ART. III – *Bronze and Iron Age connections: memory and persistence in Matterdale, Cumbria*

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THE archaeology of the later Bronze Age and Iron Age of Northern England and parts of Southern Scotland has historically been understudied (Higham, 1986; Haselgrove, 1996, 62). In the last decade, as a result of work in some parts of the North, e.g. Northumbria and Southern Scotland, our understanding of the timing and development of change in the first millennium B.C. has been transformed (see papers in Bevan, 1999; Harding and Johnson, 2000; Harding, 2001). However, the western counties of Northern England, Lancashire and Cumbria, have not so far benefited from the same level of activity.

Consequently, the prehistory of the Lake District does not appear to sit well with that of much of the rest of Britain. The lack of a well-defined material culture, the absence of late Bronze and Iron Age settlements, and the lack of incorporation of Lake District monuments into broader regional and national syntheses has artificially created a sense of isolation, for both the ancient societies and the archaeologists who study them. Apart from research into the Langdale axe factories, and the Romano-British period, little is known about the archaeology of the lakes outside the area (Bradley and Edmonds, 1993; Higham, 1986, McCarthy, 2002). The bulk of the research is contained in local journals such as the *Transactions* of this Society, and in the contract unit archives of the various statutory bodies operating within the Park boundaries. The interpretation of the prehistory of the Lake District is, by and large, still over-dependent upon a number of assumptions to do with the development of social complexity, and upon the reworking of older data, with an over reliance on the utility of site typologies as an indication of period, in the absence of excavation, dating and analysis (cf. Wells, 2003, 69; NWWP 2000). The explanation for the paucity of late second and first millennium settlement, for example, is still reliant upon the effects of a severe climatic downturn, resulting in a depopulation of the area (Wells, 2003; 69, Higham, 1986; 117, cf. Buckland *et al.*, 1997 for a contra argument).

Recently, there has been renewed interest in the archaeology, and in particular the prehistory, of the Lake District and Cumbria (Dumayne, 1995; McCarthy, 2002; NWWP 2000; Hoaen and Loney, 2003a, b). As studies progress, we are now in a position to attempt to integrate Lake District archaeology with the trends seen for much of the rest of Britain; now we can begin to see to what extent the Lake District shares many similar trends and traits with its neighbours. The purpose of this paper is to not only to present data relating to Iron Age settlement in Cumbria, but also to examine the relationship between Iron Age enclosures and earlier Bronze Age monuments, in light of Barratt's discussion of the changes in British Society towards the end of the first millennium B.C. (Barratt, 1994, 1999a, 1999b).

Monuments and memory in the British archaeological landscape

Recently, there has been a growing awareness of the role of early monuments and landscape in the development and beliefs of later prehistoric society in Britain. It has

