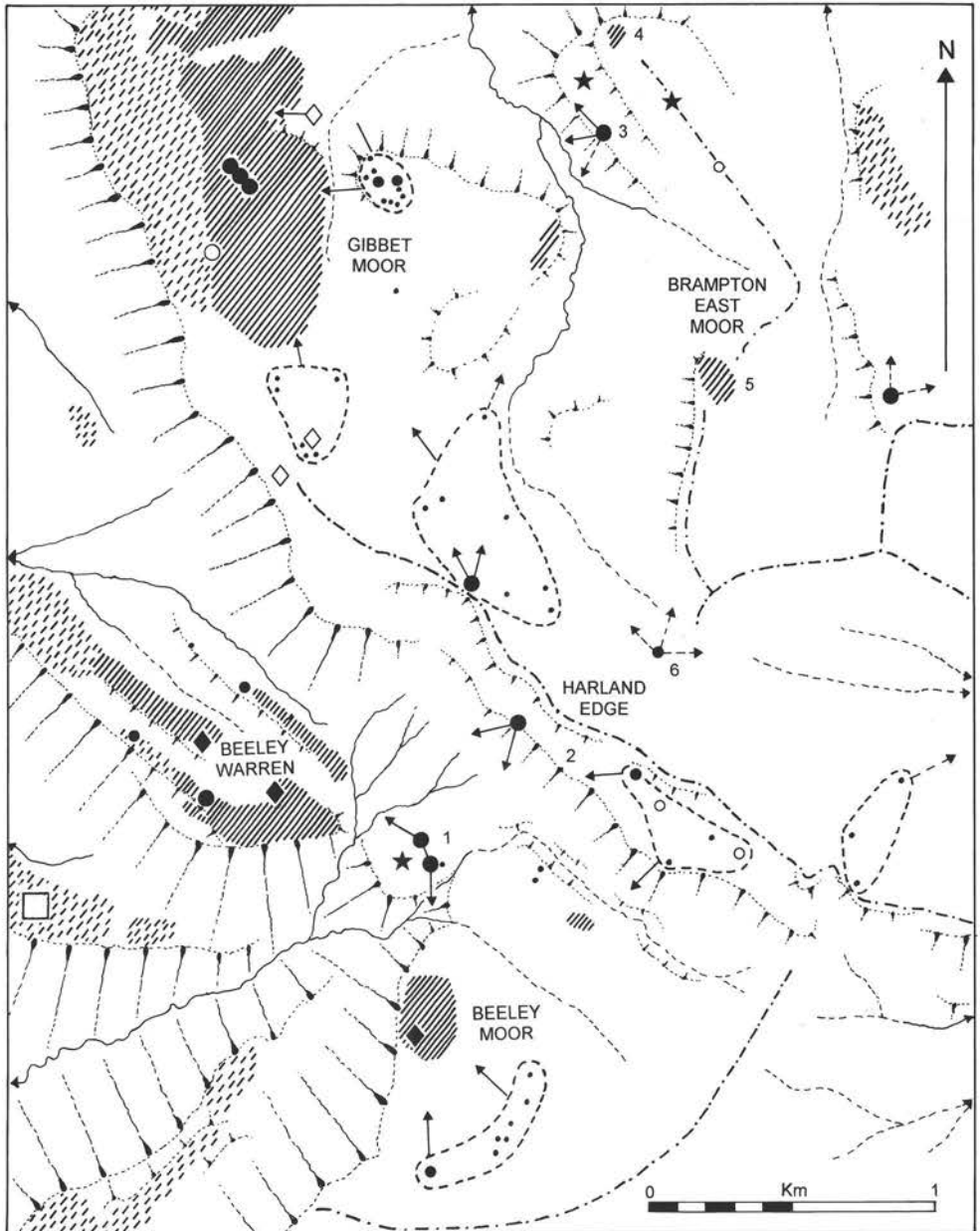


Fig. 23: The evidence for local communities and the boundaries to the land they farmed; Gibbet Moor to Beeley Moor (1–5 see text).

involved. The high ridge of Sir William's Hill (Fig. 24: 6) may have formed a boundary between communities on either side.

