Chapter 3

Living and Dying in Later Prehistory

3.1 Introduction

In the last chapter my narrative of the Upper Derwent ended with a discussion of the later mesolithic/early neolithic and interpreted the evidence as indicating occupation of a predominantly wooded landscape with concentrations of lithics at the confluences of watercourses in the valley bottom. People were moving around the landscape within and beyond the study area, either residing for longer or making regular visits to streamside locales, so establishing patterns of land-use and tenure by the 4th millennium BC. Long-term changes to the vegetation were occurring on ground above 400m O.D., involving the spread of peat and reduction in woodland. The absence of enclosures and chambered tombs, found on the Eastern Moors and Limestone Plateau to the south, do not confine the Upper Derwent to the role of an empty backwater overlooked by historical developments related to the monuments. If, as has been suggested, the monuments drew people into regional identities, occupants of the Upper Derwent travelled across the wider landscape in relation to pasturing livestock and participating in communal gatherings.

This chapter begins with the observation of a significant change in the archaeological record of the Upper Derwent during the later neolithic/early bronze age when the earliest surviving structures appear. These include a small group of later neolithic pits, filled with charcoal and burnt stones, and a later neolithic/early bronze age group of burial barrows and a kerb cairn, which indicate a concern with physically marking locations with the dead. They are typical of barrows that were built in many regions of Britain at this time (Bradley 1984), and approximately 500 are identified in the Peak District (Barnatt 1996a). There is also a small cairnfield which, by comparison with prehistoric fields found on the Eastern Moors, may date from any period between the early bronze age and early iron age (Barnatt 2000; Bevan 2000b). These built features complement lithics assemblages, which continue to be found on the different landscape zones, though scatters of any size are restricted to the valleys.

The evidence indicates changes occurred in the way the Upper Derwent landscape was being perceived and used during the later neolithic/early bronze age. Barrow building, cairn formation and pit digging all relate to marking specific locations in physical materials and the labour of activity. I shall discuss the landscape context of these, lithics distributions and vegetation data to interpret the nature of occupation and land-use from the later neolithic to early iron age, covering the second half of the 3rd millennium to the first half of the 1st millennium BC. This is a time frame that has been identified as a cohesive period of study because the chronological and landscape relationships of barrows and cairnfields on the Eastern Moors, coupled with environmental evidence for clearance and cereals, suggests that the two may be linked (Barnatt 1986, 1987, 1999, 2000; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Kitchen 2000). The presence of the barrows and cairnfields demonstrates that geographically widespread practices associated with the marking of funerary and domestic space were being carried out in the Upper Derwent. This requires further comparison between the study area and the wider region, to identify similarities and differences that may aid interpretation of the local data.

Questions surrounding mobility and farming, issues that were raised in the previous chapter, are still highly pertinent. With recent interpretations of the early neolithic suggesting a period of settlement mobility (cf Barrett 1994; Edmonds 1999; Thomas 1991), a move to sedentary ways of life with a greater emphasis on farming has now been pushed forward in time. This shift is generally thought to occur sometime in the 2nd millennium BC (Barrett 1994; Bradley 1984). While Bradley views the appearance of large field systems, such as the Dartmoor Reaves, and the upland cairnfields as part of the same phenomenon (Bradley 1984, 90), Barrett only identifies sedentary occupation with the large field systems, interpreting the upland cairnfields as representing the temporary plots of farmers on the move (Barrett 1994, 144). In suggesting a third millennium BC origin for the Peak District cairnfields, Barnatt follows Bradley in arguing for a contemporary shift to permanent settlement (Barnatt 1996c, 54).

3.2 Peak District Context: Later Prehistoric Vegetation History

As for the mesolithic and early neolithic, there are a number of palaeoenvironmental studies producing radiocarbon vegetation histories on the Eastern Moors, northern Dark Peak and limestone plateau (Hicks 1971, 1972; Long 1994; Long et al 1998; Tallis and Switsur 1973, 1990; Taylor et al 1994; Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). Taking the different

studies as a whole, they give a general regional perspective for the gritstone uplands of the southern Pennines. Radiocarbon dated pollen cores indicate human activity in the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC. One of these, Tallis and Switsur's study at Featherbed Moss, Hope Woodlands, is located on the watershed between the head of the Ashop Valley and the Etherow Valley, so has direct relevance to the Upper Derwent (Tallis and Switsur 1973).

In Lathkill Dale, very little woodland remained in a largely grassland landscape after the early 3rd millennium, based on an estimation of sediment development above a date of 4500 BP (3370-2920 Cal. BC – Beta 68242) (Taylor et al 1994). No cereal pollen was evident in the profile. At Lismore Fields, carr vegetation was being removed after 3540±70 BP (2120-1680 Cal. BC – OxA 1976), and open conditions with cereals were maintained throughout the 2nd and 1st millennia BC (Wiltshire and Edwards 1993).

During the 3rd millennium BC, the vegetation of the lower valley sides of the High Peak continued to be dominated by oak, alder, elm, hazel and willow (Tallis and Switsur 1990). There is evidence for a decline in tree species, rise in *Calluna* and extensive vegetation burning on Alport Moor around 4855±50 BP (3760 – 3520 Cal. BC – Q 2432). Sheila Hicks's study across the Eastern Moors indicates the increase of grassland species contemporary with decreases in woodland species. These have been dated to the 3rd and 2nd millennia BC, from radiocarbon determinations at Leash Fen of 2120±100 bc (2900-2300 Cal. BC – GaK 2285), 1790±100 bc (2500-1850 Cal. BC – GaK 2286) and 1500±110 bc (2050-1450 Cal. BC – GaK 2287) (Hicks 1971, 1972). The pollen spectra suggest the maintenance of cleared grasslands amongst woodland throughout the 2nd millennium BC. There was a dramatic decrease in woodland with an increase in open species in the later iron age, 340±100 bc (800-50 Cal. BC – GaK 2288). Open species of grasslands and heathlands dominate throughout the 1st millennium BC, with the first indicators of arable occurring later in the profile. Cereals peak from ad 40±100 (200BC-AD400 Cal. – GaK 2291) to ad 420 ± 90 (340-670 AD – GaK 2292). Peat rapidly accumulated in Leash Fen in the mid-2nd century BC, the only time that there is any evidence hinting at climatic change.

Between the end of the 2nd millennium BC and the middle of the 1st millennium BC, Stoke Flat, on the Eastern Moors, is dominated by an open woodland environment (Long et al 1998). Cereals comprise nearly 5% of the pollen, which is likely to originate

from relatively close crops due to the extent of woodland cover. This is contemporary with sediment evidence for ground disturbance. A radiocarbon date near to the top of this profile was 2595±65 BP (841-528 Cal. BC). Tallis and Switsur's Featherbed Moss study also indicates evidence for repeated phases of small-scale woodland clearance with peaks of *Plantago* occurring both before and after a radiocarbon date of 2685±50 BP (970 – 790 Cal. BC – Q 855) (Tallis and Switsur 1973).

Overall the environmental evidence demonstrates the presence of small-scale clearings and agriculture on the present-day moors and nearby valleys during the 2nd and 1st millennia BC. Cereals were being grown in the 1st millennium BC, but, in the more open environment of this period, it is likely that pollen is travelling further and may originate from nearby valleys and lower gritstone slopes. The spread of moorland peat is visible in Eastern Moors cores during the Roman and post-Roman periods, while mire peat grows throughout the Featherbed Moss column. In the immediate vicinity of the Upper Derwent, small-scale clearings were being made in the 2nd and 1st millennium BC, with a major phase of clearance starting in the later iron age. Different areas of the moors would become unsustainable for arable and intensive pasture at different times, dependent on local topography and altitude. That areas still farmed today are free of peat, suggests that continuous working and manuring of the land maintains pasture quality even on fragile soils (Barnatt 2000).

3.3 Peak District Context: Later Prehistoric Archaeological Evidence

3.3.1 Lithics

Understanding the distribution of later neolithic and early bronze age lithics is fraught with the same problems as earlier periods present. The most common diagnostic artefacts found by fieldwalking are arrowheads, which are also the most likely to be lost away from settlements and from scatters of contemporary material (Garton 1991). Where arrows are the only diagnostic tool found in assemblages, it is often spurious to use them to date the whole scatter (Barnatt 1996c). There appears to be a large increase in the numbers of artefacts found in the later neolithic, with extensive concentrations containing carefully made stone objects – edge-ground flint axes, edge-polished knives and maceheads – at Arbor Low, and a continuation in the distribution of scatters compared to the later mesolithic/early neolithic (Bradley and Hart 1983). Large multi-period assemblages

suggesting settlements have been identified at Aleck Low, Hartington, Middle Hill, Wormhill, and Mount Pleasant, Kenslow (Garton 1991; Hart 1981).

Recent work in the east – west fieldwalking transect has identified other diagnostic artefacts of the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia BC, such as knives and scrapers, and found them across the three major topographical zones of the region (Garton 1991). Variations do occur, with 80% of fields walked on the limestone plateau containing material, compared to 57% of fields on the gritstone uplands and 25% in the main valleys (Myers 1991). This indicates a greater use of the higher ground and a more intensive use of the limestone plateau compared to earlier periods.

3.3.2 Large Communal Monuments

During the later neolithic/early bronze age, we see a range of ceremonial and funerary monuments being built in the Peak District, including henges, small stone circles and a variety of barrows. These are the most visible earthworks of this period and contemporary with them are changes in the types and distributions of lithics. Taken together the evidence has been interpreted as suggesting changes in the nature and scale of funerary and ceremonial practices linked to changes in settlement and farming (Barnatt 1999).

Photograph 3.1. Arbor Low henge

The most impressive monuments of this period are two henges built on the limestone plateau (Hart 1981), probably in the later neolithic (Barnatt 1996c). Arbor Low occupies a north-east facing flank of a low south-east oriented ridge at 370m O.D. and approximately 7km to the south-west of Bakewell. From its location there are long-distance views across the broad expanse of the Monyash Basin to the north, and Lathkill Dale to the north-east and east. The ground rises to the ridge watershed to the south and west, and the River Dove is 4km to the south-west. The Bull Ring is within a shallow valley at Dove Holes, approximately 4km north of Buxton, which lies on a north-south watershed at 325m O.D. Views from the Bull Ring are more 'enclosed' with hills than at Arbor Low as ground gently rises on all sides, with the steeply rising gritstone scarp of Combs Moss less than 1km to the west (Illustration 3.1. Photograph 3.1).

The henges are very similar in size and build, each being approximately 85m in diameter with a substantial encircling bank and inner ditch broken by opposing entrances which lead to a central area (Barnatt 1990). The bank at Arbor Low stands to over 2m high and the ditch is 1m to 3m deep. The interior contains a circular setting of 59 limestone blocks surrounding a 'cove' of four stones, all of which are now recumbent but are thought to have been originally upright (ibid). The bank at the Bull Ring stands to approximately 1m high and the ditch descends to 1m deep (ibid). While there are no surviving stones at the

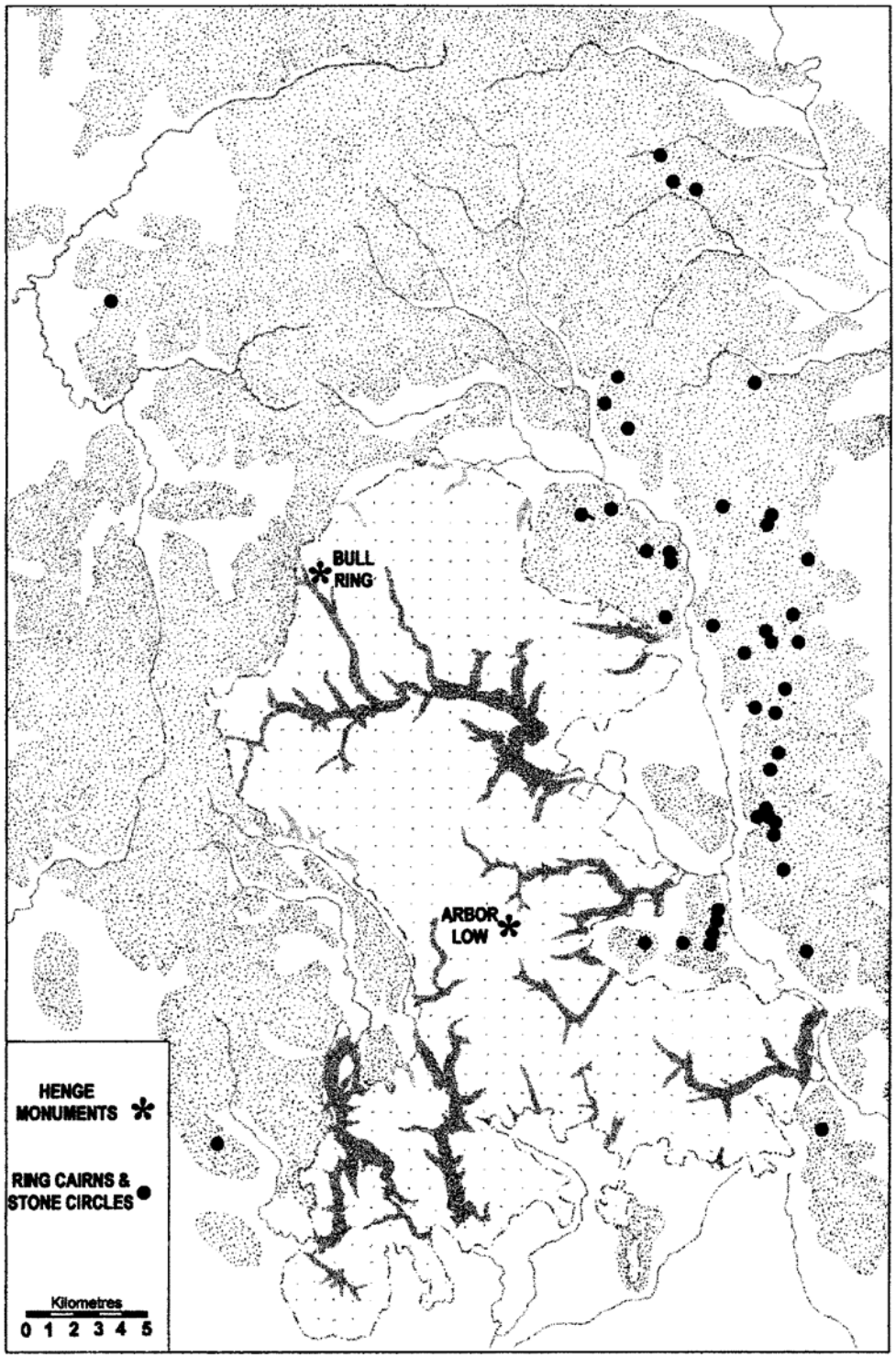

Illustration 3.1. Arbor Low and Bull Ring henges, and stone circles in the Peak District. From Edmonds and Seaborne 2001

Bull Ring, one was recorded as standing in the late 18th century, after which date the interior was under cultivation (Pilkington 1789). Both henges are associated with earlier long barrows lying within 1km, one at the Bull Ring and two at Arbor Low (Barnatt 1996a). Arbor Low is also associated with two later neolithic/early bronze age barrows,

one built on the bank of the henge. Fieldwalking in the vicinity of Arbor Low has indicated a significant increase in the density of later neolithic age lithics around the henge and a clustering of more exotic artefacts, such as polished stone axes, polished knives and maceheads (Bradley and Hart 1983).