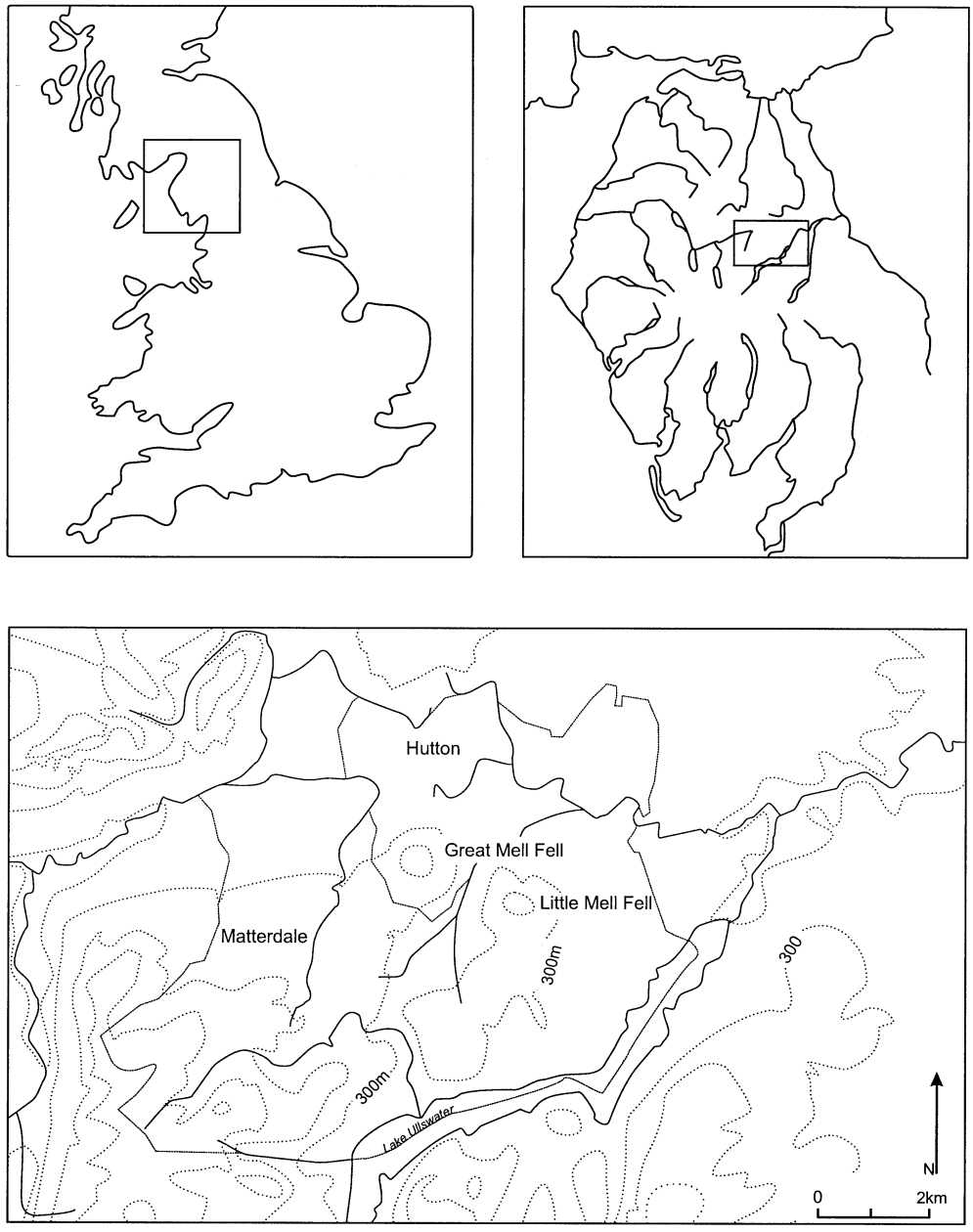

FIG. 1. Location map of Matterdale and Hutton Parishes showing main landmarks (A. W. Hoaen).

been demonstrated that in many instances strong links existed between not only Bronze Age sites but also Iron Age sites, and earlier monuments (Barratt, 1994, 1999b; Bradley, 2002, Hingley, 1996, 1999). This has been noted for both the continent and Britain, and there is enough accumulated evidence for there to be no doubt that in some cases the placement of later Bronze age settlements and other monuments is strongly influenced by previous settlement and land use (Bradley, 2002). Parker-Pearson has produced startling evidence of the exploitation of earlier burial features at the Late Bronze Age village of Cladh Hallad (Parker Pearson *et al.*, 2001), where the past has been literally "mined". Other projects, such as that at Raunds, have also uncovered a very active engagement between one set of monument builders and their much earlier antecedents (Healy, *pers. comm.*).

Hingley has talked at length about the reuse and redefinition of Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments, in particular arguing "that later prehistoric individuals and communities used these already ancient monuments in a variety of ways in order to help define their identities" (Hingley, 1999, 233). Hingley's evidence consists predominately of the reuse of such Neolithic monuments as Cairnpapple Hill in Lothian and the Howe of Howe in Orkney (Hingley, 1996, 234; Ballin Smith, 1994), but he also mentions the incorporation of monuments such as chambered tombs, henges and causewayed enclosures into later settlements, such as hillforts. Sites such as Freestone Hill, in which a cairn is incorporated into a hillfort (Raftery, 1994 in Hingley, 1999, 240), and the Mound of Hostages at Tara (*op. cit.*), in which a chambered cairn is incorporated into a later prehistoric enclosure, demonstrate the conceptual importance of linking secular settlements with older areas of significant meaning.

Barratt has brought the case that British archaeological landscapes in general, cannot be viewed in discrete temporal units, the traditional methodology. He notes that the living engage with all of the surrounding features when planning their own habitations. Consequently, older monuments have potency, and a continuing influence on the newer ones. Thus, Bronze Age monuments may cease to be the foci of burial activity, but they none-the-less make up a part of the Iron Age enclosed settlement or landscape (Barratt, 1999b, 256).

In essence, Barratt, Hingley and Bradley see Neolithic and Bronze Age monuments as retaining their potency and importance, long after their original function has been superseded. The earlier monuments establish a locale, and the following peoples recognise and respect that establishment. Decisions are made on the back of these establishments. It says something about the need for communities and individuals to feel a part of a verifiable "proper" landscape, and the essential need to avoid land that is perceived as hazardous, either because it is unsanctified, inappropriate or unknown.

In this paper we will present evidence that the Lake District people of the first millennium B.C., in common with much of the rest of Britain, placed their settlements within the vicinity, often in sight, of much earlier monuments, including cairn fields, kerbed cairns and stone circles. Further, in our area, we have found that a certain type of later prehistoric enclosure is more likely to be placed on or nearby earlier monuments, and that other types of apparently contemporary sites do not follow this pattern.