Taking this evidence and its problems as a whole, several observations can be made. In some cases there are indications that very local definition was relevant to prehistoric

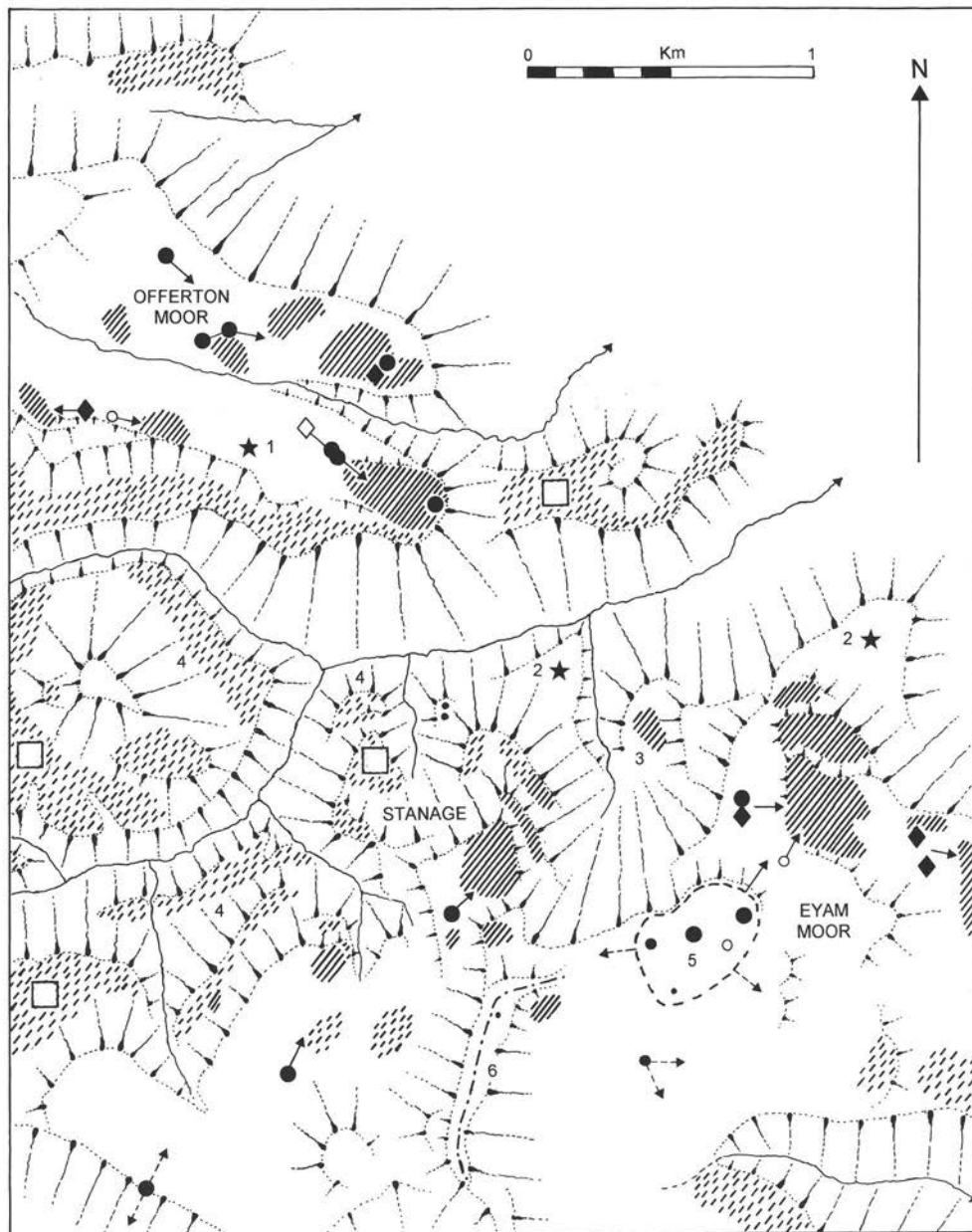


Fig. 24: The evidence for local communities and the boundaries to the land they farmed; Offerton Moor to Eyam Moor (1-6 see text).

