

Chapter 4

Absences and Presences – Iron Age to Early Medieval Occupation

4.1 Introduction

The iron age to the early medieval period is a time-span characterised by alternating phases of archaeological visibility and invisibility, with the Roman period standing out from periods either side because of the existence of dateable features. The range of available data in the Upper Derwent comprises Romano-British artefacts discovered by fieldwalking in the valley bottom, settlement sites I have surveyed on the edges of moorlands and an environmental sample taken near Snake Pass by the University of Manchester.

Discussing the later iron age, Roman and early medieval periods in the Peak District is a tale of contrasts. The Roman period is thought to be relatively well understood because of a suite of visible archaeology representing settlement, military and burial features which can be placed in a historical framework provided by general models of Roman conquest and administration. This appears to enable a more close-grained landscape history with definite chronological horizons to be written for these 400 years or so. The Roman period is bracketed either side by two blank periods with, seemingly, only a small range of evidence to illuminate them. The contrast in archaeological survival has led to the production of an academic framework for the Peak District covering the 1st millennia BC and AD which is based largely around Richard Hodges's arguments about economically driven phases of colonisation and abandonment (Hodges 1991a, 1991b; Hodges and Wildgoose 1981). The first of the 'blank generations' covers a period between the later bronze age dates for Mam Tor/settlements on the Eastern Moors and the appearance of 2nd century AD workshop-produced pottery. An absence of the familiar suite of southern English iron age artefacts and settlement features has resulted in an interpretative model, most explicitly outlined by Hodges, that climatic deterioration around 1000 BC led to abandonment of the region in favour of the Trent Valley to the south or the Sherwood Sandstones to the east. For a few hundred years the region was conceived to be a backwater, where summer transhumants from the surrounding lowlands could occasionally be found with their flocks. Rare

occurrences of iron age materials, for example La Tène style metalwork, burials and quernstones, were taken to demonstrate that actual iron age settlement in the region was sparse. As a result, the Peak District is a region where the iron age barely exists in syntheses of British prehistory (Bradley 1984; Childe 1940; Cunliffe 1991, 1995; Hill 1995). The model sees people returning to live permanently in the Peak District only in the 2nd century AD on the back of economic opportunities provided by Roman lead mining. According to this model, Romano-British settlers effectively inherited an empty landscape from prehistory.

There is a similar absence of artefacts and settlement evidence from the Peak District in the early medieval period, with the only securely dated features being 5th century brooches, a small number of 6th century pots and 7th century barrow burials (Alvey 1982; Hart 1981; Hodges 1991b). There are more imprecisely dated documents, carved stone crosses, church architectural fragments and boundaries, which are later Anglo-Saxon but cannot be assigned to any specific century – though Phil Sidebottom would argue that crosses can be assigned to the 10th century AD (Hart 1981; Sidebottom 1999). Though the paucity of early medieval archaeological evidence is similar to the iron age, and both may be termed Dark Ages, no one doubts the presence of occupation in the region throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. There is clearly a difference in approach to these two periods which is based on expectations – Anglo-Saxon settlement is expected and has left behind limited evidence, while a similar scarcity of data for the iron age is taken as evidence for absence. In effect, nearly 2,000 years of landscape history are reduced to three static phases interspersed by change occurring at either end of the Roman period.

The region-wide ‘Dark Ages’ extend to the Upper Derwent. Rather than take the more common, and somewhat easier, route of by-passing them or falling back on simplistic abandonment models, I will interpret these periods along with those that are data-rich. Environmental evidence becomes crucial to understanding landscape change in the absence of traditional archaeological artefacts, and is an important aspect when artefacts are present. There is currently only one pollen core taken from the study area with radiocarbon dates relevant to this period. While this will be referred to, there is a recognised need for a higher number of samples from a larger range of contexts, both on moorlands and in or near valleys, to better understand human activity in the landscape.

The discussion of the region as a whole takes a more prominent place in the narrative than perhaps is the case for other periods. However, this is an extension of the approach I am taking throughout, in linking what is happening at the local level with regional trends. The region-wide scale of interpretation is also important during this period because a regional social identity covering the Peak District comes to be expressed through material culture and documents in the Romano-British and early medieval periods. I will interpret how the inhabitants of the Upper Derwent participated in these regional identities.

In publishing the results of the Roystone Grange project, Richard Hodges produced a model for Roman colonisation of the whole region based on his work in the Roystone Valley (Hodges 1991a, 1991b; Hodges and Wildgoose 1981). It is worth returning to discuss his study (see section 1.6.2), because his conclusions have a direct bearing on interpreting this period in the Upper Derwent.

4.2 Roystone Grange: A Model for Landscape Change from the Later Iron Age to the Early Medieval

Hodges believes that when the Romans reached the Peak District in the mid-50s AD, their aim was primarily to obtain lead and to exploit the region for agricultural cash crops. He compares the scale and organisation of this to the EU (Hodges 1991a). Hodges interprets the Roman conquest of the region as a simple military operation designed to open up economic resources.

Romano-British Roystone Grange comprises two settlements within an enclosed landscape (Illustrations 4.1, 4.2). The main settlement at Roystone Grange was founded in the 2nd century AD without evidence on the same site for preceding iron age occupation. A second settlement site had been occupied in the later bronze age/early iron age, possibly the neolithic and the Roman period. Hodges sees a threefold sequence at Roystone Grange comprising exploration, colonisation and recession with desertion. He admits that there is no evidence for the first phase, which is a speculative phase based on the apparent imposition of the orthostatic walls and enclosure boundaries on a possibly wooded landscape.

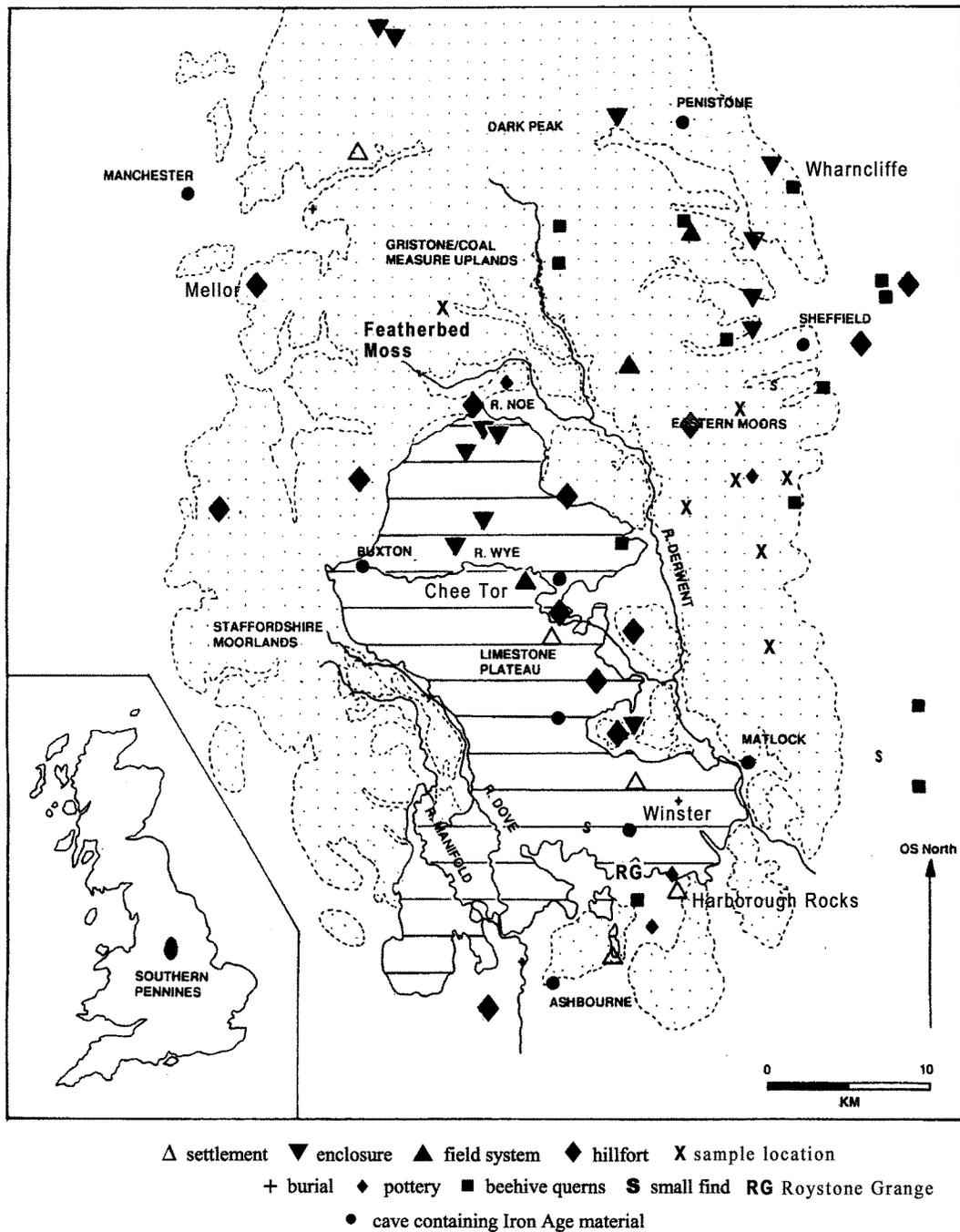
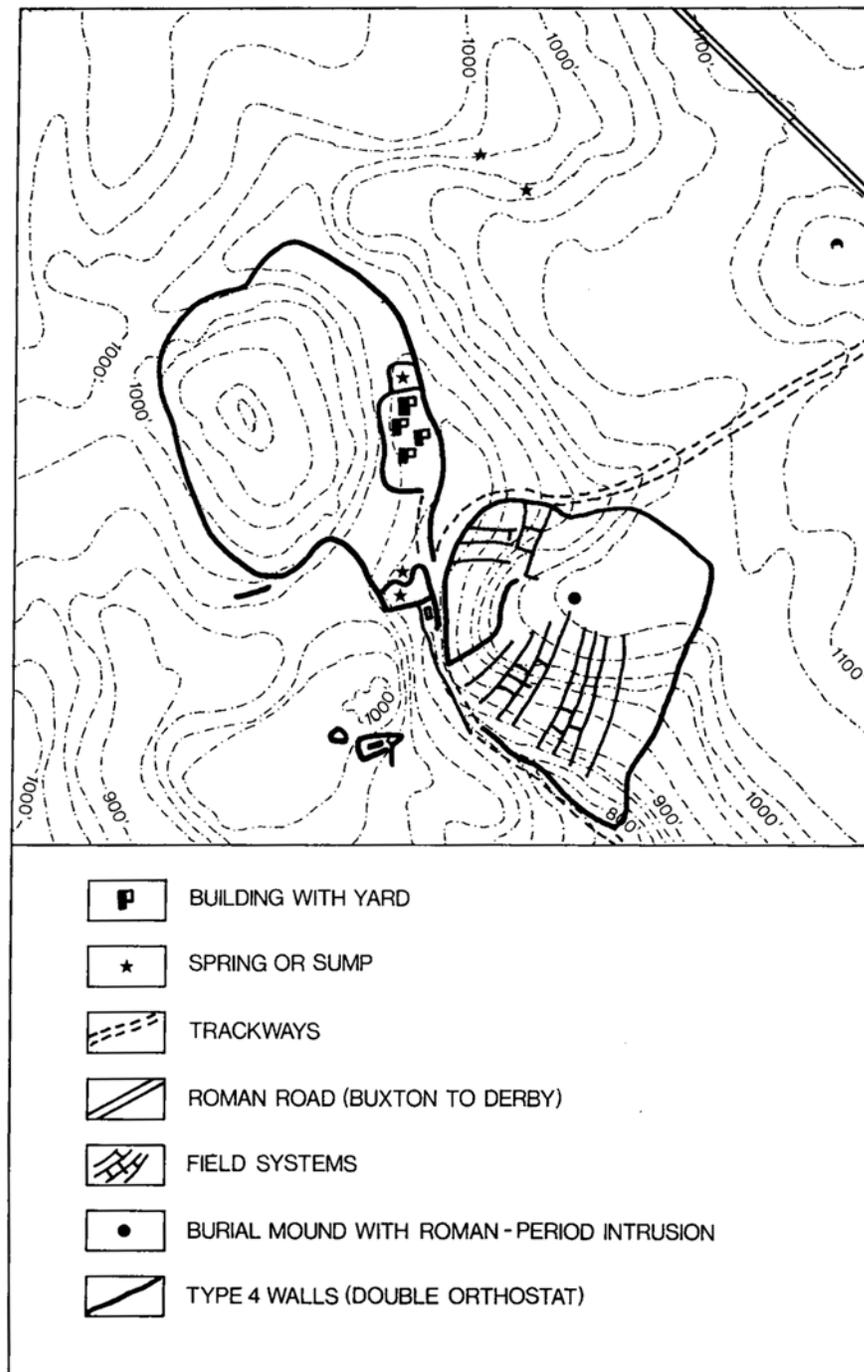


Illustration 4.1. Locations of places mentioned in sections 4.2 – 4.4. Based on Bevan 2000b



4.2. Roystone Grange Romano-British landscape. From Hodges 1991a

The absence of an iron age population in the Peak District is crucial to this model as he extends it to the region as a whole. He believes the limestone plateau was a backwater with its own upland traditions dating from the neolithic and which was visited by summer

transhumants from the Trent Valley. Surveyors moving with the military would have identified its mineral resource and assessed their value from the newly constructed forts.

He argues for a climatic deterioration between 1200 and 600 BC causing a depopulation of the region so creating a 'virgin' territory ripe for Roman colonisation. Initially, the Peak District was a huge Roman estate administered directly to exploit the lead mines within which colonisers were encouraged to settle and begin the process of mining and sheep farming. Settlers from the Trent Valley or further south were attracted to the region by the prospect of these two cash crops. Here Hodges is specifically stating that the combination of profits from two different types of production was essential for farmers to support livelihoods within the broader economic system offered by the Empire. The dual economy and large-scale markets for produce are seen as being essential to the settlement of marginal, upland locations such as the Peak District. Roystone is marginal in Hodges's model because it is, today, a socially isolated location with a high rainfall. Today, the uplands are perceived as culturally and agriculturally marginal locations to society within the context of the modern nation state and Hodges appears to have transported this marginality backwards into the past. Perhaps the experiences of working on the project, camping in a place with frequent rain, remote from such services and comforts of cities or villages such as the pub, takeaway, restaurant or cinema influenced Hodges to think that there are only very specific circumstances when such a landscape would be settled and worked.

According to Hodges, samian ware indicates that colonisation began in the early 2nd century AD. The landscape was then transformed with the construction of boundaries to define a large estate within a heavily wooded area which was subsequently cleared. This comprised building a settlement in the valley, enclosing it within a substantial wall and creating two large sub-circular enclosures which took in the valley's sides and adjacent hill tops. This pattern indicates the production of a cash-crop of sheep because there is not enough land in the enclosed settlement area to grow enough cereals for subsistence farming. Evidence for cultivation in the larger enclosures is placed later in the Romano-British period as a sign of desperation during economic recession. However, there is no dating evidence to give a basis to this chronology.