As discussed in the previous chapter there are between eight and 16 chambered tombs and between seven and 11 long barrows surviving in the Peak District, which can be broadly dated to the neolithic, and these often have evidence for long and complex histories (Barnatt 1996a). Exactly when within the neolithic they were built and actively used is debatable, with a number being assigned 4th millennium dates by comparison with monuments in other regions of Britain. The most likely candidates for a later neolithic date are the unusually long bank barrow at Long Low and four 'great' barrows, Minninglow, Tideslow, Stoney Low and Pea Low, which are enlargements of earlier mounds (ibid). Nineteenth-century antiquarian excavations found sherds of later neolithic pottery below large blocking boulders in the passage of Minninglow's central chamber, and leaf-shaped arrowheads were found in a chamber at Long Low (Bateman 1848, 1861). The landscape contexts of these later barrows is much the same as earlier mounds. They are situated on watersheds and surrounded by valleys and basins which may have been more intensively settled and farmed (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001).

Based on their size, architectural form and topographical settings, the henges are thought to be associated with large communal gatherings that brought together people from the wider surrounding area, (Barnatt 1996a; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Both henges and barrows may have continued to rework ideals about the shared use of the landscape seen in the early neolithic monuments. Like the earlier chambered tombs, they are all on watersheds, which may have been less densely wooded than lower ground and may have been used as upland pastures where people from different communities would meet while tending herds (Barnatt 1996c). The presence of early neolithic barrows near to the henges, and of scatters of later mesolithic to early neolithic lithics at Arbor Low, show the time-depth of social connections with these areas. By being built in areas with a long history of use for grazing, where different communities may have had pasture rights based on tradition and negotiation, the henges are associated with long-held patterns of land-use in the uplands.

Possibly, the henges were built and used by larger numbers of people than the individual chambered tombs, suggesting, like the enclosure on Gardom's Edge, the construction of wider concepts of social identity. Barnatt has stated that the henges "may well have allowed different groups from segmented communities to come together to build and use the monuments. Doing this would have welded social identity, creating larger coherent groups and thus through time peripheral locales became central ones" (1996c, 54). The different communities were comparative strangers to each other for most of the year and ceremonies held at the henges would have reaffirmed kinship ties and involved the negotiation of access to different areas of the landscape. In this context, the large artefact scatters in the vicinity of Arbor Low have been interpreted as the campsites for communities attending gatherings at the henge (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Within the context of recent reinterpretations of later neolithic society (Bradley 1984; Barrett 1994; Thomas 1991), Barnatt explains the appearance of henges as indicating people who were becoming more sedentary over time as greater levels of agriculture were incorporated into their lives and traditional claims to land became more fixed (Barnatt 1996c).

This leads us to two other classes of monument which appear to post-date henges: stone circles and barrows.

3.3.3 Smaller Monuments: Stone Circles, Ringcairns and Barrows

There is also a range of smaller monuments, including stone circles, ringcairns and round barrows. These date approximately to between the late 3rd and early 2nd millennia BC, so are generally later than the larger monuments, though there may be a chronological overlap with henges. In comparison to earlier monuments, they are much more numerous, as well as being smaller in scale. There are at least 26 small stone circles or ringcairns (Illustration 3.1) and over 500 burial barrows in the Peak District (Barnatt and Smith 1997. Illustration 3.2). They are also found in a much wider variety of topographical locations, are a lot smaller and, in the case of barrows, there is variability in the treatment of the dead.

3.2 Gib Hill round barrow is built on top of an Early Neolithic long barrow 260m south-west of Arbor Low henge

The majority of barrows are round, constructed from stone and earth and sometimes embellished with kerbs and cists. They are found across much of the limestone plateau and the gritstone moors. Locations are very varied, but tend to be on the lower shelves and plateaux overlooking valleys, or on low ridges and hilltops, which themselves overlook the lower shelves (Barnatt 1996a). These are mostly locally prominent locations without the long-distance visibility of earlier funerary sites, so suggesting a smaller social focus. The treatment of the dead and the presence of grave goods is extremely varied in these later barrows, and contrasts greatly with the earlier communal burials of the long barrows and chambered cairns (Barnatt 1996a). There are single and multiple inhumations and cremations placed both under and within the mound. Approximately half of the burials are unaccompanied, and the remainder contain a range of items including flint tools, stone axes, bronze tools and weapons, bone tools, jewellery and pottery (Barnatt 1996a). Beakers, collared urns and food vessels are the most common ceramics present. The former are mostly found on the limestone plateau and exclusively associated with inhumations, while food vessels and urns are found across the Peak District, and are solely related to cremations (ibid).

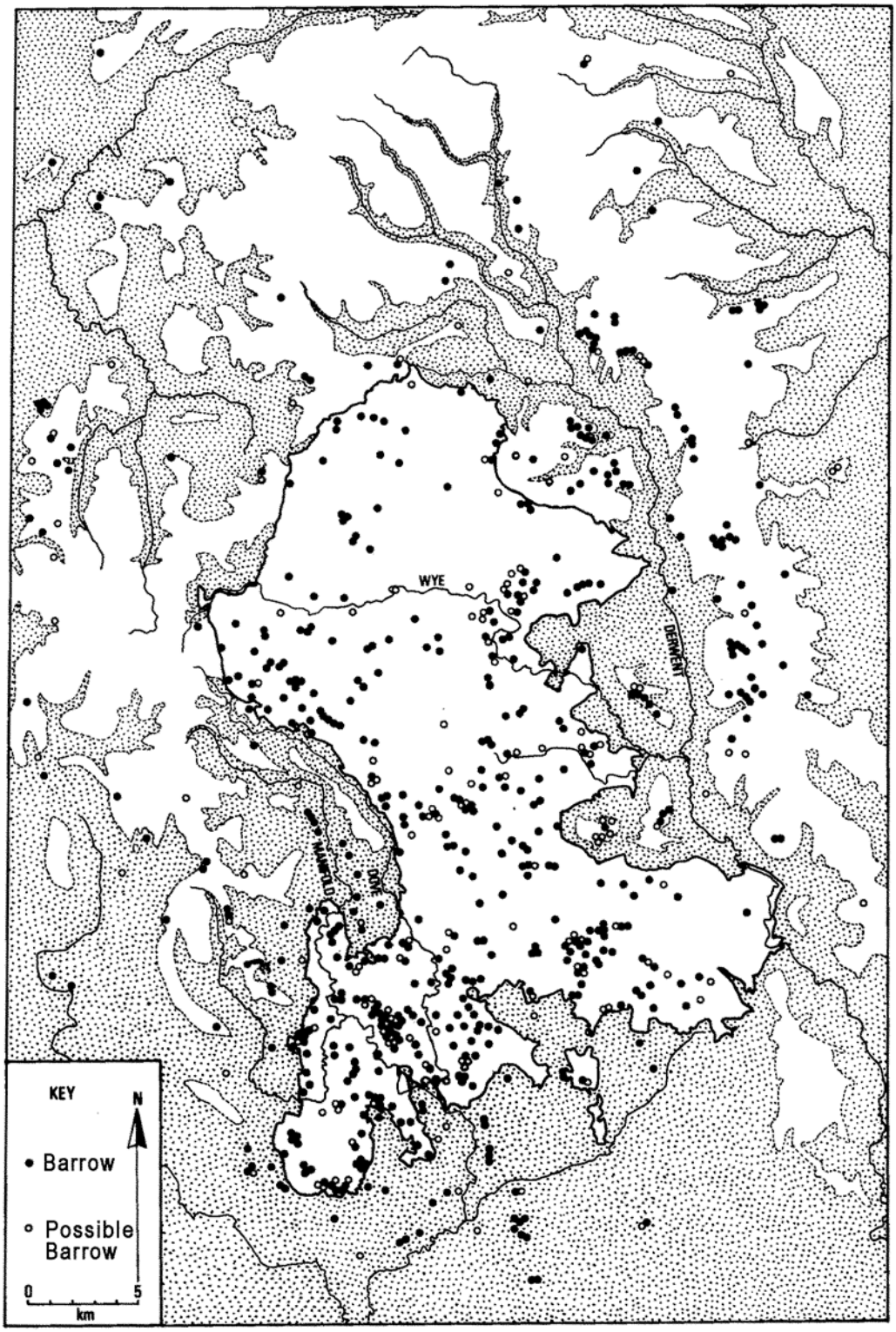

Illustration 3.2. Later prehistoric barrows in the Peak District. From Barnatt 1996a

Stone circles and ringcairns are found exclusively across the gritstone uplands with the majority on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 1990). They vary in size (from 5m to 30m in diameter) and character: free-standing stones, upright stones placed in a circular embankment and embankments without orthostats (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001).

Examples include Nine Ladies on Stanton Moor, and Barbrook I and II on Big Moor. There are a number of small stone circles with internal mounds or platforms, including Strawberry Lea near Totley Moor and at Doll Tor on Stanton Moor. It is unclear whether they are stone circles that have had their interiors filled later or whether they are variations of kerb cairns with their continuous ring of stones. The closest stone circles to the study area are on Bamford Moor, to the south-east, including the Seven Stones of Hordron which overlooks Ladybower Gorge.

The proliferation of barrows and stone circles compared to the lower numbers of earlier henges and tombs, and their strong relationship with locally prominent locations, signals that more places were perceived to be important. Barrows indicate a shift from building monuments marking ceremonies calling on communal ancestors, to burial rites of individuals, where the specific genealogies of individual families were emphasised (Barrett 1988, 1994). Even where more than one burial appears in a barrow, the individual is emphasised through the separation of one grave from another. The concentration of beakers on the limestone plateau may indicate a later neolithic continuation of earlier ceremonial practices that focused on the limestone, while the wider distribution of food vessels and urns is contemporary with the development of sustained farming and its spread onto the Eastern Moors during the early bronze age or later (Barnatt 1999; Kitchen 2000). The presence of food vessels and beakers, both associated with similar suites of grave goods, has been interpreted as suggesting social contact between the region and Yorkshire (Kitchen 2000).

The sizes of the stone circles also hint at their uses by smaller communities when compared to the much larger, earlier, henges. As such, they have been interpreted as places for holding smaller, family-based ceremonies, such as those connected with the agricultural season, individual rites of passage and fertility (Barnatt 2000; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). This does not preclude the involvement in regional trends, and the similarity of the small monuments shows there was a concern with wider community values beyond that of the family (Kitchen 2000).

Taken together, these suggest that over time smaller communities came to physically link their social identity to specific geographical locations, so embedding a "place-bound sense of being" into the landscape (Kitchen 2000, 147). This association of people and place may indicate a greater formalisation and restriction of earlier mobility, even leading

to sedentism (Whittle 1997). In the Peak District, this closer identification between social group and land may have been associated with the origins of field systems.

3.3.4 Later Prehistoric Settlements

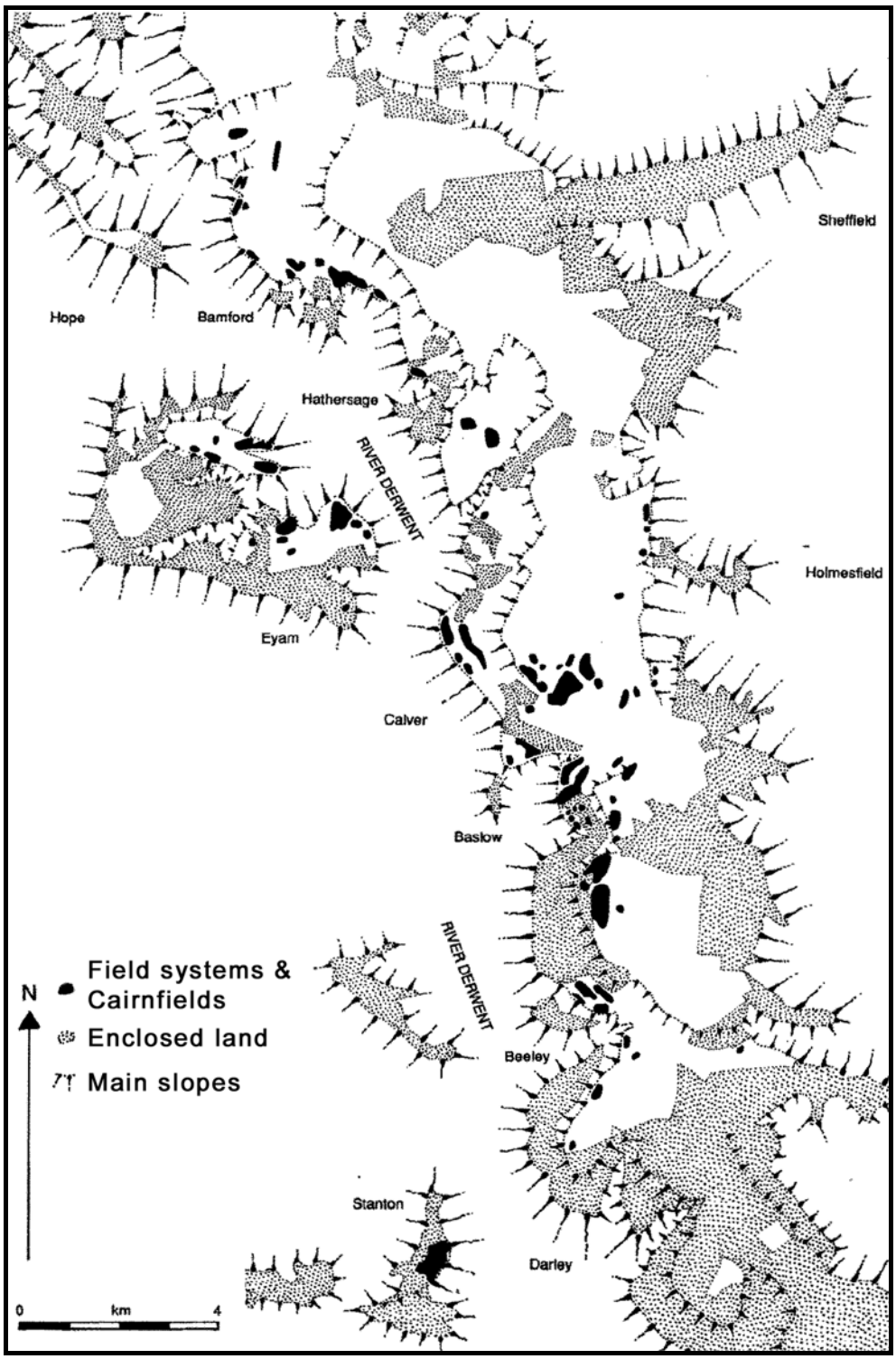

Illustration 3.3. Later prehistoric settlements and cairnfields of the Eastern Moors. From Barnatt and Smith 1997

On the Eastern Moors, where survival of prehistoric landscapes is good on unimproved peat moorland, many circles and 55% of all known barrows are closely associated with settlements, field systems and cairnfields (Barnatt 2000).