peoples on the East Moors. Evidence is provided by the many instances where 'field-areas' each have their own monuments. Such a pattern is clearly seen where individual 'field-areas' cluster, as for example at the southern half of Bamford Moor (Fig. 21), on Big Moor (Fig. 22), on Beeley Warren (Fig. 23) and on the north-western moors

(Fig. 24). However, this relationship between 'field-areas' and monuments does not apply to all 'field-area' clusters, as for example at Stoke Flat (Fig. 22) and the northern half of Bamford Moor (Fig. 21). These cases — and the evidence for emphasis on watershed boundaries as for example at Bamford Moor (Fig. 21) and Harland Edge (Fig. 23) — suggest somewhat broader social organisation (but still at a local scale). That some areas of agriculturally suitable land were never utilised may perhaps again indicate the use of land was prescribed by somewhat wider communities than those of the individual family farm. Evidence for even broader social boundaries may be provided by the siting of barrows in high places, as at Stanage Edge (Fig. 21; 5), Harland Edge (Fig. 23: 2) and Eyam Moor (Fig. 24: 5), each 'overlooking' more than one settlement area. As the evidence for these various 'local' options varies from place to place, it is unclear whether each existed at any one time, whether levels of organisation changed through time, or whether some have been given undue emphasis or misinterpreted.

When problems with the nesting of potential boundaries are combined with the possibility that boundary positions changed significantly over the last two millennia BC, the conclusion to be drawn is that while there is extensive evidence to confirm that communities on the East Moors had strong local identities, it is impossible to reconstruct boundaries between them with any confidence.

### **Local Communities on the East Moors and People from Beyond**

Another issue which adds further uncertainty to attempted definition of local communities on the East Moors is the extent to which there was a 'self-contained' population. For example, were the people living here also farming land in the Derwent Valley or elsewhere in the region? Similarly, were other groups visiting the East Moors for transhumant summer grazing? Again the simple answer is that we do not know.

The possibility that all the East Moor settlements and fields were used seasonally or in otherwise periodic fashion should not be dismissed lightly. However, what is clear is that the use of this area was 'sustained' in character and not at the fringes of communal activity. The size of typical individual 'field-areas' and accompanying upper grazing land is certainly sufficient to sustain farming families indefinitely if the land was well managed. Looking at the relative potential for settlement across the Peak District as a whole, the East Moors were certainly not marginal in character. Indeed the light soils here may have made them particularly attractive with many advantages over the Derwent Valley and the Coal Measure foothills to the east. The numbers of Earlier Bronze Age monuments in close association with the fields, to the extent that every local community probably had its complement, suggests that their spiritual well being (as far as monuments they thought desirable is concerned) was fully catered for at this time. This is reinforced by the very small number of barrows sited to overlook the Derwent Valley, the lack of referencing to this major valley gives the impression that the East Moor communities were relatively 'self-contained' in the way they perceived their land. As noted above, the impressive East Moors western scarp may well have created a strong cognitive sense of the Derwent Valley and East Moors having separate upland and lowland identities.