Hodges interprets all the Romano-British settlements in the region as demonstrating cash-cropping with limited cereal production for home consumption. He thinks this 'effort seems unnecessary unless there was some other dimension to the property that was uppermost in the minds of the colonists' (1991a, 85). This was lead. The settlers sold lead, wool and sheep and in exchange bought foodstuffs. The Empire provided a 'satisfactory livelihood' during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, but as recession hit the Empire in the 3rd century AD it had a detrimental effect on marginal economies such as Roystone Grange. Demands for lead decreased while the European wool trade was hit by North Sea pirates and competition from the continent, so forcing wool prices down, and Peak District farmers to grow more subsistence crops. Hodges states that taxes were increased and the climate deteriorated. By the time the legions vacated Britain the state-run economy had collapsed. Evidence for the effect of the recession on Roystone Grange is based on the aisled-house not evolving into a villa but being replaced by a smaller building.

Roystone Grange had been supporting populations beyond its carrying capacity causing conflict during recession which led to people migrating to look for paid work at the end of the Roman Empire, so emptying the landscape 'almost as swiftly as it had been colonised'. Those staying in the region moved to a domestic, or subsistence, scale of production to make use of local resources efficiently. Hodges does go on to admit that the presence of barrow burials dating to the 7th century AD may indicate some continuation of settlement in parts of the region. He argues that increased demand for lead to furnish early churches would have encouraged settlement. However, it was not until the 10th century that the Anglo-Saxon economy began to flourish. With the formation of a European market system in the 11th century, settlement once again expanded in response to the opportunities for cash-cropping. Roystone's pastures were grazed again from the 10th century AD, this time from farmsteads in Ballidon village. The area was within a large royal estate, centred on Bradbourne, which was run or owned by the descendants of the people buried in the nearby cairn at Wigber Low in the 7th century AD. After 963 it was uplands for a new Ballidon estate which had been carved out of the larger Bradbourne holding. This is all that Hodges has to say about the early medieval period for both Roystone and the region as a whole.

Throughout Hodges's model, the landscape at Roystone Grange and, by extension, the Peak District are seen as an 'inter-tidal' area above the permanently occupied lowlands. They are only 'flooded' with settlers when there is a wider economic structure to support cash-crop farming, while at other times the tide of settlement recedes back to lower and better land. The Roman Empire and the growing Anglo-Saxon kingdoms provide the European-wide market economies, which encourage colonisation to produce cash crops of wool and lead. When these structures are removed, the region is abandoned for more favourable lowland locations nearby. However, Hodges does not discuss how people living in the Peak District articulated with these structures at different times or how neighbouring populations responded to regular influxes of people. There is the impression of a simple one-way relationship whereby a buoyant economy stimulates growth, removal of the good economy causes recession and settlement responds. The evidence is for much more complex and sustained patterns of land-use across this time period, within which activity in the Upper Derwent took place.

This model has been discussed elsewhere, specifically by Branigan and Makepeace for the Roman period (Branigan 1991; Makepeace 1998) and by myself for the iron age (Bevan 1999a, 1999b, 2000b). Branigan favours Hodges's opinion that the region was newly settled under Roman influence. Makepeace views it more in terms of a Roman-inspired expansion of agricultural activity with a change from iron age pastoralism to Romano-British arable dating to the mid to late 1st century AD. I take the view that we have been taking absence of evidence at face value and approaching the region with expectations of what would constitute iron age occupation based on models derived from southern England. To put the argument in a wider context, the invisibility of the southern Pennines iron age is common to many areas of northern and western Britain. There is a widescale absence of iron age evidence throughout much of the area between the Forth and the Trent as well as parts of central Scotland, Wales, and south-west England, leading to a marginalisation of these regions within research frameworks (Bevan 1999a, 1999b, 2000b; Haselgrove 1999). There are data-rich areas within these regions, such as eastern Yorkshire and north-east England, but these are usually highlighted as densely settled exceptions.

However, in recent years iron age histories have been identified in the data-poor regions. Relevant to the Peak District are interpretations of cropmark landscapes based on aerial surveillance and rescue excavation on the Sherwood Sandstone running from West and South Yorkshire to north Nottinghamshire (Chadwick 1999; Riley 1980). The relationship between field systems and Roman roads indicates the presence of the former when the latter were driven through (Riley 1980), even though very few excavated field ditches produce pre-Roman pottery (Chadwick 1999). In the Trent Valley recent excavations have identified settlements previously thought to date solely to the Roman period as having iron age histories (David Knight forthcoming).

4.3 Peak District Vegetation History

There has only been a limited amount of environmental work undertaken with which we can interpret the vegetation history of the 1st millennia BC and AD. What does exist comprises work on the Eastern Moors by Hicks and Long, and in the High Peak by Tallis (Hicks 1971, 1972; Long et al 1998; Tallis and Switsur 1973) (Illustration 4.1). The results of Hicks and Long are broadly similar. Across all of Hicks's sample sites, she identified a decrease in woodland beginning in the iron age and continuing throughout the Roman period with a presence of cereals (Hicks 1971, 1972). The iron age woodland clearance was relatively dramatic compared to earlier clearance phases, and was initiated at approximately 340 ± 100 bc (800-50 Cal. BC - GaK 2288). Early on, there are mainly open species of grasslands and heathlands, while later there are the first indicators of arable, which peak between ad 40 ± 100 (200 Cal. BC - 400 Cal. AD - GaK 2291) and ad 420 ± 90 (340 - 670 Cal. AD - GaK 2292). During the later iron age/early Roman period, cereal pollen increases from $<1\%$ to $>2\%$ of sample size and walnut pollen, a Roman introduction, appears. These open conditions give a large potential catchment for pollen, though cereal pollen does not travel far. This is a regional picture which obscures local variations and the pollen could come from the upland fringes and surrounding valleys as well as the moorlands.

At Stoke Flat mire a radiocarbon date near to the top of the profile was 2595 ± 65 BP (841 - 528 Cal. BC - Beta 58278) (Long et al 1998). Arable activity is present before this date within a wooded environment, then continues afterwards in a much more open, though still wooded, environment until a widespread tree loss dated to 2050 ± 110 BP (373 - 223 Cal. AD

– Beta 52534). After this date, cereal pollen declines as open grassland and moor species dominate.

At Featherbed Moss, Hope Woodlands, evidence for repeated phases of small-scale woodland clearance with peaks of *Plantago* appeared both before and after a radiocarbon date of 2685 ± 50 BP (970 - 790 Cal. BC – Q 855) (Tallis and Switsur 1973). A sustained period of extensive woodland clearance then began approximately 2251 ± 50 BP (400 - 190 Cal. BC – Q 854) and continued until 1400 ± 50 BP (540 - 770 Cal. AD – Q 852). Some regeneration of woodland cover occurred after 1400 ± 50 BP before another intensive phase of clearance began at 1023 ± 50 BP (890 - 1160 Cal. AD - 851) with lower numbers of tree species continuing into the later medieval period.

The available pollen samples are useful but not entirely satisfactory. All of the studies provide something of a general indication for occupation in the region, a broad background of some of the vegetational impact that may be related to settlement. Featherbed Moss's location in the Upper Derwent makes it more relevant due to its proximity; however its use is limited by its high, remote location and by being a single sample site. These limitations mean that it can only be taken to indicate a general picture for the vicinity of Snake Pass. Prevailing winds are as likely to have brought pollen from the Glossop valley basin as from the Woodlands Valley.

4.4 The Iron Age in the Peak District

The small number of iron age artefacts and sites recorded for the region include bee-hive querns, La Tène style decorated objects, crouched inhumations, a single coin of Icenian origin, enclosures and 'Celtic fields' (Hart 1981).

Approximately 15 beehive querns have been discovered, mainly in the east of the region, including Hunsbury and Humsberg types. There is also a quern-production site at Wharnccliffe, South Yorkshire, which appears to have been worked from the middle or later iron age to the Roman period (Illustration 4.1). There are four crouched inhumations that have been potentially dated to the iron age, however only two burials at Winster, Derbyshire, can be dated with any confidence (Illustration 4.1). The Winster burials were excavated by

Thomas Bateman in 1856 and found to be accompanied by grave goods which included a 3rd to 2nd century BC barrel jar, an iron ploughshare bar, Hunsbury-type beehive querns and a bone or antler D-shaped strap link (Beswick and Wright 1991). Taken collectively, the grave goods date the Winster burials to between the 2nd century BC and 1st century AD. La Tène style decoration also appears on a bronze ring-headed pin and a bone-weaving comb from a cave at Harborough Rocks, Derbyshire (Fox 1909) (Illustration 4.1).

Approximately 13 sub-rectangular and sub-circular enclosures have been potentially dated to the iron age by morphological comparison with enclosures in Wessex and palisaded enclosures in Northumberland (Hart 1981). However, none of the enclosures have been definitely dated and they could potentially range in date from the bronze age to the early medieval period. Field systems described as ‘Celtic’ fields, defined as small rectilinear fields enclosed by lynchets or banks, survive at a number of locations (ibid). The best known is at Chee Tor, Derbyshire, and is associated with a settlement dated to the Roman period by finds of second to fourth century AD pottery (Makepeace 1998; Wildgoose 1988. Illustration 4.1). None of the field systems have been directly dated and could date from later prehistory through to the Roman period. Association with settlements may suggest that the ‘Celtic’ fields of the southern Pennines are a Romano-British phenomenon; however, the problems associated with dating Romano-British settlements will be discussed below.

There are also a series of very recent radiocarbon dates from the Peak District which have dramatically highlighted iron age settlement and land-use. During dry weather in 1995 the current owners of the old vicarage at Mellor, near Stockport, discovered parch marks of a ditch enclosing a hill-top at 220m O.D. (Holden 2001. Illustration 4.1). Subsequent excavations across the ditch have found various pot sherds typical of middle iron age date (Cumberpatch 2001; David Knight pers comm). Radiocarbon dating of a charcoal-rich layer located approximately mid-way up the ditch fill, and associated with iron age pottery, gave the date of 2430 ± 140 BP (830 - 190 Cal. BC) (Holden 2001). Roman pottery is found in the upper ditch fills. A pit alignment on Gardom’s Edge, associated with typical Eastern Moors later prehistoric field systems, has also been radiocarbon dated, with determinations for the ground surface immediately below upcast banks and for the bottom peat fill in one of the pits, both coming to 2105 ± 43 BP (350 Cal. BC – 10 Cal. AD) (Illustration 4.1).

Returning to the environmental evidence of both Hicks and Long, their work demonstrates the presence of agriculture on the present-day moors and nearby valleys continuing from the 2nd millennium BC into the 1st. The environmental evidence for increasing cereal production throughout the 1st millennium BC indicates the more intensive production of cereals as a major element of agricultural production, a phenomenon seen elsewhere in England at this time (Cunliffe 1991; Haselgrove 1999; van der Veen 1992). I have argued elsewhere that this opens up the possibility that the field systems and settlements usually dated to the bronze age also have iron age histories (Bevan 1999b, 2000b). The considerable variability in form and spatial differentiation of Eastern Moor field systems may represent a complex and lengthy history during the bronze and iron ages. On Gardom's Edge, many of the field systems comprise small, irregular enclosures suitable for horticulture and pasture, defined by stone banks and irregular clearance cairns (Barnatt et al 2002). Within the northern area of field systems one notable zone comprises much larger fields laid out on more regular lines with clearance cairns aligned in rows. They partly overlie and appear to have replaced a group of small, irregular fields typical of much of the rest of the shelf (ibid).

It is possible that a relative increase in cereal cultivation during the 1st millennium contributed to soil degradation through the over-intensive working of relatively fragile soils, though in a more open environment it is also likely that pollen is travelling further and may originate from nearby valley slopes. The spread of moorland peat is visible in cores from the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. Higher ground and water-collecting hollows would be the most susceptible and the places where the earliest blanket peat formed first. 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 manuring maintains pasture quality even on fragile soils at altitudes below 350m O.D (Barnatt 2000). This creates a much more complex picture of changing land potential and counters the interpretation that climatic changes caused wholesale abandonment of the moors at one period.

The radiocarbon dates, coupled with the environmental evidence for clearance and cultivation on the Eastern Moors in the 1st millennium BC, indicate that people were

occupying the region during the iron age despite the paucity of identified settlements and material. In the case of pottery, the area may have been largely aceramic or, alternatively, pottery fabrics given a later bronze age date by comparison with the decorated sherds to John Barrett's work on ceramic forms in Wessex (Barrett 1980) may have a longer history of use in the Peak District. There may also be longer histories both to the Eastern Moors settlements traditionally dated as bronze age to early iron age and those surviving as upstanding field remains on the limestone plateau, which are conventionally dated to the Roman period (Bevan 1999b). Apart from notable exceptions, both groups of settlements have only been investigated with narrowly defined research excavations based on the acceptance of existing dating. These have employed small trenches placed over earthworks which, for the limestone plateau sites, have simply confirmed the Roman date of the visible phases. Stratigraphy, sometimes indistinct on the thin soils of the region, and horizontal spatial patterning of features such as post-holes where artefacts are absent are impossible to explore fully under such conditions. This has prevented the exploration of long histories. We still have to find more places where people were living in the iron age (Bevan 2000b).

Recent work has identified that settlement associated with extensive land boundaries in regions neighbouring the Peak District originated during the iron age rather than being of Roman origin (Chadwick 1999; Myers 2002). The apparent well-organised nature of the fields has led some to suggest they were planned and resulted from a growing population (Riley 1980). It would therefore be tempting to see such a population expansion as being the result of folk movement from the Peak. However, more recent re-interpretation of the brick-work field systems on the Sherwood Sandstone shows that there is a great deal of variety in field morphology and topographical associations, with different field systems being orientated on rivers, areas of seasonal flooding, ridges and slopes (Chadwick 1999). There is no evidence for a population expansion during the Roman period, but for the continued reworking of existing settlement patterns over the 1st millennia BC and AD.

We can already see glimpses that challenge Hodges's model and demonstrate the need to develop further research based on the regional and local evidence, which enable an understanding of iron age life in the southern Pennines rather than its consignment to an historical aside. Priorities for work include the analysis of soils and pollen, coupled with

detailed and open-minded investigation of field systems/settlements and the re-evaluation of artefacts.

4.5 Romano-British Peak District

4.5.1 Romanization

Throughout much of Britain, the arrival of Roman rule was most acutely felt by people living in the immediate vicinities of forts and roads, or under those leaders who raised armed resistance. In most areas of Britain, the Romans did not immediately bring major changes to the nature of indigenous settlement or the wider landscape beyond the infrastructure they created to rule the province (Dark and Dark 1997). We see a greater impact in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, when rectangular buildings supplant roundhouses as the main form of domestic building (Hingley 1989), and pottery becomes produced on a much wider scale and is more widely present in domestic contexts (Cooper, N. 1996). A number of industries were founded in various regions of Britain at the end of the 1st century or in the 2nd century, such as Derbyshire ware and Colchester Samian ware (Tyers 1996). Pottery use spread into areas of northern Britain that had previously been largely aceramic, mainly in the form of coarseware jars (ibid), most likely supplementing organic materials rather than replacing them. Rectangular buildings and ceramic vessels were not simply technical innovations, welcomed by societies who had previously been unable to make them. These involved the descendants of those who had first encountered the Romans, people who had grown up with Roman rule rather than experienced its arrival, engaging in new forms of expressing social identity. Even dramatic changes as evident at the beginning of the Roman period took two or more generations to occur.