Our study of the pattern of material remains from the first and second

millennium B.C. in Matterdale and Hutton suggests that the criteria used to select areas for settlement and monument construction include notions of "optimal strategies", based on environmental and ecological concerns, as well as "conceptual strategies" based on notions of territoriality, ancestor worship and kin memories. We feel that in the minds of the peoples settled in the area now known as Matterdale and Hutton parishes, both the physically essential and the conceptualised essential were of equal importance, probably indistinguishable. In this paper we will argue that as elsewhere in Britain decisions taken about locations chosen for monument construction in the Late Neolithic/Early Bronze Age have resonated into later periods and affected settlement choices for many hundreds of years. The available evidence suggests that, for some locales, occupation was repeated over and over in the same place, moving very little from the first surviving ritual monuments through to later enclosed settlements. In these locations we have relatively high monument density within clearly defined areas. Conversely, other areas remain with little evidence of any monument construction up until the late first millennium B.C. and the Romano-British period. We therefore intend to demonstrate the existence of an "inscribed" landscape, one in which there were clear demarcations between suitable and unsuitable lands, and between those groups who had access and those who were denied access to the suitable lands.

Issues in identifying the Iron Age in Cumbria

In order to discuss the validity of the presence of an observable physical relationship between Iron Age settlement and Bronze Age monuments, it is necessary to first discuss previous conceptions of Iron Age settlement in Cumbria.

The presence/absence of Iron Age activity in Cumbria remains a source of disagreement in the literature, as the merits of Burgess' upland depopulation theory continue to be debated (Burgess, 1985, Buckland *et al.*, 1997). The identification of Iron Age settlement has been hampered by a lack of excavation and radiocarbon dating. The paucity of a characteristic material culture, especially pottery, has resulted in many sites being dated to the Romano-British phase on the basis of the presence of Roman and Romano-British pottery in their latest layers. Despite this, there has been growing acknowledgement within the literature of the probability of Iron Age activity within Cumbria, though it has tended to rely on the evidence of pollen analysis for a continuation of an ill-defined Bronze Age culture until the end of the first millennium B.C. (Wells, 2003, 72), or perhaps into the Roman period (e.g. Higham, 1986, 196).

Bewley, postulating directly what is implied in Higham and Jones, suggests that for the North Cumbrian plain, the final phases of settlements, currently interpreted as Romano-British, are obscuring the earlier first millennium B.C. settlement pattern (Bewley, 1994, 73; cf. Higham and Jones, 1985, 7-8; McCarthy, 1997). In support of this view, McCarthy (2002, 50) has argued on stratigraphic grounds for the presence of a number of Iron Age settlements within the environs of Carlisle. The Matterdale project has conducted two excavations on two differing types of settlement typologically identified as Romano-British, an unenclosed settlement at Baldhowend (Loney and Hoaen, 2000) and an enclosed curvilinear settlement at Glencoyne Park (Hoaen and Loney, forthcoming), and both have produced clear

evidence of long periods of occupation stretching back into the first millennium B.C. (see below).

The growing number of pollen diagrams from both Northern Cumbria and Southern Scotland (recently reviewed in Wells, 2003, and Tipping, 1997, 20-21), indicates that large and continuous clearance was beginning to effect these areas from around the middle of the first millennium B.C. onwards. This tends to support Bewley's proposition that we should expect to see the development of Iron Age societies through the first millennium B.C., with a large expansion of settlements during its latter half. We will argue below that the evidence of the Matterdale Archaeological project supports Bewley's view that later Romano-British period settlements are indeed obscuring a pre-existing pattern of First Millennium B.C. settlement in Cumbria.

Monumentality in the second and third Millennium B.C. in Matterdale and Hutton parishes

The area under consideration is in the North East of the Lake District National Park (Fig. 1). It is a place of diverse landscapes, from relatively fertile rolling hills and valley plains to expanses of upland moorland to some of the highest hills in England. Currently, most of the land is used either for sheep or cattle pasture with occasional deer farms and some forestry. The diverse topography of the landscape is a reflection of the similarly diverse underlying geology, which includes most of the major representative rock types in the region.

In an earlier paper we discussed the distribution and type of Late Neolithic/ Bronze Age remains found in our study area (Hoaen and Loney, 2003a) (Fig. 2). The monuments of this period are mainly ritual and funerary structures, in common with many other upland areas. The most numerous monuments are small stone cairns which occur either individually, in linear groups, or as more scattered cairn fields. Other monuments include standing stones, kerb/ring cairns, barrows and tumuli and stone circles.

The distribution of monuments is discrete in this period, with small areas of well-defined monument construction in a restricted number of locations. These locations include the banks of Ullswater and the area of the Aire gap, and avoid the central area of Matterdale. We have suggested that this distribution reflects a preference during the late Neolithic and Bronze Age for more fertile and lighter soils developed over limestones, slates and sandstones, avoiding the heavier soils developed over more acidic igneous slates and diorites (Hoaen and Loney, 2003a).