Fields and settlements occupy terraces and low summits, which overlook the Derwent Valley to the west and, in lower numbers, the easterly draining watercourses that flow into the Rivers Rother and Don (Illustration 3.3). Mostly, they occupy areas of lighter, sandy soils situated below 400m O.D. suited for pasture and cultivation by wooden ard and spade (Barnatt 1987, 1999, 2000). The fields have a very strong relationship with local topography or soils, and are not imposed on the landscape as, for example, the brickwork fields of the Sherwood Sandstone ridge running through West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire (Riley 1980; Garton 1987; Chadwick 1999). The majority of field systems survive on moors above the upper limit of historic period enclosure and improvement, which were turned over to grouse shooting by landowners in the 19th century. Fragments of prehistoric fields do survive within these more recent fields, cairns and linear banks clinging to the safety of thin soils and rocky outcrops considered too poor to be worth improving. These show that there was later prehistoric settlement in the valleys, where soil conditions were suitable, as well as on the higher terraces.

Wide variations are evident in cairnfield size and layout. There are ill-defined layouts of irregularly placed cairns with little evidence for field boundaries, as on Birchen Edge or Eyam Moor. Small, irregular areas of cleared ground, well-defined by linear clearance, and more regularly laid out rectilinear fields with distinct boundaries survive at Gardom's Edge. Areas such as Big Moor and Stoke Flat comprise small, sub-rectangular fields with co-axial elements. They vary in size from 2,100m^2 at Brampton East Moor North to over 485,000m^2 on Big Moor (Barnatt 2000). Field systems are separated from each other by unenclosed land less hospitable to agriculture, because of high altitudes, heavy clay soils or steep slopes. Generally, field systems are larger and closer where there are more extensive areas of gently sloping land at suitable altitudes.

Photograph 3.3. Gardom's Edge, Baslow, is typical of moorland shelf locations occupied by later prehistoric settlement and field systems

The sites of buildings survive as loose conglomerations of shallow platforms and semi-circular cairns dispersed amongst the fields. At Gardom's Edge, excavations identified three timber and stake-built houses (Barnatt et al 2002). Notable finds in domestic contexts include LBA-EIA pottery, burnt stones, querns, whetstones, blue glass beads and a small lead torc-like object. Features related to built structures survived at two of the Gardom's Edge buildings. One was a simple stake-wall building, 6m in diameter with a south-east facing doorway defined by two square-cut timber posts. On abandonment the doorway was blocked by a rubble bank, that ran half the length of the building, and in which was placed a gritstone saddle quern in an inverted position. The other surviving building was a much more elaborate structure. It comprised a post-built round house approximately 10m in diameter, with a 1.25m south-east facing doorway flanked by six substantial posts forming a porch. Over time, it had stone cairns piled around it and was partly enclosed by stone banks, which delineated the building interior as an important space long after the building itself had disappeared. The location of the door was preserved in the form of a paved entrance marked by large boulders. The banks contained elaborate architectural features, including stepped-kerbing and small pits. Within the centre of the house were an inverted saddle quern and a pit containing the torc-like object. The house is on the south-eastern end of a ridge of outcropping stone, which is a locally prominent location on the shelf and has long-distance views across the Derwent Valley. The desire to locate the building here is evident in the need to support

wall stakes with chocking stones in places where the outcrop was covered in only a thin layer of soil.

As to the dates for occupation of the fields and buildings, their landscape relationships with barrows and stone circles suggest a later neolithic/early bronze age origin (Barnatt 1999). There are radiocarbon dates from boundaries on Big Moor and Eaglestone Flat at around 1700-1300 Cal. BC, which show the formation of fields at this time (Barnatt 2000). The only directly dated early bronze age settlement is Swine Sty, Big Moor (Hart 1981). Pollen evidence indicates limited clearance activity on the Eastern Moors in the 2nd millennium BC, which may have been associated with livestock grazing, while cereals appear in the 1st millennium BC (Hicks 1971, 1972; Long 1994; Long et al 1998). The 1st millennium dates for cereal cultivation suggest the strong likelihood that the fields had iron age histories (Bevan 1999b, 2000b). Archaeological fieldwork on Gardom's Edge has so far dated the three buildings to the later bronze age/early iron age (Barnatt et al 2002). This includes friable pottery of similar later bronze age/early iron age forms to those found at Harborough Rocks, Mam Tor and Ball Cross and suggests some contemporaneity in the occupation of open and enclosed settlements in the region (Coombs and Thompson 1979; Hart 1981; Stanley 1954; Ward 1890).

The overall evidence therefore indicates that some farming and settlement on the Eastern Moors occurred between the early 2nd millennium and the 1st millennium BC. What it does not offer is any information on the longevity of occupation or whether there was a single period within that date range when the majority of settlement areas were occupied. Neither is there evidence within the pattern of cairnfields for whether the settlements and fields were permanently occupied by fully sedentary inhabitants or were intermittently occupied within shifting settlement, which saw individual field systems cleared, cultivated and then allowed to revert to scrub many times during two millennia while long-lived pasture may have spread only gradually over the higher ground (Kitchen 2000). Even if they were inhabited within mobile subsistence strategies, at least into the early bronze age, the marking of plots of land with cairns and boundaries, the construction of stone banks around buildings after abandonment, and the proliferation of barrows and stone circles indicates a greater investment in demarcating land associated with smaller communal groups such as kin, families and individual households. Barnatt sees each system as being inhabited by a kin-group, or small number of extended

families, who saw the fields and associated open pastures as being in their tenure (Barnatt 2000). They may have occupied these areas permanently or moved between a small group of similar areas according to traditions of land-use.

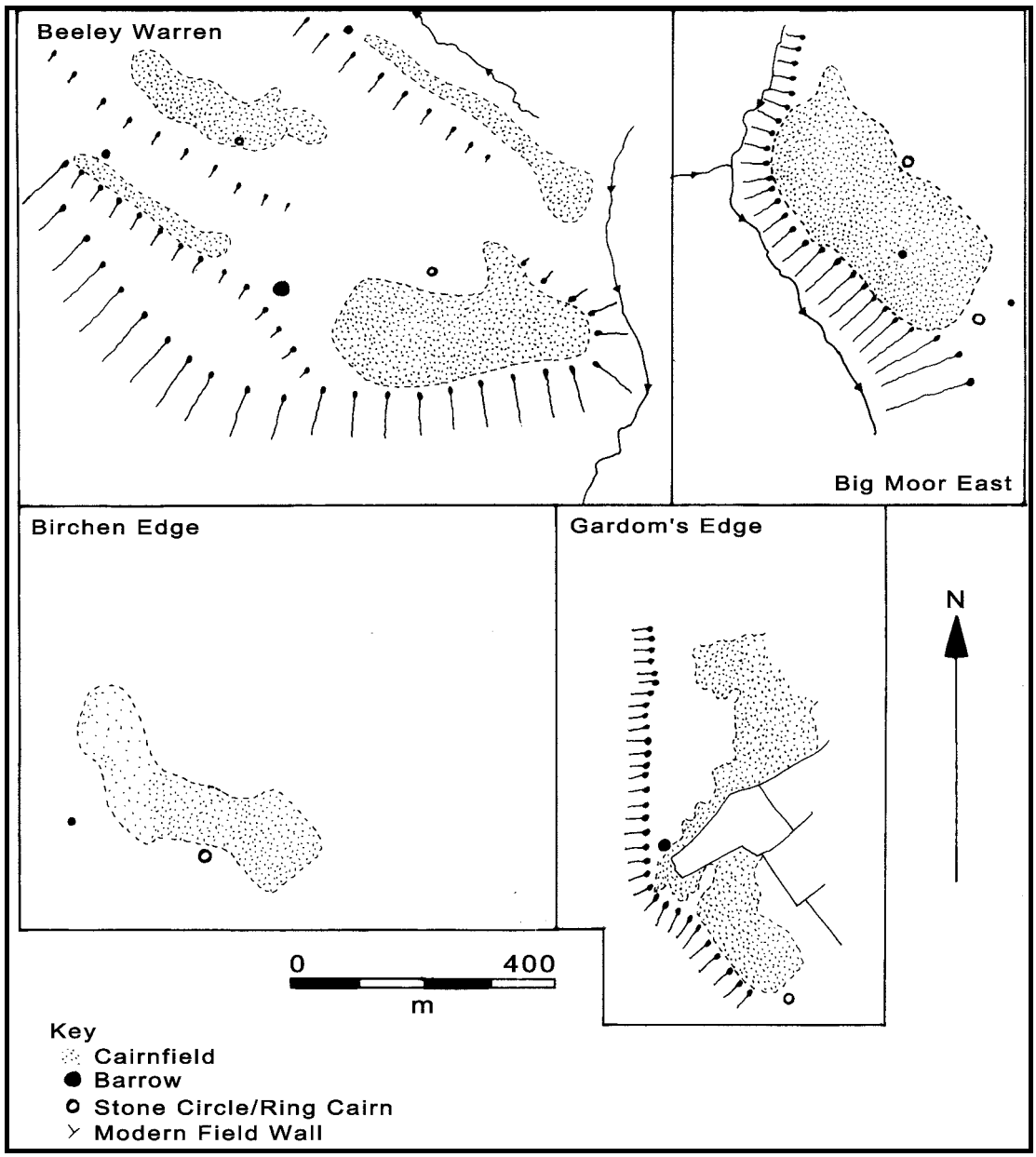

Illustration 3.4. Relationships of barrows and settlements on the Eastern Moors. Monuments are typically on the edges of field areas

3.3.5 Relationship of Barrows and Settlements

The barrows tend to be located on the edges of field systems, and are usually not placed in highly prominent locations (Illustration 3.4). They appear important to the extended families who occupied the settlements as physical reminders of earlier generations, the communities' connections with place and the symbolism of community identity through

these geographical associations. Some burials were placed in clearance cairns and in stone circles, showing how burial rites, ceremonies and agriculture were all linked.

The remainder of the barrows on the Eastern Moors are placed further away from recognised or potential settlement areas, many near to watersheds. However, this does not strictly equate with remoteness because many can be associated with nearby settlements through being placed at the edges of blocks of land defined by watercourses and ridges on which settlements lie. The barrows are not visible across long distances, despite sometimes being built on high spots, because they tend to be located just below the watersheds on land where there is preference given to a view across one direction. These have been interpreted as occupying open pastures used by nearby settlements, the grazing grounds of individual communities (Barnatt 2000).

The lower shelves of the limestone plateau have been relatively intensively and continuously farmed since at least the early medieval period, so removing many less-substantial prehistoric features from areas identified as potential settlement zones by comparison with the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 2000). However, many barrows lie adjacent to or within these lower shelves, most on low-lying hilltops, ridges and breaks of slope above steep-sided dales and scarps. There is also a substantial number positioned on higher watersheds and ridges removed from the potential settlement areas, which are thought to have been used as higher pastures. On the Western Moorlands, barrows again congregate on lower shelves and ridges, which have been enclosed since medieval times and are potential prehistoric settlement zones. In the High Peak outside of the Upper Derwent, known barrows are all on ridges that were most likely too high for sustained settlement, but may have been used as upland pastures.

The differences in barrow densities can be taken as a broad clue to density of population and character of land use (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Higher densities may indicate the greater need to mark traditional ties where claims to pastures and contact with others were greater and more competitive. Lower densities in the higher land to the north, including the Upper Derwent, suggest a corresponding low intensity of use. Edmonds and Seaborne suggest that they may indicate claims to hunting grounds or seasonal pastures and were often placed to be seen by people moving in and out of the area (ibid).

This interpretation can be worked through in the Upper Derwent data by investigating the landscape contexts of barrows, including topographical locations and visibility.

3.3.6 Hill-Top Enclosures

The later dates for excavated houses on the Eastern Moors are contemporary with buildings excavated at Mam Tor and Ball Cross hill-top enclosures (Hart 1981. Illustration 3.5). There are up to 13 later prehistoric hill-top enclosures, more usually known as hillforts, recorded in the Peak District, all of which are on promontory locations. The uncertainty in numbers results from the criteria used to define hillforts and confidence in interpretation (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Hart 1981). These include Mam Tor, Castleton, Fin Cop, near Taddington, Crane's Fort, Youlgreave,. Combs Moss, near Dove Holes, Ball Cross, overlooking the Derwent Valley, Castle Ring, Harthill Moor, Carl Wark, Ecclesall Woods and Wincobank, all in Sheffield, Burr Tor, Hathersage, Bunbury, Staffordshire, Great Low, Cheshire and Mellor, Stockport.

Mellor, Mam Tor and Ball Cross have been excavated. The former was occupied from the middle iron age to the Roman period, while the latter two sites have been assigned a later bronze age/early iron age date based on pottery fabrics typical of the period in the East Midlands region, and the presence of shouldered jars and globular pots (Barrett 1979; Hart 1981; Knight 2002). Two composite samples of charcoal were collected at Mam Tor and radiocarbon dated to 3080±115 BP (1620-1010 Cal. BC – Birm 192) and 3130±132 BP (1680-1000 Cal. BC – Birm 202). Unfortunately, the insecure nature of the contexts from which the samples were taken means that these dates are highly unreliable. It is unknown whether any of the other enclosures are contemporary.