All this said, the East Moors were certainly not the only focal area for settlement in the Peak District. For example, the limestone plateau is equally advantageous and has significantly larger areas of land suitable for 'sustained' farming. While this paper focuses on the local, it should also be remembered that there were undoubtedly over-arching

socio-political groupings or affiliations, within which all individual local communities operated, which may well have created links between all parts of the Peak District. Similarly there was undoubtedly regular contact with people in other regions. There are clear needs for sustained interaction between local groups, for example to exchange livestock, a necessity to maintain healthy flocks and herds by preventing inbreeding (Pryor 1998, 67). Reconstructing broader human social communities in any detail is as problematic as a study of the local. We are given clues as their existence, as for example in the Later Neolithic where the limestone plateau is 'divided' by the similarly designed henges at Arbor Low and the Bull Ring. Similarly, the three to four larger hillforts of the region are regularly spaced along the interface between the limestone plateau and the Derwent/lower Wye Valley zone. However, it is likely that such over-arching organisation was extremely fluid over that last two millennia BC and at best these examples only represent snapshots in time and specific parts of what may well have been complex hierarchies of social relations.

Turning to the later prehistoric evidence which is the focus of this paper — the fields, cairnfields and Bronze Age ritual monuments — while I have concentrated on local differences here, there are also many broad similarities throughout the region. On the East Moors themselves many individual local communities created analogous fields, stone circles and barrows, siting these in comparable ways. Similarly, for instance, there is little to distinguish the barrows of the East Moors with those on the limestone plateau. All these monuments and fields fit comfortably within broad social and architectural traditions found often across extensive areas of Britain. Thus, there are many common links which go well beyond the local. For example, there are very similar 'field-areas' on the North York Moors (Spratt 1993, 109–20) and in parts of Cumbria (Higham 1986, 90). Round barrows provide a second example; they are ubiquitous throughout much of Britain. However, these also illustrate that although the external monument form is common and easily copied, their contents are varied, reflecting social changes through time (Garwood 1991) and distinct regional differences in social organisation (Barnatt 1996c, 67–80). With all such examples there is a fundamental problem with any simplistic attempt to use them to reconstruct large-scale social communities; how do we distinguish between socio-political groups that can be recognised by their use of similar monument (or artefact) forms, and the transference and adaptation of ideas between groups with separate identities?

Returning to the East Moors, the issue of whether 'outside' communities grazed animals seasonally on this land is also difficult to address. The high density of settlement and its even distribution over much of the East Moors (assuming much was occupied contemporaneously) suggests that there were no significant areas set aside for such activity. In some uplands, as on Dartmoor, it is thought that the large areas of upper land beyond farmsteads, fields and bounded pastures were used by transhumant groups from off the moor (Fleming 1988, 103–5); such a suggestion may well be supported by the large number of pounds around the fringes of these upper areas. There are only a handful of possible examples of pounds on the East Moors and none of these are particularly convincing. It may well be that the East Moors were different, there being no extensive areas available which made large-scale transhumance an attractive option. It seems more likely that the grazing of the open pastures of the East Moors was undertaken by people with relatively local 'home bases'. The communities that created the settlements



and fields here probably also used the open pastures. This of course does not mean that there were not different task groups within these communities who supervised the flocks and herds when away from the fields, perhaps on a seasonal basis. This also does not preclude the possibility that the open pastures on the East Moors were shared with communities from outside. Given the postulated Neolithic use of the Peak landscape, where groups travelled between the limestone plateau and other parts of the region, it is perhaps likely that traditional rights of tenure continued into later prehistory and that social or kinship links with people who had 'settled-down' elsewhere in the region were maintained. While settlement on the East Moors may have been occupied all year round, the number of people here in summer may have increased significantly.

The only areas of the Peak District which certainly do not have extensive evidence for later prehistoric settlement are those to the north, centred on Bleaklow and extending as far south-east as Stanage Edge and Burbage Moor. While these would sustain some stock, the ground is bleak and unattractive. No distinctive pounds or shielings have been identified here.

### **Local Communities and Their Land: Legitimate Inferences and Unwarranted Assumptions**

In this last section, despite the problems raised above, 'local areas' are tentatively postulated for the East Moors. These are shown on Figure 25.