Later settlement in the first millenniums B.C. and A.D. in Matterdale and Hutton parishes

The results of our survey have revealed the presence of 17 later prehistoric/Romano-British settlements of various designs: curvilinear enclosed, rectilinear enclosed, "D" shaped enclosed, and unenclosed (Table 1) (Fig. 2). These are clustered in discrete zones throughout the area of Matterdale and Hutton parishes, concentrating in the areas of Glencoyne Park, Stone Carr, the Mell Fells, and the central valley. Excavation has demonstrated that some of these sites were occupied from at least the later pre-Roman Iron Age, through to the post-Roman, and some are likely to be

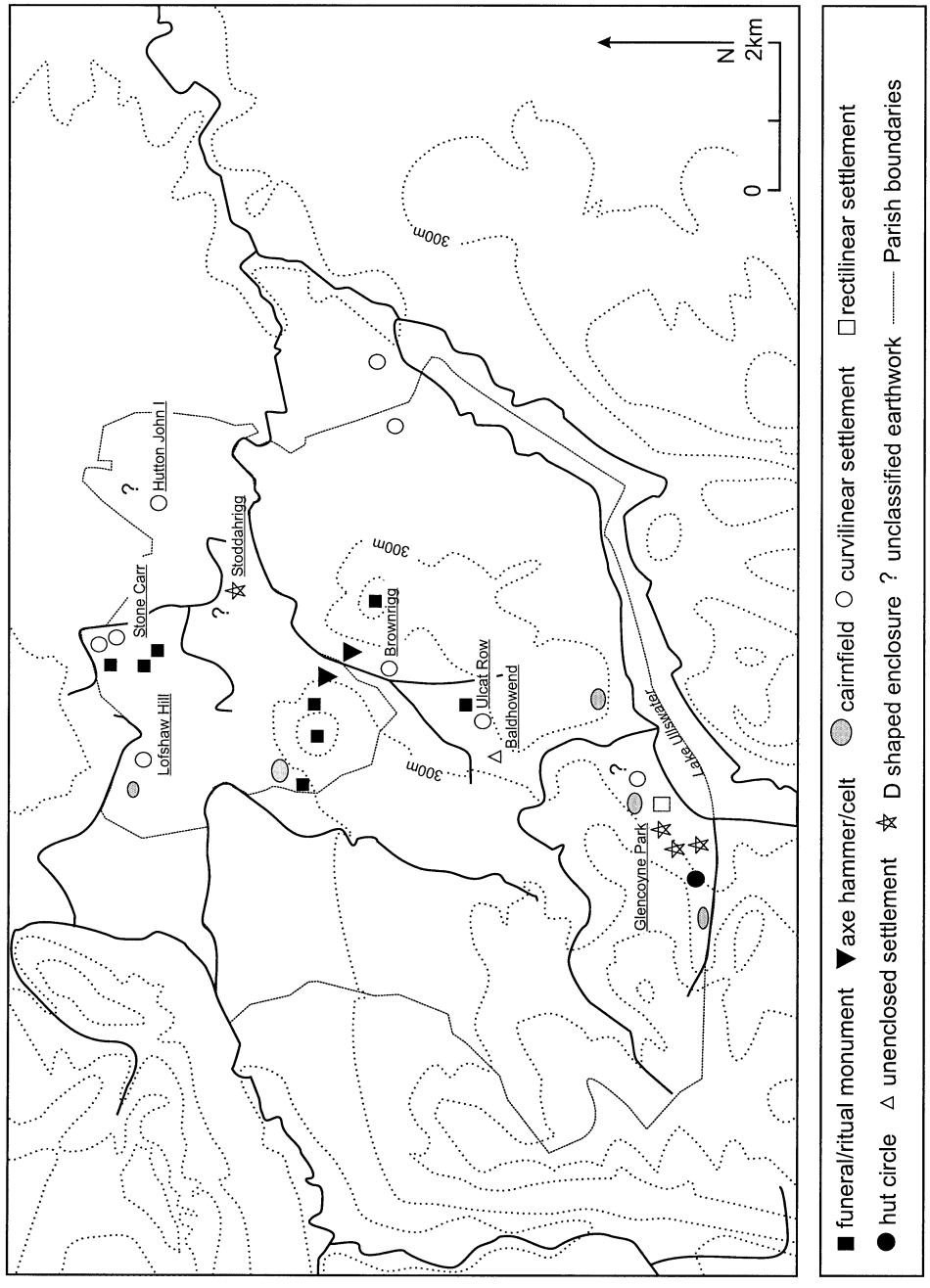

FIG. 2. Sites of later prehistoric date in Matterdale and Hutton Parishes (A. W. Hoaen).

occupied much earlier than that.

TABLE 1. Sites of Later Prehistoric/ Romano-British form in the study area.

