

DERBYSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

THE HILL-FORTS OF THE PEAK.

By F. L. PRESTON.

THE technique of hill-fort defence was introduced into Britain by the earliest Iron Age intruders of the fifth century B.C. and continued to be used by successive Iron Age people until the Roman occupation. The main concentration of hill-forts in southern Britain is on the chalklands south of the Thames, in the South-West, in Wales and in the Welsh Marches. Elsewhere, hill-forts occur sporadically south of a Mersey-Humber line;¹ north of that line they are rare, until they become common again in southern Scotland, where some may be contemporaneous with, or even later than, the Roman period. In the southern Pennines, however, there is a group of hill-forts, smaller than many in southern England, but exhibiting similar features of situation and construction.

The hill-forts which are the subject of this paper form part of this southern Pennine group. Mostly avoiding the limestone, these forts (like the others of this group) lie on the millstone grit, the Yoredale shales and sandstones and the coal measure sandstones of north Derbyshire and of the adjacent part of the West Riding, where the Pennines broaden out into the Peak.

¹ W. J. Varley and C. F. C. Hawkes, in *Arch. Journ.*, CV, 1950, 42, fig. 1 Map to show the principal Iron Age hill-forts.

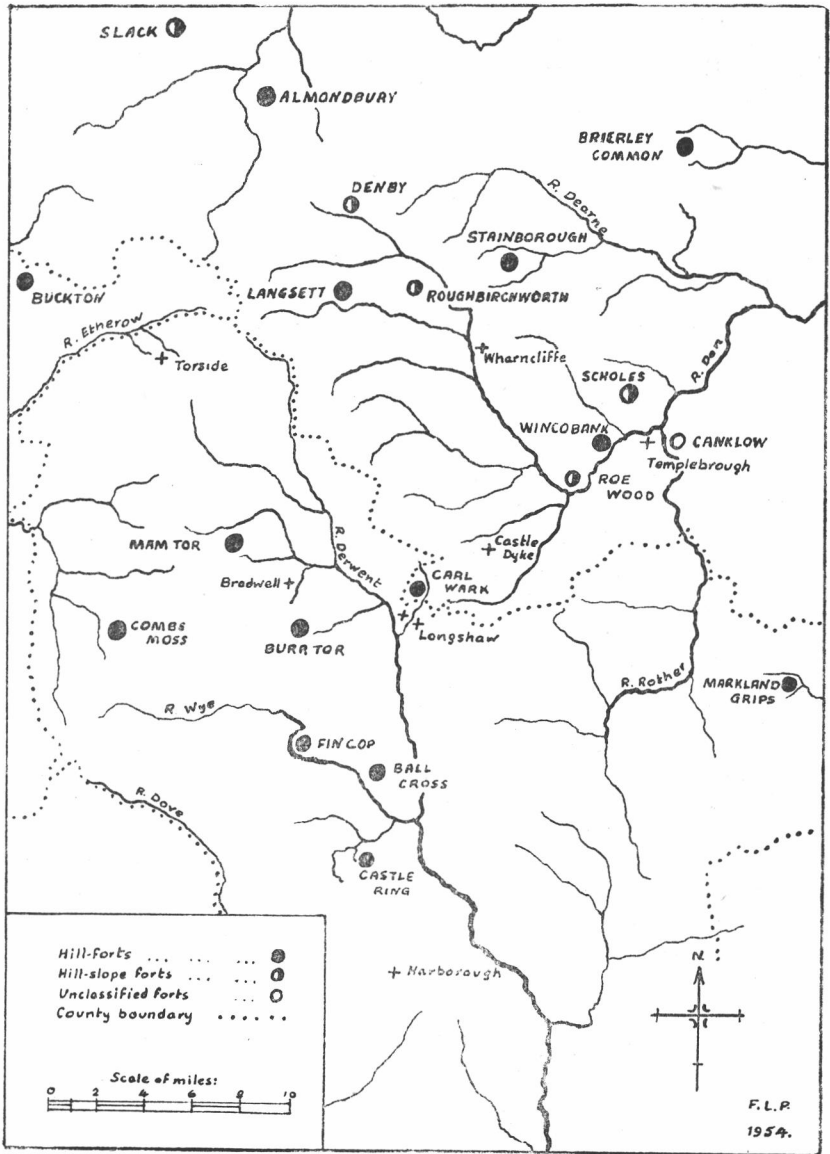


FIG. 1.—The Hill-forts of the Southern Pennine group.

F.L.P.
1954.

MAM TOR.² The steep-sided ridge of sandstone and shale, which divides the vale of Edale on the north from the Hope valley and the limestone plateau on the south, broadens and rises sharply to over 1,600 feet above O.D. at its south-western end before falling to the col which separates it from the similar ridge of Rushup Edge. This higher and broader extremity of the ridge is occupied by the hill-fort of Mam Tor, which thus has steep slopes on every side. From the fort there are extensive views in all directions. Mam Tor is not only the largest of the local forts, but the sweep of its defences and the grass-covered ridge on which it lies make it resemble more closely than the others the hill-forts of the southern chalklands.

A rampart, a ditch and a counterscarp bank, enclosing an irregular area of 16 acres, follow the contours on the east, south and west, but come almost to a point on the north, where they rise to cross the ridge. Except on the south-east and the south-west, where the shales have slipped and carried them away, the banks and the ditch are continuous and well preserved. On the west they run lower down the ridge than elsewhere. The height of the rampart above the present bottom of the ditch is fairly consistent. Where recently measured, the vertical height was 29 feet on the south, 23 feet on the east and 30 feet on the west. Throughout its circuit the rampart is raised several feet above the interior, which gives the appearance of an inner ditch between the rampart and the internal slope of the fort. In fact, it is possible that, where the internal slope is less steep on the south and for some 50 yards beyond the landslip on the east, an inner bank and an inner ditch are present behind the main rampart. There are clear indications that the rampart on the west and on the north-east is composed largely of stone, but this is not so much apparent on the south and on the south-east. A stream rises just within the rampart on the north-west and flows through marshy ground across the line of the defences. The latter are missing here and, as the rampart and the counterscarp

² 6-in. O.S. sheet, Derbys. 9 NE. Nat. grid ref., SK 128837. *D.A.J.*, XXIV, 1902, 27; XXXVII, 1915, 87.

bank appear to end abruptly on either side of the marsh, they may never have been raised across the water-logged ground.

Where the ridge dips steeply at the south-west there is an entrance, of Dr. Varley's double-inturn type.³ The ramparts at either side of the entrance turn to run inwards for 100 feet with a narrow passageway between them. The eastern inturned bank closes up the inner ditch behind the southern rampart. There is a similar entrance where the defences cross the ridge on the north, the ramparts here running inwards for 50 feet, again with a narrow passageway between them. There are indications of a hollow-way coming transversely up the hillside to this entrance from the south-west.

Apart from the objects from the two earlier barrows within the circuit of the fort, the only find recorded from Mam Tor is a small fragment of a rounded and slightly inturned rim, suggestive of a bag-shaped pot of Iron Age type, which Mrs. C. M. Piggott picked up in 1950 immediately within the rampart on the eastern side of the fort.⁴

MARKLAND GRIPS.⁵ Markland Grips is situated on the magnesian limestone at about 350 feet above O.D., a mile east of Clowne and 13 miles south-east of Winco-bank, the nearest known fort. Markland Grips occupies, not a hill, but the level headland between two narrow, confluent ravines with perpendicular sides. The headland is roughly rectangular, 450 yards long, with an average width of 130 yards and an area of some 12 acres.