What these identified 'local areas' represent is open to question. The problems raised above regarding the nested possibilities in determining meaningful parameters for defining prehistoric local communities illustrate that identifying real boundaries to these may well be impossible. What follows is a description of 'local areas' that at best may well be only part of the picture and at worst may have little bearing on what later prehistoric peoples perceived as the boundaries of 'their place'. However, while these defined areas thus have obvious limitations, their value is in their usefulness in quantifying the evidence for the local distinctiveness of communities on the East Moors, by documenting the differences and similarities between each identified 'local area'.

In deciding which scale of boundaries to use for these purposes amongst the nested choices available, it was necessary to choose the option that defined areas small enough to contain the local differences, whilst not being so small that their usefulness was negated. Thus the very local scale which treats every 'field-area' as a separate entity is ignored for present purposes. Instead 16 areas are described which rely, where possible, on the boundaries suggested by barrows near watersheds and by unused agricultural areas (Fig. 25; Table 3). In some cases there are topographical 'barriers' within individual 'local areas' which may suggest that each contained several distinct local communities.

Table 3 shows that local patterning can be identified at this scale. Well defined field boundaries within agricultural areas are confined to areas B to I (except D), while distinctive large or co-axial fields are further restricted to areas E to I. Although stone circles and ringcairns are usually found in close association with fields, in the north (areas A–D) they are set somewhat apart (as is one circle on Stanton Moor). Barrows are found within or close to fields in all cases except areas A and J. Barrows at a distance from fields are found in all cases except areas E and G. Funerary cairnfields and 'funerary zones' tend to occur where fields are more extensive and where boundary visibility is good. Elsewhere there is usually a thinner scattering of isolated cairns. Monuments with atypical architecture are concentrated on Gibbet Moor (area H), an area where stone