Site	National Grid Reference	Site type	Association with earlier settlement
Glencoyne Park 6	NY 389 199	curvilinear enclosure	Yes
Brownrigg	NY 408 246	curvilinear enclosure	Yes
Stone Carr I	NY 420 285	curvilinear enclosure	Yes
Hutton John I	NY 445 274	curvilinear enclosure	Yes
Ulcat Row	NY 404 228	curvilinear enclosure (small)	Yes
Lofshaw hill	NY 392 283	possible curvilinear enclosure	Yes
Glencoyne Park 7	NY 391 199	hut circle, possible curvilinear enclosure	Yes
Stone Carr II	NY 419 286	Scooped curvilinear settlement	N/A
Glencoyne Park 1	NY 387 186	D shaped enclosure	No
Glencoyne Park 3	NY 386 194	D shaped enclosure	No
Stoddahgate	NY 422 266	D-shaped enclosure	No
Glencoyne Park 5	NY 390 195	rectilinear enclosure	No
Baldhowend	NY 396 226	unenclosed settlement	No
Glencoyne Park 2	NY 384 196	hut circle, possible enclosure	No
Glencoyne Park 4	NY 388 195	hut circle, long house possible enclosure	No
Hutton, Hilltop	NY 420 272	unclassified earthwork	No
Hutton John II	NY 446 275	unclassified earthwork	No

A number of these later prehistoric/Romano-British settlements have a significant relationship with respect to earlier archaeological monuments in the landscape (Table 1). In general we find that curvilinear settlements, particularly the larger ones, tend to be associated with earlier monuments. Sometimes the monuments are inter-visible, sometimes in the very near vicinity, and sometimes the earlier monuments are incorporated within the settlement itself. We can summarize the relationship between sites of an early Bronze Age origin and those of Iron Age/Romano British date into three categories: first, direct incorporation of earlier monuments into the later settlements, second, intervisibility between settlements and the earlier monuments, and third, no relationship with earlier monuments.

Intervisibility and incorporation

The main relationship we find is that of intervisibility between settlements and the surrounding pre-existing monuments. From Table 1 we can see that seven sites are intervisible with earlier remains and of these, three also incorporate earlier monuments.

The site at Stone Carr (Fig. 3), which is similar to that at Severals near Crosby Ravensworth (RCHME, 1936), is an extensive series of remains that have been discussed at regular intervals since first being described in 1789 (Clarke, 1789; Hay, 1944; Higham, 1986). Though the settlement at Stone Carr has been partially truncated by later improvements, nonetheless, a number of features are still visible, including the traces of the outer boundary of the settlement which can be followed in the adjacent field, and which is intervisible with a number of low mounds, possibly tumuli. The circuit of the field system cuts across a possible earlier holloway, linking two of the tumuli to the remains of a stone circle.

A similar level of incorporation and intervisibility exists at Glencoyne Park 6, one