Commencing at the edge of a small re-entrant in the northern ravine, a rampart, 200 yards in length, cuts off the neck of the promontory and is continuous to the edge of the opposite ravine, except for a central entrance and where it has been destroyed by the railway which crosses the south-western corner of the fort. The rampart still stands to a height of 4-6 feet above the interior and is 30-40 feet wide. There are indications that it is mostly composed of stones, and a small portion of the outer

³ W. J. Varley, "The Hill-forts of the Welsh Marches", in *Arch. Journ.*, *cit.*, 53.

⁴ *Arch. News Letter*, III, 77. The fragment is in Sheffield City Museum.

⁵ *Derbys.* 19 SE. SK 510751. *V.C.H., Derbys.*, I, 364 f.; *D.A.J.*, XXXIII, 1911, 13.

scarp near the railway, now (1954) exposed, and the steep slope of the scarp in many places suggest that the rampart may have had an outer stone revetment.

From the northern ravine to the central entrance the ditch, which the Rev. J. C. Cox found to be 8-9 feet deep,⁶ has been completely ploughed out. Between the entrance and the railway the ditch, a counterscarp bank and perhaps an outer ditch are yet present, whilst the rampart, ditch and counterscarp bank reappear beyond the railway. The latter may have destroyed the third bank and ditch, which Cox recorded. The central entrance is a simple gap in the defences and the original entrance may have been at the south-western corner of the fort, where the ravine begins to broaden out.

Roman coins have been found within half a mile of the fort.⁷

FIN COP.⁸ Fin Cop occupies the western part of the summit of a mountain limestone hill, the northern and western sides of which fall precipitously to the river Wye, here flowing through the Monsal Dale gorge. The fort lies at 1,025 feet above O.D., 8 miles south-east of Mam Tor, and covers an area of about 10 acres.

On the east the fort is cut off from the rest of the hill by a rampart which, commencing at the edge of the northern precipice, runs southwards for 250 yards and then curves south-westwards for a further 180 yards, to end at the edge of the western precipice. A ditch, a counterscarp bank and an outer ditch accompany the rampart for the first 200 yards from its northern end, but the counterscarp bank and the outer ditch are now elsewhere missing, as is the inner ditch itself in many places. The rampart appears not to have been carried round the steep northern and western sides of the hill, although these sides may have been scarped and surmounted by a palisade. The entrance, seemingly of simple type, was through the double banks and ditches at a point 125 yards from their northern end.

In Demon's Dale on the opposite side of the river at

⁶ *V.C.H.*, *cit.*

⁷ 6-in. O.S. sheet, *cit.*

⁸ *Derbys.* 23 NW. SK 174710. *D.A.J.*, XXXIV, 1912, 133; LIX, 1938, 116; *V.C.H.*, *Derbys.*, I, 369, 371.

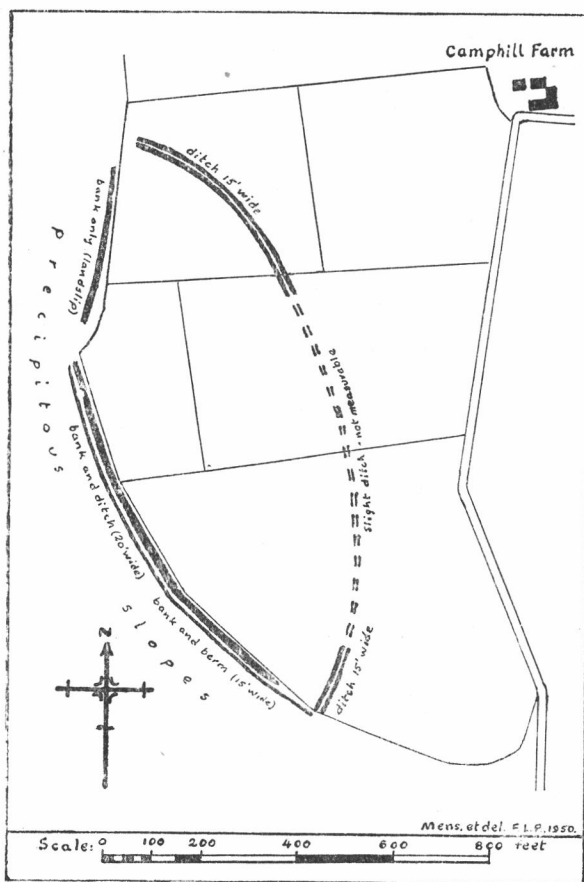


FIG. 2.—Burr Tor Hill-fort, Great Hucklow.

the foot of Fin Cop there is a possible village site on a small plateau known as Horsborough. In 1908 the site yielded Romano-British pottery and a "ruder native sort", which may have been of Iron Age type.⁹

BURR TOR.¹⁰ Burr Tor, above Great Hucklow, lies 5 miles south-east of Mam Tor at the junction of the

⁹ *D.A.J.*, XXXIII, 1911, 125.

¹⁰ *Derbys.* 16 NW. SK 180783. *Archæologia*, X, 1792, 467; F. L. Preston, in *Arch. News Letter*, II, 204.

L-shaped escarpment, 1,300 feet above O.D., in which the shales and sandstones of Eyam and Abney Moors end above the limestone plateau and dales.

In *Archæologia* for 1792 I found a note on this fort by a Mr. Creswell, of Edale, which may be quoted, as the site does not seem to have been subsequently noticed. He said: "On the top of Burr Tor near Great Hucklow . . . there is an oval camp surrounded by a double ditch, not very broad or very deep. It encloses about eight acres (as I guess) by taking in the top of the Tor. It is longest from north to south . . . The entrance seems to have been at the north and the south . . ."

Since Creswell's day the site has been enclosed and, now covered with coarse grass, is the landing ground of the Derbyshire and Lancashire Gliding Club, whose officers willingly allowed me to inspect the site. Roughly oval, the fort is 400 yards from north to south and 150 yards from east to west. A slight ditch, 15 feet wide where measurable, which may (from Creswell's account) be the remains of a rampart, a ditch and a counterscarp bank, can be clearly traced on the ground round the eastern half of the site and also shows on air photographs of their landing ground taken by members of the gliding club. On this side the ground falls gradually to Bretton Clough, which cuts north-eastwards through the moors to the river Derwent. On the western side of the fort, at the top of the precipitous, wooded slopes, a bank and a berm, the latter 15 feet wide, in the southern section is continued by a bank and a ditch, the latter 20 feet wide, in the central section. In the northern section a landslip has carried away the ditch, but part of the bank remains. The entrances, which Creswell saw, are not now apparent.

WINCOBANK.¹¹ Wincobank is finely situated at 525 feet above O.D. on the summit of an isolated sandstone hill, 2½ miles north-east of the centre of Sheffield, whence it dominates the Don valley between Sheffield and Rotherham, as well as the valley of the Blackburn which flows southwards to join that of the Don at the foot of Wincobank Hill. With diameters of 150 yards and 103 yards,

¹¹ Yorks. W.R. 289 SW. SK 378910.

the fort covers an oval area of $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres. A rampart, a ditch and a counterscarp bank surround the fort, except on the steep northern side, where the counterscarp bank and the ditch itself are to-day missing. The rampart rises 3 feet from the interior and 9 feet from the present bottom of the ditch; the counterscarp bank is 3 feet high. On the north-eastern side of the fort a narrow ridge leads from the hill, and here is the original entrance. The rampart on the northern side of this entrance has a thickened end, whilst that on the south turns outwards across the ditch for some 10 yards to form an entrance of Dr. Varley's semi-outturn type.¹²

The fort was excavated in 1899 by Mr. E. Howarth, the Director of the Sheffield City Museum. Although this excavation was done without the benefit of modern knowledge and technique, Howarth's observations as the work progressed were carefully recorded in his day-to-day notes, which remained unknown and unpublished at the Museum until 1945, when Mr. J. W. Baggaley, then Director, allowed me to make use of them.¹³

Howarth found the rampart to be 18 feet thick and constructed entirely of stone with an outer revetment of large stones, a rubble core and an inner revetment of stones smaller than those of the outer revetment. The rampart appeared to have been raised on a cleared level space. The large stones of the collapsed outer revetment were found in the ditch, the bottom of which was 5 feet-5 feet 8 inches below the surface, that is, 14-15 feet below the present summit of the rampart. The counterscarp bank was composed of earth.