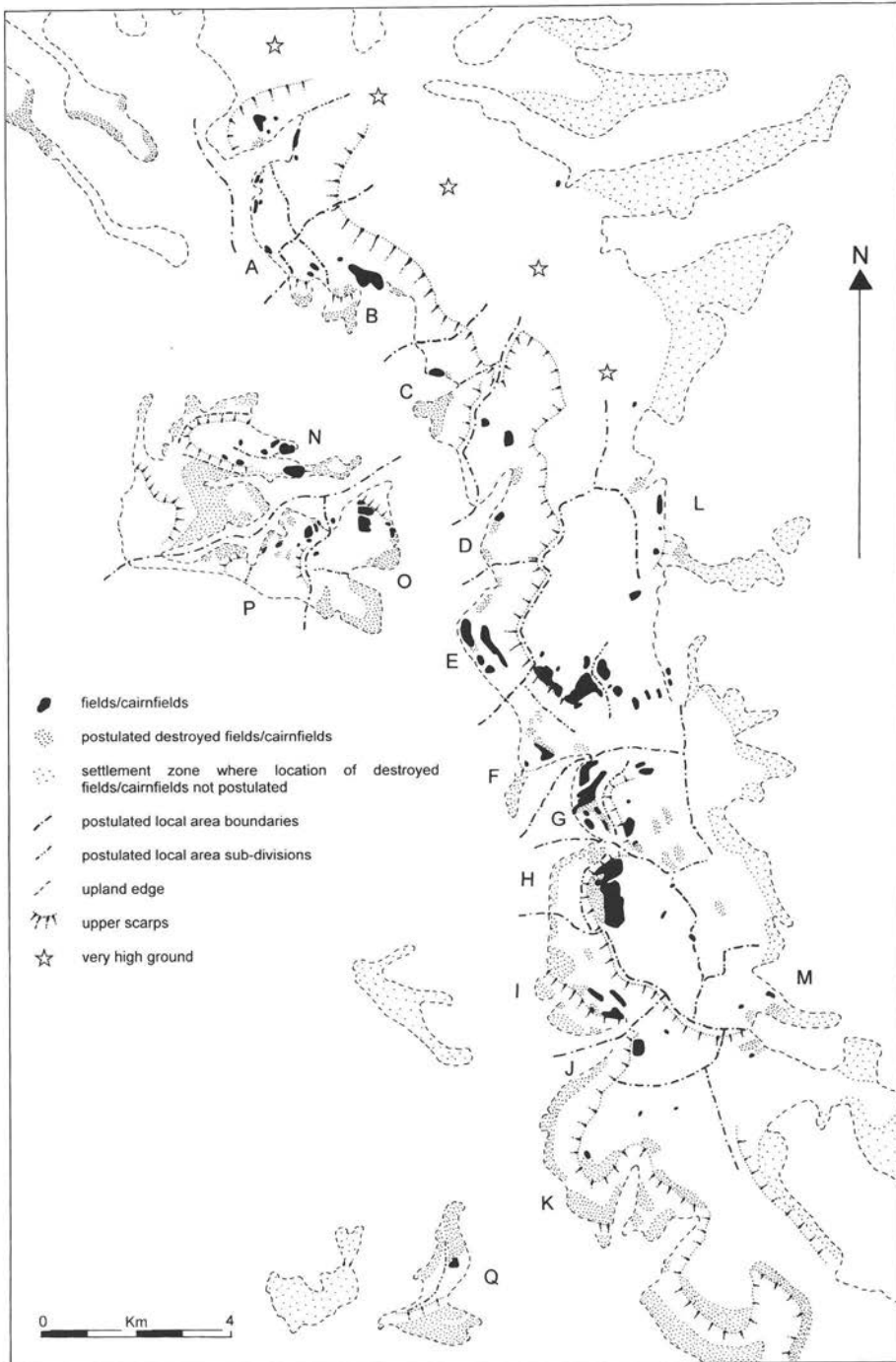


Fig. 25: Postulated 'local areas' on the East Moors.

settings and standing stones of unusual design (in a Peak District context) are the norm. Similar variation spreads into nearby areas (G, J and M), with further examples to the north in areas A and B.

To bring this all together, the defined areas have the following characteristics:

**A: Bamford Moor North** — Here there are only simple cairnfields and this suggests settlement here may well have been of relatively short or intermittent duration. Monuments are restricted to one or two per 'field-area' and tend to be set at some distance away, usually on higher land. Unusual monuments include the Hordron Edge stone circle which is free-standing rather than embanked, and a small cairn with a kerb of spaced orthostats; this may have been built by the same community who erected the circle.

**B: Bamford Moor South** — This area also has small simple cairnfields on higher land, but there is a larger 'field-area' with visible field boundaries on lower ground. The latter may well be the surviving part of a core settlement zone of long duration. Monuments are more common than in area A and these include barrows within the main surviving area of well-defined fields. The one stone circle is atypical in that it is very small and has a tall menhir nearby; it again is set at some distance from the fields.

**C: Callow** — Opposite the one small extant 'field-area', on the other side of the deep stream valley, there may once have been further occupation. Well developed field boundaries at Callow may indicate that settlement, while restricted in extent, was of relatively long duration. There are no surviving monuments.

**D: Hathersage Moor** — Survival in this area is patchy, although it may well be that settlement here was again restricted to a series of small discrete areas. The surviving 'field-areas' have poor boundary definition, although this may not have been the case in the postulated destroyed examples which were more favourably sited. The only surviving ringcairn is set some distance from the fields, as with areas A and B, but in this case it is sited midway between two 'field-areas'. There are barrows both close to fields and set apart.

**E: Stoke Flat** — This area may be an extension of area D but is separated by a steep ridge across the shelf and is different in character in that the fields here are more extensive. Field boundaries are well defined, suggesting settlement was of long duration; this is confirmed by palaeo-environmental work. The fields include some narrow co-axial and large rectangular types. Monuments include what appears to be a purposeful pairing of a stone circle and a barrow.