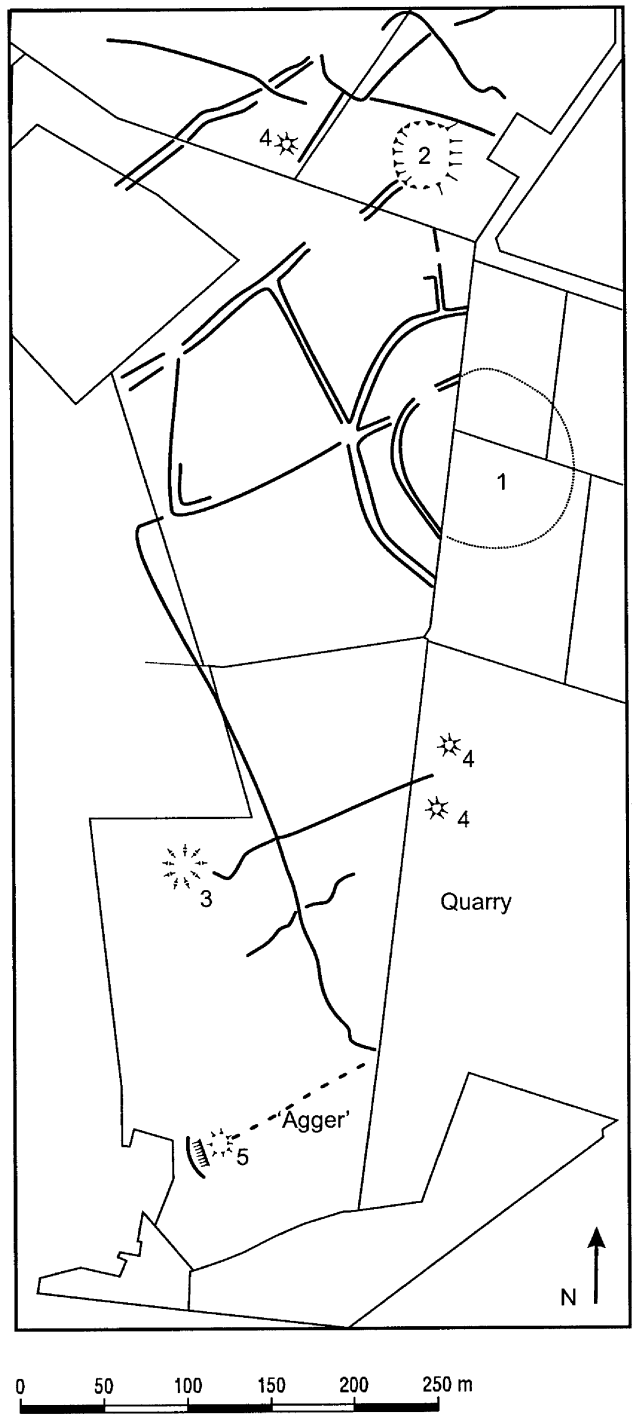

FIG. 3. Principal archaeological features identified at Stone Carr, Motherby (1:5000). 1) curvilinear settlement, 2) scooped settlement, 3) stone circle and associated holloway, 4) tumuli, 5) site of burial cairn (A. W. Hoaen).

of seven enclosures within the park (Fig. 4). This settlement has four roundhouse sites together with what may be a possible cairn. The site sits at the south-western end of a long terrace. The terrace is defined by a lynchet and sub-divided into four by a series of long field boundaries that run down slope. To the west of this is a dispersed cairnfield of probable Bronze Age date. From the settlement a number of features are visible, including a large 10 m diameter cairn to the south-west. A series of cairns are visible along the length of the terrace to both east and west. It is probable that this area was intensively used for the construction of cairns and field systems from the second millennium B.C. onwards (Hoaen and Loney, 2003b).

There are two other similar large curvilinear settlements in the study area, at Brownrigg Farm and Hutton John I. Neither of these sites has seen the same level of investigation as Stone Carr and Glencoyne Park, though the available evidence suggests a similar level of correspondence to earlier monuments as seen at other curvilinear sites. Brownrigg is located in the narrowest part of the valley nestled between two prominent landmarks, Great and Little Mell Fell. Great Mell Fell is an isolated hill, visible at a great distance on the road from Penrith to Keswick, and which dominates the valley to the south. Survey of its northern and eastern flanks has demonstrated the presence of numerous cairns, several kerb cairns and an open cist burial. Both Fells were significant during the Bronze Age, with each having a Bowl Barrow on its summit. The enclosure at Brownrigg is in an area in which several stone artefacts were located in the nineteenth century, including axes, sinkers and axe-hammers.

The final large curvilinear site in our area is at Hutton John II. The surrounding environs have been heavily improved and did not form part of the surveyed area. However, a site visit has established that a standing stone is intervisible with the settlement, and further, that a second standing stone is located within the heart of the monument.

There are three more smaller curvilinear enclosures within our study area, all of which are just large enough for one hut circle. The site at Ulcat Row is adjacent to a small barrow or cairn located in a dip below the site, whilst Lofshaw Hill, though badly damaged and therefore difficult to reconstruct, is probably a curvilinear enclosure, and is intervisible with a small cairn field and adjacent to a linear cairn field over a kilometre in length. Glencoyne Park 7 has no visible internal divisions, and is therefore difficult to interpret.

The lack of published data complicates the extension of our argument to areas of Cumbria outside of our survey area. However, within the Ullswater catchment it appears that the sites at Hartsop Hall, Yanwath Wood and those on Askham Fell are all intervisible with earlier monuments. The Hartsop Hall enclosure is not only sited adjacent to a large tumulus, but also incorporates a number of large glacial erratics, which dominate the enclosure (RCHME, 1936). Tumuli are also adjacent to both Yanwath Wood and Hackthorpe (Higham, 1986, 225). In addition to these sites we could also include the complex at Eller Beck, where a curvilinear settlement is located near to a series of tumuli (Lowndes, 1963). Haselgrove (1996, 64) has argued that this large and complex landscape probably has an Iron Age origin. Finally, it is also worth mentioning the large monument complexes at Barnscar and Town Bank, West Cumbria, which, with their large cairn fields, field boundaries and later curvilinear settlements, have a remarkable similarity to the situation at

Glencoyne Park (Quartermaine, 1989).

Outside of our study area we can see that hillforts in particular can also enclose earlier monuments within their compass. The large hillforts at Carrock Fell, Skelmore Heads (Powell, 1963) and Burnswark (RCHAMS, 1997, 106) all enclose earlier tumuli within their enclosures, and in the case of Skelmore Heads and Burnswark, appear to have been occupied from the beginning of the first millennium BC. This may suggest that the relationship between curvilinear enclosures and earlier monuments may be both temporal and hierarchical, as will be considered in further detail below.