In the scarp of the ditch on the southern side of the fort, close to and on the inner side of the collapsed revetment, several pieces of early-II-century Roman pottery¹⁴ were found at depths of 2 feet 7 inches and 3 feet. At a depth of 3 feet there was a "layer of vegetable matter, as if from plants on the original surface" of the scarp, with the natural rock 8 inches below.

¹² *Op. cit.*, 53

¹³ "Ancient encampment at Wincobank, near Sheffield", being the unpublished notes of the late E. Howarth's excavation in 1899, at Sheffield City Museum. See, also, F. L. Preston, "Hill-forts in South-west Yorkshire", in *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, VI, 1947 part, 85 f.

¹⁴ In Sheffield City Museum.

The emphasis laid in Howarth's notes on the presence of burnt sandstone and charred wood everywhere in and about the walling of the inner rampart suggests that the stones of the rampart had been interlaced with bonding timbers. When fired, accidentally or intentionally, the timber had fused the stones into a vitreous mass.

COMBS MOSS.¹⁵ Combs Moss is situated at 1,400 feet above O.D. on a gritstone headland, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles south of Chapel-en-le-Frith and 6 miles south-west of Mam Tor. The fort occupies a roughly rectangular area of about $2\frac{1}{4}$ acres bounded on the northern and the western sides by the steep slopes of the headland. On the south the promontory is cut off by double banks and ditches, 550 feet in length.

The site was described by Mr. E. Tristram in this *Journal* for 1911.¹⁶ The inner bank appeared to him to be composed entirely of stone, whilst the outer bank was of stone and earth. There were two entrances — one, probably the original, between the northern end of the defences and the precipice, and approached by a hollow-way transversely ascending the hill; the other through the centre of the banks and ditches. Tristram considered that the outer bank and ditch seemed more pronounced and in better preservation than the inner. As the inner bank is normally the stronger, he may have been right in thinking that the outer bank and ditch represented a second phase of the fort, with which the central entrance might be contemporaneous.

There was a spring within the fort, and surface finds of a Roman coin and Roman pottery have been recorded.¹⁷

CARL WARK.¹⁸ Carl Wark lies on the western moorlands of Sheffield, $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles south-west of Wincobank and 8 miles east-south-east of Mam Tor. The fort occupies an isolated gritstone plateau at 1,250 feet above O.D. on the western side of the broad valley of the Burbage

¹⁵ Derbys. 15 NW. SK 055783. *D.A.J.*, XXIII, 1901, 108; XXXIII, 1911, 3; *V.C.H., Derbys.*, I, 362 f.

¹⁶ *Loc. cit.*

¹⁷ *V.C.H., cit.*, 256.

¹⁸ Derbys. 11 SW; Yorks. W.R. 298a NE. SK 260815. (To prevent confusion, it should be noted that Carl Wark lies in the area transferred in 1933 from the parish of Hathersage and Derbyshire to the city of Sheffield and the West Riding.) *V.C.H., Derbys.*, I, 361; *D.A.J.*, XXXIII, 1911, 2.

Brook, a tributary of the river Derwent. The fort is roughly rectangular, 173 yards from east to west and 53 yards from north to south, and has an area of nearly 2 acres. The interior is strewn with gritstone boulders and outcrops. The edge of the plateau is almost perpendicular on the north and hardly less precipitous on the east and south. On those sides the fort was bounded by walls of massive gritstone boulders built on the edge of the plateau.

The base of the promontory on the west is protected across its full width of 150 feet by a rampart, 20 feet wide, revetted on the outer side with a massive wall of dry masonry. The revetment is $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and averages eight courses of carefully chosen gritstone blocks, some of them up to 4 or 5 feet in length. There are slight indications of an outer ditch.¹⁹ On the south-west the revetment and rampart are continued in an inward curve to form a semi-circular "bastion". As the adjoining end of the southern wall also curves inwards, an inturned entrance is formed between the latter wall and the eastern wall of the "bastion". This entrance, of double-inturn type, is 6 yards long and 5 feet wide at its inner end and is fully controlled from the "bastion" and the southern wall. Below the entrance the ground slopes steeply to the moor.

In 1950 Mr. F. G. Simpson excavated the western defences of the fort and the results of the excavation were incorporated in a note by Mrs. C. M. Piggott in the following year.²⁰ The rampart was found to be composed of turf, into which the revetting stones had been bonded. The consolidation of the turf had caused the upper stones to slip backwards, thus producing the present inward batter of the wall.

The use of turf for the rampart has led Mr. Simpson, Mrs. Piggott and others to postulate a date for Carl Wark in the fifth or sixth centuries A.D., on the analogy of southern Scottish forts of the Dark Age built in this way. This construction, they suggest, represents a tradition derived from the revetted-turf technique of Roman

¹⁹ *V.C.H., cit.*, 184; A. H. Allcroft, *Earthwork of England*, 1908. 65.

²⁰ *Antiquity*, XXV, 210.

fortifications. The inturned entrance, however, though of an unusual form, does link this fort with the normal Iron Age hill-forts, and it was apparent after the visit of the Prehistoric Society to Carl Wark in 1952 that not all leading archæologists were prepared to accept a Dark Age, rather than an Iron Age, date for the fort. So, for the present, the age of this fort must be in doubt, but it is, as Mrs. Piggott says in her note, "among the most spectacular and easily accessible forts in this country".

On the nearby Longshaw estate of the National Trust, but at a lower altitude than Carl Wark, there are two settlement sites on the moorland at either side of the Burbage Brook.²¹ Each site is surrounded by a low rubble wall faced partly with upright slabs and partly with coursed masonry, much of which remains. The nearer site is roughly oval, 390 yards by 220 yards, and has an inturned entrance and two well-preserved oval huts. The settlements have been tentatively classed as Iron Age, but have not been excavated and have produced no dating evidence.

BALL CROSS.²² On the sandstone escarpment overlooking Bakewell from the east, at 850 feet above O.D., a fort of $1\frac{3}{4}$ acres has recently been identified by Mr. J. Stanley and is being investigated by boys from Stockport Grammar School under his direction. The site is 3 miles south-east of Fin Cop and 4 miles north of Castle Ring.

Mr. Stanley has found pottery with Iron Age characteristics.

SCHOLES.²³ Scholes is situated at 300 feet above O.D. half a mile down the north-eastern slope of the sandstone ridge, which separates the Blackburn valley under Wincobank Hill from Wentworth Park. From the crest of the ridge Wincobank hill-fort is visible 3 miles to the south-west. The Scholes site lies in a shallow depression; only on the north, where the ground falls gradually to

²¹ Derbys. 11 SW; 17 NW. SK 2579. W. M. Cole, in *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, IV, 362.

²² Derbys. 23 SE. SK 228691. The 1-in. O.S. map, 1840 ed., marks "Intrenchment" here. I am much indebted to Mr. Stanley for permission to anticipate his report, which will be awaited with great interest, since this is the only hill-fort to have been excavated in Derbyshire.

²³ Yorks. W.R. 289 NW. SK 395952. *V.C.H., Yorks.*, II, 8.

Wentworth Park, does it overlook, but not dominate, its surroundings.

A single rampart and ditch enclose an oval area of about an acre. Both bank and ditch are well preserved and continuous, except on the lower, northern side, where a stream runs closely past the entrance. The bank rises several feet above the interior and as much as 16 feet from the present bottom of the ditch.