Romanization was a complicated, dynamic and pluralistic process, a discourse of power relations which occurred between a domineering political force and diverse local communities (Mattingley 1997). Romanization has come to mean the methods by which Roman culture spread across its conquered provinces, usually by the direct emulation of Romans 'ways' by native people. However, Roman culture was not uniform. It was highly differentiated by region, class, social locale, age and gender; there was not a single 'package' of Roman 'ways' to adopt (Woolf 1997). Romanization was a highly diverse and complex set of interactions between indigenous populations and the Roman world, which occurred on

many different levels of society (Freeman 1996; Hingley 1996; Webster 1996). New forms of culture and ways of living were created in the context of the relationship between the various facets of Roman and local cultures rather than the straightforward adoption of one culture by another (Barrett 1997).

Maintenance of the rule of government involves the dual process of the imposition of force by a ruling class to maintain power and the consent of the governed to be governed (Forcey 1996). Behind the Roman side of this relationship there was a central political force based on the imperial administration in Rome, which was mediated by various administrative structures operating at various levels, from the province through to regional *civitates*. Roman domination was obtained through use of the army, but rule was maintained by incorporating native elites into the ruling bloc. Some autonomy was allowed within the sphere of the *civitates*, Roman administrative units were often based on existing social order, unless there was strong resistance to Roman rule (Millett 1990). Cooperation may be obtained by a variety of inter-linked political, military, economic, cultural and ideological strategies. Communities would react to contact based on their structures of political organization and local face-to-face experiences of this contact with the Roman military, within a context of stories and rumours learnt from neighbouring communities, rather than with 'Rome' as a cohesive and monolithic entity. Local communities articulated with wider political structures through blood-kin ties and exchange networks that would give a sense of belonging to regional identities. Perceptions of links with regional society would vary within the local community in relation to personal experiences of these wider structures. Some individuals may have had direct experience, while others may have only interacted through indirect contact mediated through those in their communities with direct contact. Individuals who interacted socially at the wider level might include those with local social power and prescribed knowledge such as metalworkers and ritual specialists. Some native leaders felt they would increase their local power and influence through the personal wealth and status that the Imperial officers could offer in return for service. Others resisted Roman rule, and in some societies power struggles developed around differing ideological responses to Rome. With no major resistance to the Roman army evident in the north Midlands during the 1st century AD, it is likely that the existing social order was co-opted with existing leaders becoming local councillors.

It is unknown which *civitas* the Peak District lay within. To the south and east was the territory of the Corieltavi with the capital at Ratae (Leicester), to the south-west were the Cornovii with the capital at Viroconium (Wroxeter), while to the north were the Brigantes with a capital at Isurium (Aldborough, North Yorkshire) (Rivet 1958). The Peak District may have been divided between the three, though it is often considered to be within the Brigantes (ibid; Branigan 1991; Hart 1981) or located somewhere between the Brigantes and Corieltavi (Hodges 1991a). Our knowledge of the boundaries between *civitates* is extremely hazy (Millett 1990). Some of the evidence in the High Peak can be discussed in relation to this question, even if a strong interpretation cannot be given.

Major transformations to people's lives were brought about by the Roman introduction of the market economy, urbanisation and the increasing numbers of people working in non-food-growing occupations. Iron age and Romano-British tribes were bound together through extended kinship groups or by allegiance of non-kin through complex social relations, which were encouraged by displays of wealth, tribute and force. Allegiances and social obligations to others may have been partly reinforced through gift exchange. Market economics became another way through which people could develop relations with each other as buying and selling of goods was introduced alongside traditional forms of exchange and barter. It was neither the only or dominant form of exchange, and local communities may have not engaged in such economic relationships on a routine basis. Roman taxation would have been a reworking, through the *civitates*, of existing allegiances of produce exchange. Monetary trade only became widespread during the 3rd and 4th centuries BC, when coins were commonplace and supplied in small denominations suitable for a wide range of transactions (Reece 1991). Market places would have been important locations where agricultural goods could be traded, where people could meet and exchange news, and where they could acquire new types and forms of material goods such as workshop-produced pottery. Hingley has estimated a distance of 10km as the likely maximum that an individual could travel to attend market (Hingley 1989). This is a somewhat economically determined figure based upon van Thunen's geographical idea of the 'isolated state' that relates distances travelled to agricultural prices in a rural society (Chisholm 1979). As well as associated with travel distances, the locations of market centres would be related to local social identities and

settlement patterns. The figure gives a very rough impression of how frequent markets may have been, and emphasises the importance of markets as local exchange centres. These markets and objects were one means through which someone living in a place like the Upper Derwent could interact with wider society, including those who were socially limited from travelling over much longer distances. A likely market place would be the *vicus* at Navio, which is less than 4km distant and the nearest known sizeable civilian settlement to the Upper Derwent (Branigan 1991; Dearne 1993). There is also the distinct possibility that other sizeable settlements incorporating market centres existed elsewhere that did not have a direct relationship with the military, but which have yet to be discovered.

4.5.2 Roman Rule and Infrastructure

The arrival of the Roman army in the region probably occurred in the 50s AD when they moved north up either side of the southern Pennines, building forts at the future sites of Derby and Chesterfield in Derbyshire, Rossington Bridge and Templeborough in South Yorkshire and Trent Vale, Staffordshire (Breeze and Dobson 1985). At the time, these formed the northern frontier of the Roman Empire in Britain, with the Peak District encircled by the forts as the army sought to control access routes to the north along the flatter land (*ibid*). Approximately 30 years later, sometime after Agricola's push further north to conquer northern Britain, forts were built in the Peak District itself (Branigan 1991; Hanson 1987). Presumably a period of reconnaissance and contact with the local population occurred during this period and the Roman authorities decided on the best methods for incorporating the southern Pennines into the province. The infrastructure of Roman rule comprised long-distance roads and probably a town at Buxton, as well as the forts (Illustration 4.3). To date, no other civilian urban settlements have been identified in the region, though towns may have developed at Manchester and Derby (Salway 1980).

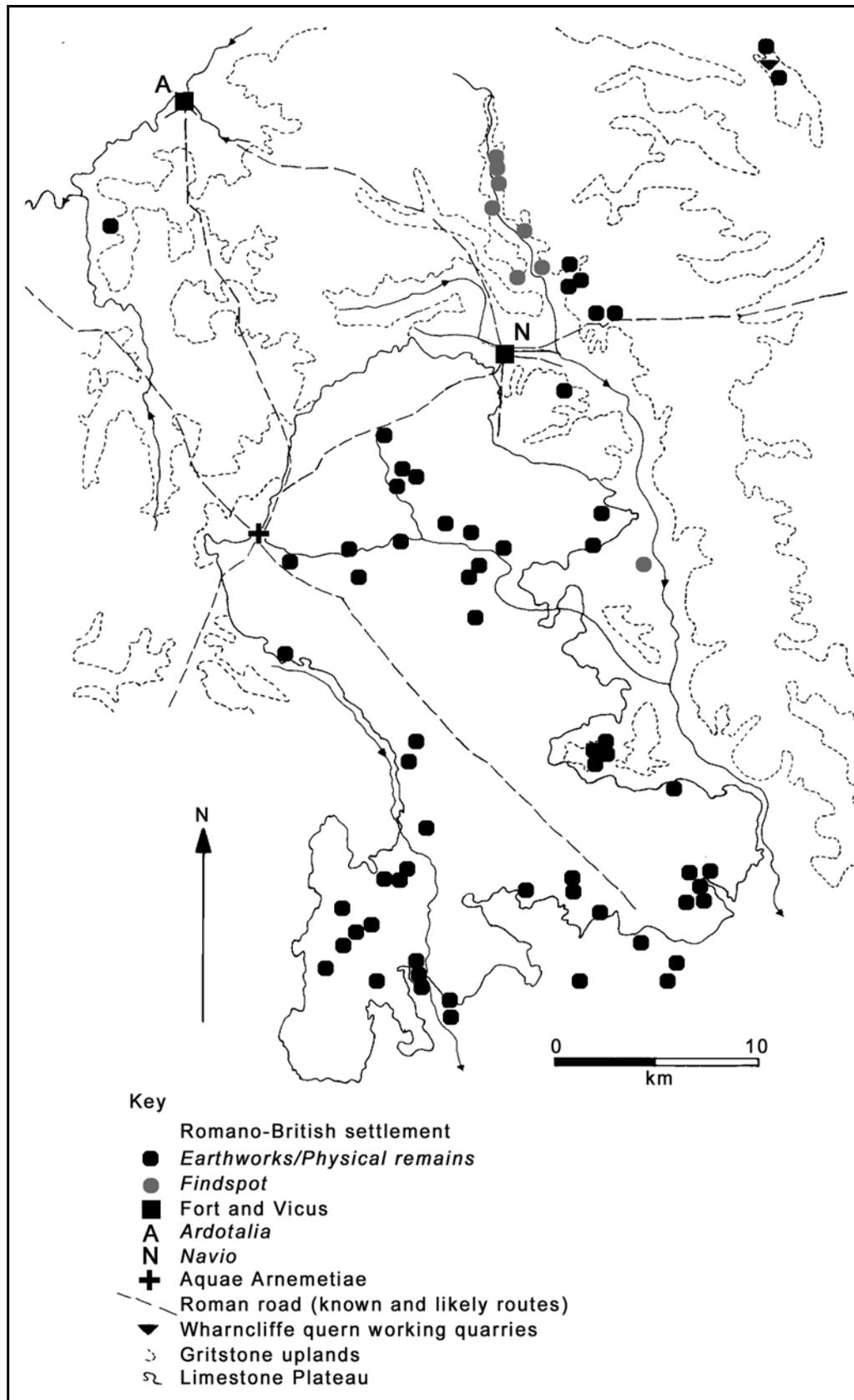
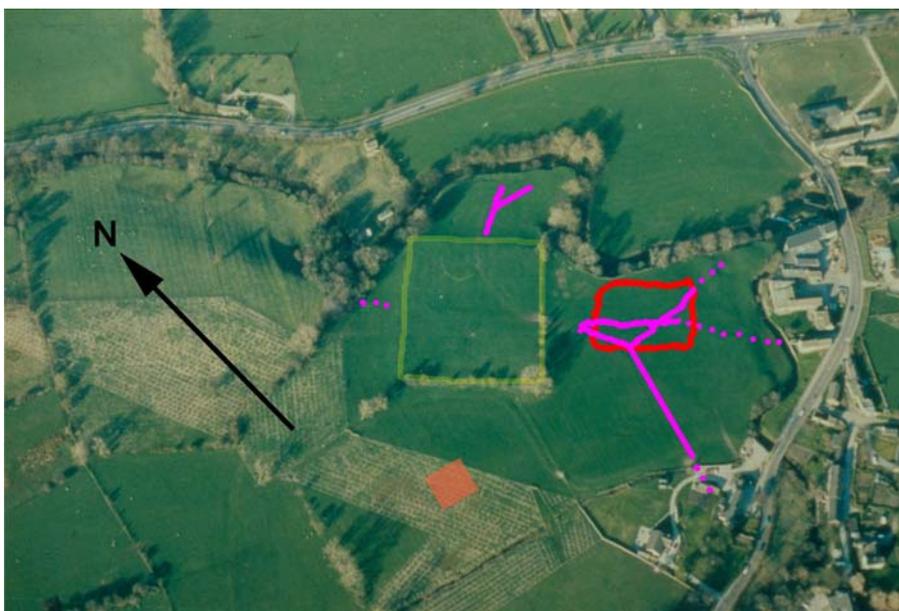


Illustration 4.3. Locations of Roman forts, roads, *vici*, towns and Romano-British rural settlements in the Peak District

4.5.2.1 Forts and Vici

In the Peak District, forts were built at Navio, near Brough-on-Noe at the junction of Bradwell Dale and the Hope Valley (Bartlett 1959, 1960; Dearne 1993; Jones and Thompson 1965; Jones et al. 1966; Jones and Wild 1968, 1970. Illustration 4.4. Photograph 4.1), and at Ardotalia, near Glossop (Bruton 1907; Petch 1943, 1949; Webster 1971. Illustration 4.3). They were constructed between the late 70s and early 80s AD. This was contemporary with the building of a fort at Rocester, Staffordshire, 10km to the south of the Peak District, and the rebuilding, on a new site, of the fort at Derby (Breeze and Dobson 1985). It has been suggested that there was also forts at Buxton, Carsington and Longdendale (Hart 1981), however, archaeological survey and excavation at a number of locations in Buxton has yet to identify any evidence for a military presence there (Myers 2002).



Photograph 4.1. Navio Roman fort near Brough-on-Noe, Hope Valley. PDNPA Collection.
Red: extent of excavated *vici* buildings, Pink: roads, Orange: unexcavated early *vici*, Yellow: fort

The early histories of Navio and Ardotalia are similar and typical of auxiliary forts which housed a cohort of approximately 500 men (Breeze and Dobson 1985). They originally

covered 1.2ha defended by earthen banks and timber palisades, and were positioned on promontories overlooking rivers. Both were abandoned in the early to mid-2nd century AD.