Within our study area, we have a number of other settlement forms, none of which respect the earlier monumental landscape. The most common non-curvilinear sites are "D" shaped enclosures with three examples, one at Stoddahgate and two in Glencoyne Park. On the basis of visual inspection of these monuments none appears to be intervisible with earlier monuments of the Bronze Age. This is particularly noticeable in the case of Glencoyne Park 5, a large rectilinear enclosure which is only 400 m from the curvilinear site Glencoyne Park 6, discussed earlier (Hoaen and Loney, 2003b). Its location on a small terrace, east of the main area of Bronze Age activity, gives it the appearance of existing in a small island of previously unutilised space. Finally, there is the unenclosed settlement at Baldhowend, in Matterdale proper. This site, on a low moraine overlooking Cooper's Beck, sits on virgin territory. There are no earlier monuments nearby or within sight and no other contemporaneous settlements within view.

Discussion

When we first began our survey, a study of the SMR suggested that we had a total of four curvilinear settlements: Hutton John I, Brownrigg, Glencoyne Park, Stone Carr. Additional notes also in the SMR indicated the presence of vague earthworks at Stoddahrigg, four further sites in Glencoyne Park, Hutton John II and Hilltop, but with no clear description of either the settlement forms or correct locations. We now have a considerably changed picture: we have identified new sites at Ulcat Row, Baldhowend, Lofshaw Hill and two further sites at Glencoyne Park. We have gone from a total of four definite sites in the SMR and a number of possible sites, to a known minimum of 17 sites of differing morphologies, of which the most common is still the curvilinear enclosure.

When we look in detail at the relationship between settlements, soils and earlier monuments, it is clear that the large curvilinear settlements that we have discussed have a privileged position in relation both to access to better land and earlier monuments. Although some non-curvilinear settlements are also situated on better soils, it is also the case that they are seldom associated with earlier monuments.

The results of our excavations at the unenclosed settlement at Baldhowend and the curvilinear settlement at Glencoyne Park 6 make this position clearer. The unenclosed settlement at Baldhowend is particularly interesting as it sits in an area of poorer soils away from earlier monuments. At Baldhowend we excavated two roundhouses and parts of a third. One roundhouse (house D) had been used as a smithy and we found traces of slag and hammer scale dated to the last century of the first millennium B.C. (Table 2) (Loney and Hoaen, 2000). In association with this

FIG. 4. Main sites mentioned in text in relation to earlier field systems and cairn fields in Glencoyne Park, Ullswater (A. W. Hoaen).

TABLE 2. Radiocarbon dates from excavations carried out by the Matterdale Archaeological Project.

Site	sample number	date BP uncal	2 sigma
Baldhowend (hearth 1, house A, bulk sample)	Beta 123084	2120±80	cal BC 375-AD 65
Baldhowend E19 (hearth 1, house A, AMS)	GU9337	1890±40	cal AD 27-237
Baldhowend E44 (hearth 2, house A, AMS)	GU9336	1745±40	cal AD 179-408
Baldhowend E309 (hearth 1,) house D, AMS	GU9338	1940±50	cal BC 44-AD 212
Baldhowend E309 (hearth 1, house D, AMS)	GU8237	1970±50	cal BC 88-AD 130
Glencoyne Park E112 (cut below later enclosure wall, AMS)	Beta 171115	2810±50	cal BC 1105-835

structure we found small (sub 1cm) fragments of pottery or fired clay. The second hut circle (House A) produced a series of iron objects and a glass bangle fragment but had no pottery. On the basis of the radiocarbon dates both these houses appear to have been occupied in the latter stages of the First Millennium B.C. and the first 2-3 centuries of the First Millennium A.D. (Table 2). The two main house structures have produced a series of stone tools incorporated into the walls and discarded in the living space. It is the type of impoverished material culture that is often thought to be typical of pre-Roman period sites in Cumbria.

This is in marked contrast with the site at Glencoyne Park 6, where we excavated one small *c*.8 m diameter roundhouse. The roundhouse has a number of different phases, which on stratigraphic grounds date from the pre-Roman through to the post-Roman periods. During the Roman phase, it was reconstructed on a number of occasions. Within the floor of the Roman period roundhouse a large number of finds were made, including Samian ware, Romano-British fine wares, glass bangles, a bead, and a number of lead and iron objects (Hoaen and Loney forthcoming). This is an unexpected set of exotic Roman finds for a rural site in Romano-British Cumbria (Shotter personal communication).

Glencoyne Park 6 is similar to many other curvilinear enclosed settlements in Cumbria. Although few of these curvilinear sites have been excavated elsewhere in Cumbria, a site in Kentmere also produced evidence of copper alloy brooches and glass (RCHME, 1936), and recent metal detector activity has produced high status metal work and coins from a curvilinear site at Cunswick Fell near Kendal (Hodgson, *pers. comm.*).