CASTLE RING.²⁴ Castle Ring, 6 miles south-east of Fin Cop, occupies a small hill at 800 feet above O.D. on the north-western edge of the gritstone plateau of Hart-hill Moor. Below the hill the shales extend downwards to the limestone of Bradford and Lathkill Dales. The ground falls steeply from the fort on the north and west, but on the east and south slopes more gradually to Hart-hill Moor.

The fort is oval, with diameters of 80 yards and 55 yards and an area of three-quarters of an acre. A bank, a ditch and a counterscarp bank surround the fort, except on the south-east, where both banks and the ditch have disappeared. Rooke, however, found the entrance "very visible on the south-east, where part of the vallum has been levelled by the plough".²⁵

The site adjoins the rich Bronze Age area of Stanton and Harthill Moors. Roman coins and Romano-British pottery have occurred within half a mile of the fort near Robin Hood's Stride and Cratcliffe Rocks. The summit of the latter has a wall of large gritstone boulders where it is not protected by the precipice.²⁶

ROE WOOD.²⁷ Roe Wood lay at 450 feet above O.D. a little way down the reverse slope of the sandstone ridge, which forms the steep eastern side of the Don valley above the centre of Sheffield. Both Roe Wood and Wincobank, 2 miles to the east, overlooked a shallow valley running north-eastwards to join that of the Don at the foot of Wincobank Hill.

²⁴ Derbys. 28 SE. SK 220628. T. Bateman, *Vestiges of Antiq. of Derbys.*, 124; *V.C.H., Derbys.*, I, 371-2; J. P. Heathcote, *Birchover*, 3rd ed., 1947, 19.

²⁵ *Archæologia*, VI, 1779, 113.

²⁶ Heathcote, *op. cit.*, 33.

²⁷ Yorks. W.R. 294 NE. SK 354901.

An oval area of three-quarters of an acre was enclosed by a bank and a ditch. In 1854 Samuel Mitchell, the Sheffield antiquary and Thomas Bateman's correspondent, said that the rampart on the south rose 30 feet from the ditch-bottom.²⁸ The site was levelled for a sports ground in 1922, when forty-one fragments of Roman pottery were found near the rampart.²⁹

CANKLOW.³⁰ Canklow, identified by the late H. A. Copley in 1947 and subsequently excavated by him and by Mr. J. C. Tyson, is situated at 400 feet above O.D. on the edge of the sandstone escarpment overlooking the river Rother and the site of the Roman fort at Templebrough. Wincobank hill-fort is visible 3 miles to the west across the Don valley.

The fort is small, only 45 yards square, with an area of less than half an acre. It has two square and two rounded corners and was enclosed by a rampart and a ditch with an outer bank on the south. The rampart had been constructed of earth and small stones with a strongly built outer revetment.

Fragments of I- and II-century Roman pottery were found on the site, as well as what Copley described as native black-gritted ware. The site lies at the northern end of an area of settlement with lynchets, barrows, a steading, a round hut and other remains.

ALMONDBURY.³¹ Any consideration of the local forts should take note of Almondbury, near Huddersfield, the only hill-fort of the southern Pennine group (apart from Ball Cross) to have been excavated recently, and a brief description of the site is needed here. Almondbury was excavated in 1939 and in 1946-7 by Dr. W. J. Varley and, although his report is still awaited, he has discussed the site in his paper on "The Hill-forts of the Welsh Marches".³²

The fort occupies the flat summit of an isolated hill

²⁸ *Reliquiæ Antiquæ Eboracenses*, 75.

²⁹ *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, IV, 100. The pottery is in Sheffield City Museum.

³⁰ Yorks. W.R. 289 SE. SK 432910. *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, VI, 1948 and 1950 parts, 190, 260 and 271 f.

³¹ Yorks. W.R. 260 NE. SE 153141.

³² *Arch. Journ.*, CV, 41 ff.

of coal-measure sandstone at 875 feet above O.D. The excavation showed it to have had four prehistoric phases. In *phase 1* a single bank and ditch bisected the plateau and may have been continued round one half of it. The entrance was in the centre of the defences and was slightly inturned. In *phase 2* the entire summit of the hill was surrounded by a bank, a ditch and a counterscarp bank, with additional banks and an annexe at the entrance, which was approached by a sunken hollow-way up the hill. The dominant inner rampart had an earthen core and stone revetments. In *phase 3* the inner rampart was reconstructed in stone interlaced with bonding timbers, which at some period had been fired and had vitrified the stones. In *phase 4* a bank, a ditch and a counterscarp bank, with a new inturned entrance, were built lower down the hill round all the earlier defences to enclose a much greater area.

The only finds of Iron Age type were three small pieces of pottery.³³

The remaining sites of the southern Pennine group may be briefly noted.

BRIERLEY COMMON,³⁴ west of South Kirkby, lies on an isolated hill, not on the summit which rises to over 350 feet above O.D., but at a lower altitude on an eastward-jutting spur. The fort covers an oval area of $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres with a bank, 8 feet high, and a ditch on the north and south sides and ravines elsewhere.

LANGSETT³⁵ is situated on the flat-topped Gilbert Hill at 1,025 feet above O.D. A single bank and ditch with diameters of 100 yards and 60 yards enclose an area of an acre.

STAINBOROUGH³⁶ occupied the summit of a steep-sided hill at 650 feet above O.D., but later buildings have confused its original form.

³³ I am indebted for this information to Mr. E. W. Aubrook, Director of The Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, which houses the finds from Almondbury.

³⁴ Yorks. W.R. 263 SE. SE 435105. F. and H. W. Elgee, *Arch. of Yorks.*, 118.

³⁵ Yorks. W.R. 281 NW. SE 206008. E. S. Armitage, *A Key to English Antiquities*, 1897, 48; J. A. Petch *Early Man in Huddersfield*, 74.

³⁶ Yorks. W.R. 274 SW. SE 315030. Elgee, *loc. cit.*, *V.C.H.*, Yorks., II, 10.

BUCKTON,³⁷ at 1,100 feet above O.D., is surrounded by a bank and a ditch with a counterscarp bank on the south-east. The rampart appeared to have been 8 feet thick with a rubble core and inner and outer stone revetments. Although the fort has an area of only a seventh of an acre, its position, deep ditch and rampart-construction are analogous to those of a hill-fort.

SLACK,³⁸ with an area of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres, is situated on a sloping hillside at 900 feet above O.D. and overlooks the site of the Roman fort on lower ground half a mile away.

ROUGHBIRCHWORTH³⁹ lies at 870 feet above O.D. on a hillside, 3 miles east of Langsett. A circular area of $1\frac{1}{2}$ acres was surrounded by a ditch with inner and outer banks, and there was a well-defined entrance on the lower, northern side.

DENBY⁴⁰ lies on the slope of a hill at over 1,000 feet above O.D. A bank and a ditch enclose an almost square area with rounded corners.

There may be other forts in central or western Derbyshire or north of Huddersfield, which have not found their way on to the O.S. maps nor been published. Mention may be made of the following sites.

TORSIDE.⁴¹ Torside Castle, on Harrop Moor, 3 miles north-east of Glossop, has a pear-shaped area of about three-quarters of an acre enclosed by a single bank, but seemingly without a ditch, which would remove it from the hill-fort class.

CASTLE DYKE. Joseph Hunter noted⁴² that "two circular entrenchments, without tumuli, both known by the name of Castle-Dykes, are in the manors of Ecclesall and Langsett", as if both sites were of similar size. Langsett has already been noted. Castle Dyke, Ecclesall, a field-name since 1655, lies on the flat ridge between the valleys of the Sheaf and the Porter.⁴³ The ridge, with

³⁷ *V.C.H., Lancs.*, II, 516.