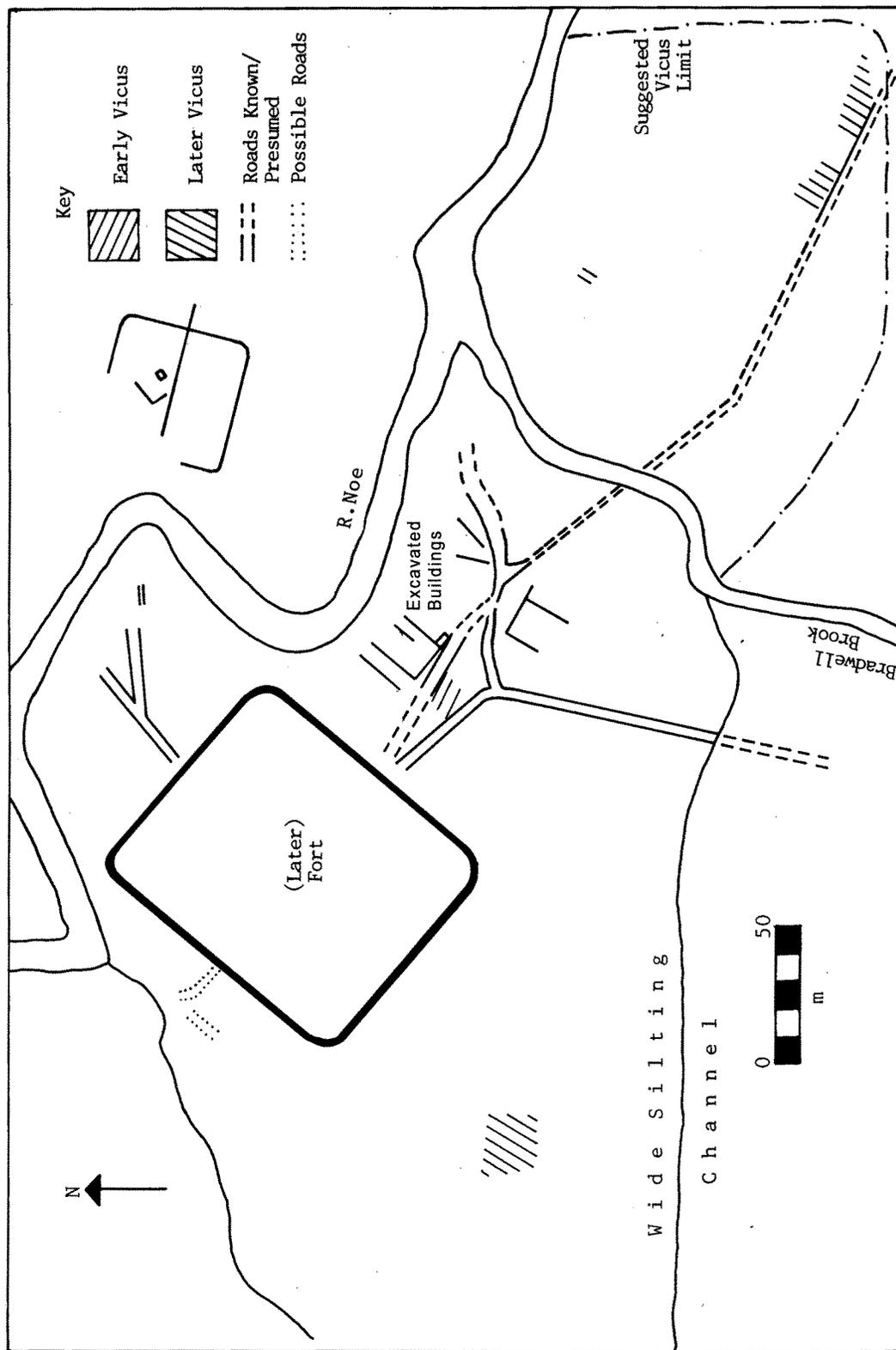


Illustration 4.4. The vicus and fort at Navio, Hope Valley. From Dearne 1993

However, Navio was re-occupied and rebuilt on a slightly reduced area and different orientation c.158 AD, and remained in use until the 4th century AD. The later fort's defences were much more visually impressive than in the earlier phase. A stone wall was enclosed within up to three wide ditches. This second fort was much smaller than typical auxiliary forts, and so either conditions were cramped or a smaller unit was stationed here from the mid-2nd century onwards.

Why were forts built at Navio and Ardotalia? The general explanation is as part of the 'general garrisoning' of the Peak District or Brigantia (Branigan 1991; Dearne 1993). Forts were located in relation to Roman political geography and perceived threats of the time, incorporating ideas about defence, access to resources, the control of surrounding populations, symbolic impact on communities, and to provide a network of bases for moving supplies and goods (Millett 1990). The monumental size of the forts and the scale of their earthworks not only acted as defences, but would have also signified the power of Roman rule to surrounding communities. The acquisition of trees and stone to construct the fort would have had a direct impact on nearby communities who would have lost material elements of the landscape they perceived as holding rights over. The forts were, therefore, one of the ways that households would have perceived and interacted with Roman authority.

Navio is approximately 30km to the west of Templeborough and 23km from Ardotalia, while the latter is 22km from Manchester. These are all distances you would expect to be easily reachable within a day, and the Romans appear to have used the Hope and Woodlands valleys to build roads that connected forts to the east and west via Navio. A road was also built along the Bradwell Dale which formed a natural route onto the limestone plateau from the Hope Valley. The road gave immediate access to lead veins on Bradwell and Tideswell moors and ran to Buxton, 14km to the south-west (see section 4.5.2.2). The proximity to the northern part of the lead ore field on the limestone plateau has been put forward as another reason for locating the fort here (Branigan 1991). These valleys may have been important local, and potentially long-distance, communication routes at the time of the Roman reconnoitring of the region, and the fort may have been built at Navio to enable control over people travelling along these routes (Dearne 1993).

Both Navio and Ardotalia were built close to the southern banks of rivers, the Noe and Etherow respectively, which afforded water supplies and enhanced defence from any attacks from the north. Ardotalia is on locally high ground by the confluence of the Etherow and Glossop Brook which ‘protects’ the eastern side of the fort. This implies that the Romans perceived the most likely aggressive threat to the forts as coming from the High Peak area. The forts were built at approximately the same time as many of the forts built during or soon after Agricola’s campaign against the Brigantes, and may be seen as part of the defences to secure southern Britain from the latter. It is also notable that the forts at Templeborough and Rossington Bridge were also positioned immediately to the south of rivers, and could be taken together to suggest the Roman boundary between the Corieltavi and the Brigantes.

Civilian settlements, known as *vici*, quickly developed adjacent to each fort (Branigan 1991; Dearne 1991; Webster 1971. Illustration 4.4). The irregular layouts of *vici* in the southern Pennines suggest ad hoc developments rather than planned and laid out to a standard form as forts were. They comprise wooden buildings laid out in strip landholdings facing end on to roads, and they had dual functions as workshops or shops as well as residencies. Some flimsy, open-sided buildings appear to have been specialised workshops and shops separate from domestic buildings. How *vicani* made their livelihoods is a matter of speculation with a list of occupations regularly including smiths, traders, carpenters, leather workers, priests, soothsayers, prostitutes, innkeepers, shopkeepers, farmers and soldiers’ families (Salway 1980). While soldiers were not allowed to marry while in service until the 3rd century AD, unofficial relationships were permitted, and families may have formed the largest part of the population because they were not allowed to live in forts. *Vici* populations were cosmopolitan, and so were places where indigenous people from local areas would mix with people from other parts of the Empire. Cemeteries are often found and positioned along roads beyond the settlement, and *vici* may have acted as markets for local rural settlements.

An unenclosed *vicus* appears to have been established at Navio in the 1st century AD, contemporary with the founding of the fort. It then expanded between the 2nd and 3rd centuries to form a large, if sprawling, development of approximately 2.5 to 5ha (Branigan 1991). Occupation of the *vicus* was so intimately related to the presence of the Roman military that it was abandoned and reoccupied at the same time as the fort in the mid-2nd

century AD. It was finally abandoned in the middle of the 3rd century AD, approximately 100 years before the fort was deserted. This may have been the result of increasing military self-sufficiency or troop withdrawals leaving a much reduced army (Dearne 1991). Small, timber buildings aligned along roads are typical at Brough, which Dearne interprets as suggesting a lack of willingness by *vicani* to invest in buildings, when the army might move at any time. There was also a temple with an inscribed altar dedicated to Hercules, but, to date, this has been the only ‘grand’ building of any sort discovered. No cemetery has yet been identified. Brough had a dense concentration of iron-smithing and lead-working hearths, showing the importance of this occupation, which were on a scale which appears to meet the needs of individuals rather than whole units (Branigan 1991).

Navio is less than 4km away from the Upper Derwent and was possibly connected to the area by a long-distance metalled road as well as more local routes. The fort and *vicus* would have indirectly, and perhaps directly, influenced the lives of those living in the valley. Occupants of the Upper Derwent would have been well aware of the fort, which was the local expression of Roman rule as physical entity and human authority. It was one of the main locales at which social contact between Roman and ‘native’ occurred in the High Peak. Soldiers and civilians based at the fort would have carried out administrative tasks for the Empire, travelling to the surrounding areas to collect taxes or impose the rule of law. The concentration of large numbers of non-agriculturally productive people in one place would require supplies of local produce, such as grain and meat. If, as has been suggested, *vici* acted as markets, interaction at this site may have been two-way, with the potential for local farmers to buy, or exchange, material culture, obtain services and hear news.

4.5.2.2 Roman Roads

A network of well-engineered Imperial roads linked the forts and new towns to enable the operation of Imperial rule (Rush 1998). The directions and alignments of Roman roads were laid out by surveyors who were a professional class employed by the military and private individuals (Campbell 2000). Roads appear to have been built to a specific engineering plan, a foundation trench infilled with bedding material to form an embankment (*agger*) upon which the surface was laid, with drainage ditches running either side. The width of this road was not consistent, but varied in relation to what the topography allowed, the volume of

traffic and the importance attached to the road's presence through the landscape. They enabled soldiers, officials, goods and information to be transported quickly over long distances between important locations such as towns and forts. Roads were another important symbol of Roman control over a province. Building of roads and inscribed milestones were two ways of inscribing personal prestige and of embedding power over landscape (Rush 1998). Roman itineraries demonstrate the importance attached to the order in which places were encountered, a geographical perception of the landscape enabled or directed by the presence of specific roads (ibid).

The construction of roads would cause major disruption to the lives of people living along or to either side of their course. When a route was decided upon the ground had to be surveyed, cleared and made ready for the road constructors, with or without the agreement of the local population. The levelling or separating of settlements, fields and other socially or religiously important sites along and either side of the routes would have had a major impact on the every day lives of local communities, their perception of the world and of the Roman occupiers. They may have also been co-opted as convenient, temporary labour to build the roads.

The recorded Roman road system in and around the Peak District is a combination of well-attested routes identified through fieldwork, surveyed earthworks or cropmarks and small-scale excavated sections, with hypothetical routes drawn across large stretches of landscape as straight lines between known Roman centres (Myers 2002; Wroe 1982. Illustration 4.3). This can make interpreting the layout of roads difficult because the well-recorded roads have to be identified from the speculative. In cases where excavations around forts have identified short sections of roads nearby, their destinations are expected to be the nearest fort that lies in that direction, sometimes lying many miles beyond the end of the excavated road itself. There is also the problem that the limited extent of excavations across proposed Roman roads have not found any dating evidence in secure contexts. Whenever engineered and metalled routes have been found, a Roman date has been assumed. This overlooks the potential for medieval or post-medieval works on packhorse routes that have since been abandoned due to the imposition of the turnpike road system during the 18th and 19th

centuries. Packhorse routes were often paved across boggy ground and many examples survive across the region's moorlands (Dodd and Dodd 1980; Hey 1980).

There are a number of roads identified with Navio (Dearne 1993). A complex of roads leave from the south-east facing gate and run through the *vicus* before dividing into four lines running to the south-west, to the south via Bradwell Dale, south-east parallel to the River Noe and east directly towards the Noe. The longest known stretch of this group of roads is the south-east bearing line which is identified for approximately 450m. A single road exits by the north-east gate then soon divides into two routes heading east and north-east, but the extent of both is known only as far as the river. A possible road is associated with the north-west side of the fort, but its form is unclear, and this may simply be a local track running alongside a tributary of the Noe.

The destinations of these routes have been extrapolated across the landscape to the nearest known Roman fort or town (Dearne 1993; Margary 1957; Wroe 1982). The most securely identified line is the south-west bearing route known as Batham Gate which climbs on to the limestone plateau north-west of Bradwell and runs towards Buxton where it connects with the Buxton to Ardotalia road. Intermittent sections of agger, comprising a well-engineered causeway approximately 12m to 16m wide survive running in a series of straight sections for over 10km between Buxton and Brough. One section has been excavated across it by Peter Wroe, which indicated at least two phases of construction but no dating evidence (Wroe 1982). Sections cut across the proposed routes between Navio and Ardotalia, and Buxton and Ardotalia, have also identified causeway roads but no dating evidence (Wroe 1999, 2000). Excavations along the proposed Navio to Templebrough route have been similarly inconclusive, identifying sections of stone metalling containing only small numbers of finds which all date to the post-medieval period (Preston 1969; Richardson 1969). Buxton is thought to be at the centre of a network of roads connecting the town with Trent Vale, Staffordshire, Carsington and Manchester, as well as Ardotalia and Navio.

The road running south from Navio through Bradwell Dale has been speculated upon as joining with the Buxton to Carsington road, and the south-east route as running to Chesterfield (Dearne 1993; Wroe 1982). However, there are no known archaeological visible

remains of any of these roads beyond the immediate environs of Navio. Of the two roads which exit the north-east gate, the more northerly is thought to run along the Woodlands Valley to end at Ardotalia, and the easterly route to reach Templeborough, Rotherham, via Bamford.

4.5.3 Roman Rural Settlement in the Peak District

4.5.3.1 Characters

The Peak District landscape during the Roman period is one characterised by rural settlement. A total of 82 definite or probable Romano-British settlements and field systems survive in the Peak District and are recorded in the county SMRs, and both published and unpublished sources (Bevan 2000a; Hart 1981; Makepeace 1998; Wildgoose [n.d.]. Illustration 4.3).

Romano-British settlements in the Peak District vary in nature and can be characterised into three different types depending on the arrangement of buildings and yards (Bevan 2000a) (Illustration 4.5). Eleven comprise a nucleated group of buildings enclosed within small sub-rectangular yards or paddocks, for example Chee Tor, Blackwell, The Burrs, Chelmorton, and The Warren, Outseats. These are often associated with adjacent fields. There are 22 settlements dispersed as individual or loosely grouped buildings amongst fields, such as Beechenhill, Ilam, and Deep Dale Head, Taddington. Three of these are enclosed within a sub-circular boundary earthwork, while 19 are open settlements, often with an attached small, sub-rectangular, yard. Another six settlements appear to be isolated without any evidence for associated fields. Most comprise the site of a single or small number of buildings with one or two attached sub-circular or sub-rectangular enclosures. Buildings are visible at 70% of the settlements, and comprise rectangular, ovoid and round floorplans in approximately equal numbers. These often occur in combinations of two or more building types at any one settlement. The varying nature of settlement and field layout is typical of Romano-British settlements throughout England and Wales, though there are few of the enclosed ditched settlements common in the Midlands, northern England and northern Wales (Dark and Dark 1997; Hingley 1989).