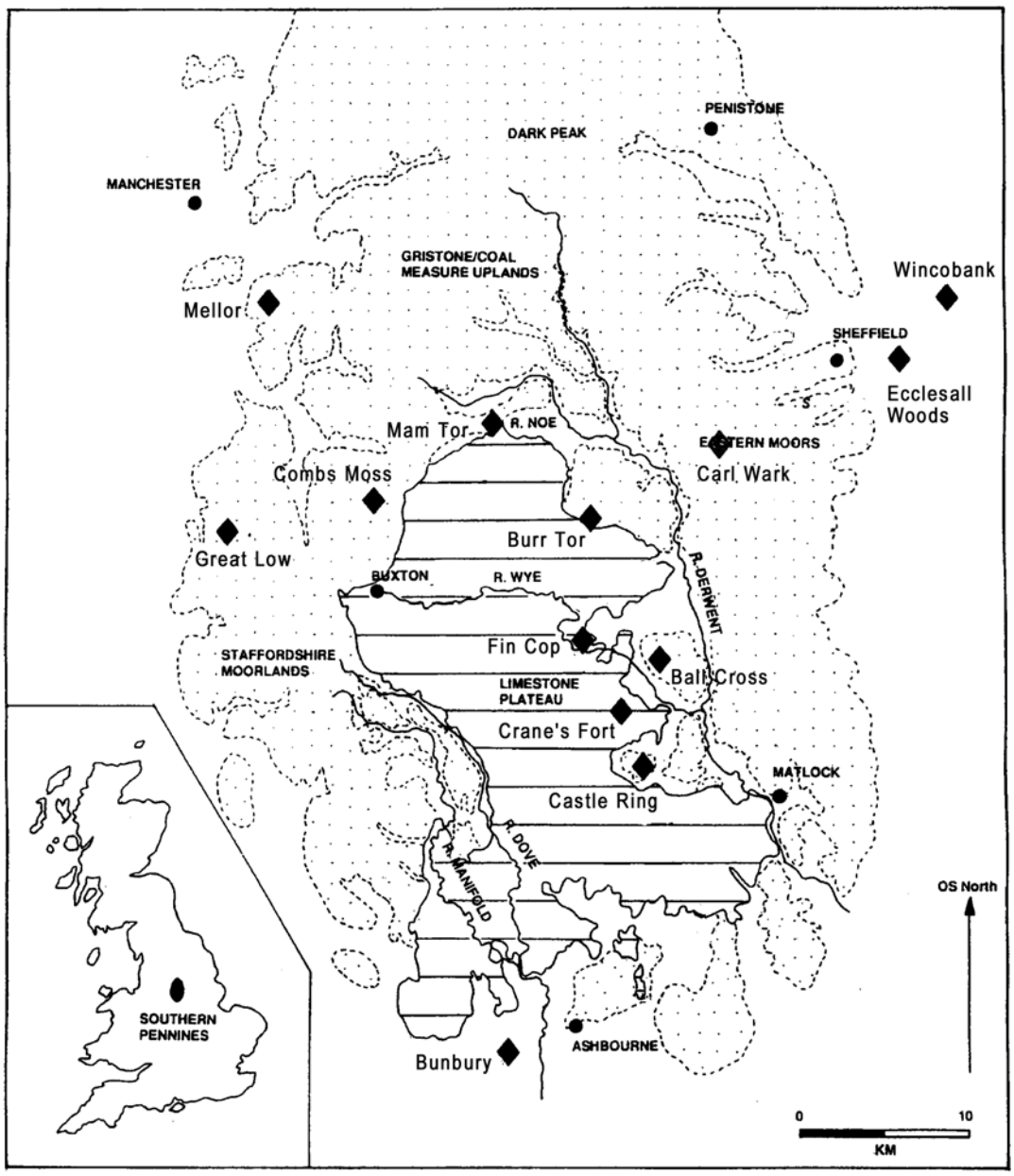

Illustration 3.5. Later prehistoric hill-top enclosures in the Peak District and adjoining areas. Adapted from Bevan 2000b

Mam Tor may have some significance for the Upper Derwent because it lies approximately 5km to the south-west. Situated at 480m O.D., the ramparts follow the contour to enclose 6.5ha of the top of a hill that forms part of the gritstone and shale watershed ridge between Edale and the Hope Valley where the ridge meets the limestone plateau to the south. The boundary appears to have been constructed in three phases, beginning with a timber palisade and ending with stone-revetted ramparts (Coombs 1977; Coombs and Thompson 1979). Inturned entrances were located on the top of the ridge in the north and south of the ramparts. The interior of the enclosure contains

several hundred scooped building platforms, a spring and two later neolithic/early bronze age barrows. Small trenches have been excavated across nine of these platforms, five of which produced pottery, whetstones, shale objects and a fragment of later bronze age bronze axe (Coombs and Thompson 1979). Mam Tor commands prominent views across the surrounding landscape, especially towards the west, north and east, and can be seen from Derwent Edge.

Even if not all the buildings were occupied at the same time, there appears to be a dense population compared to the contemporary open settlements identified on the Eastern Moors. The construction of impressive ramparts to enclose the settlement also contrasts with the Eastern Moors. Interpretations of the place of hillforts in society have focused on Wessex, where there is a number of large sites located in the region. Early interpretations viewed them as the defended settlements of elites, akin to feudal lords, with an increase in complexity over time indicating greater centralisation (Cunliffe 1991). Others have suggested that the evidence for status is equivocal when the occupation evidence is compared to contemporary open settlements in the region (Hill 1996). Hill points out that there is little differentiation between hillforts and open settlements beyond the presence of the earthworks, and larger numbers of storage pits and structured deposits at the former. This model sees rampart building as an extension of the demarcation of social boundaries, as evident in the elaboration of boundaries and entrances, including the deposition of objects, at houses, fields, settlements and enclosures. Inside houses, this is focused at the household level, in hillforts it is expressed at a wider community scale (ibid, 109). Ramparts were the physical expression of communal social identity, in addition to, rather than instead of, being a deterrent to small-scale inter-communal conflict (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Sharples 1991). Hill sees the nature of the earthworks and the evidence for feasting, as well as a breakdown in the common south-east orientation of open settlement house entrances and lack of permanent occupation evidence at some hillforts, as suggesting the enclosures were communal focal points in a landscape characterised by highly dispersed, individual farmsteads (Hill 1996). Where hillforts are absent, the settlement pattern is usually one of conglomerated groups of houses surrounded by fields with access to shared pastures and suggesting more regular routine social encounters (Hill 1996; Hingley 1984).

Interpretation of insect fauna from a pool within Breiddin hillfort, Powys, has indicated that extensive settlement remains within enclosure interiors does not necessarily equate with a dense, permanent population (Buckland et al 2001). Substantial earthworks – 2m high, 6m wide and 1,200m long – with some evidence of gang construction enclose part of a distinctive hill-top at 350m O.D. Occupation dates from the later bronze age to the iron age, with evidence for 50 four or six-posted structures and 14 roundhouses. Many houses were regularly rebuilt on the same location. There is a lack of insect fauna associated with people or buildings; numbers of dung beetles are no larger than expected from non-intensive pasture and there are very few beetles who feed on rotting wood. Adjacent to the pond are 17 post-structures with archaeological evidence for posts being deliberately removed rather than left in place to decay. It appears that the density of archaeological remains was created over a long period of time by small numbers of people visiting temporarily (ibid).

Whether Mam Tor can be interpreted as either dense, nucleated settlement or temporarily occupied communal centre is open to question. The dense occupation of the hill-top enclosure and the conglomerated open settlements and fields of the Eastern Moors, bare comparison to the evidence from southern England. The material culture from Mam Tor and the Eastern Moors is very similar. LBA-EIA pottery, whetstones and shale objects are common, and blue glass beads and lead objects are present, at both (Barnatt et al 2002; Coombs 1977; Coombs and Thompson 1979). Excavations have also identified similar quantities of artefacts associated with individual building platforms (ibid). This comparable consumption of objects does not suggest an obvious hierarchy of social status between the two types of settlement. However, we know nothing about the contemporaneity of the building platforms with each other or with the earthworks, nor whether the earthworks were built in a single, short phase, or episodically over time. What differentiates the hillfort from the likes of Gardom's Edge is the aggregation of activity at a single locale, size of the ramparts and long-distance prominence of the hilltop. People were motivated to expend labour on large-scale construction in a location that visibly broadcast their presence across long distances, so suggesting a stronger shared community identity. On Gardom's Edge, the positioning of one of the round houses on a locally prominent ridge, and the erection of stone banks around the circumference of the building soon after abandonment, suggests that defining social boundaries through construction was a part of the repertoire of life here too. The

difference being that it was focused more on the household level. There is also the significant difference between the topography of Mam Tor and the swathes of land at lower altitudes found on the Eastern Moors, which are occupied by extensive cairnfields and loosely conglomerated settlements. Mam Tor is surrounded by steep valley sides, wooded valleys of poorly draining, heavy soils and high land located above the upper altitude for recorded and potential settlement in the region (Barnatt 1999, 2000). Activity associated with the surrounding landscape would have been dispersed across greater distances separated by less traversable valleys, ridges and woodlands than on the Eastern Moors. Differences in settlement and expressions of community/household identity may, therefore, have been related to active engagement with the different options afforded by topography.

3.3.7 Overview

Taken together, the evidence for the later neolithic to the late bronze age/early iron age suggests that over a long period of time settlement mobility was decreasing as kin-groups were increasingly identifying themselves with specific places, perhaps moving within smaller ranges of land and developing more of a sense of territory than tenure. This is most heightened in the bounding of space seen at hill-top enclosed settlements such as Mam Tor.

The increase in barrows between the early neolithic and early bronze age implies that the focus of monumental burial changed from the wider kin-group to smaller families and as a result more places were perceived as important. This is supported by the barrows' visible associations with smaller geographical areas and the wider variations in barrow locations, suggesting places where the disclosure of kinship and descent needed to be brought into focus on a local basis. The relationships between barrows and cairn fields on the Eastern Moors, the evidence for the creation of areas of grassland within a wooded landscape in the 2nd millennium BC, and the early bronze age date of Swine Sty, suggest that the fields originated in the early bronze age. Occupation and cultivation continued into the 1st millennium BC, as evidenced by the environmental history and later bronze age/early iron age buildings on Gardom's Edge.

We cannot tell how sedentary or mobile the populations were who occupied these settlements. John Barnatt believes that the move to sedentary lifestyle was well advanced

by the early bronze age, based on the proliferation of small ceremonial and funerary monuments placed in locations oriented to the local landscape, and the relationships between these monuments and field systems (Barnatt 1999; 2000). This is despite the latter being largely undated, except for elements of some that have been dated to later in prehistory. He sees this as a long transition beginning during the neolithic and ending by the late bronze (Barnatt 1996). Kitchen sees greater evidence for mobility, citing little or no direct evidence for technological change, intensification of land-use, increasing demarcation or division of land, or defining settlement locations (Kitchen 2000). Instead, the cairnfields may have developed intermittently over long periods of time (ibid).

On the Eastern Moors, what is apparent is the greater concern with defining land on a smaller, perhaps more small kin-group, scale than previously, with different kin-groups living in discrete areas separated by short distances of easily crossable land. This suggests more limited range to movement, if not sedentism, and the regular return to specific locales. Mam Tor was perhaps inhabited by a number of kin-groups who, in part or wholly, shifted between aggregated occupation of the hilltop and dispersal across the surrounding landscape. If so, the regular group return to a single location would have been important to the reworking communal bonds.

3.4 Upper Derwent in Later Prehistory

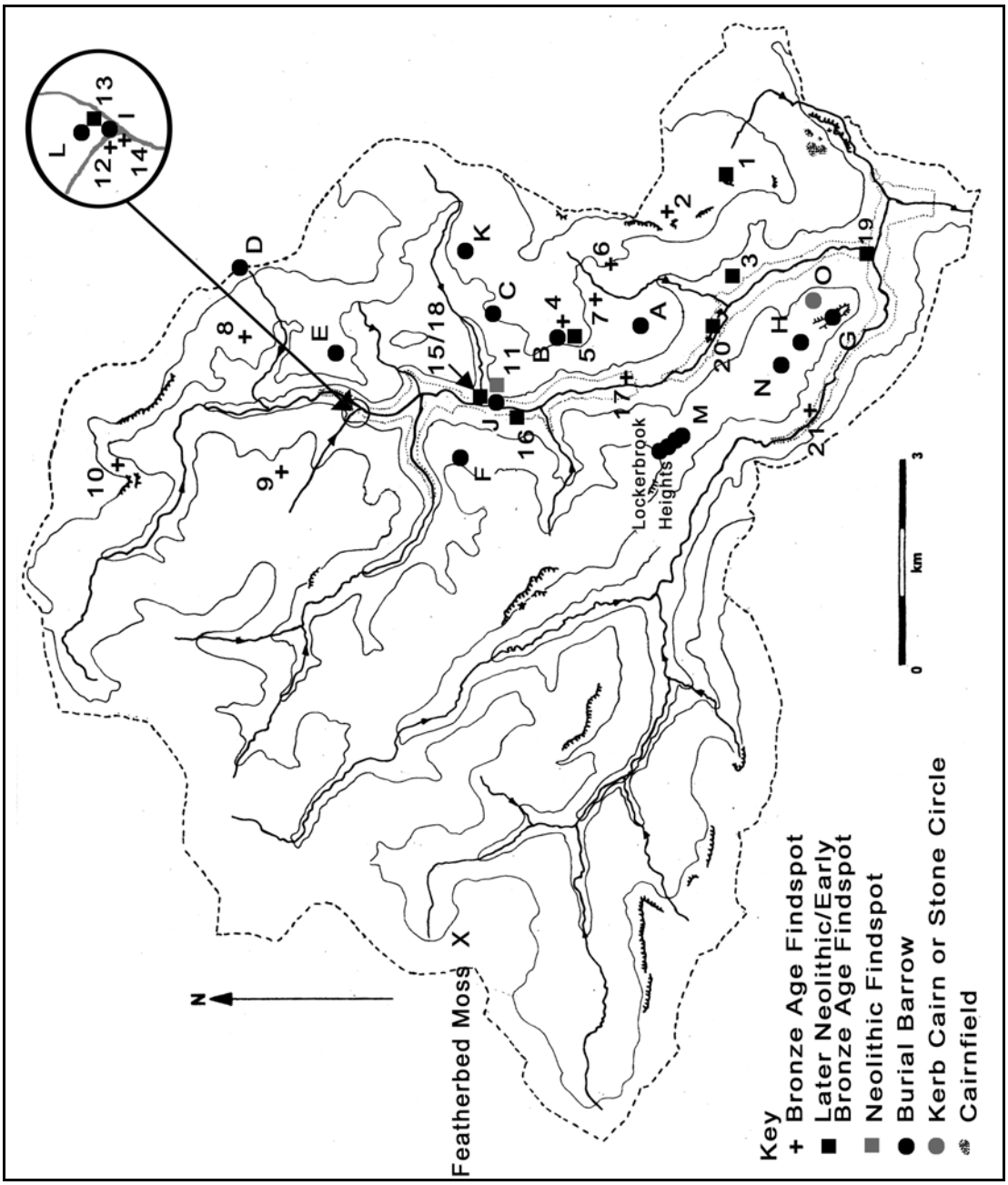

Illustration 3.6. Findspots and features of Later Neolithic to Early Bronze Age in the Upper

3.4.1 Constellations in Stone: Lithics and Small Finds

There are 17 findspots of later neolithic to early bronze age lithics, and two early bronze age bronze axes, in the Upper Derwent (Illustration 3.6. Table 3.1 – see rear of thesis). As with the earlier lithics the majority of the artefacts have been discovered by Alistair Henderson and Paul Ardron. The same distributional caveats apply to this later material (see section 2.4.1). Nine findspots are on the moorlands, four of which lie on footpaths, while the remaining 10 locations are in the valley bottom and lower valley sides. All are

located in the Derwent Valley and neighbouring moors, while none have been found in the Ashop Valley.

Two early bronze age flat axes have also been found in the area (Preston 1961). One was discovered in 1880 near to the Wheel Stones on Derwent Edge and another was found by a camper on the western bank of the River Derwent, south of its confluence with the River Ashop in 1932. They are very similar to each other with both having splayed cutting edges with central thickenings and the sides have been hammered to produce incipient flanges.