³⁸ *Yorks. W.R.* 246 SW. SE 090183. Elgee, *loc. cit.*; Petch, *loc. cit.*

³⁹ *Yorks. W.R.* 281 NE. SE 257013. Armitage, *loc. cit.*

⁴⁰ *Yorks. W.R.* 273 NW. SE 2007. *V.C.H., Yorks.*, II, 7; Petch, *op. cit.*, 72.

⁴¹ *Derbys.* 3 NW. SK 077965. *V.C.H., Derbys.*, I, 370-1.

⁴² *South Yorks.*, I, 1828, iv.

⁴³ *Yorks. W.R.* 294 SW. SK 3083.

extensive views, especially at its western end above the Limb Brook (the old county boundary), might have provided a site for a small hill-fort, which has, however, left no apparent trace.

Without definite evidence of dating it would be unwise to assume that all, or even most of, the sites described were of Iron Age date or, if so, that they were contemporaneous with one another. Such dating evidence is rarely obtained in these cases except by excavation and this has been largely lacking in the forts of the southern Pennine group.

HILL-FORTS. Mam Tor, Fin Cop, Burr Tor, Wincobank, Combs Moss, Carl Wark, Ball Cross, Castle Ring and Markland Grips (despite its situation) are true hill-forts. On typological grounds and, in the cases of Wincobank and Ball Cross, by excavation, these sites, with the possible exception of Carl Wark, may be ascribed to the Iron Age with some degree of probability. The forts may be further divided into—

contour forts, surrounded by defences which follow, or mostly follow, the natural contours (Mam Tor, Burr Tor, Wincobank, Ball Cross, Castle Ring; *cf.* Almondbury); and

promontory forts, where the defences cut off the neck of the headland, the remaining sides of which are sufficiently steep to give protection without artificial strengthening other than scarping or a palisade (Markland Grips, Fin Cop, Combs Moss, Carl Wark).

HILL-SLOPE FORTS. Lady (Aileen) Fox has recently described⁴⁴ a class of forts situated, not on the summit, but on the slope of a hill, spur or cliff, and near water, to which she has given the name of "hill-slope forts". In contrast with the true hill-fort, the hill-slope fort as a defensive work is weak, as it is overlooked by higher ground. Hill-slope forts and the normal hill-forts occur in the same districts, and Lady Fox has suggested that the purpose of the former was the protection of the cattle which formed much of the wealth of Iron Age tribes. Hill-slope forts may be univallate or multivallate. The

⁴⁴ *Arch. Journ.*, CIX, 1952, 1 f.

former — Lady Fox's class 1 — have a single rampart and ditch with a simple entrance, not inturned, on the lower side, and comparable with this class may be small ringworks situated on relatively level ground well down the hillside. Whilst multivallate hill-slope forts so far identified have a south-western distribution, Lady Fox considers that the univallate type may be more widely spread. Among the local forts are two, with otherwise abnormal situations for hill-forts, which may be class 1 hill-slope forts or ringworks — Scholes, Roe Wood (*cf.* Slack, Roughbitchworth, Denby).

FORTIFIED SITE. Canklow is perhaps too small for a tribal hill-fort and may be the fortified site for the extensive settlement area in which it lies. The predominance of Roman pottery from the fort and settlement suggests that these were, at least in part, contemporaneous with the Roman fort at Templebrough.

* * * *

The mountain limestone area of Derbyshire has long been recognised as one of the main centres in the north of Bronze Age culture, revealed over a century ago by the exploration and excavations of the two Batemans and others. Because the evidence has not been so widely published, or, indeed, has not been published at all, it is not so well known that the gritstone, shale and sandstone moorlands of north-east Derbyshire and of the adjacent part of the West Riding in and north of Sheffield were similarly strewn with barrows. From the moorlands round the valleys of the upper Derwent, the upper Don and their tributaries there have been recorded a hundred barrows or barrow-groups, as well as twenty-three bronze axes — flat axes, palstaves and socketed axes.⁴⁵ When to these are added the barrows of Stanton and Harthill Moors, the impression gained is that, at least throughout the latter part of the Bronze Age, these moorlands supported quite a sizeable population.

With two exceptions the hill-forts of Derbyshire, like those of the West Riding, lie on gritstone, shale or sand-

⁴⁵ Hunter Arch. Soc., "*The Scheme for Archaeological Research; A First Report*", 1954.

stone. Of the exceptions, the mountain limestone hill occupied by Fin Cop is near the edge of the shale, nor is the magnesian limestone of Markland Grips far from the sandstone. It would seem that the builders of the hill-forts for some reason avoided, or never reached, the mountain limestone plateau and dales, which appear to have proved so attractive to the earlier Bronze Age folk, at least for the burial of their dead.

Who the builders of the hill-forts were and whence they came are questions not readily answered. Until one or more of the hill-forts has been excavated by someone familiar with comparable sites, such problems as their relative dates, the periods during which they were in use, their method of construction, and their consequent resemblance to sites elsewhere, cannot be resolved. Nevertheless, it is perhaps permissible to discuss the available evidence, so long as its limitations are borne in mind and it is recognised that any views expressed can be but tentative until much more attention has been paid to the Iron Age of the Derbyshire Peak and of the southern Yorkshire Pennines.

The hill-forts, situated on the high ground at the southern end of the Pennines, may define the southern extent of the territory of the people known to the Romans in the first century A.D. as the Brigantes, whose forts are mentioned by Juvenal and whose capital may well have been at Almondbury. Whilst it is almost certain that the rank and file of the Brigantes were the descendants of the Middle Bronze Age people, who have left their barrows on the moorlands of the Pennines and the Peak, the antecedents of the Brigantian rulers present a problem, to which there would seem to be three possible solutions.

First, that these rulers were themselves of the same native stock as their subjects and were influenced by later Iron Age neighbours.

Secondly, that the Brigantian rulers were a Late Bronze Age people, who reached the Yorkshire and north-east coasts from the fringe of the Halstatt Iron Age culture of the Continent and who acquired elements of Iron Age culture in this country from later arrivals. This Late

Bronze Age culture, whether immigrant or a native development, is represented by the numerous socketed axes of Yorkshire type, which spread from its home in the East Riding into the Pennines and the Peak.⁴⁶

Thirdly, that a later Iron Age aristocracy established themselves over the native Bronze Age peasantry of the Pennines.

Consideration of the problem is seriously handicapped by the almost complete absence of Iron Age pottery from the hill fort area. Such pottery has, indeed, occurred at Harborough and other cave sites on the periphery of the area, whilst Mr. Stanley has now found it at Ball Cross and there is the minute fragment from Mam Tor. Yet throughout a large area round the valleys of the upper Derwent and of the upper Don, which includes six hill-forts, the only Iron Age artifacts so far recorded (apart from the pottery-fragment from Mam Tor) are an iron spearhead in a cist-burial at Bradwell,⁴⁷ a number of beehive-shaped rotary querns from various localities, and the quern-factory recently discovered at Wharncliffe by Major L. H. Butcher and yielding unfinished querns of both Iron Age and Roman type.⁴⁸ It is, of course, possible that Iron Age pottery was found in earlier excavations (e.g. at Horsborough), but was not recognized as such, or was classed as Bronze Age, if the local Iron Age ceramic retained traditions deriving from the earlier culture. The present gap in the evidence may yet be bridged by the appearance of Iron Age pottery at the hill-forts themselves, or at settlement sites of this period awaiting discovery and investigation.