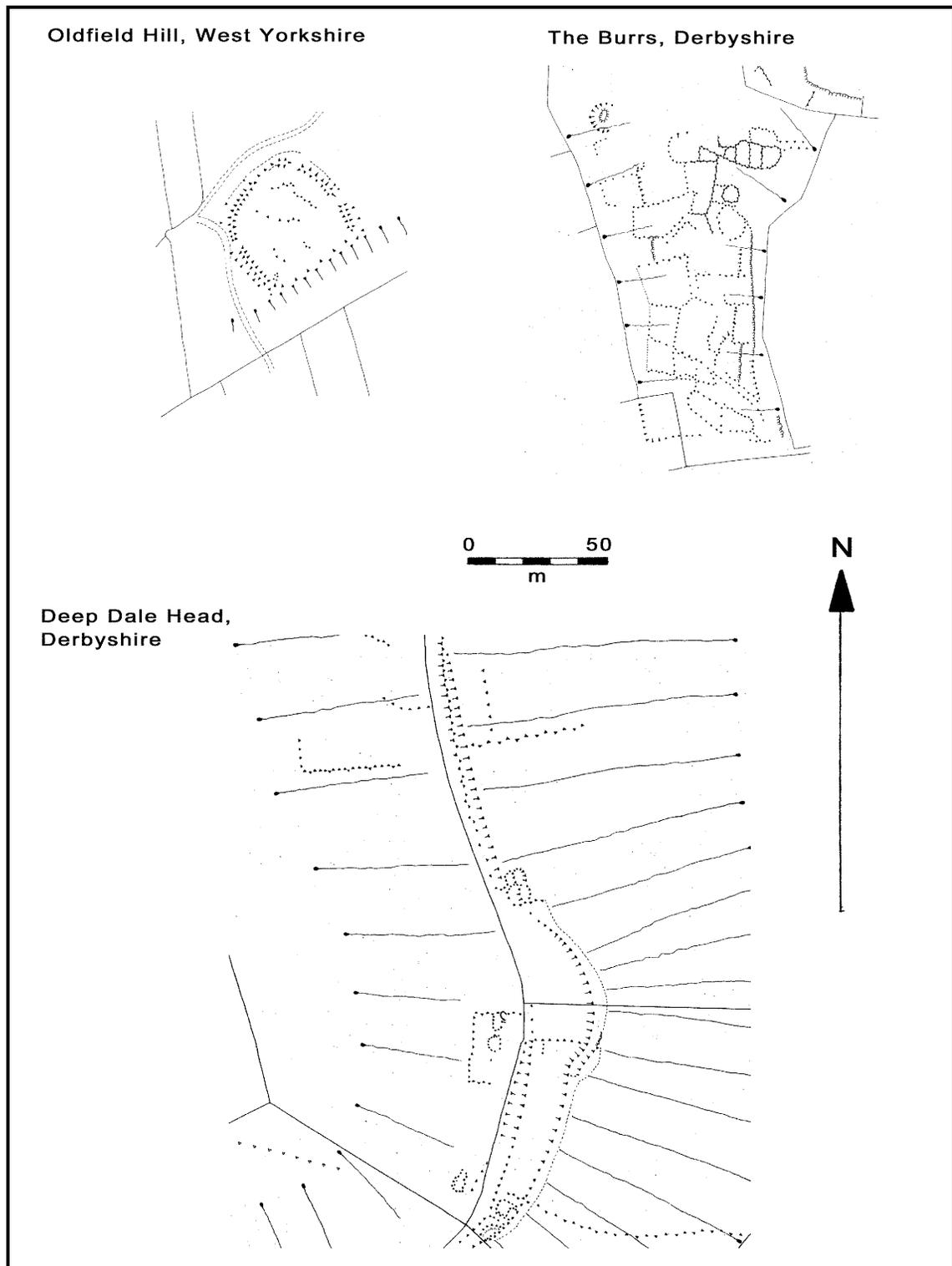


Illustration 4.5. Typical layouts of Romano-British rural settlements in the Peak District, including examples of enclosed, nucleated and dispersed settlements

Settlements tend to be concentrated in the southern half of the Peak District and the majority are located on the limestone plateau (Illustration 4.3). Most, 89%, lie between 201m and 350m O.D. and 70% are within 300m of a known or likely water source (prior to the post-medieval reduction in the water table by lead mining). There are high settlement densities along Dovedale, south of Hartington, and around Wyedale between Tideswell and Sheldon, where numerous sites are found within 1km of each other. Where they survive is significantly related to historical land-use, with 50% lying on land which was open common and wastes before enclosure from the 17th century onwards. On a more local level most individual sites occupy rocky outcrops and steep daleside slopes. These are uncultivated islands surrounded by medieval and later cultivation. They represent only a fraction of Romano-British sites, with the majority likely to be hidden under historic period settlement and fields. Villages and open fields originating in the early medieval period have covered or destroyed earlier features across large swathes of the limestone plateau, where most Romano-British settlements survive. The small, enclosed fields associated with dispersed farmsteads were used to grow more crops in the medieval period than today. Whilst earthworks are likely to have been destroyed by medieval ploughing, those fields have long since been under permanent pasture so reducing opportunities for fieldwalking. This is highlighted by S. Carrington's 1860s excavation of an extensive rural settlement, then surviving as low earthworks adjacent to the open field at Whetton, Staffordshire (Carrington 1861).

4.5.3.2 Other Settlement Types

There are a number of exceptions to this settlement pattern. In addition to the *vici*, which I have discussed in relation to forts above (section 4.5.2.1), there was a spa town at Buxton and a lead-working town has been proposed at Carsington, near to which the Peak District's only villa to date has been identified (Dearne et al 1995; Ling and Courtney, 1981; Ling et al 1990).

Buxton has been identified as *Aquae Arnemetiae* in the Ravenna Cosmography, a spa town centered on natural hot and cold springs (Hart 1981. Illustration 4.3). A series of discoveries in the 17th and 18th centuries in the area around St Anne's Well supports this interpretation (Myers 2002). Building remains, incorporating lead-lined baths and red plaster, were found,

overlooked by a structure thought to be a classical temple. In the 1970s, a brick structure was exposed along with a deposit of 232 Roman coins, three bronze bracelets and a wire clasp, dating from the 1st to the end of the 4th century AD. A number of long-distance roads focus on Buxton, suggesting it was an important location; however, the nature and extent of civilian settlement and the presence of a fort is still unknown.

At Carsington, fieldwalking produced 1st to 4th century AD finds covering an area of approximately 2ha, within which a group of three buildings was excavated and dated to the late 1st and 2nd centuries AD (Dearne et al 1995). Pottery was a domestic range of jars, bowls, dishes and mortaria. Other finds included a mid-2nd century AD coin, glass, bronze pieces, iron nails and tools, galena, lead waste, lead slag and lead spindle whorls. Dearne interpreted Carsington as the site of Lutudarum, a name included in the 7th century AD Ravenna Cosmography that also appears stamped on lead pigs. Lutudarum has been put forward as a regional centre involved in administrating the lead industry (Hart 1981). The nature of Lutudarum has been long debated by archaeologists, and Lutudarum's association with Carsington was based on Dearne's interpretation of the site as an extensive, quasi-urban centre, its association with coins, silver and lead, the presence of at least one long-distance road and a nearby villa (Dearne et al 1995). The villa comprised a small L-shaped stone building incorporating a cobbled floor, window glass, *tesserae*, a stone slab and *tegula* roof, hypocaust and a bath house (Ling and Courtney, 1981; Ling et al 1990). There was activity on-site during the mid-2nd to 4th centuries AD, with occupation of the building dating to the late 3rd to 4th centuries. Finds comprised a range of domestic artefacts, including cooking and storage vessels, glassware, fine tablewares, spindle whorls, iron knives and a lead phallus. This site is similar to smaller villas in the south and west of the province, including the recently excavated villa at Little Hay Grange Farm, Ockbrook, Derbyshire (Palfreyman 2001). However, it is unique in the Peak District. Dearne describes Roman settlements in the Peak as being either non-nucleated rural sites like Roystone or Staden, or *vici* such as at Chesterfield and Navio (Dearne et al 1995). However, the Carsington site comprises only three identified buildings, and they are approximately 1km from the villa. This small-scale grouping of buildings is not any different to sites such as Chee Tor or The Burrs, and the distribution density is identical to areas such as Dovedale and Wyedale. Carsington appears

typical of rural settlements elsewhere in the region, so there is currently no archaeological evidence to identify it as Lutudarum.

4.5.3.3 Dating

Romano-British dating evidence has been identified at a limited number of settlements, either from molehill prospection or excavation. Predominant amongst finds is Derbyshire ware, a type of pottery produced on a large scale in distinctive tall kilns at Holbrook, Hazelwood and Derby between the 2nd and later 4th centuries AD (Leary 2003; Tyers 1996). Derbyshire ware is found in large quantities throughout Derbyshire, with a scatter in the northern frontier zone and occasional specimens from Wales. It is an extremely hard, gritty, sand-tempered fabric with a pimply, rough, surface, which comes in various colours of buff, brick-red and purple. Vessels are wheel-thrown and typical forms are jars with deep 'bell-mouthed' rim or rolled rim, bowls and dishes (Gillam 1968).

Very few settlements have been excavated, and at only one site, Staden, have the trenches been large enough to examine both horizontal and vertical stratigraphy across an extensive area with confidence (Bevan 2000b). The best-investigated settlements are those at Carsington, Chee Tor, Roystone Grange and Staden, all in Derbyshire. At both Chee Tor (Monet-Lane 1987; Wildgoose 1988) and Roystone Grange (Hodges 1991a; Hodges and Wildgoose 1981), a series of small trenches excavated across components of well-preserved farmsteads and associated fields produced material dating to between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD. Finds from fieldwalking or small evaluation trenches at Hay Top, Rainster Rocks, Pearson's Farm, Carrs Wood and Owslow Barn all fall within a date-range between the 2nd and 4th centuries AD. It has been suggested that orthostatic walling is a character of Romano-British settlement in the region (Hodges 1991a; Makepeace 1998). Approximately 40% of dated settlements have definite examples of this walling style suggesting that it is a common wall-building style of the period, though it is also present in walls of other dates too.

4.5.3.4 Fields

The majority of Romano-British fields comprise sub-rectilinear fields defined by banks, walls and lynchets, or as regular complexes of strip lynchets and terraces.



Photograph 4.2. Rectilinear fields defined by lynchets and banks at Chee Tor, Blackwell

Where irregular and sub-circular fields are present, they are usually associated with sub-rectilinear field systems. Sizes of surviving fields vary enormously from approximately 100 to 24,000m². They are typical of fields created within a framework of small-scale mixed-farming regimes likely to produce surpluses to exchange or sell in markets. Large boundary lynchets at some fields on sloping ground, such as those at Chee Tor, Thorpe Pastures and Wheston, indicate that some arable cultivation was intensive enough to cause substantial downslope earth movement. Of settlements on the limestone only 30% are within 500m of a mineral vein, either recorded on the Geological Survey maps or observed in the field, which suggests that the majority of settlements were not directly involved in lead mining. These sites counter the argument that Peak District Romano-British settlement was totally supported by a wool and lead cash-crop economy, as put forward by Hodges (1991a).

4.5.3.5 Caves and Burials

There appears to be a strong relationship between known Romano-British settlements and caves (Makepeace 1998). Whether this is a significant distributional pattern is unclear given the survival of known settlements on historically marginal locations such as valley edges where caves also tend to form (Myers 2002). However, caves were certainly used during the

period as evidenced by the presence of Roman-period material in 29 caves in the Peak District (Branigan and Dearne 1992; Chamberlain 1999. Illustration 4.6).

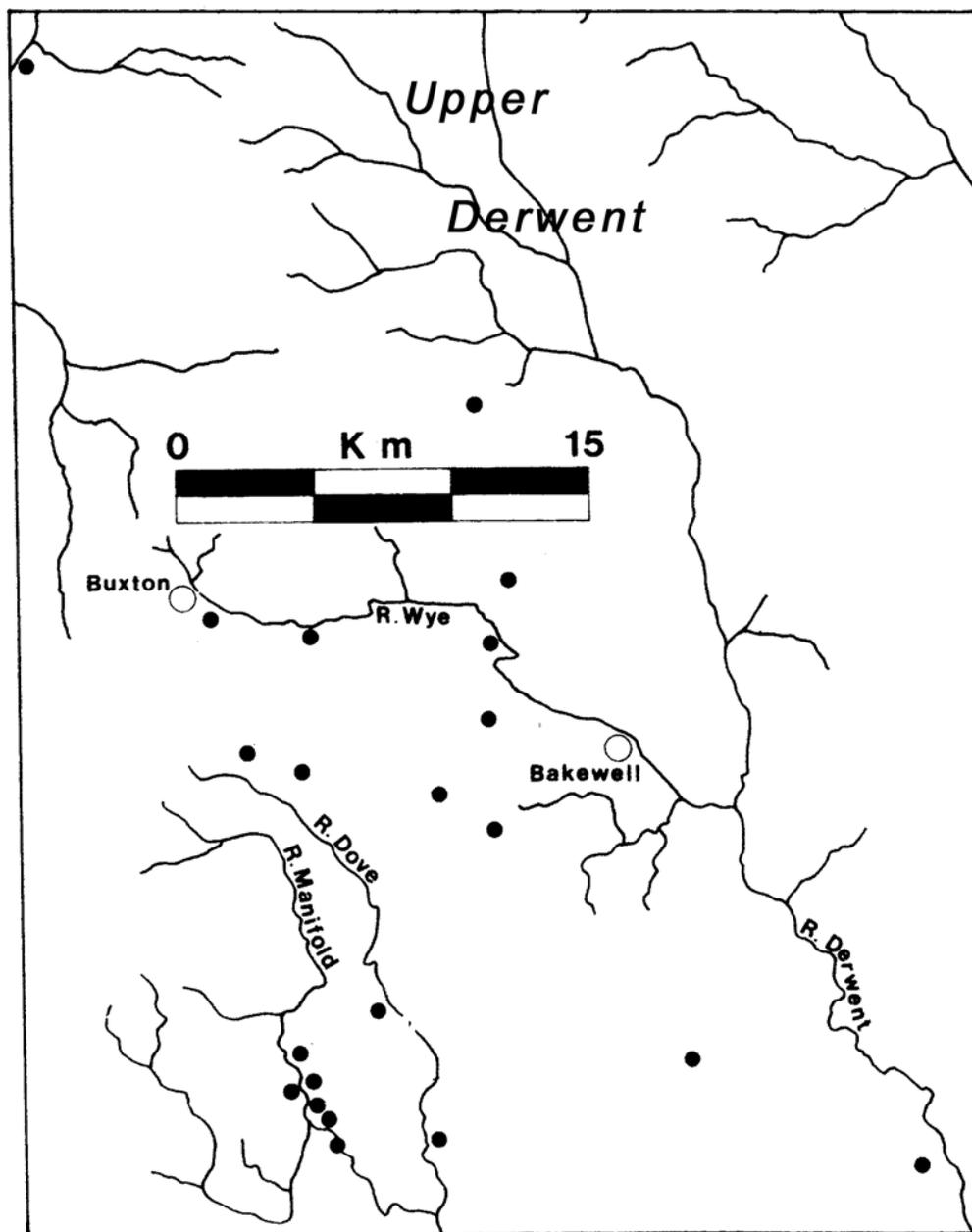


Illustration 4.6. Locations of caves containing Romano-British material in the Peak District. From Branigan and Dearne 1992

Most common are coarsewares, including Derbyshire ware, and there are also finds of finewares, fibulae, coins, non-ferrous tools, toilet instruments, iron weapons, tools, lead

weights, worked bone, whetstones and human burials. The size, composition and context of Roman assemblages vary from cave to cave. While only two potsherds have been found in Dowel Cave, south of Buxton, over 800 artefacts comprising pottery, coins, fibulae and pennanular brooches, jewellery/toilet items, tools, lead weights, metallurgical debris and the skeletal remains of at least six individuals have been excavated in Poole's Cavern, near Buxton, dating from ca.80 to 225 AD (Bramwell et al 1983). While the excavator interpreted this and other mixed cave assemblages as representing religious sites, Branigan and Dearne favour domestic and workshop uses. Some fissure caves, including Poole's Cavern, Thors Fissure, Thirst House, Carsington Pasture and Fox Hole were used for burial (Chamberlain 1999; Myers 2002). There is also widespread evidence for the insertion of offerings, frequently in the form of coins or sherds of pottery, within chambered tombs and later prehistoric barrows of the Peak District (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Jones 1997).