Eleven of the 17 lithics findspots contain arrowheads. Six are the locations of single barbed and tanged or oblique arrows, while one comprises four transverse arrowheads from a patch of peat erosion. Seven of the arrows were lost on the moorland shelves and plateaux and the remaining four in the valley bottom. Five of the moorland arrows were stray finds not associated with any contemporary material. Other activities are indicated at two of the eight moorland locations where arrows are associated with contemporary blades, scrapers, knives, awls and flakes. One arrow was found adjacent to a scraper and another with a group of ten later neolithic scrapers, blades and flakes by a watercourse on a moorland shelf called Little Howden Moor situated at approximately 400m O.D. (Illustration 3.6). The only moorland non-arrow findspot was of a worked shale slider found near Millbrook.

The remaining three arrows were lost amongst larger assemblages of domestic material in the valley bottoms. There are a total of eight lithics findspots in the Derwent Valley. Four of these are single finds; two scrapers, one button and one barbed and tanged arrowhead re-used as an awl (Illustration 3.6). One is a group of ten tools and waste flakes found alongside the River Westend at 260m O.D. The remaining three are much more significant in size and scope (Illustration 3.6, nos. 13, 15, 20). More than 70 pieces have been found over a 10,000m^2 area by the confluence of the River Derwent and Abbey Brook at 225m O.D. (Paul Ardron pers comm). To the north of the Derwent/Linch Clough confluence over 100 flint scrapers, awls, knives and arrowheads have been found across a 1,000m^2 area at 260m O.D. Approximately 100 flints cover an extensive area 900m long and 50m wide along the eastern bank of the River Derwent north of Millbrook at approximately 190 to 200m O.D. though unfortunately exact details of tool types are unknown. The finds at Linch Clough are by far the densest known concentration of later neolithic/early bronze age lithics in the study area.

We see in the lithics a decrease in numbers compared to the later mesolithic/early neolithic. There are fewer later findspots, and these contain smaller numbers of pieces (cf Illustrations 2.4, 2.5). All of the moorland finds of arrows indicate places where people may have passed by game hunting rather than settlements, as is typical of the majority of contemporary finds across the whole of the Dark Peak (Barnatt 1996c; Barnatt and Smith 1997). The Little Howden Moor scatter is a possible exception. The range of material present suggests temporary settlement near to a watercourse during which various tools were manufactured. This is located above the highest altitudes recorded for known later prehistoric settlements in the Peak District (see section 3.3.4), and the most likely reasons for setting up camp here would be while tending livestock and/or to hunt wild game.

The sizes of scatters combined with the range of implements and flakes present at two of the valley bottom scatters, Linch Clough North and Abbey Brook, are indicative of settlements. The more extensive scatter north of Millbrook may highlight other settlement, though the sparse distribution of finds distributed across a large area may be more symptomatic of activity within a group of fields rather than concentrated near buildings. All three locations are close to watercourses on relatively level terraces of predominantly sandy soils situated above the flood plain. The smaller scatter at Westend may be another more temporary camp, unless it is only the first discovered fragments of a larger scatter.

There are few overlaps of distribution except for the common presence of arrowheads of one period in larger assemblages of the other periods and the coincidence of four more extensive occupation scatters (Table 3.1). The small group of tools on Little Howden Moor chronologically 'overlies' a group of 26 later mesolithic/early neolithic implements, which is also typical of temporary occupation (see section 2.4.4). At Linch Clough North and Abbey Brook we see large, mixed assemblages from both periods at the same locations, indicating a long time-depth to the occupation as people either returned to or continued occupation at these sites for up to four millennia from the 6th to 2nd millennia BC. The predominantly sandy soils on terraces close to but above watercourses were obviously favoured inhabitation locales. Locations which may have been regularly visited by more mobile communities for the waterside and woodland resources during the mesolithic and early neolithic would have been attractive to later farmers because of the

fertility and relatively easy cultivatability of the sandy soils compared to clays. The terrace at the Abbey Brook/River Derwent confluence is a level area covering approximately 22,500m^2, of which 10,000m^2 has produced lithics. The reservoir has eroded the topsoil and subsoil to a depth of approximately 1m, and a visual inspection of soils in the remaining section at the edge of the reservoir showed they were mostly stony sands similar to those favoured as settlement and field locations on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 1986). With stone clearance this area would have been suitable for farming, whether dominated by livestock or involving a mix of livestock and arable. The changes to vegetation initiated in the later mesolithic may have left their mark on these locales so making them appropriate places for, even much, later communities to occupy. As movement of settlement decreased, and was restricted to shifts within localities if not full sedentism, a structure of more permanent inhabitation was being laid down on those places which had been prominent locales within the earlier, more mobile, occupation of the landscape.

The importance of the Linch Clough and Abbey Brook locations is further indicated by the presence of later neolithic/early bronze age burial barrows, but before we consider them and the other barrows in the Upper Derwent (section 3.4.3), I shall discuss a group of pits to the south of Linch Clough.

3.4.2 Burning and Digging: Pits

In 1997, Paul Ardron discovered a closely spaced group of sub-circular patches of tightly packed pink burnt stones and black charcoal extending over an 11m area on the bed of Howden Reservoir's draw-down zone, south of Linch Clough and above its confluence with the River Derwent (NGR 416818 393850. Illustration 3.7). In 1998, I directed excavation of these features to assess their date, nature and condition (Appendix 5). The pits, situated at approximately 250m O.D., occupied part of a narrow contour shelf which is about 30m wide and extends south of Linch Clough. The ground either side of the shelf is steep, rising to the west to Ridge Nether Moor and dropping to the east to the pre-reservoir course of the River Derwent.

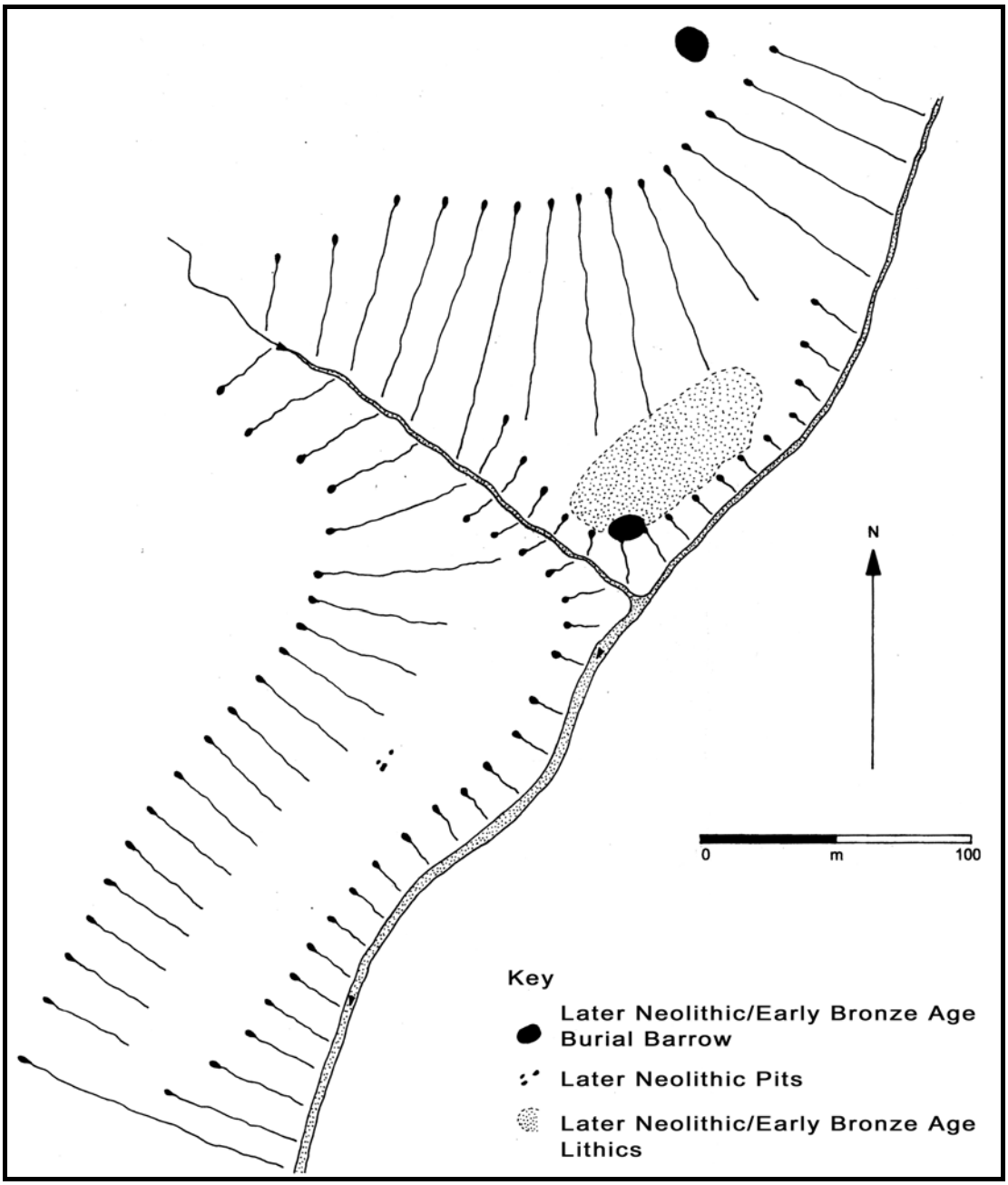

Illustration 3.7. Features at Linch Clough North and South

Excavation showed that three of the features were shallow pits containing charcoal, fire-cracked gritstone river cobbles and charcoal-rich silty clay (Illustration 3.8. Photograph 3.4). No other materials or artefacts were found within the pits, apart from one tiny fragment of possible burnt bone. The largest pit (Pit 1) was almost exclusively packed with burnt stones and charcoal. A fourth, later, pit (Pit 2) cut into this, but contained clean sand and unburnt stones. The pits were sub-circular in plan, with steep sides grading to rounded bottoms and surviving to depths of between 0.08 and 0.21m. The

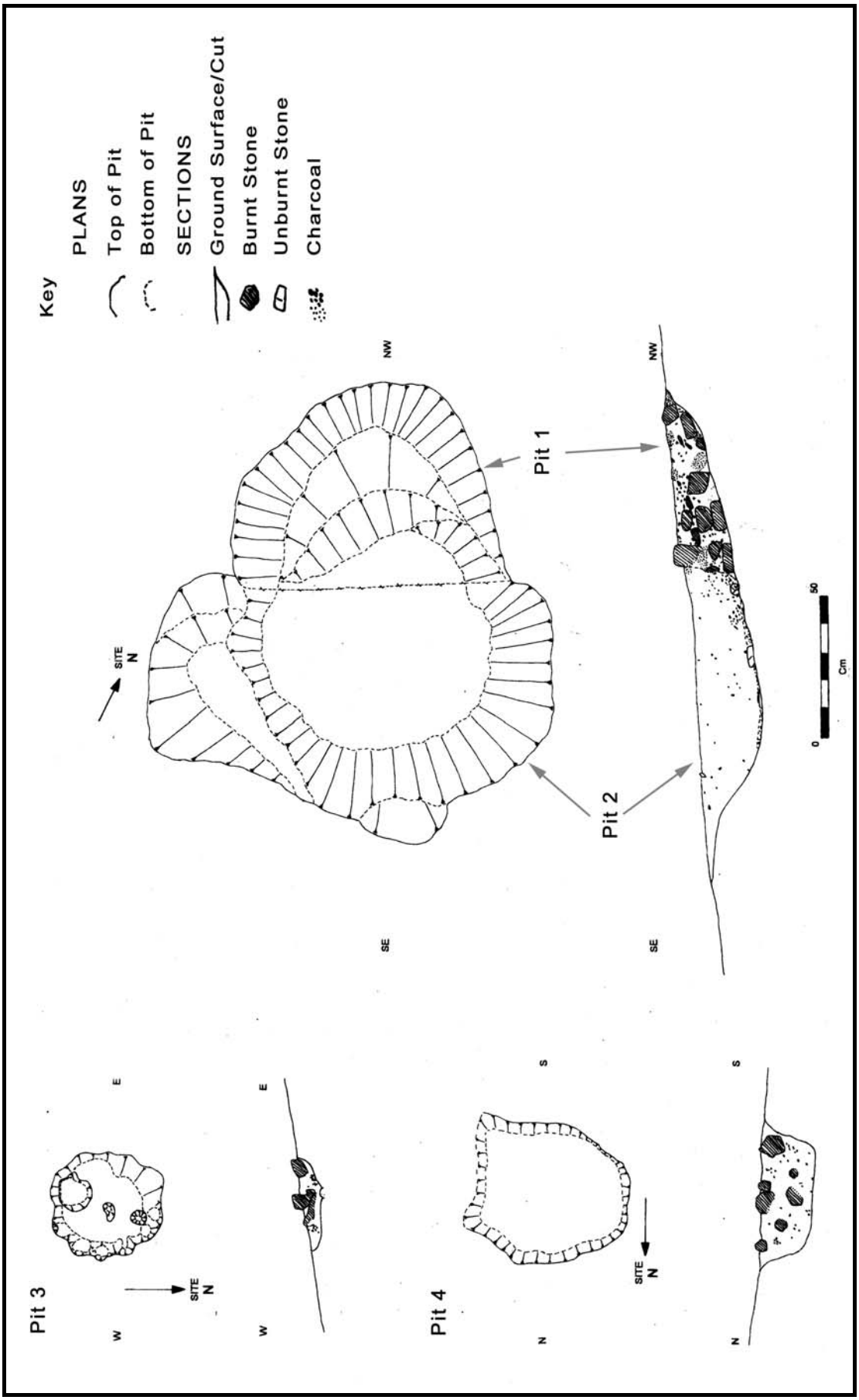

Illustration 3.8. Sections and post-excavation plans of pits, Linch Clough South

pits were probably originally deeper, soil erosion since the creation of the reservoir apparently being responsible for truncating the upper parts of the pits. A scalloped effect around the edge of one of the pits dramatically showed where the wooden or stone handtool of the pit's original excavator had created the sides of the feature.

Photograph 3.4. Linch Clough South. Pit 1 cut by Pit 2

All the stones were of the local gritstone, and were riverworn cobbles from the nearby rivers. The sides and bottoms of the pits were not scorched, showing that the material was burnt on fires nearby then placed in the pits after cooling. The density of stones, deliberate selection of cobbles and lack of other burnt plants suggests that the pits were not simply receptacles for waste from general cooking or heating hearths. Instead the fire-cracked cobbles are typical of stones deliberately heated to cook food in water contained in sin pots or pits, or to create steam from water-filled troughs in sweat lodges. Both uses imply some form of occupation.

Plant species present in the charcoal were identified by Rowena Gale (Appendix 5). Only tree and shrub species were represented: oak, hazel and hawthorn/rowan (common), ash, alder and birch (infrequent), and elm, willow/poplar and bird cherry (rare). Radiocarbon dating of charcoal from the lower fills of two of the pits places their creation during the middle of the 3rd millennium BC (Table 3.2). The later neolithic date of the pits is not matched by any contemporary lithics in the immediate area, though there is a large assemblage of later mesolithic/early neolithic material (Hind 2000; Peet 2002). The lithics and the pits indicate that this small terrace was an important area which people

repeatedly returned to between the 6th and 3rd millennia BC. The pits are part of the picture of later 3rd millennium inhabitation around Linch Clough, when seen with contemporary lithics and two burial barrows (see section 3.4.3) to the north of the clough.