The first Iron Age immigrants into the north of England were a people with a Halstatt culture, who c. 450 B.C., or somewhat later, landed all the way along the east coasts of England as far as Yorkshire, where they are known from their settlement at Scarborough. They came from much the same region round the lower Rhine as their Late Bronze Age forerunners, to whom they may have been racially akin. Whilst Miss K. M. Kenyon

⁴⁶ Sir C. Fox, *Personality of Britain*, 4th ed., 1943, 71 and Plate X (b).

⁴⁷ *D.A.J.*, XXI, 1899, 4.

⁴⁸ Preliminary note in *Trans. of Hunter Arch. Soc.*, VII, 1951 part, 38. (Wharncliffe is "Qwernecliffe" in a mid-13th-cent. document.)

has recently said that "it may be doubted whether this group should truly be called Iron Age A, in spite of a little associated iron, since the pottery lacks the Iron Age characteristics of other sites in Britain, and is much closer to that of the Halstatt groups with a Bronze Age equipment",⁴⁹ the culture of the Scarborough folk is usually classed as Iron Age A and their pottery is seen as the fusion of the native Bronze Age and the intrusive Iron Age traditions.

Hitherto, it has been thought that these intruders were few in number and maintained a precarious hold on a bridgehead at Scarborough, and it has been assumed that after their arrival they gradually merged with the native Bronze Age population to form an ill-defined Iron Age A culture in east Yorkshire. Recently, however, two sites at Grafton and at Roomer Common, on the western edge of the vale of York and fifty miles west of Scarborough, have produced pottery similar to that at Scarborough itself.⁵⁰ So it would now appear that the Scarborough folk, retaining their distinctive form of Iron Age A culture, had penetrated westwards, perhaps even into the dales of the west Yorkshire Pennines.

Similar groups of Iron Age A immigrants into southern England built a few hill-forts at the time of their entrance in the fifth century B.C., but most of their southern forts are seen as the reaction of these settlers to the Iron Age B invasions of the mid-third century B.C. Although they built no hill-forts in east Yorkshire (and hill-forts are rare throughout eastern England⁵¹), the Scarborough people may yet have included in their inherited cultural repertoire the technique of building hill-forts of the simple type common to the primitive Iron Age A tradition. So it is possible, if improbable, that the Scarborough folk, or their influence, were responsible for the earliest Pennine forts as a part of the gradual spread of Iron Age culture among the native Bronze Age people of Yorkshire in the period before the arrival of the later Iron Age B invaders.

These invaders, the warrior "Marnian" Parisii, did

⁴⁹ Inst. of Arch., *Eighth Annual Report*, 1952, 44.

⁵⁰ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, XXXVIII, 1954 part, 383 f. (esp. 394).

⁵¹ *Arch. Journ.*, CV, fig. 1.

not reach the Yorkshire coasts before *c.* 250 B.C. After their arrival they built no hill-forts in their East Riding territory, and Sir Mortimer Wheeler's investigations in northern France in 1938 and 1939 showed that hill-forts were lacking in the territory of their cousins, the Parisii of the Seine basin.⁵²

On the opposite, south-western, side of the hill-fort area there is the pottery from Harborough, which has recently been discussed by Mr. J. W. Brailsford.⁵³ This pottery is in the Iron Age A tradition with flattened rims and weak shoulders but has few features to indicate its date or its affinities. Some pots with finger-tip or -nail impressions are in the Bronze Age tradition like those from Scarborough; others suggest East Anglian sites, such as West Harling. Mr. Brailsford considered much of the pottery to be early in the Iron Age series, although devolved forms suggested a continued occupation. This latter occupation of the site is attested by the presence of two objects associated with the Marnian culture of the Parisii — a coral-mounted bronze brooch, similar to one from the Queen's Barrow, Arras, in the East Riding,^{53a} and an iron bit-pin of Yorkshire type.

On the present evidence it is difficult to suggest the origin of the culture present at Harborough. That a group of the Scarborough folk had penetrated inland over 150 miles seems improbable, in view of the absence of any trace of their culture at intermediate sites, although the recently found sites in the vale of York suggest that that absence may be more apparent than real. If the Harborough settlers came from the east, they would have had to negotiate the north Midland forested area, which has produced little evidence of the Iron Age and which remained, in a shrunken form, into historical times as Sherwood Forest. The probable route to be followed by such a group would be along the gravels of the Trent, either from the Humber or the Wash, and thence up the Derwent. Miss Kenyon's excavation at the hill-fort of Breedon-on-the-Hill, in north Leicestershire, has suggested

⁵² *Antiq. Journ.*, XXI, 1941, 268.

⁵³ At the Sheffield Meeting of the Prehistoric Society in September, 1952. (See *Arch. News Letter*, IV, 172).

^{53a} Brailsford *Later Prehist. Antiq. of Brit. Isles* 1953, 66 & fig. 25.

that the Iron Age A culture was, in fact, introduced into the southern part of the Trent basin in Leicestershire, east Lincolnshire and Northamptonshire by a group from a backward area of the Low Countries, coming by way of the Trent and its southern tributaries not earlier than the first century B.C., when the better areas of settlement had already been occupied by earlier Iron Age immigrants.⁵⁴ She has since suggested that "an extension of the area . . . into the Sherwood Forest region, Derbyshire and East Staffordshire would be quite reasonable, but the evidence for the Iron Age from those areas is almost completely lacking."⁵⁵

Whilst small bands from an Iron Age A group in the Trent basin may well have penetrated into southern Derbyshire, Miss Kenyon's dating for this group seems too late to be acceptable as an explanation of the origin of the hill-forts. The latter are too numerous and too widespread for it to be probable that they were developed in a century or less before the Roman occupation by small Iron Age A bands infiltrating into an area already occupied by a Bronze Age population.

Though otherwise isolated, the hill-forts of the southern Pennine group are linked by other sites in Staffordshire (for example, Berry Ring, near Stafford⁵⁶) with the concentration of forts in the Welsh Marches. A number of the latter forts have been excavated, but have yielded so little pottery that none of the sites can be closely dated.⁵⁷ Nor is there any clear indication of the origin of the builders of the Marcher forts, since the relations of the Iron Age peoples of southern England are complex and their chronology has not been worked out in detail. Nevertheless, it is possible that Iron Age A groups from Wessex, some impelled by a growth of population and others displaced by the Iron Age B invaders of the mid-third century B.C., may have made their way up the Marches as far as north Cheshire, building the hill-forts typical of their culture.

⁵⁴ *Trans. of Leicesters, Arch. Soc.*, XXVI, 1950, 67.

⁵⁵ *Inst. of Arch., Eighth Annual Report*, 1952, 70.

⁵⁶ *O.S. Map of Ancient Britain*, 1951.

⁵⁷ The excavated sites have been discussed by Dr. Varley in the paper already quoted.

In their initial phases most of the excavated Marcher forts were contour works, having either a single rampart or a dominant inner rampart with a counterscarp bank. These ramparts, whether single or inner, were composed of earth or rubble and had inner and outer revetments of stone in a tradition similar to the timbered ramparts of the Iron Age A forts of the chalklands of Wessex and Sussex. This form and rampart-construction are present at the first and second phases of Almondbury. The in-turned entrance common to the Iron Age tradition occurs in one form or another in the early Marcher forts, as it does at several of the southern Pennine sites.

The first phases of Titterstone Clee (Salop), Dinorben (Denbighshire) and Eddisbury (north-west Cheshire) have been dated *c.* 250 B.C. by Dr. Varley, who has regarded Almondbury I as contemporaneous with, and Almondbury II as a little later than, these Marcher sites.⁵⁸ On this dating, the hill-fort technique had spread into the Marches and to the southern Pennines before the first Iron Age B invaders reached Britain, and Iron Age A groups may be seen moving north-eastwards from Shropshire through Staffordshire to introduce their culture among the Bronze Age peasants of Derbyshire and of south-west Yorkshire. The first settlers at Harborough may have formed a part of this movement; or they may have come from the early Iron Age A area of settlement round the Wash,⁵⁹ as the Scarborough folk have now been shown to have penetrated to the edge of, if not into, the West Riding dales.