Evidence for Romano-British funerary practices is rare in the region. As well as the cave sites, inhumations have been discovered at Chee Tor, Ashover, Rowsley, Conksbury Bridge and Calver Low, and cremations at Brough, Ashleyhay, Aldwark, Eyam, Chelmorton, Hartington, Navio and Ardotalia. Coins, pottery and brooches are the commonest grave goods.

The tendency for caves to be cold and humid, with poor removal of fire smoke makes them unlikely settlement and craft-production places except for short-term activity. Use of caves is not restricted to the Roman period, with deposits dating from throughout prehistory (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Their marginal locations in the landscape, positions as links between the world and underworld, may have made them attractive to different generations whether as places for burial, ceremonies or transmutation of raw materials into cultural objects. The relationship to settlements suggests that this activity was undertaken at a local level, by communities from small, neighbouring settlements. Natural features, such as springs, and small shrines are recognised as the locations for ceremonial and religious practices in the Roman period, especially in the north and west, and are often accompanied by large quantities of objects (Dark and Dark 1997; Henig 1984).

4.5.3.6 Colonisation or Expansion?

The excavations and finds of 2nd century material at settlements across the Peak District have been interpreted as demonstrating resettlement of the region in the 2nd century AD (Makepeace 1998). Hodges sees this as a planned exercise by a Roman administration based at Lutudarum which offered land within a region-wide government estate at low rental to settlers from areas to the south so as to open up lead mining and farming to both produce vital resources and increase tax revenues (Hodges 1991a). Branigan proposes a different model, where the Roman administration encouraged, but did not organise, settlement into the region beginning with many settlers coming from *vici*, which were deserted as a result of the abandonment of forts during the Hadrianic period, followed by further infilling during the 3rd century AD (Branigan 1991). The practice of settling veterans in the provinces is well-attested in Britannia, and a diploma was found in 1760 at Stannington, Sheffield, approximately 8km to the east of the Upper Derwent, which records the discharge of a soldier after 25 years service (Buckland 1986). This may have been associated with a settlement on land granted to a retired soldier. It is impossible with current evidence to know how common an occurrence this may have been in the region, and it would be easy to over state the significance of one find for interpreting impetuses behind the local settlement pattern, but it does raise the possibility of people living in the landscape beyond forts and *vici* who were linked into Roman society.

The evidence of colonisation is not clear cut. Branigan compares the Peak District to the Sherwood Sandstone and Cumbria where a relative lack of iron age occupation evidence followed by greater levels of Romano-British settlements is interpreted as the result of Roman colonisation. However, since 1991 more recent investigations at a number of Peak District sites have revealed evidence for earlier histories. Excavations at Staden, near Buxton, and Mellor, near Stockport, have revealed settlements originating in the iron age and continuing into the Romano-British period (Holden 2001; Makepeace 1995). A similar range of iron age to Romano-British material has been identified from more limited investigations at Horsborough, the Warren and Taddington Bottom. Iron age settlement has also been suggested on the Sherwood Sandstone, based on the oblique alignment of Roman roads in relation to field systems (Chadwick 1999; Riley 1980).

The relatively small scale nature and earthwork focus of most investigations implies that what we know about such sites is potentially only part of their history. Roystone Grange, and to a lesser extent other settlements surviving as earthworks, such as Chee Tor, have become the 'market leaders' for defining the character of Romano-British settlement in the region. However, do these earthwork settlements represent anything like a complete picture of southern Pennine settlement during the period? When settlements are investigated more fully, as at Mellor and Staden, it seems that the answer is no. Standing earthworks may represent only the later phases of occupation rather than the whole settlement history and earlier phases could lie below. Such a possibility has recently been highlighted by geophysical survey at Chee Tor (Aitchison 2000; Allen 1998). Though the thin soils of the promontory limited the opportunities for geophysical prospection, sub-surface features on different alignments to earthwork boundaries were identified. An important factor in understanding the history of Romano-British settlement is the present distribution of surviving earthworks in relation to medieval/post-medieval unimproved open commons and wastes, rocky outcrops and steep slopes. When the pattern of Romano-British earthwork settlements is matched to historic land-use, we therefore see that they occupy locations marginal to historical cultivation. The areas under most intensive land-use from the medieval period onwards are the same as the potential prehistoric settlement zones identified by Barnatt (2000). These zones would be the most likely locations for Romano-British settlement originating in later prehistory. Many of the surviving settlements with evidence for 2nd to 4th century occupation may have been founded late in a sequence of land occupation where they filled in gaps around pre-existing settlements on better land. However, such an argument is based on the appearance of Derbyshire ware in the 2nd century, indicating new settlement rather than the widespread adoption of ceramic vessels by existing households, who had not previously used pottery in significant numbers. I believe that the surviving evidence is the result both of settlement becoming more visible through the adoption of pottery and of there being some settlement expansion.

While pottery at most rural settlements is almost exclusively Derbyshire ware, there is a much wider range of types, including fabrics dating from the late 1st century AD, at forts and *vici* (Myers 2002). These include samian, black-burnished ware, grey wares, orange wares and colour-coated wares (Dearne 1993). Derbyshire ware is present from the 2nd century AD

onwards, but as smaller proportions of the overall assemblage when compared to forts and *vici*. Similar wide ranges of fabrics are also found at some civilian settlements, notably Mellor, Chapel Farm – Shardlow and Little Hey Grange – Ockbrook (Knight and Malone 1997; Leary 2002; Myers 2002; Palfreyman 2001). These settlements are notable in that the former is a hilltop enclosure, occupied since the iron age (Holden 2001), and both Chapel Farm and Little Hey Grange are rectangular buildings associated with wall plaster, dressed stone and *tesserae* (Knight and Malone 1997; Palfreyman 2001). Until the production of Derbyshire ware, pots were manufactured at centres of Roman domination and activity, and it appears they were being used by those households and individuals involved in or more engaged with roman administration. Pottery then ‘disperses’ to other rural settlements later when the local Derbyshire ware potteries were founded, either for its own use or in transporting goods, and was probably used in addition to other, organic and metal, materials. This suggests that pottery was brought in and manufactured under Roman authority in aceramic areas for use within the Roman sphere of social discourse, and as structures of imperial rule were established in different across Britain it became more widely used. Some local pottery may have appeared at rural settlements as a by-product of or active engagement between native populations and those involved in Roman governance, or by individuals from local communities who were connected to Roman authority through the social positions they held. It, therefore, appears in the archaeological record in places where pottery had previously been limited or absent as a result of changing social relations rather than as an indicator of colonisation or simple, unidirectional Romanization. Pottery vessels, and the goods they contained, were then incorporated into everyday routines and local social relations of households and communities, contexts that may have been socially removed from interaction with Roman world.

4.6 Iron Age to Romano-British Settlement in the Upper Derwent

4.6.1 Evidence

For the later iron age, the main form of evidence for human activity in the Upper Derwent area is the clearance of woodland during the 1st millennium BC in the core at Featherbed Moss

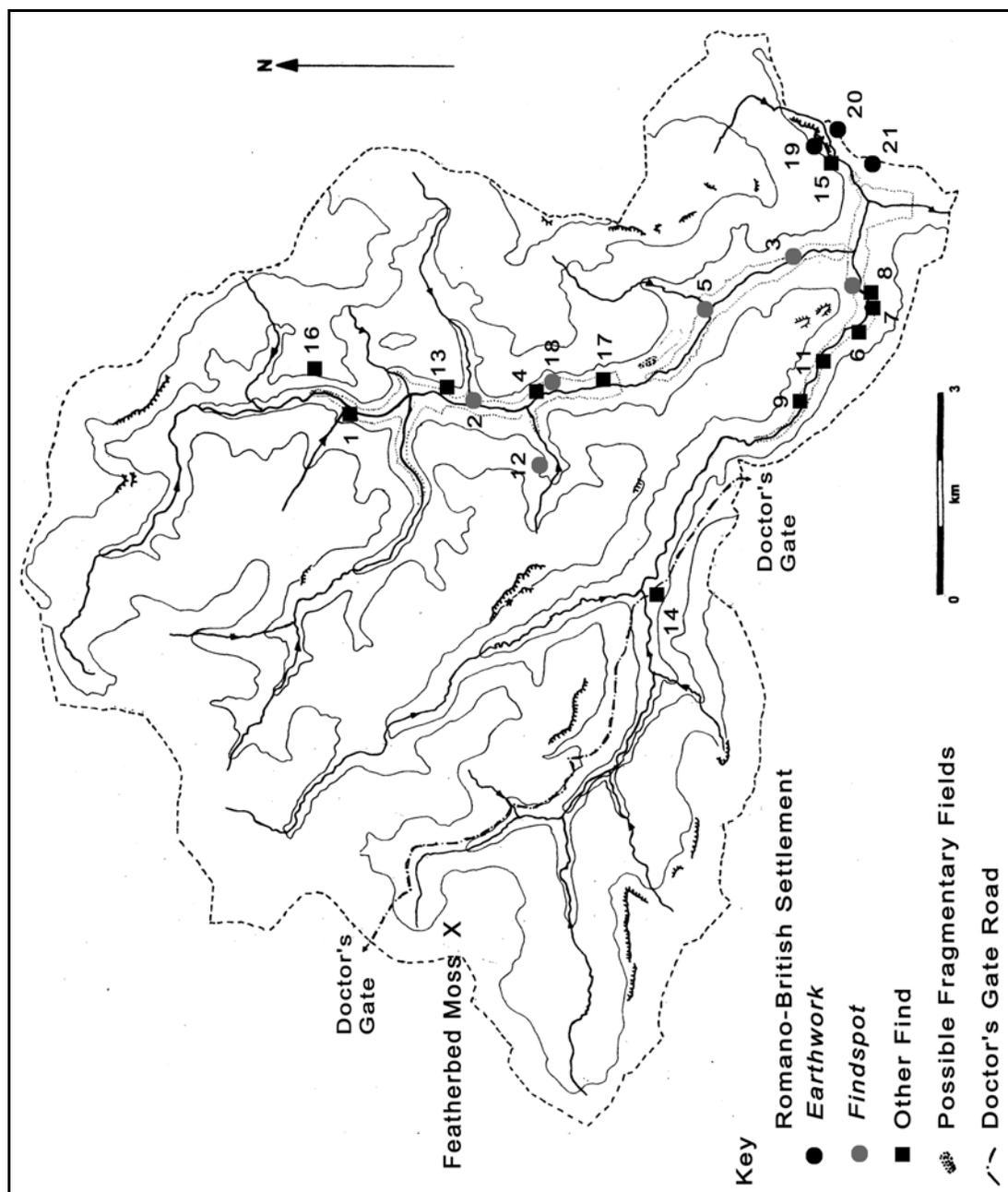


Illustration 4.7. Locations of Romano-British features and findspots in the Upper Derwent

(Tallis and Switsur 1973). Clearance increased in the second half of the millennium, which demonstrates that people continued to inhabit the area rather than abandon it as per Hodges's model. Iron age settlement is likely to have been similar to that proposed for later prehistory in Chapter 3, with both valleys and higher ground being used within a pattern of occupation. The removal of more extensive areas of woodland does suggest that some changes were occurring that impacted on the landscape, possibly related to different agricultural practices or increases

in population. As I have argued for elsewhere on the Eastern Moors, cairnfields such as that on Derwent Moor (section 3.4.4) could have iron age as well as bronze age histories.

The cairnfield is also within 300m of a small settlement dated to the Romano-British period by the presence of Derbyshire ware. This is one of three settlements located high up above the valley along Ladybower Gorge (Illustration 4.7). Two dwellings are located on narrow terraces of level ground that face each other across Ladybower Gorge (Beswick and Merrills 1983). Each comprises a series of two or three small, irregular enclosures bounded by dry-stone walls built of single large upright blocks (Illustration 4.8). This orthostatic wall-building style has been dated to the Roman period at Roystone Grange (Hodges and Wildgoose 1981), and is found at Romano-British settlements throughout the region, though it is also present in walls of other dates.

The site near to the cairnfield comprises an oval structure of stone banks measuring 9.7m by 7.5m and similar to the Watscliff settlement near Robin Hood's Stride (Bevan 2000a). Sherds of Romano-British pottery were discovered on the ground surface within the probable building by Leslie Butcher and Graham Makepeace in the 1950s or 1960s and are deposited in Sheffield City Museum. It is attached to the inside of one boundary of a large U-shaped enclosure, approximately 22m long and 19m at its widest, bounded by stone banks and a lynchet. There is another possible enclosure attached to the site and a low sub-circular, stone-revetted, platform nearby, which may be a charcoal-burning platform, but could possibly be a round building platform. The site is situated immediately above the northern valley side of Ladybower Brook on a relatively level shelf of stone-free ground at an approximate height of 280m O.D. While the later prehistoric cairnfield survives on Derwent Moor, no characteristically Roman period fields are present in the vicinity. This could open the interesting possibility of a Roman date for the use of such cairnfields or an earlier history for the settlement than is evident in the pottery alone.

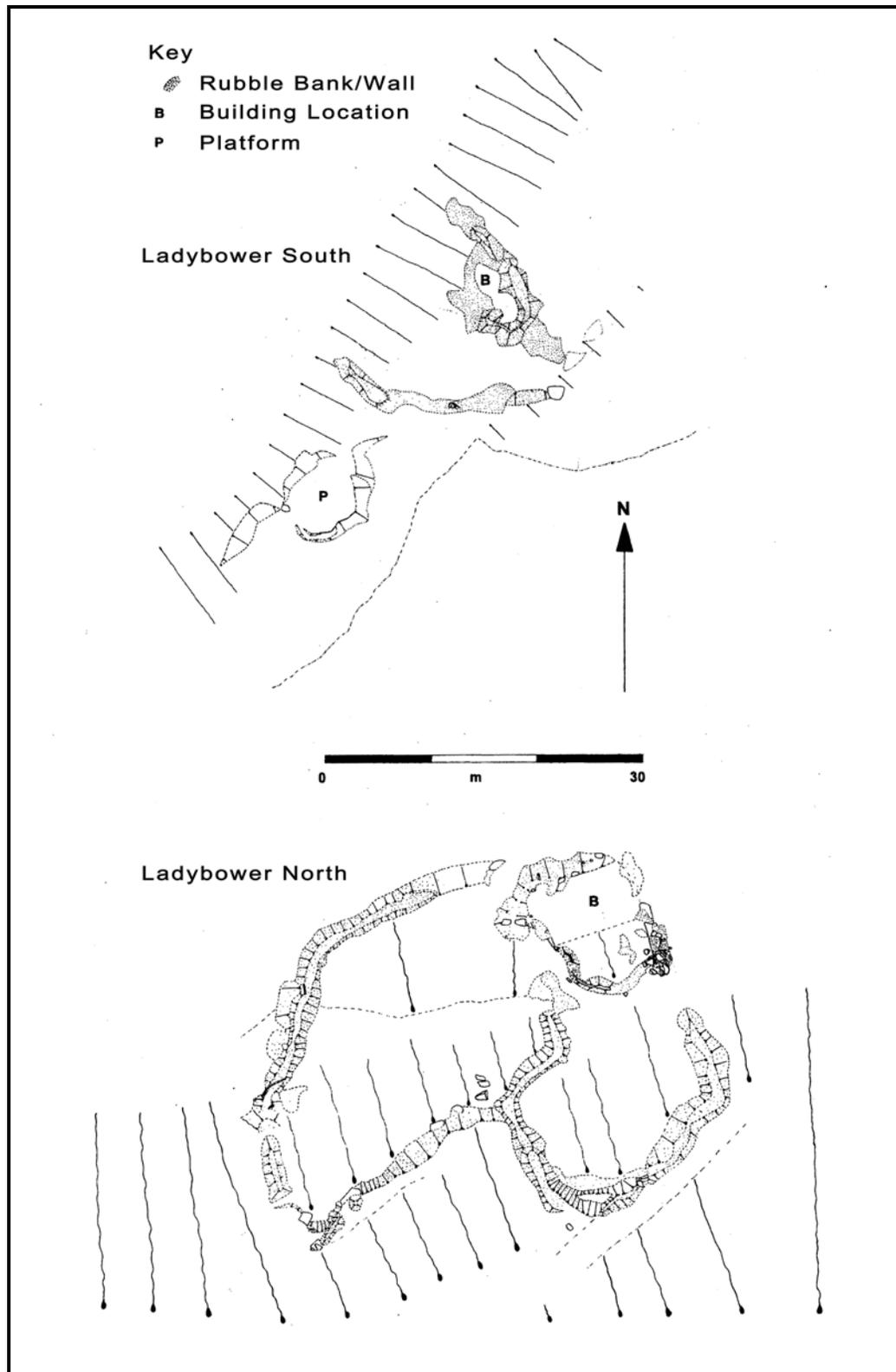


Illustration 4.8. Plans of Romano-British settlements above Ladybower Gorge

The settlement to the south of Ladybower Gorge comprises a group of three con-joined enclosures covering an area measuring approximately 45m by 35m, situated between the gorge itself and the moorland plateau. All the enclosure boundaries vary between roughly coursed dry-stone walls, orthostatic walls and rubble banks. The smallest enclosure is sub-rectangular, measures about 13m by 11m in size and is situated on the most gently sloping area of the shelf. The northern half of the interior is a roughly rectangular area measuring approximately 9m by 5.5m, which is more level and clear of stone than the remainder of the interior. This area may have been the location for a building, probably oval or rectangular in plan. To the west of this is a larger enclosure, which is irregular in shape, and measures 30m by 18m. Attached to the south of these is another sub-rectangular enclosure measuring 17m by 17m.