Sample ID	Location	Measured radiocarbon date	Calendar dates calibrated to 2 sigma (95% probability)	Calendar dates calibrated to 1 sigma (68% probability)
Beta-139758, Sample 123	Pit 3, context 1003/spit 4	3920±60 BP	**2570 – 2210 BC**, *4520 – 4160 BP*	2475 – 2310 BC, *4425 – 4260 BP*
Beta-137042, Sample 126	Pit 1, context 1001/spit 3	3960±90 BP	**2680 – 2200 BC**, *4630 – 4150 BP*	2575 – 2330 BC, *4525 – 4280 BP*
Beta-137043, Sample 164	Pit 1, context 1001/spit 3	4050±70 BP	**2870 – 2445 BC**, *4820 – 4395 BP*	2645 – 2475 BC, *4595 – 4425 BP*

Table 3.2. Radiocarbon dates for Later Neolithic pits at Linch Clough South

The charcoal also shows something of what the composition of the local valley forest was like at this time, with implications for elsewhere in the Upper Derwent valleys. Whether the different amounts of each species found in the pits reflects the actual mix of local trees or whether different species were selected deliberately is unknown. It does indicate that here the forest was a mixed woodland dominated by typical deciduous upland and wetland trees. The species represent both large trees and scrub species, which may reflect a mosaic of different types of woodland associated with a varying density of the canopy caused by natural and anthropogenic factors. Scrub species are more likely to prosper on thin soils and along river edges, where they can compete with the more mature species. Settlements and associated fields would have been made in clearings, which would be maintained through the repeated use of that land to prevent regenerating tree growth. If locations of settlement shifted within local areas, there may have been places where clearings were regenerating with immature trees, scrub and thick herbaceous vegetation.

The shallow, bowl-shaped morphology and presence of burnt material without evidence for in situ burning are typical of neolithic pits throughout Britain (Thomas 1991). Many pits were filled soon after digging with specific repertoires of artefacts, and sometimes with layers of different materials deposited at different times, suggesting that thought was given to the types of materials and how they were placed rather than that the pits were simply receptacles for the functional disposal of 'rubbish'. The common contents of neolithic pits are organic material, charcoal, burnt animal or human bones, charred plants, flints, pottery, burnt stones and unburnt soil – materials associated with eating,

cooking and fires (ibid). Overall, this suggest the pits were dug to deposit the remains from middens or communal feasts, and represent the surviving structures of domestic sites – the act of pit digging and deposition of selected material being a way of 'fixing' domesticity in the landscape (ibid, 76).

There are a small number of similar features exclusively filled with charcoal and/or burnt stones without the presence of pottery or lithics. The only excavated examples in the Peak District known to myself are 11 pits associated with settlement at Lismore Fields, two of which were radiocarbon dated to 4703±80 BP (3690 – 3340 Cal. BC to 1 sigma) and to 7170±80 BP (6175 – 5830 Cal. BC to 1 sigma) (Garton in prep). The former is contemporary with the timber buildings. The pits are comparable in size and shape to those at Howden, and similarly appear to be the remains of fires located beyond the pits, which were tipped into the pits after cooling, though there is more layering of the contents and four of the pits also contain artefacts. They pre-date the Linch Clough pits by 700 to 3,000 years, so showing that this type of activity was undertaken in the region over a very long period. Further afield, later neolithic pits analogous to those at Howden have been identified at Willington, South Derbyshire (Matt Beamish pers comm), Balfarg, Fife (Barclay and Russell-White 1993), and Crickley Hill, Gloucestershire (Snashall 1998).

Structures possibly related to the pits are burnt mounds, which are found across Britain, usually have evidence for rapid cooling and have been interpreted as heating stones for either cooking or sweat lodges (Barfield and Hodder 1987; Buckley 1990). The majority date to the bronze and iron ages, with some exceptions dating to the neolithic. Four mounds found in Northumberland have been radiocarbon dated to 3920+/- 80 BP (2630-2140 Cal. BC), a similar date to the Howden pits (Cowley 1991).

Since excavation, fieldwalking of the draw-down zone of all three reservoirs has revealed similar patches of burnt stone and charcoal throughout the valley. Many are found at similar confluences of the River Derwent and its tributaries. Another potential site appears in a description of lithics in the Alistair Henderson Collection held in Sheffield City Museum. His notes describe one findspot as associated with a 'campsite with pot boilers' north of Ouzleden Clough.

3.4.3 The Dead Can Dance

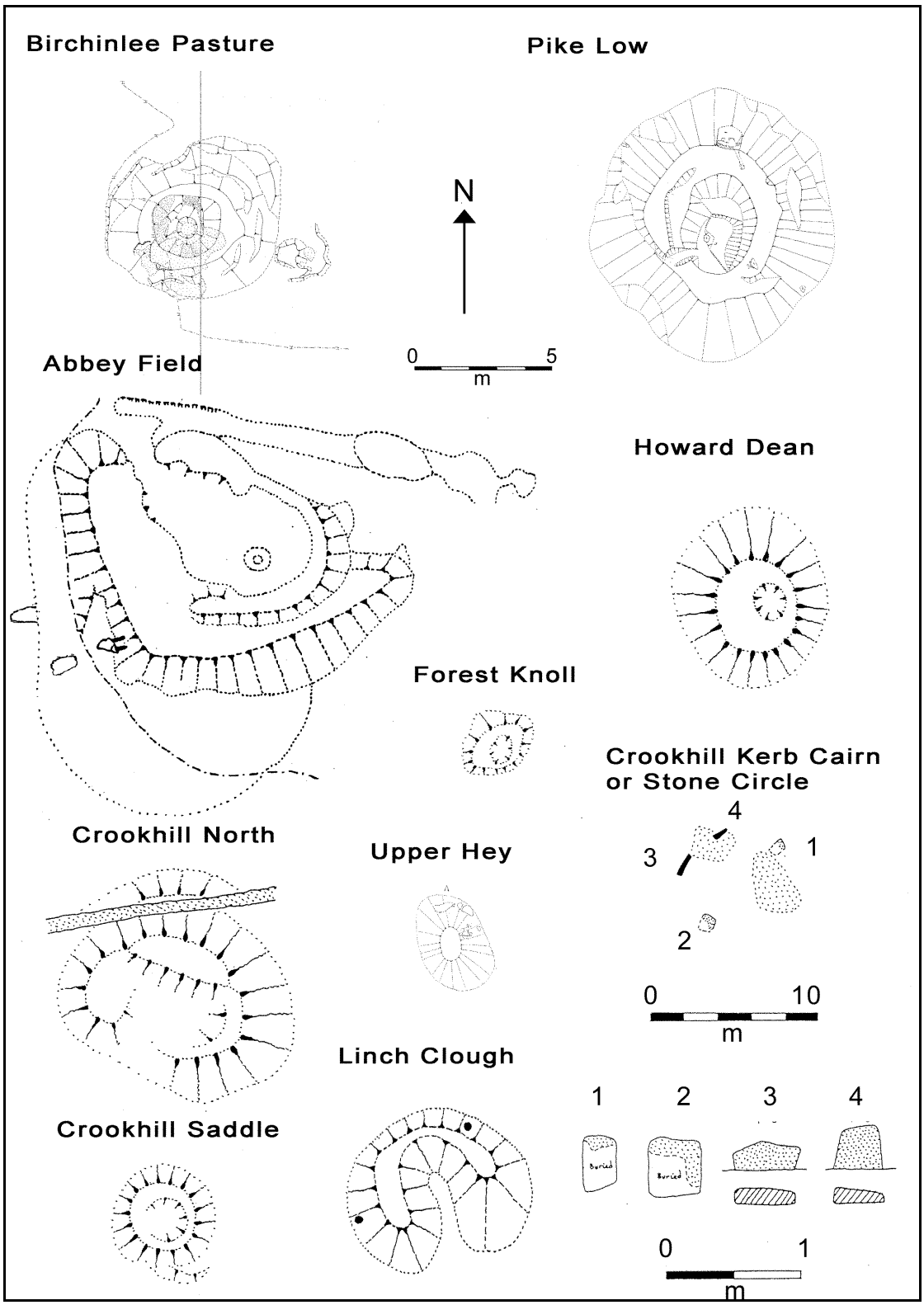

Illustration 3.9. Plans of various barrows and kerb cairn in the Upper Derwent

The burial barrows situated to the north of the excavated pits, on the northern bank of Linch Clough, are just two of 18 definite or probable burial barrows in the Upper Derwent (Table 3.3 – see rear of thesis. Illustrations 3.6, 3.9). Most are placed on prominent ridges and shoulders overlooking the major valleys and affording good views across the nearby landscape. These shoulders are divided from each other by cloughs or valleys before backing onto the moorland plateau and shelves. There are a total of three barrows in the valley bottoms and a single example on a remote, high watershed.

3.4.3.1 Valley Barrows

Of the two Linch Clough barrows (Illustration 3.7), one is in the draw-down zone of Howden Reservoir, located at the edge of a gently sloping terrace as it drops steeply down to the River Derwent, and is immediately south-east of the scatter of later neolithic to early bronze age lithics (Photograph 3.5).

Photograph 3.5. Howden Reservoir burial barrow looking north-west

It measures 15.6m by 9.2m overall, but some of this is displacement by water currents and its original dimensions, as indicated by stones embedded in the reservoir bed, are approximately 10m by 4.5m. It is 1.6m high from its downslope edge. Stone disturbance has exposed parts of two roughly straight stone alignments within the body of the cairn, set perpendicular to each other to form a 'T' shape. The cross-bar of the 'T' is approximately 7.8m long, oriented along the long axis of the cairn, and comprises regular, rectangular slabs. The other alignment is about 1.5m long, appears slightly more

elevated and comprises rounded boulders. These appear to form an internal kerb in the feature, possibly as part of a cist within which burials were placed. Cremated bone fragments and flint flakes have been washed out of the body of the cairn by this 'T'-shaped alignment. The other barrow is within a plantation woodland on the edge of another terrace, approximately 130m uphill from the first. It is 12m by 10m and 0.5m high and constructed of rounded gritstones. A pit has been excavated in the centre of the cairn, probably as a result of robbing or unrecorded antiquarian activity. Both barrows are on the apex of a sloping ridge created by the River Derwent/Linch Clough confluence, and from each there is a view looking south over Howden Reservoir towards its dam, which blocks sight of the Derwent Valley lower down. The ridge is a prominent topographical feature when approaching it from open ground to the south, however, even a light woodland canopy obscures it and it is only visible from within open areas or clearings.

The third valley barrow shares an identical landscape context to the lower of the two Linch Clough barrows. Again it is at a confluence, this time between the Derwent River and Abbey Brook, located on the edge of a terrace above a steep slope descending to the river and immediately adjacent to a large scatter of later neolithic/early bronze age lithics. It measures approximately 24m by 18m and stands to the height of 0.7m. A smaller cairn appears to abut the south-western side of the main structure, however, the waters of Derwent Reservoir have disturbed the fabric, and this may be part of the fabric of a single barrow, which has been spread outwards. Burnt bone has been washed from a square stone cist, measuring 0.8m by 0.3m, near to the south-western edge of the barrow. Its location is not very prominent, unless you are very close to it, and its position would be visually lost if the forest was anything but a scatter of trees and scrub.

The association of these valley barrows with the edges of occupation sites, as indicated by lithic scatters, is similar to the relationship between many barrows and field systems on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 2000). Their presence in the valleys, which were largely wooded, suggests that they were not prominent over long distances but, like many examples on the Eastern Moors, were locally important to the inhabitants of the adjacent settlements. They give an ancestral dimension to occupation of the settlements, connecting the identity of the inhabitants with their tenure over specific places.

3.4.3.2 Moorland Shelf Locations

Photograph 3.6. Pike Low burial barrow looking south-west

Pike Low is typical of those barrows on moorland shelf locations overlooking the main valleys (Illustrations 3.6, 3.9. Photograph 3.6). The shelf is defined by prominent topographical features; to the east by Derwent Edge, to the north by Abbey Brook, and to the west and south by the Derwent Valley. It is built on a shoulder of land extending south from the shelf and perched above Derwent Valley. Millbrook cuts into the valley side to the east to separate the shelf from the slopes below the southern part of Derwent Edge. The barrow measures 1.3m high and between 15m to 17m wide and has been robbed in its centre. It is built near to the top of the summit at 400m O.D. To approach from the valley, you can either traverse the steep valley side or follow the slightly more gently graded clough. In the valley, any view of the barrow is blocked by the surrounding ground of the shoulder it is built upon. When climbing on to this shoulder from the valley the shoulder itself hides the barrow, which is only revealed when within 200m (Photograph 3.7).

Photograph 3.7. Approaching Pike Low barrow from the valley, the barrow is only revealed when within 200m

This shoulder is a locally prominent feature from within the immediate valley, where it climbs steadily above and dominates the eastern skyline. From the nearby moorland shelves and from Derwent Edge, the summit and the barrow are both prominent features, and from various locations the barrow is highlighted against the horizon. From further away the summit blends into the surrounding landscape and is difficult to pick out except when standing to the south on Crookhill, the flat-topped ridge between the Rivers Derwent and Ashop, or from nearly 5km further south on the Winhill ridge beyond the Ashop Valley. While the barrow's location is not highly prominent, it does

afford good views across the surrounding landscape and, importantly, different elements of that landscape (Photograph 3.8).

Photograph 3.8. Three views of the surrounding landscape from Pike Low burial barrow

This is a good vantage point to take in the rest of the moorland shelf which it occupies and all of the topographical boundaries of the shelf are visually encompassed from the barrow. The Derwent Valley is obvious below, even when the bottom itself is hidden by

the remainder of the shelf, and there are long-distance views looking south over Bamford Moor and down the Derwent towards Offerton Moor. Crookhill and the ridge between the Derwent and Ashop valleys dominate the view to the west with the distinctive hill-top of Winhill behind.

There are another three barrows on the Little Howden Moor shelf, all of which occupy similar shoulders of land (Illustration 3.6). Two are directly above Abbey Brook and the third, a probable barrow surmounted by a grouse-shooting butt, overlooks the Derwent/Abbey Brook confluence. In between all barrows lies gently undulating ground upon which four of the moorland lithics findspots are found. Further north there is a single barrow situated on a shoulder known as Upper Hey, which is defined to the south by Howden Clough and to the north by Bull Clough. On the west side of the Derwent Valley, another single barrow is located on the edge of Birchinlee Pasture, where it forms a triangle of land between the Derwent and Westend valleys. Both of these are near the edges of the moorland shelves overlooking the Derwent Valley. Each of these barrows is built on a single shoulder of land, though on Little Howden Moor these shoulders back onto the same shelf.