A later feature in hill-fort construction is the stone rampart with bonding timbers which, if fired, fused the stones into a vitreous mass. Vitrified forts with areas of 1-5 acres are typical of the Abernethy culture in Scotland. These Scottish forts had inner and outer stone revetments with transverse timbers and a rubble core with horizontal timbers laid parallel to the revetments, in the *muris gallicus* technique found by Caesar in Gaul. The Abernethy culture has been seen as the intrusion of an Iron Age B people, crossing the North Sea direct from

⁵⁸ *Op. cit.*, 57.

⁵⁹ *Survey and Policy of Field Research* . . . , 1948, 41.

the Continent to eastern Scotland at much the same time as the Parisian settlement in Yorkshire (c. 250-200 B.C.).⁶⁰ Since the material culture of the Abernethy complex is linked with that of the southern Iron Age A by a number of features, such as ring-headed pins and early La Tène brooches, this culture has more recently been regarded as the termination of the Iron Age migrations up the Welsh Marches,⁶¹ reaching Scotland not before 100 B.C.⁶²

In southern Britain vitrification has now been identified at Corley near Coventry;⁶³ at two sites near Corwen⁶⁴ and at Ffridd Faldwyn⁶⁵ in north-east Wales; at Bickerton I⁶⁶ and at Eddisbury II,⁶⁷ both in north-west Cheshire; at Almondbury III;⁶⁸ and at Wincobank.⁶⁹ These sites may represent either a secondary diffusion of the *murus gallicus* technique southwards from Scotland or a stage in the spread of that technique, which reached its climax in Scotland. It may well be, however, that the vitrified forts of southern Britain are not strictly comparable with the more specialised Scottish sites and are merely the translation into stone and timber of the chalk-and-timber rampart-construction of the normal forts of Wessex and Sussex.⁷⁰ In any case, the vitrified phases of Bickerton I, Eddisbury II and Almondbury III should not be dated before the first century B.C. and may be even later.⁷¹

By this time the Marnian Parisii had been established for a century or more in east Yorkshire, where their richly furnished graves, unlike the simple burials of their subjects, indicate a warrior aristocracy, wealthy enough to have patronised a school of art and fine metalwork. This

⁶⁰ V. G. Childe, *Prehistoric Communities of the Brit. Isles*, 3rd. ed., 1949, 213, 255.

⁶¹ Childe, *op. cit.*, 216; C. F. C. Hawkes and S. Piggott, in *Survey and Policy* . . . , 47.

⁶² S. Piggott, *Brit. Prehistory*, 1949, 176.

⁶³ C. F. C. Hawkes, in *Antiquity*, V, 1931, 84.

⁶⁴ *Survey and Policy* . . . , 47.

⁶⁵ B. H. St. J. O'Neil, in *Arch. Cambrensis*, XCVII, 1942, 12-15.

⁶⁶ W. J. Varley, in *Annals of Arch. and Anthropol.*, XXII, 97-100; XVIII, 101-112.

⁶⁷ W. J. Varley, in *Arch. Journ.*, CV, 60.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ Howarth, *op. cit.*

⁷⁰ Childe, *op. cit.*, 216; *Survey and Policy* . . . , 47.

⁷¹ *Arch. Journ.*, CV, 60-1.

rich culture must have influenced the peoples of west Yorkshire, whose native culture will already have been modified by contacts with their Iron Age A neighbours. Marnian influence at Harborough is indicated by the coral-mounted brooch and the Yorkshire-type bit-pin, although evidence of such influence is lacking at intermediate sites. The Parisii were also in contact along the jurassic zone with similar Iron Age B overlords in Lincolnshire and at the small hill-fort of Hunsbury, in Northamptonshire, and, beyond, with Iron Age B groups in south-west England.

It was from the South-West that the next development in hill-fort technique came. After Caesar's conquest of the maritime Veneti of Brittany in 56 B.C. such of the tribe as escaped enslavement seem to have fled to Dorset, where they introduced their distinctive weapon, the sling-stone. The greater range of this weapon led to the multiplication of the defences of hill-forts, as exemplified in the final phase of Maiden Castle, itself perhaps the capital of the Venetic refugees. Outer banks and ditches were now added to many Wessex forts and the new technique spread to those of the Marches, such as Old Oswestry, Ffridd Faldwyn and the Wrekin, and to Almondbury.

An attempt must now be made to answer the question posed earlier, namely: who were the builders of the hill-forts and whence did they come?

The southern Pennine-Peak region has been seen as one occupied by a Bronze Age population, whose culture was modified during the fourth and third centuries B.C. by contact with Iron Age A people in east Yorkshire and perhaps in the region round the Wash. Hill-forts have been shown to have had mainly a southern and western distribution, since the Iron Age people of eastern England, whether A or B, made little use of this method of defence. The hill-fort technique, which is typical of the Iron Age in the South, would seem to have reached the southern Pennines from the region round the lower Severn, either as the result of contact with Bronze Age people who had acquired the technique from Iron Age neighbours farther to the south, or borne by actual Iron Age groups moving

north-eastwards across Shropshire and Staffordshire into Derbyshire and the southern Pennines.

Three stages of development in hill-fort construction have been recognised. The first stage is represented by the contour forts, having a single bank and ditch, or a dominant inner rampart, a ditch and a counterscarp bank. This contour form is derived from the normal forts of the southern Iron Age A, and is found at Almondbury, Mam Tor, Burr Tor, Wincobank and Castle Ring. The main rampart interlaced with bonding timbers which, if burnt, produce vitrification, appears in the second stage, and is present at Almondbury III and at Wincobank (where Howarth's observation that the vitrified inner rampart seemed to have been raised on a cleared level space may denote a second phase of the fort). The method of rampart-construction which gave rise to vitrification may be derived from a diffusion of the Scottish Abernethy culture down the Irish Sea into the Marches or, perhaps more probably, was developed from the comparable construction of the Iron Age A forts of the southern chalklands. The third stage, resulting from the introduction of the sling-stone after 56 B.C., is the addition of outer banks and ditches to enclose a greater area lower down the slopes of the hill. In the southern Pennines Almondbury IV was the only contour site to be transformed into a multivallate fort and the outer circumvallations there may have been added not long before the Roman occupation. A variation in hill-fort form is the steep-sided headland, the neck of which is cut off by a line or lines of fortifications, although elsewhere the natural scarps of the promontory take the place of artificial defences. Such are Markland Grips, Fin Cop, Combs Moss and Carl Wark. The multiple defences of the first three suggest some late south-western influence, so these forts may date from the first century B.C. or later. Indeed, Dr. Varley has said that Fin Cop and Bickerton were almost the exact counterparts of the second phase of Bredon Hill, in Gloucestershire, which is dated at the turn of the first centuries B.C. and A.D.⁷²

⁷² *Op. cit.*, 60.

By the early first century A.D. Iron Age culture had almost certainly permeated the southern Pennines, although the native peasantry may still have retained much of their Bronze Age equipment, especially burial rites and perhaps pottery. From such evidence as there is, it seems probable that Iron Age groups had penetrated the area from the east and from the south-west, either as settlers or as bands of warriors, and, perhaps with others of native descent, had established themselves as a ruling class. The hill-forts, each dominating a tract of country of greater or lesser extent, are to be seen as the strongholds of semi-independent tribes, whose chieftains, though engaging in internecine warfare and cattle-reiving, yet came to owe allegiance to the Brigantian dynasty.