**F: Big Moor** — Here there are core 'field-areas' with well developed field boundaries, some defining distinctive narrow co-axial and large rectangular fields, together with smaller and simpler cairnfields in peripheral areas. The core area may well have been used over a long period. Monuments are commonly associated with the fields, while beyond these there are 'funerary zones' and a watershed barrow. The Barbrook I stone circle may well be purposefully paired with the barrow nearby.

**G: Gardom's Edge** — Again there are extensive 'field-areas' with well developed field boundaries, in one area defining distinctive large rectangular fields. In another area the

Table 3: Local differences in field and monument types on the East Moors.

**Key**

Column A: 'Local area' designation (Fig. 25)	Column I: Atypical stone circles/stone settings and single standing stones
Column B: 'Local area' name	
Column C: Visible small rectangular/irregular fields	Column J: Barrows within fields
Column D: Visible large rectangular/irregular fields	Column K: Barrows at edge or near fields
Column E: Visible co-axial fields	Column L: Barrows at a distance from fields
Column F: Isolated 'enclosures'	Column M: Funerary cairnfields/'funerary zones'
	Column N: Atypical barrows
Column G: Embanked stone circles/ringcairns within or close to fields	Column O: Stone circles alone
Column H: Embanked stone circles/ringcairns at some distance from fields	Column P: Barrow pairings
	Column Q: Stone circle or stone setting/barrow pairings

**Main East Moors**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
A	Bamford Moor North						X	X			X		X	X	X	
B	Bamford Moor South	X					X	X	X		X			X	X	
(C	Callow	X														)
D	Hathersage Moor						X			X	X			X		
E	Stoke Flat	X	X	X		X			X		X					X
F	Big Moor	X		X	?	X			X	X	X	X		X	X	X
G	Gardom's Edge	X	X	X	?	X		X		X				X		
H	Gibbet Moor	X	X	?				X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
I	Beeley Warren	?	?	X		X			X	X	X			X	X	
J	Beeley Moor				X	X					X	X	X	X	?	
(K	Falling Edge					?	?				X	X		?	X	)

**Eastern Margins**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
(L	Brown Edge					X							?	?	X	)
(M	Longside Moor												?	X		)

**West of the Derwent**

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q
N	Offerton Moor					X		?	X	X	X			X	X	X
O	Eyam Moor					X		X		X	X	X		X		X
P	Stanage									X	?					
(Q	Stanton Moor					X	X	X			X	X		?		X)

Note: areas with little extant, or with significant elements missing, are placed in brackets.

fields are particularly small. Two cross-shelf land boundaries are unique to this area. Even the 'field-areas' above Birchen Edge have well developed field boundaries, although the exposed example to the north may have had a relatively short life as its field layout is simple. Monuments are associated with the fields but there are no convincing examples set at a distance. As well as two to three ringcairns there are one to three standing stones. The latter are absent in many parts of the East Moors and this trend for atypical monuments becomes more pronounced in area H.

**H: Gibbet Moor** — This area has a very extensive 'field-area' with partial boundary definition. Although large rectangular and possible narrow co-axial fields are present, it is north facing and was possibly not used over such an extended period as the core parts of areas E, F and G. There may well have been further settlement on the western shelf which has now been improved. To the east there are three small cairnfields; these cultivation areas were probably used for only for a short time and may be early in date. The Gibbet Moor area has a very distinctive suite of monuments, comprising a four poster, two stone settings and standing stones; there are no embanked stone circles or ringcairns. Other regionally unusual monuments include kerb cairns and the strange barrow at Hob Hurst's House. Monuments are found associated with fields but are also common in funerary cairnfields and 'funerary zones', and there are watershed barrows.

**I: Beeley Warren** — Here there are both simple cairnfields and a 'field-area' with good boundary definition, which includes narrow co-axial and possibly large rectangular fields. These 'field-areas' may well be the surviving upper parts of a settlement core area which in its more favourable areas was used over an extended period. Monuments are associated with the fields and there are barrows near boundaries.