The chief characteristic feature of these sites is the circular orthostatic enclosing wall. In the literature they are often considered to date to the Roman occupation, however, little excavation has taken place on these sites in recent years, and there is a suspicion that they may originate in the pre-Roman Iron Age (Bewley, 1994). Where excavation has occurred, for example at Urswick Walls, a pre-Roman Iron Age date was demonstrated from an example of metalwork (Dobson, 1907).

Excavation at Glencoyne Park 6 indicated that it was occupied from the beginning of the first millennium B.C. into and possibly beyond the Roman period (Table 2). The characteristic enclosing wall at Glencoyne Park 6 post dates the founding of the site and is stratigraphically earlier than the Roman period but is as yet undated. Curvilinear settlements of this form are often considered to be the most common form of site in the Cumbrian Uplands (Higham, 1986, 192).

There are a number of measures in common use in settlement studies to determine status. These include labour investment, finds of high status material and other attributes. In terms of its access to good land, the monuments of the ancestors, and to Roman goods of high status such as imported glass ware and pottery, Glencoyne Park 6 appears to be of higher status than Baldhowend. Excavations by Higham and Higham and Jones at Penrith Farm and Aughertree Fell, suggest that other settlement forms within Cumbria, such as the rectilinear and "D" shaped settlements, also had less access to imported Roman goods, and are possibly of lower status (Higham, 1982; Higham and Jones, 1983). As Baldhowend is a later settlement than Glencoyne Park 6, this may indicate that sites of non-curvilinear form belong to an expansion of settlement that began to occur late in the first millennium B.C. and which gathered pace through into the Roman period. The lack of access to earlier monuments of these non-curvilinear forms may therefore reflect both their lower status and also their lateness in the sequence.

In summary, we have a total of four large curvilinear monuments that appear to occupy privileged locations in the landscape. The other thirteen monuments are all either smaller in size, in locations with poorer soils, or have no connection to the ancestors. On this basis we would argue that, in our study area, high status sites of the first millennium B.C. and early Roman period are those which contain two or more roundhouses, are intervisible with or incorporate earlier monuments, and are located on the better soils within the valley.

Conclusion

It is now evident that Cumbria, during the Iron Age, shared many similarities with Iron Age societies elsewhere in Britain. In particular, there appears to have been a cultural imperative to be linked physically with the past, which manifests itself in the conservative re-use of old, established landscapes. As Barratt has discussed for southern England and Hingley for Scotland, Iron Age societies look back to the memorials of their ancestors and incorporate these older monuments into their own living societies (Barratt, 1999a, 1999b; Hingley, 1996, 1999). The prime motivation for the placement of settlement enclosures is to join with the ancestral landscape, embrace them and withhold them. At Stone Carr (Fig. 3), there is an almost frenetic attempt to absorb the older monuments in a web-like matrix.

Bradley has suggested, in part, a political aspect to this action – the desire to justify and sanctify the "new" order by consuming and re-displaying the old (Bradley, 1987). There is exclusivity in these actions – one that can be demonstrated by the contrast between Glencoyne Park 6 and Baldhowend. However, we can argue that it may be more than that: in our area we have evidence that the sites with the most intimate contact with the past are the long-lived settlements. In short, the intimacy is one developed over the length of the first millennium B.C., possibly

stretching back into the second. The element of exclusivity may be to remind others that the reason they have rights to the older lands, is that they have in fact controlled the lands over a long period of time.

We can also demonstrate a degree of similarity between the Cumbrian Iron Age and the rest of Britain, in terms of site development. The evidence from excavation and survey suggests that, much like the rest of Britain, and in particular, Scotland, the accumulation of ritual monuments and field cairns in places of significance in the Bronze Age is succeeded by the growth of nucleated and eventually enclosed settlement in some locations. The appearance of sites with long occupation and the nature of the physical inclusion of earlier monuments within the later living spaces is one of inscribing the identity of the settlement into the landscape at large, and it stands in contrast to the areas between the settlements that are sparsely used.

There are, however, degrees of difference in the development of first millennium B.C. society in Cumbria, in comparison to much of the rest of Britain, in particular, in marked contrast to the north-east of England, and the Borders. Cumbria, and in particular, the central Lake District, differs from its neighbours in that it appears to lack the highest status dwellings, a situation similar to that of Iron Age southern Northumbria, Lancashire and parts of Yorkshire. There are no known hillforts in either our immediate study area, or further south and west. Carrock Fell is the only known large hillfort in the vicinity, and the identification of sites such as Dunmallard and Maiden Castle as hillforts of this period is questionable. Thus we lack the highest level of social organisation or complexity. There may be several explanations for this, including the possibility that the Iron Age people of Cumbria looked to an élite residing outside the area. However, given the topographical difficulties of the Lakes, and the relative poverty of resources including good farmlands, it is more likely that the population could not sustain the large investments of labour required to construct and then maintain such central points. The élite lacked the power or the resources to enforce or encourage such development.

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