That dynasty, of unknown origin, was extending its authority over the Pennine tribes and organising them into a unitary state like the Parisii of east Yorkshire and the Belgae of south-east England. In the decade or so before the Roman invasion Belgic influence had spread northwards; their pottery has occurred at Leicester⁷³ and at the Parisian site of North Ferriby, on the Humber,⁷⁴ and their coins near Nottingham,⁷⁵ whilst contact with the Belgae has been seen in the Brigantian coinage.⁷⁶ The Brigantian capital was, in all probability, at Almondbury, the conversion of which into a multivallate fort reveals influences ultimately deriving from the South-West.

Then came the Roman invasion of A.D. 43. By c. 47 the Romans had established a temporary frontier along the Trent and the Severn (not, however, the Fosse Way, which Miss Kenyon at Leicester⁷⁷ and Mr. and Mrs. O'Neil in the Cotswolds⁷⁸ have now shown to be a later road) and for the next quarter-century the Roman forces were fully engaged in the Welsh Marches. Tacitus suggests⁷⁹ that Cartimandua, the Brigantian queen, had

⁷³ *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicester*, 1948, 4, 32-4.

⁷⁴ *Antiq. Journ.*, XVIII, 1938, 262 f.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 410.

⁷⁶ *Archæologia*, XC, 1944, 1 f. A hoard of 16 or 18 Brigantian gold coins with 200 Roman coins, chiefly republican, was found in 1829 at Almondbury. (Petch, *op. cit.*, 79).

⁷⁷ *Jewry Wall Site*, 38.

⁷⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, CLX, 1952, 23 f.

⁷⁹ *Annals*, XII, 40.

early entered into an alliance with the Romans. Her surrender of Caratacus, the Belgic leader and hero, in 52 brought to a head Brigantian disaffection with her pro-Roman policy. Civil war ensued between her and her husband, Venutius, and only Roman auxiliaries, stiffened by a detachment from the Ninth Legion, restored Cartimandua's power.⁸⁰ Thereafter, Venutius became hostile to Rome and appears to have withdrawn to northern Brigantia, leaving Cartimandua to rule southern Brigantia from Almondbury as a client state with the aid of Roman subsidies.

This happened during the governorship of Didius (52-57) who, according to Tacitus, built a few forts on the frontier.⁸¹ When Mr. T. May excavated Templebrough in 1916 before a steelworks was extended over the site, he found evidence to suggest that the first Roman fort had been built in the 'fifties.⁸² It now seems probable that Didius, in order to maintain physical as well as political contact with Cartimandua (Templebrough and Almondbury are only 22 miles apart), had pushed forward the frontier across the sparsely populated north Midland forested area to the next natural frontier, the rivers Don and Rother on the borders of the Brigantian highlands.^{82a} Templebrough would be connected by a road with Lincoln, whence it could be reinforced by the Ninth Legion. Perhaps Little Chester was built at the same time, and of the small fort at Pentrich between there and Chesterfield Mr. O'Neil has said that it is "almost certainly early Roman in date", adding that the camp is totally disregarded by the later Roman Ryknild Street.⁸³

For a dozen years there was peace between the Romans and the Brigantes under their pro-Roman queen. In 68-69 the Roman empire was rent by civil war, one of the legions had been withdrawn from Britain, and Venutius, knowing all this and angered by his wife's bigamous marriage, swept down on southern Brigantia. Cartimandua herself was rescued by Roman troops after

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Agricola*, XIV.

⁸² *Roman Forts of Templebrough*, 1922, 5, 6 and 11.

^{82a} c.f. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, in *Stanwick Fortifications* 1954, 20.

⁸³ *Op. cit.*, 38.

stiff fighting, but (in Tacitus' terse phrase): "the realm was left to Venutius, the war to us".⁸⁴ Two years or so later the Romans occupied the territory of the Parisii east of the Ouse, devastated much of Brigantia and moved the Ninth Legion from Lincoln to York, whence they were to attack and destroy Venutius and the Brigantian power, probably at Stanwick, in north Yorkshire.⁸⁵

In the subsequent pacification of the Brigantian lands the Romans established forts and roads in the Pennines, such as Brough-in-Noedale,⁸⁶ Melandra⁸⁷ and Slack. As in the South, the hill-forts may have been slighted and deliberate destruction is a possible cause of the vitrification found at Almondbury and at Wincobank.

Some of the forts may have been reused during the Brigantian revolts in the second century; or in the period after the Roman withdrawal, when the Britons of Elmete and the Peak maintained their independence until their conquest by Edwin of Northumbria *c.* 625; or, still later, during the border warfare between Mercia and Northumbria which ended with the partition of the hill-fort area between those states, a partition maintained by the county boundary. The military use of the hill-forts was not, however, at an end: Almondbury became a Norman castle; Wincobank is disfigured by the brick foundation of a 1914-1918 searchlight station; and a barrow within the circuit of Mam Tor has seemingly been destroyed by a more recent home-guard post.

* * * *

In this paper I have attempted no more than a description of the local hill-forts and some tentative explanation of their origin and date, as a contribution towards the study of the elusive Iron Age of the region. Romano-British sites have been excluded from review, although some may well go back to the pre-Roman Iron Age. I have been unable to visit Fin Cop, Combs Moss and (except Almondbury and Stainborough) the West Riding sites noted on pages 14 and 15.

⁸⁴ *Histories*, III, 45.

⁸⁵ *Antiq. Journ.*, XXXII, 1952, 10, *Stanwick Fortifications* 23 f.

⁸⁶ *D.A.J.*, LIX, 1938, 59; LXI, 1940, 31.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.* LXIV, 1943, 63; LXIX, 1949, 9.

I am indebted to Mr. J. P. Heathcote for information about central Derbyshire sites which, if not used in this paper, has helped my understanding of the Iron Age background of that district. After this paper was written, Mr. E. W. Aubrook, Director of the Tolson Memorial Museum, Huddersfield, most kindly allowed me to read Dr. W. J. Varley's manuscript report of the Almondbury excavations. As the evidence and Dr. Varley's conclusions had been included in his paper on "The Hill-forts of the Welsh Marches", it was not necessary to amend the present paper.

Site.	Type.	Geology.	Altitude (feet above O.D.)	Area acres.	Number of		Notes.
					banks	ditches	
Mam Tor.	contour.	shale and sandstone.	1600	16	2/3	1/2	double-inturn entrances; Iron Age pottery.
Markland Grips.	promontory.	magnesian limestone.	350	12	1/2	1/2	
Fin Cop.	promontory.	mountain limestone.	1025	10	1/2	1/2	
Burr Tor.	contour.	shale and sandstone.	1300	8	1/2	1	
Wincobank.	contour.	sandstone.	525	2½	2	1	semi-outturn entrance; vitrification; Roman pottery in ditch-filling. Roman coin and pottery on surface.
Combs Moss.	promontory.	gritstone.	1400	2½	2	2	
Carl Wark.	promontory.	gritstone.	1250	2	1	?1	
Ball Cross.	contour.	sandstone.	850	1¾	1	1	Iron Age pottery.
Scholes.	? hill-slope.	sandstone.	300	1	1	1	
Castle Ring.	contour.	gritstone.	800	¾	2	1	
Roe Wood.	? hill-slope.	sandstone.	450	¾	1	1	Roman pottery; site now destroyed.
Canklow.	?	sandstone.	400	½	1/2	1	Roman and native pottery; associated with extensive settlement area.
Almondbury I	contour.	sandstone.	875	4	1	1	
" II, III				8½	2	1	annexe; vitrification in phase III.
" IV				35	2 + 2	1 + 1	multivallate.

Note: All these sites (except Ball Cross and the destroyed Roe Wood) have been scheduled under the Ancient Monuments Acts.

FIG. 3.—THE HILL-FORTS OF THE PEAK.