As well as the enclosures, there are discrete piles of stone, earthfast boulders, areas cleared of stone and of level ground in and around the feature. It was first recorded by Leslie Butcher and Graham Makepeace who interpreted it as being Romano-British (Beswick and Merrills 1983; Makepeace 1998). It is situated on a relatively level and stone-free shelf at about 300m O.D. To the south, the ground rises steeply to the moorland plateau above, while to the north it drops in a similar steep fashion down to Ladybower Gorge below. To the west of the settlement, the shelf becomes much rockier before narrowing and stopping as the whole valley side becomes more precipitous. The shelf continues to the east, but within 50m becomes boggy.

The third settlement is situated immediately above the valley side on a narrow terrace of gently sloping ground at 315m O.D. immediately below the moorland shelf. It comprises a sub-rectangular enclosure approximately 50m long and 25m wide which is bounded by a combination of double orthostatic walling and lynchet. There are two attached walls which run into a boulder-strewn area downslope.

Only the Ladybower north settlement is definitely dated to the Roman period, however the morphology and wall-building styles of all three are typical of other Roman period settlements throughout the region (Bevan 2000a). No other boundaries are visible to divide the surrounding land into fields at each of these sites though there are small and fragmentary

remains of cairnfields nearby on Derwent and Bamford moors. The morphology and altitudes of these cairnfields are typical of those on the Eastern Moors farmed during later prehistory, which appear to have been abandoned by the Romano-British period. The settlements are therefore most likely to be Romano-British, occupying an unenclosed landscape, however they require more intensive investigation to determine their dates with greater certainty and resolution.

Romano-British artefacts have been found elsewhere, mostly by Paul Ardron and ARTEAMUS during fieldwalking of the reservoir draw-down zones (Illustration 4.7. Table 4.1 – see rear of thesis). There are six findspots of rotary or beehive querns, which date from the later iron age to Roman period. Makepeace believes that flat rotary querns replaced beehive querns in the Peak District in the 1st century AD (Makepeace 1998). Four findspots are situated on the lower valley slopes in topographical settings which are potentially suitable for settlement, two associated with Romano-British pottery. One findspot was discovered in the early 20th century by navvies constructing a road above Howden Dam, and comprises two complete upper quern stones and the pieces of five others. The fifth findspot is situated at approximately 350m A.O.D on the steep-sloping valley side in a location unsuitable for settlement because of the gradient. It is just below a gently sloping moorland shelf located over 400m O.D associated with a barrow and possibly a focus for earlier occupation (section 3.4.3.2). Is it a stray find, moved here in prehistory or at a later date for some other purpose, such as a stone to be used in the wall running across the shoulder 300m to the south? However, it has to be highlighted if, for nothing else, to open up the possibility that occupation may have been attempted on some moorland shelf locations above 400m O.D. in later prehistory.

Small quantities of Derbyshire ware and grey wares have been recovered at 13 locations in the Derwent and Ashop valleys. Most of these are small assemblages of less than ten sherds, while at three locations numbers are higher. Two of the larger assemblages are associated with Romano-British spindle whorls. Two fragments of Roman glass vessels have been also found, one with pottery, a fibula and an oval platform terraced into the valley-side that is likely to be the site of a building. Another two small assemblages were associated with two of the quern

stones discussed above. Taking the finds together, there are at least six settlement sites in the Upper Derwent valley (Illustration 4.7).

One unusual object is a lozenge-shaped sandstone mould for casting metal objects, which was found on the 26th September 1905 during excavation of the foundations of Derwent dam. Six individual moulds are pecked into one side of the stone, comprising two discs, two rings and two bars or ingots. The sandstone is locally occurring and readily available on the Millstone Grit west of Sheffield. Open stone moulds are common to four different chronological periods, the earlier bronze age, iron age/Romano-British, early medieval and late medieval. While the mould has characteristics of moulds dated from all four periods it has most in common with those of iron age/Romano-British date (Parsons 1996).

4.6.2 Interpretation

Though slight, when taken together the artefactual evidence suggests some level of activity in the valley and the processing of cereals and wool. Most of the pottery assemblages are located near to the confluences of the Rivers Derwent and Ashop with tributary streams. One of the larger scatters is found at Millbrook, and another assemblage with a quern at Abbey Farm. Both of these are areas that also have large assemblages of later prehistoric material. In echoing patterns seen throughout prehistory, this suggests that certain valley-bottom locations were perceived as favoured places for occupation by many generations living in different social circumstances. The attraction would be the combination of resources these locales provide – water, shelter, expanses of sandy soils on gently sloping or level ground, nearby woodland and access to the higher ground. However, the number of locations is greater than seen in prehistory. Two of the larger assemblages are near Walker's Clough and below Lodge Cote, where prehistoric material is absent. There is a more extensive presence in the Ashop Valley, where there are four Roman findspots along the wider bottom land of its lower stretches above its confluence with the Derwent.

The Romano-British settlements are likely to have been isolated farmsteads, which were possibly accompanied by fields and extensive open grazing. The environmental data from Featherbed Moss (see section 4.3) indicates that the settlements were occupied during a period of sustained woodland clearance beginning in the iron age and continuing to the post-Roman

period (Tallis and Switsur 1973). Woodland pollen is still present, but in much reduced numbers and inter-mixed with higher numbers of species often associated with human disturbance, such as *Plantago*. The combination of an increased number of valley-bottom locations within an environment which was being cleared of woodland at greater levels than before indicates that there was an expansion of sustained settlement and farming in the area during the Roman period.

As well as those sites discovered in the reservoirs, there are other favoured locations hidden from the fieldwalker, such as Crookhill, valley-side terraces and shallow slopes, which may have also been occupied. I have discussed the potential of these in relation to later prehistoric occupation of the area (see section 3.5). Again, we are confronted by the enclosed pasture fields of more modern farms, which hide much evidence below improved, permanent turf. The group of querns discovered by the navvies was made in such a location part-way down the valley side on sloping ground.

Some dry-stone field walls of these pastures on gentler slopes along the east of the valley, to either side of Millbrook, follow or cross large earthen lynchets which form the fragmentary remains of rectangular enclosures varying in size from approximately 1,000 to 10,000m² (Illustration 4.10). These are similar in nature and size to those seen at a number of Romano-British field systems elsewhere in the Peak District such as Taddington, Thorpe and Wheston (Bevan 2000a). Lynchet formation is a common occurrence at Roman period fields, with those on steep slopes at Chee Tor being notable examples, and is indicative of arable cultivation on slopes. Similar lynchets are also found at medieval fields, some forming open field terraces and others small, rectangular enclosures at hamlets (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The pattern of walled enclosures in this part of the Upper Derwent is first recorded in the earliest – post-medieval – maps of the area but are likely to have originated in the medieval period (see section 7.7.2). Therefore, the lynchets could have formed at any time before the post-medieval, and are certainly places where future investigation into the Roman history of this landscape should be targeted.

How do the valley-bottom artefact sites and the moorland-shelf settlements relate to one another? The presence of Derbyshire ware in the fieldwalking assemblages and at one of the

higher sites, Ladybower north, indicate that at least some were broadly contemporary with a 200-year time-span. The small-size and nature of the higher settlements indicates that they were occupied by a family or part of a larger kin-group. The small size of the settlements, association with one or more small enclosures and apparent lack of associated fields also suggests a strong relationship with livestock grazing. While the enclosures may have been used to corral animals or grow hay, they are not large enough to produce enough arable to sustain household use. The inhabitants may have been dedicated pastoralists, who based their livelihoods on selling animal products, as Hodges has interpreted for Roystone Grange (Hodges 1991a). Alternatively, they may have been occupied only on a temporary basis to pasture livestock on the moorlands, with people moving regularly between settlements in the valley and these higher sites. The close distances involved open up a variety of possible scenarios for such movement and occupation. It is easy to move between the valley and upland settlements on a daily basis. Even if livestock were maintained on the higher ground throughout summer, only some parts of kin-groups or households, rather than all, may have occupied the higher settlements for a short periods while the remainder of the community remained at the valley-bottom settlements.

4.6.3 Doctor's Gate and Wider Worlds

It has been proposed that one of the roads identified as exiting from Navio connected the fort at Brough with Ardotalia near Glossop (Dearne 1993. Illustration 4.3). The route is recorded in the later medieval period as a packhorse track called Doctor's Gate running between Glossop and Hope (see section 5.13).

The Doctor's Gate route is visible near the mouth of Edale where it crosses the ridge into the Woodlands Valley and passes over the Snake Pass before it descends into Glossop. A series of hollow-ways, terraced trackways and, on Alport Moor, a section pitched in stone and flanked either side by narrow drains supposedly preserves the line of this road (Photograph 4.3). There is no evidence to date this trackway to the Roman period beyond that it is a line which connects the two forts via the most direct valley route. Sections cut across the proposed line of the road have found good evidence for a stone and earth causeway metalled with small gritstones (Wroe 1982, 2000). A Roman brass boss, approximately 4cm in diameter, was found a few metres downslope of the route's line during test-pitting, but the exact location and

depth was not recorded (Wroe 2000). The proposed line of the Templeborough road, known as Long Causeway, runs within 8km of the south of the Upper Derwent, however evidence for its route is restricted to an alignment of lanes, terraced trackways and metalled surfaces, which are all otherwise clearly post-medieval routes. If these two latter routes are Roman, then they would have had a major influence on the landscape of the Upper Derwent.



Photograph 4.3. Paved causeway section of Doctor's Gate where it crosses moorland near Snake Pass

These two possible roads would have enabled people living in the Upper Derwent to travel quickly to the nearest larger population centres such as the *vici* at Navio, Chesterfield and Templeborough. Because most populations experienced those stretches of roads that were physically proximate to them, the roads should be understood in the context of the use and experience of the local landscape and everyday life, rather than from the privileged perspective of the distribution map afforded to archaeologists (Rush 1998). By re-ordering encounters between people and places, roads challenge pre-existing constructions of

landscape and identity while creating new ones. People using Roman roads for convenience participate in Roman authority, whether or not the road user agrees with it. Over time, roads become more sedimented in the landscape and used as part of the regular routines of life. By joining places thought important by Roman government, the routes of roads include or exclude different areas from close contact with the Imperial world and determine wider pathways of movement by attracting local routes to connect with them.

The predominance of Derbyshire ware in the Upper Derwent draws the valley inhabitants into the social and political context of this region through the markets they visited to sell agricultural produce and buy these ceramic vessels. As discussed above, the *vicus* at Navio appears to be nearest nucleated settlement of any size likely to have a market place for buying and selling agricultural produce and material objects such as pottery. Possible Roman roads passing through or near to the area would have also encouraged movement to similar *vici* further afield such as at Ardotalia and Templeborough. Interaction with people outside of the area would not be limited to these population centres nor to the destinations of Roman roads. The dated Romano-British nucleated settlement at the Warren is only 5km to the south of the Upper Derwent, and there are probable Roman period settlements at Dennis Knoll and on the southern side of Bamford Moor. Communication between these identified settlements would have been likely, with exchanges of produce, livestock and materials occurring at this level as well as at market centres. The presence of extensive Romano-British occupation in the Upper Derwent also challenges Hodges's model of a 2nd century AD colonisation of the region based on cash-crop production heavily dependent on lead. Lead is not present in the valley and the nearest mineral veins are approximately 5km to the south on the limestone plateau. There was no opportunity to mine lead in the area, so any settlement would have been solely agricultural in nature.

4.7 Transitions: Whatever Happened to the Post-Roman Likely Lads?

In emphasising the economic importance of lead working to allow areas such as the Peak District to be settled beyond their 'carrying capacity', Hodges interpreted the abandonment of settlement at Roystone Grange as the result of the ending of Roman demand for lead (Hodges 1991a). Without the requirement for lead in buildings, the livelihoods of the rural population across the region collapsed. Towards the end of the Roman period, the Roystone Grange

settlement appears to contract, to become poorer in terms of material culture, and is then abandoned. This decline in rural prosperity, and a reduction in the intensity of farming, occur in some, though by no means all, places in Britannia during the 4th century AD (Dark 2000). This could be the result of a collapse of a market economy element of exchange, and political upheavals caused by the retreat of the Roman political and military structures.

Interpreting the changing use of the landscape after the Romans withdrew their legions is made all the more difficult by the almost total collapse of pottery and coin production (Cooper 1996; Rippon 2000). When centralized workshop production of wheel-thrown pottery by specialist potters broke down in the early 5th century, after over 300 years, household pot-making was not extensively turned to as an alternative throughout the region. Prior to this, in the later 4th century, many potters had reduced the range of forms and decoration produced, such as in Oxfordshire, while in some places, for example East Yorkshire, vessels increase dramatically in terms of numbers and distribution (Tyers 1996). It appears that there are fewer potters working at larger-scales of production, but it is unclear whether this relates to a shrinking or expanding market (*ibid*). Lower numbers of more fragile bonfire-made pottery make settlement more difficult to identify through fieldwalking, much as it does in later prehistory where virtually all the ceramic assemblages are from excavations.