**J: Beeley Moor** — This area may be a southward extension of area I; however, it has different characteristics. The one 'field-area' is distinctive in that it has a single 'enclosure' surrounded by a cairnfield with poor boundary definition. It is located on a north-facing slope and may well have been used only for a relatively short period, whereas longer-term settlement may have concentrated on the now improved main shelf to the south-west. There is a small ringcairn within the 'enclosure'. Beyond the cairnfield there are one or two 'funerary zones'; that on Harland Edge could be associated with zone I. These include kerb cairns and small barrows, one of which has a unique internal boat-shaped setting.

**K: Fallinge Edge** — The bulk of settlement evidence here, which probably included core areas on lower shelves, has been destroyed. There is a funerary cairnfield set high above the settlement areas, which includes a triple barrow, kerb cairns and a rectangular cairn.

**L: Brown Edge** — This area of rare survival above the eastern fringe, has small simple cairnfields on high land. Any core settlement areas that once may have existed will have been sited on improved land to the east. Two of the cairnfields have associated stone circles.

**M: Longside Moor** — Much of the evidence here has probably been destroyed; only small cairnfields remain at the fringes of viable settlement areas. There is a small 'funerary zone' on Harland Edge.



**N: Offerton Moor** — This area is characterised by simple cairnfields with poor boundary definition, suggesting settlement may have been of relatively short duration. This contrasts with improved areas to the south-west around Abney which are much more favourable and may well have been the core settlement area. Improved shelves to the north-west are exposed and probably once had similar cairnfields to those of Offerton Moor. Monuments are common close to fields and these include two conjoined barrows on Highlow Bank with a possible standing stone nearby. There is one barrow set apart from the fields but none on the higher ground to the west.

**O: Eyam Moor** — This area is similar to the last in that it has extensive simple cairnfields. More favourable improved shelves to the south may well have had settlements used over a longer period. Monuments are found in association with the cairnfields, including the paired barrow and stone circle at Wet Withens, and a free-standing stone circle elsewhere on Eyam Moor. There is nearby a ‘funerary zone’ with barrows on high land.

**P: Stanage** — This area again has simple cairnfields and there are small improved areas nearby which are more favourable. There are two associated barrows known; other monuments may have been destroyed.

**Q: Stanton Moor** — The bulk of settlement evidence here, which probably included core areas, has been destroyed. The area stands out because of its large funerary cairnfield and the number of stone circles and barrows within a small area. Within the improved area there is an atypical small stone circle at Doll Tor.

## CONCLUSIONS

While local communities with their own sense of identity undoubtedly existed on the East Moors, defining the boundaries perceived by prehistoric people with any degree of confidence is impossible. The various clues to local boundaries contained within the archaeological record have been documented and these potentially operated at a variety of nested scales.

It is argued that each group who saw themselves as living in ‘one place’ would have had their own fields and open pastures over which they had tenure. It may be that while settlement was ‘sustained’, there were strong links with people elsewhere in the region and that populations on the East Moors fluctuated seasonally. Family monuments were built in areas over which people had tenure. Sometimes these were in remote places, perhaps built by specific task groups looking after grazing animals, sited where ritual acts were set apart from ‘the land of the living’ but perhaps also where ancestors and spirits could overlook the living. It was also important to build monuments within or close to the settlements and fields, perhaps to legitimise family use of these and to further their well-being. Each group may well have varied the way they did some things, compared with their neighbours, and this is sometimes reflected in the monuments and fields they built. However, having a sense of place is something of the mind. Many contacts obviously existed with neighbours and the wider community and these may well have operated in a variety of ways and at different scales.

The East Moors have been divided into 16 ‘local areas’. Their boundaries certainly do not meet rigorous standards of definition and may or may not have had meaning to

prehistoric people. The *raison d'être* for documenting them is rather that they are a useful tool for describing local variation in the way prehistoric communities expressed their identities.

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