A more unusual group of four features is found on Lockerbrook Heights watershed between the Ashop and Derwent Valleys at approximately 395m O.D. (Illustrations 3.6, 3.10). They are aligned north-west to south-east along a small, south-east facing, triangular shoulder of gently sloping land, which rises to the north-west and steeply drops on all other sides. The narrowest section of the ridge is immediately below this shoulder to the south-east. Two circular ring-banks are both approximately 17.5m in diameter and 0.3m high. They are separated by a gap of 19.5m, in which there are two further cairns. One is oval, measures 11.5m long, 6.5m wide and 0.3m high and has a rectangular platform 5.75m long, 2.9m wide and 0.2m high attached to its south-east edge. The other is circular and measures 7.5m by 4m and 0.25m high. A dry-stone wall built between AD 1627 and 1808 (Senior 1627; Potter 1808) bisects the two larger features. The site overlooks the Derwent Valley to the south-east and the Ashop Valley to the south-west. The two ring-banks are most likely prehistoric barrows that have been almost totally robbed for walling stone. They may be ringcairns; however they are very different to known examples in the Peak District (Barnatt 1990). The 'banks' of the Lockerbrook features are very ephemeral and the inner edges are variable in form.

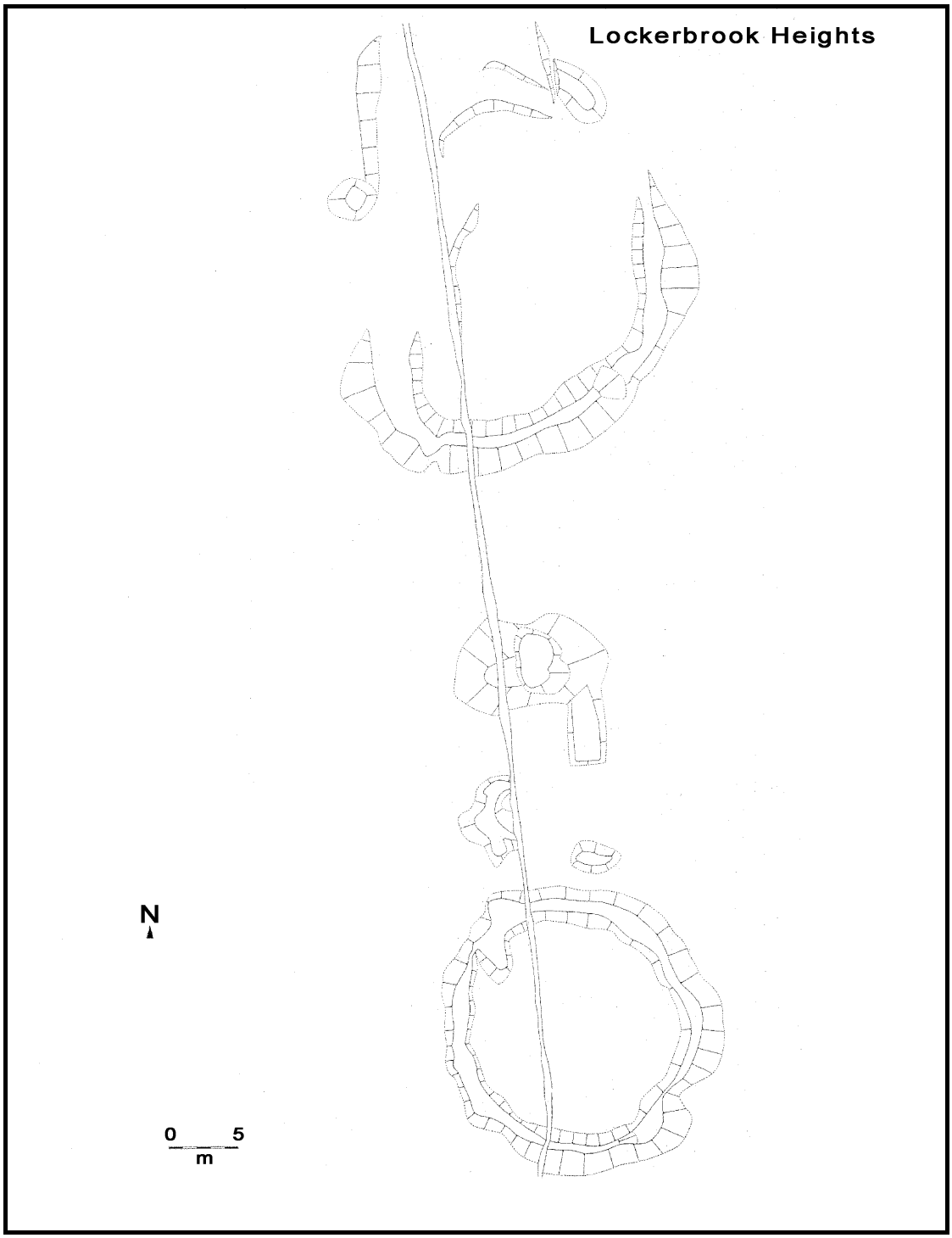

Illustration 3.10. Lockerbrook Heights complex comprises two large ring-banks (probably robbed barrows) and two smaller cairns, one with an attached platform. The smallest mound is probably a grassed earthfast boulder. A field wall built between 1627 and 1808 bisects the group

All of these barrows are found at altitudes above 390m O.D., which is at the upper limit for locations of surviving later prehistoric settlements and fields on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 1986). While most cairnfields are found between 250m and 350m O.D., there is only one, Bamford Moor, at or near 400m O.D. Bamford Moor comprises an ill-defined

layout of irregularly distributed cairns and fragmentary linear banks. Apart from at one site, no cairnfield remains have been identified in the vicinities of the barrows, most of which lie within shallow peat which may have been cut for fuel in the historic period, archaeological evidence for peat-cuts lying nearby (see section 6.5.1). The only exception is at Birchinlee Pasture where there are two possible cairns on earthfast boulders, though these lie in an area of uncleared stone. Two barrows are in an area of deep peat which would mask the more subtle remains of fields. It is likely that further prehistoric settlement evidence would survive if it had been present, but there is always the possibility that it has either been destroyed during peat cutting, or is still masked where peat is uncut. The small Little Howden Moor lithics assemblage, suggestive of some form of temporary occupation activity, is approximately 300m away from a barrow.

I can postulate two scenarios for the relationships between these locations and contemporary settlement, based on observed relationships on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 2000). The most likely is that the barrows are located at some distance to known and potential later prehistoric settlement areas and in areas which may have been used for pasture and hunting. Three barrows can be associated with nearby areas of known later neolithic/early bronze age activity, as identified by lithic scatters in the valley bottom. These are at Linch Clough, Abbey Brook and Millbrook (see section 3.4.1). There is also gently sloping land at a higher altitude to either side of Millbrook, which is typical of the potential later prehistoric settlement locations on the Eastern Moors that have been enclosed and improved in the historic period (Barnatt 2000). The alternative is that they are adjacent to settlement/field areas which have been destroyed. It is unlikely that crops could be sustained at these altitudes, so any agricultural activity would probably be limited to pasturing livestock and possibly restricted to summer. Occupation of any settlement may also have been limited in duration to more favourable seasons.

As on the Eastern Moors, these elevated positions do not equate with high visibility over long distances. They are prominent within the local landscape of the Upper Derwent itself or when approaching from particular directions. From the surrounding valleys the shoulders of land, but not the barrows themselves, would only be visible from within clearings. Woodland cover would have obscured these locations much as the present plantations do (Photograph 3.9).

Photograph 3.9. Pike Low from within woodland on the western side of the Derwent Valley

However, the location of each barrow allows good views across the nearby landscape including the surrounding moorland shelves and the tops of adjacent valleys or cloughs. The way the barrows reference the local landscape rather than being placed in positions of long-distance visibility suggests they were built by communities inhabiting the Upper Derwent, rather than by people making brief hunting trips into the area from settlements further afield. The lithics evidence shows that some of these communities were occupying the valley bottom.

3.4.3.3 Crookhill Location

A group of five features on Crookhill form the nearest thing to a cluster of later prehistoric features in the Upper Derwent (Illustration 3.11). Crookhill is the prominent terminal of the ridge dividing the Ashop and Derwent Valleys (Photograph 3.10). Two craggy hill-tops rise to 350m and 380m O.D. above gently sloping terraces lying between 280m and 340m O.D. Below these shelves the ground drops steeply to the valley bottom on three sides, the exception being where the ridge runs north-west. There are two barrows, a stone circle or kerb cairn, a barrow or possible clearance cairn and a clearance cairn located on the terraces. The stone circle or kerb cairn comprises four small orthostats enclosing a stone and earthen mound, approximately 6m in diameter located on the east facing terrace. Originally it probably had five, or possibly six, regularly spaced orthostats forming a ring. This is similar to other sites in the region where a stone circle encloses a barrow (Barnatt 1990). There are similar features 3.5km to the south-east on

Moscar Moor, also on Totley Moor and at Doll Tor, Stanton Moor. It is unclear whether they are stone circles that have had their interiors filled at a later date or variations on the continuous rings of stones which form kerb cairns. To the north and in the saddle of the crags are two barrows, and on the west facing slopes are a two smaller cairns, which may be clearance or smaller barrows.

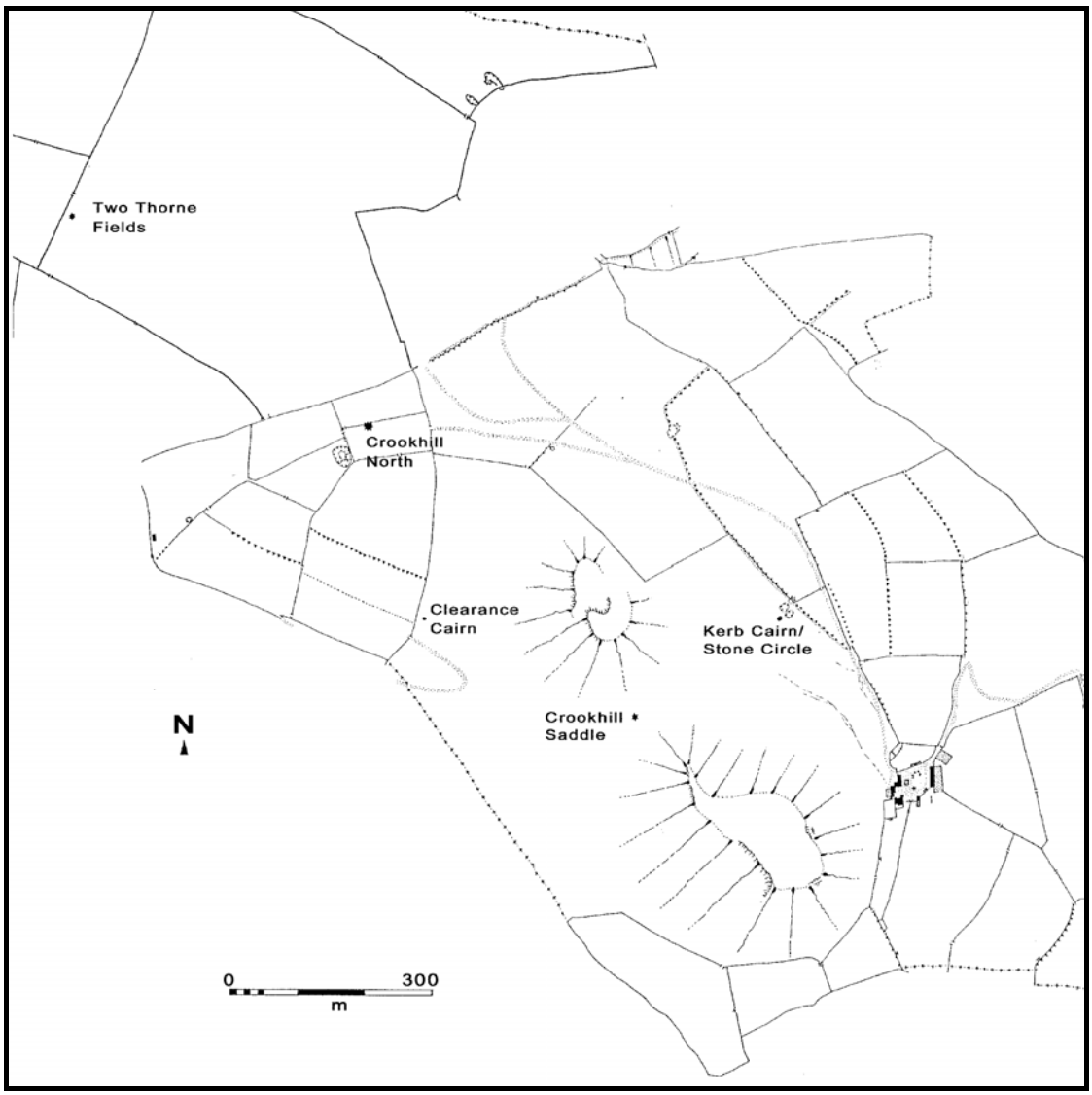

Illustration 3.11. Later prehistoric features at Crookhill, comprising 2-3 barrows, 1 kerb cairn/stone circle and a clearance cairn/barrow

Photograph 3.10. The crags of Crookhill are locally prominent features. PDNPA Collection. Cf Photograph 9.3

This location may initially appear to be much the same as the shelves discussed above, except for the added prominence of the crags. However, the soils and altitude of Crookhill are typical of locations where later prehistoric fields and cairnfields are found on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 2000). Crookhill has been a focus for agricultural activity since the foundation of a grange here by Welbeck Abbey in the early 13th century AD (see section 5.5.2.1). It is likely that later cultivation has swept away the more ephemeral remains of prehistoric settlement and fields on the lower flanks of the Eastern Moors. If so, the Crookhill group of monuments may have a similar association with settlement, as do those in the valley bottoms at Linch Clough and Abbey Brook.

3.4.3.4 Remote Watershed Location

A more remote barrow is situated to the north at nearly 550m O.D. on Margery Hill, a high point on a major watershed, which divides the Upper Derwent from the foothills and valleys to the east (Illustration 3.6). Excavation by English Heritage revealed part of a large stone cairn enclosed within a stone kerb, which was built over a mound of peat (Reeves 1994). Vast expanses of exposed moorland, broken only by the lines of watercourses, cut deep into the peat, drop away from the hill in all directions. Following the watershed makes passage and navigation easier across this ground. Margery Hill is a prominent skyline feature to anyone following this watershed or approaching from the surrounding uplands and upland fringes.

The highly prominent location of the barrow, which can be seen for kilometres from the surrounding landscape, is very different to all the others in the Upper Derwent. It has clearly been placed to be seen by people over greater distances. There are large barrows in highly prominent high watersheds and remoter areas of the Peak District with a large concentration on the northern and western spines of the plateau and in the south-east (Barnatt 2000). They have been interpreted as lying on shared upland pastures for surrounding settlements at lower altitudes (Barnatt 1996a). Where land is not settled as such, there is the threat of conflicts of interest over access, and placing your dead in barrows is a way of staking a claim to the land for your kin through connections of genealogy. As well as hunting, procurement of such other resources as stone and the possible pasturing of livestock, the high moorlands would have been perceived by people in a different way to places where settlements were located. They may have seen some danger seen in the higher, remoter, locations, though this may be tempered by the intimate topographical knowledge needed to navigate successfully across the undulating and watercourse-divided moorland landscape.

3.4.3.5 Barrows Summary

The variety in topographical locations chosen to build barrows across the Peak District is echoed in the Upper Derwent where barrows are found in the valleys, on shelves overlooking valleys and on prominent watersheds. One aspect of the proliferation of burial mounds during the later neolithic/early bronze age was the greater variety of locations deemed suitable or important to place the dead. Even within this greater variety barrows tend to be built in locally prominent locations rather than those with long-distance views.

The three valley-bottom barrows are associated with the edges of lithics scatters on level ground that most likely represent the locations of settlements and fields. All but one of the barrows on higher ground are situated at locations which overlook these scatters or potential field areas based on soils, topography and altitude of known settlements further south on the Eastern Moors. The two definite barrows and stone circle or kerb cairn on Crookhill occupy just such a location and are comparable with clusters of monuments associated with field systems such as Big Moor. These barrows, whether in or above the valleys, also share a local focus to their visibility, and what could be seen from them appears more important than where they could be seen from. The exception is Margery

Hill where the barrow is remote and on a watershed, which is prominent over a long-distance. This also has parallels elsewhere in the region, and was probably associated with high pasture or hunting grounds.

3.4.4 Rocking the Free World: Derwent Moor Cairnfield

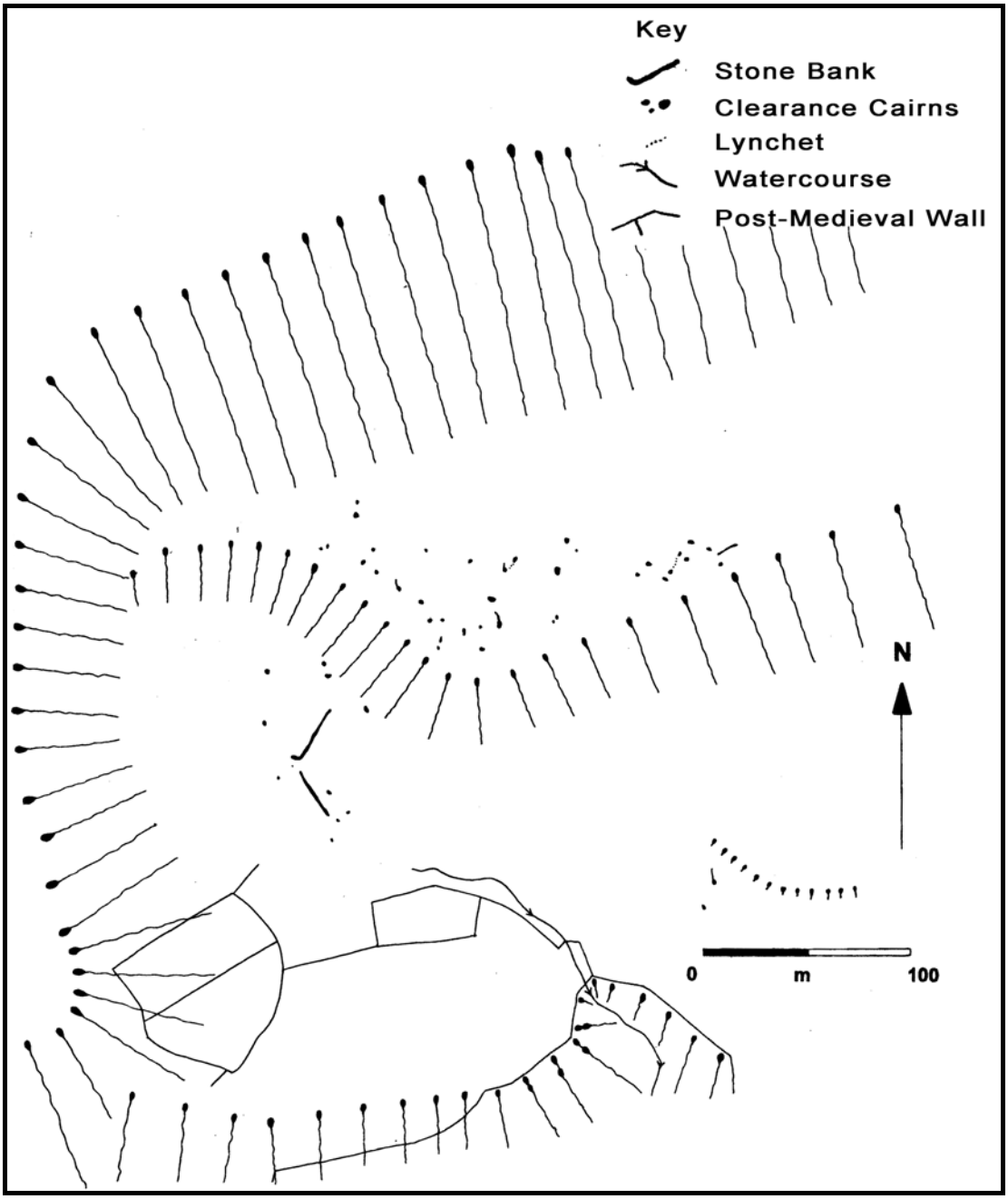

Illustration 3.12. Derwent cairnfield

The discussion of later neolithic/early bronze age settlements identified as lithic scatters or postulated from the association of barrows with areas of settlement potential brings

me to discuss the one cairnfield that survives in the Upper Derwent. The cairnfield covers approximately 37,500m^2 of gentle, south-facing slope of Derwent Moor at 300m O.D. (Illustration 3.12). It comprises clearance cairns, linear stone heaps, an earthen lynchet and possible building platforms. Two different groups occupy two sloping terraces separated by a slightly steeper scarp.

The upper terrace is covered by 30 sub-circular clearance cairns measuring 1m to 5.5m in diameter and 0.2 to 0.5m high. The lines of boundaries are indicated by linear clearance heaps and earthen lynchets. On the lower terrace, there are eight sub-circular cairns and two linear clearance heaps. One linear clearance is 16m long, 2m wide, 0.7m high, runs downslope and terminates in a cairn. At this point there is a 10m gap, then another linear clearance heap, 22m long, 1.3m wide and 0.3m high, runs diagonally upslope. Discrete phases of clearance can be identified along the length of this linear heap where slightly wider and higher mounds occur. The two linear heaps appear to form the corner of a field and are surrounded by the cairns.

The features are typical of later prehistoric field clearance identified across the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 1986, 1987, 2000). The Derwent Moor cairnfield is categorised by Barnatt as an 'ill-defined field layout', characterised by fragmentary banks/linear clearance and irregularly distributed clearance cairns, and it is relatively small compared to field systems on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 2000, 19-21). There is none of the evidence, seen at Gardom's Edge, for substantially reworking and realigning the plots and boundaries over time. Its presence gives further support for the existence of small field systems at the other favourable locations in the valley: Linch Clough, Abbey Brook, Crookhill and both the lower and mid-valley slopes either side of Millbrook.

3.5 Discussion: Bringing it all Back Home

The combined evidence of lithics, pits, barrows and the Derwent cairnfield can be compared to studies of similar evidence throughout the Peak District and to later prehistoric vegetation histories on the Eastern Moors and in the Dark Peak. In discussing and interpreting the evidence above, I have moved back and forth between the local landscape of the Upper Derwent and the regional picture as presented in the most comprehensive models for the later prehistoric occupation in the Peak District (Barnatt 1999, 2000; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Kitchen 2000). The presence of these features

in the Upper Derwent demonstrates the local expression of activities undertaken across much of the Peak District, as well as elsewhere in Britain. As has been suggested for elsewhere on the Eastern Moors, there are question marks over the chronology and character of occupation of such areas (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Kitchen 2000). There are problems of chronological resolution with some of the local data, especially concerning the Derwent cairnfield which could have been occupied at any time during the period in question.

The lithics, pits and burial barrows show a later neolithic/early bronze age occupation presence in certain valley locations at the confluences of watercourses. The Linch Clough, Abbey Brook and Millbrook assemblages are likely to have been deposited in clearings made within the otherwise extensive valley woodlands to accommodate settlements and/or fields. Burials were also placed on higher land, which may have been pasture and hunting ground associated with valley-bottom sites. Barrows and lithics found in the Upper Derwent are typical of those found elsewhere in the region and draw activity in the study area into wider social trends. Barrows, and the possible kerb cairn, suggest funerary rites and ceremonies practised at a family level, and the expression of family genealogies connected to locally constructed geographical spaces (Barnatt 2000; Barrett 1988, 1994). The similarity in funerary monument and topographical positioning indicates that these rites were carried out in the full knowledge that they were part of shared practices found across much wider distances. They would be recognised by others living elsewhere in the region and the choice of barrow burial in the Upper Derwent would have gone hand-in-hand with its adoption throughout the Peak District. Occupants of the Upper Derwent were, therefore, integrated into regional social relations and identity creation.

There are none of the later neolithic monumental henges and tombs in the area, which shows that, at least during the later neolithic, the Upper Derwent was not one of the higher pastures shared by a number of different communities from neighbouring areas as has been reconstructed on the limestone plateau (Barnatt 1996c). Later, the density of barrows is also smaller than much of the limestone and parts of the Eastern Moors. Without the evidence for the lithics and locally mediated importance of the barrows, this might suggest that the area was a marginal location, rarely visited except for hunting trips or limited livestock pasturing (cf Edmonds and Seaborne 2001).

However, the presence of the mixed lithic assemblages in the valley bottoms and the way the barrows reference the local topography rather than the wider landscape, suggests to me a 'resident' early bronze age population, who moved between the valleys and the higher ground. The short distances involved between valley and moorland also makes it very likely that movement between, and occupancy on, the two were on time-scales comprising hours or days, rather than seasonal ones. If so, the barrows were not markers of pastures visited only in the summer and marginal to the main settlement area, but were built and conceived in similar conditions to those associated with fields and surrounding pastures on the Eastern Moors. I propose that they were fundamentally linked as different aspects of the settled landscape and that the routines of daily life involved the movement between valley settlements within the forest and moorland livestock pastures in more open ground.

At Abbey Brook and Linch Clough, evidence for occupation ranging across the later mesolithic, neolithic and bronze age shows that these locations were revisited at times during, perhaps, six millennia. Just as the chambered tombs and henges have been interpreted as indicating the reworking of traditional patterns of land-use and movement over two millennia, so we see the same in the Upper Derwent but without the apparent intensity of competition or density of population likely on the limestone plateau. Rather than indicating a wholesale shift, the appearance of barrows in the study area shows that over time, there arose the desire to express these local patterns through physical construction and the overt marking of the dead. Building barrows on higher ground in, or at the edges of, more open ground (Tallis 1991; Tallis and Switsur 1973), may be associated with a greater involvement in livestock pasturing and the use of the moorland shelves as upland grazing away from thicker woodland. Domesticated livestock tend to be perceived as the possessions of an individual or family, requiring attention and husbanding throughout the year, unlike game animals which are seen as wild, communal resources, at least until caught and brought to the settlement (Ingold 1980, 1986). This sense of closer personal attachment to livestock may have been extended to the grasslands they were fed upon, so invoking more defined senses of tenure with specific locales by individual families or kin-groups.

The clearing of ground associated with Derwent cairnfield also suggests a close involvement with place through the physical labour required to improve land for pasture or

crops. Whether this was contemporary with the barrows or much later is presently unclear, but its scale does fit in with the pattern of land-use interpreted from the funerary sites and lithics. By its topographical location and by comparison to similar sites on the Eastern Moors, we can identify potential settlement sites elsewhere in the valley which have been subject to cultivation. These are Crookhill, also associated with later neolithic/early bronze age barrows and a kerb cairn, and possibly the mid-valley shelves either side of Millbrook.

The cairnfield and potential settlement areas open up the possibility that occupation of small areas of suitable land in the Upper Derwent was also contemporary with the later bronze age/early iron age dates for settlements on the Eastern Moors and at Mam Tor. By comparison with the Eastern Moors, any settlements may have comprised dispersed groups of houses associated with areas of cleared fields, but would have been much smaller than the extensive examples found close together on broad, low moorland shelves, such as at Big Moor and Gardom's Edge. The nature of the Derwent cairnfield suggests shorts periods, perhaps intermittent, of settlement at specific locales rather than the more permanent use over a long-period of time of these larger and more complex sites. There may have been a single kin-group present in the Upper Derwent, who moved to occupy different locales that provided varying resources, some visited at different times of the year and others for a number of years. Again, settlement at this locations would have been closely linked to nearby pastures.

This leads to the question of the Upper Derwent's relationship with Mam Tor. The hill-top enclosure is within a day's walk from the Upper Derwent, and separated by two ridges and valleys. Any contemporary occupancy of the study area may have been drawn into the pattern of shifting settlement postulated for the hilltop enclosure (see section 3.3.6), and visited temporarily, seasonally or intermittently. Alternatively, settlement in the Upper Derwent could have been 'sustained', with an individual community present year round. Of course, the relationship is unclear. This is in part due to the blank areas in our understanding of the enclosure itself which has yet to have satisfactory dates or the nature of its occupation established. A lack of clarity is also evident in the broad date that can be assigned to Derwent cairnfield. More extensive excavation of Mam Tor, the analysis of peat cores within the Upper Derwent and better dating of the Derwent cairnfield are all required before this question can be taken further. Of significance, is that Mam Tor is visible from one particular area of the Upper Derwent, the higher reaches of Derwent

Edge (Photograph 3.11). Anyone tending their herds or hunting along this scarp would have seen the hill, the earthworks, smoke rising from houses and signs of human activity. Their attention would be drawn towards it and what it represented, neighbours or a place of wider communal interaction and part of the landscape as 'extended home' beyond the valley.

Photograph 3.11. Mam Tor and Crookhill from Derwent Edge. Mam Tor hill and later prehistoric enclosure is caught by the sun in the background. Crookhill is in the foreground, and between the two is Losehill

If occupation in the Upper Derwent did span the long time-span covered by this chapter, then earlier elements would have been incorporated into the perceptions of the landscape by successive generations. Barrows were persistent, visible features, whether or not people continued to bury their dead in them, and continued to be associated with distinct topographically marked areas. Vegetation and soil change at specific locales caused by clearance, settlement, cultivation and grazing may have persisted for long periods of time, even where occupation was short-lived or intermittent (Vera 2000). Potentially, these features may have been actively called upon to give structure to the landscape by successive generations inhabiting the Upper Derwent for a period of approximately 1,000 years – recognised, giving meaning within social understandings of the landscape and incorporated into later patterns of land-use. They would have been re-conceptualised over time through how they were experienced during routines of inhabitation and by the passing on of community knowledge in story-telling and folklore. Due to the problems of chronological

resolution and limited material culture, I have had to greatly rely on comparing the Upper Derwent with regional trends, and a better understanding of the history of the local landscape during the time-span under discussion requires that we fall back on the ubiquitous call of archaeologists – 'more data needed'. Test-pitting transects targeted at different topographies and sites, excavations at known features, and close-grained environmental analysis are high priorities for future fieldwork attuned to exploring this broad interpretive framework. This is not to say that new data wins answers, but archaeological interpretation is grounded in material 'remains'.