An absence of dateable material culture does not preclude settlements from having been occupied well into the 5th century AD or, if individual sites were abandoned, that an area such as the Upper Derwent continued to be occupied within a pattern of shifting settlement. The extent of post-Roman occupation of Roman period settlements is now realised to be more widespread in Britain than once thought. Less than half of the pollen cores from across Britain that cover the post-Roman period indicate a reduction in agricultural production and of these approximately half are from locations near to Hadrian's Wall (Dark and Dark 1997). Pollen cores from elsewhere in England and Wales show a more complex pattern dominated by continuation, or even intensification, of arable production but with localised abandonment (*ibid*). It appears that the removal of Roman infrastructure and demands for agricultural produce did not cause the existing rural population to desert whole swathes of the landscape during the early 5th century AD. In the Midlands it is likely that agricultural production would have been maintained as the landscape continued to be

reworked and used until the decisions were made to reorganize more dramatically land-use, with the nucleation of settlement into villages associated with communal open fields (Rippon 2000).

The wider political structures within which local society had developed during the Roman period were being removed while new ones were created. For many, these changes may have occurred around them with the only day-to-day transformations being in the people they acknowledged as their rulers. People living in towns or *vici* may have faced increasing difficulties in sustaining existing livelihoods based on the market economy that developed under Roman rule. Taxation appears to have ended and, if so, it is possible that people's relationship to landholding also changed, though it is not clear whether the idea of landowning disappeared.

4.8 Early Medieval Peak District

Evidence for 5th to 11th century occupation in the Peak District is slight, but encompasses changing patterns of land-use, most obviously seen in the settlement pattern, which moves from dispersed Romano-British farmsteads to the nucleated villages with associated open fields documented in Domesday Book of 1086. There are no known settlements in the region that have been securely dated to the period, though there are numerous burial barrows, a number of carved stone crosses and a linear earthwork boundary (Illustration 4.9). As a result, most regional overviews discuss the likely sub-division of the region into large estates and the ethnicity of people thought to have settled the area (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Hart 1981, Roffe 1986). The changing nature of the political and ethnic make-up of Britain between the 5th and 10th centuries has been hotly debated between the extremes of wholesale folk migrations marginalizing existing populations and elite takeovers of political power which did little to disrupt the continuity of settlement (Hoskins 1955; Hadley 2000; Rippon 2000). The most striking cultural changes are the 'Anglicisation' of language and place-names. The name 'Peak District' is thought to derive from the Mercian name for the occupants of the region, the Pecsætna, which was in use by at least the 7th century AD (Hart 1981). At different times and in different places across England both elite takeover and larger-scale migration appear to have happened (Rippon 2000).

As discussed above (section 4.2) in relation to Richard Hodges's model for 1st millennium AD settlement in the region, the lack of securely dated settlement evidence in the region has encouraged the belief in post-Roman settlement abandonment or shrinkage followed by recolonisation spurred by opportunities to sell cash crops, whether lead or wool (Hodges 1991b). What, then, is the regional context for the Upper Derwent between the 5th and 11th centuries AD?



Photograph 4.4. Grey Ditch, Bradwell. PDNPA Collection

4.8.1 *Linear Earthworks*

There are two linear earthworks in the region that may have early medieval origins: Grey Ditch, Bradwell, and Bar Dyke, Bradfield. In addition, there is the double linear earthwork known as Roman Rig further to the east in Sheffield (Preston 1950). These enigmatic monuments have attracted a great deal of speculation about their use and chronology without any of them being securely dated. They are usually interpreted as being territorial borders, with immediately pre-Roman or post-Roman dates the most favoured (Boldrini 1999).

Grey Ditch comprises an earthen bank with a parallel ditch facing northwards and downslope, which was built across Bradwell Dale (Hart 1981. Illustration 4.9. Photograph 4.4). The relationship of the earthwork with the Roman road along the dale from Navio is unclear, though it is generally accepted that the former overlies the latter (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Hart 1981). Recent excavations in advance of a gas pipeline did not find any early medieval or other material with which to date the boundary (Guilbert and Taylor 1992). The excavators identified that the boundary was built on a ploughsoil that contained Derbyshire ware pottery, which indicates the late Roman period as the earliest construction date. It could have been built any time from the late Roman to the early medieval periods. The ditch was regularly cleaned out indicating that it was repeatedly visited to maintain it as a significant feature in the landscape. The most common interpretation is of a 5th to 7th centuries AD date (ibid; Barnatt and Smith 1997). The orientation of the ditch suggests that the boundary was built by people living on the plateau as a physical marker to differentiate them from others living in the Hope Valley to the north. It may have also been constructed here to control this easy access route onto the limestone plateau from the valley.

Bar Dyke is a 400m-long earthwork that runs across a narrow north-west to south-east oriented ridge situated between two deeply incised valleys, Ewden Beck to the north and Hobson Moss Dike to the south. The earthwork ends at the top of the valley sides so blocking the relatively level ground of the watershed. It is a bank and ditch boundary similar to Grey Ditch with the ditch located along the south-east facing side of the bank. The Dyke is undated but is thought to have been built between the 5th and 7th centuries, though a prehistoric date can not be discounted on comparison with similar cross-ridge boundaries in North Yorkshire (Preston 1950; Spratt 1989).

There are similar Mercian features in Wales pre-dating the much longer Offa's dike that date from the 5th to 7th centuries AD. The excavators of the Grey Ditch suggest it is another Mercian border earthwork (Guilbert and Taylor 1992), while others prefer to see it as a boundary between the Pecsætna (see section 4.8.3 below) of the limestone plateau and a British enclave in the Hope Valley (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Interpretations of Bar Dyke are similar, though the orientation has suggested to some that it was built by a British community, or by Northumbria to define part of its southern border with Mercia (Preston

1950). However, it is unclear for each, whether the boundaries were local borders, had wider geographical and political significance or both. They must remain somewhat enigmatic until they can be securely dated and related to their contemporary landscape contexts.

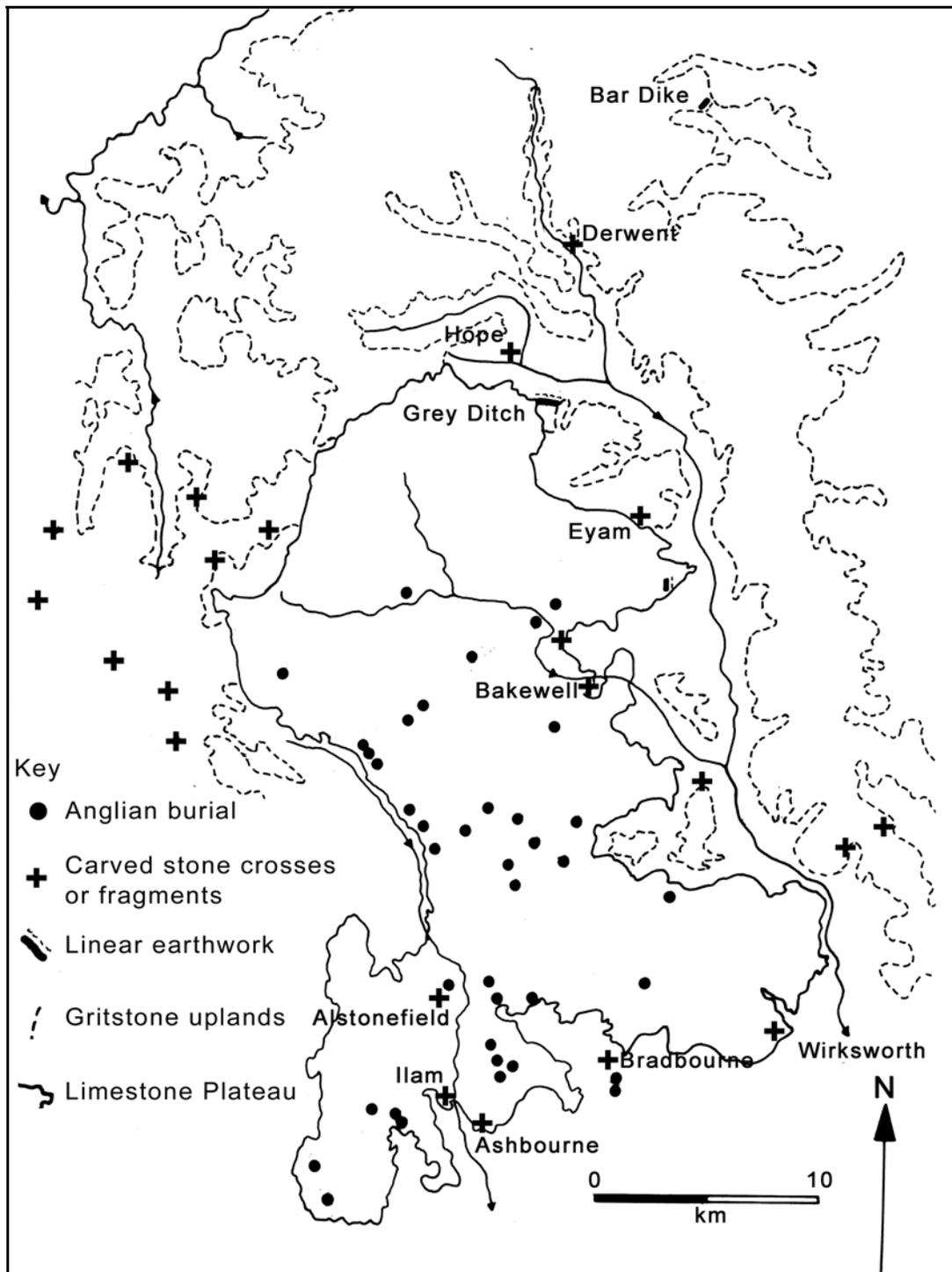


Illustration 4.9. Locations of places mentioned in section 4.8.1-4.8.4

4.8.2 *Early Medieval Barrow Burials*

During the 7th century AD, and possibly from the late 6th to early 8th centuries, a series of Anglian burials in barrows were made across the region south of the River Wye (Ozanne 1963; Williams 1998. Illustration 4.9). There are 38 known Anglian barrows and another 24 possible ones, forming the largest concentration of barrows in the Midlands (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Meaney 1964). Grave goods of everyday items, such as knives, are found with many of the burials, while much more elaborate or special objects, including swords, jewellery and semi-precious stones, are found within 15 to 17 graves (Barnatt 1996a). Approximately two-thirds of the burials were made within existing prehistoric barrows while known ‘new’ mounds were small and earthen (Williams 1998).

Most of the Anglian barrows have been found on the limestone plateau and are evenly distributed south of the River Wye away from the medieval cultivation zones (Barnatt 1996a). Barnatt interprets the lack of barrows in the surrounding valleys as resulting from sustained cultivation during the historic period and the absence from the gritstone uplands as the moors were almost abandoned by then (*ibid*, 80).

While there is little evidence for continuity from what sparse evidence for Romano-British funerary rites comprised, there is a similar interest in reworking earlier monuments – as seen in the deposition of Romano-British objects and the insertion of Anglian burials into prehistoric barrows and chambered tombs (Williams 1998). Re-use of earlier monuments for early Anglo-Saxon burials was an important aspect of funerary rites across much of England (Semple 1998).

The nature of grave goods included with burials suggests a society integrated into wider spheres of Mercian material culture exchange, though it is unclear whether those buried in barrows were intrusive colonists or an emerging indigenous elite (Williams 1998). Whether interaction with areas to the south of the Peaks was associated with a degree of population movement and/or cultural exchange, the absence of barrows to the north of the Wye suggests that the northern limestone, Hope Valley and High Peak were not participating in this contact.

4.8.3 *Pecsætna*

These burials have been associated with a group of people called the Pecsætna, who are recorded in the Tribal Hidage of peoples owing tribute to the kingdom of Mercia, which was centred on the Trent Valley to the south. Though unprovenanced and undated, the Hidage was probably written in the 7th or 8th centuries AD. It counts the Pecsætna, or Peak Dwellers, as numbering 1,200 families (Hart 1981). The identification of the Pecsætna suggests that a region-wide social group had a thoroughly 'Peak' identity, as opposed to one embracing lowlands, such as the Trent Valley, and using the uplands as part of their domain. What it does not do is tell us anything about their ethnic perceptions of themselves, and it may be a term coined by the Mercians for inhabitants of the region. Immediately to the north were the kingdom of Northumbria and, in much of present-day West and South Yorkshire, the Elmetsætna (Sidebottom 2000). The Elmetsætna also paid tribute to Mercia and may have identified themselves as British rather than Saxon.

4.8.4 *Carved Crosses and the Danelaw*

During the 9th and 10th centuries much of the north and midlands were subject to some sort of 'Viking' settlement, whether Norse, Danish or Hiberno-Norse, who had been Norse settlers in Ireland (Sidebottom 1999). This seems to have been most extensive in the north Midlands, Yorkshire and Cumbria with military victories by Scandinavian elites over Saxon ones enabling more widespread settlement to follow. The Danelaw was a term coined by Wessex authorities to describe a vague area of Viking settlement covering much of north and east England. This was not a uniform Scandinavian polity, nor subject to a power struggle divided along ethnic lines between English and Scandinavian, but a region within which there were many divisions between different factions of both (Hadley 2000). There is little evidence to suggest that Scandinavian settlers maintained a self-consciously separate ethnic identity or that two distinct repertoires of material culture were used by Anglo-Saxon or Scandinavians. The free peasants of the Danelaw were most likely descendants of indigenous people rather than Viking settlers, and much of the region's territorial organisation was based on earlier structures (ibid).

The Peaks were within the Viking partition of Mercia in the 9th century, followed later by the creation of the Danelaw after the submission to the West Saxons in the 10th century (Sidebottom 2000). Scandinavian settlement appears to have extended to the Peak District sometime in the 10th and 11th centuries, but it is difficult to identify whether this also involved a westward extension of the Danelaw or not (Hadley 2000). Wessex conducted a series of military and political campaigns to expand their dominance north in the 9th and 10th centuries against Mercian, Northumbrian, Saxon and Viking lords. Dore, now in Sheffield, is recorded twice as on the southern border of Northumbria (Hart 1981; Sidebottom 1999). In the early 10th century AD, Edward the Elder and Aethelflaed worked to take the Danelaw under Wessex and Mercian rule. During this time a burgh was built in the vicinity of Bakewell to receive the submission of the kings and earls of Bernician Northumbria, Viking Northumbria, Strathclyde and Scotland (Hart 1981).

Some time in the 9th and 10th centuries carved stone crosses were erected across the region (Barnatt and Smith 1997. Illustration 4.9). They were built under the patronage of local lords as local displays of authority, allegiance and status. Differences in decorative style have been interpreted as resulting from a combination of chronology and ethnicity (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Recent work suggests a much shorter period of stone carving than previously thought and that differences in design, including the apparent combination of more than one tradition on single crosses, may not equate with large differences in chronology (Sidebottom 2000). The latter interpretation suggests that four crosses are typical of Mercian decoration, four are stylistically similar to Northumbrian crosses and the remaining finds are Scandinavian (*ibid*). The four Mercian crosses are at Hope in the High Peak, and at Alstonefield, Ilam and Ashbourne all to the south-west of the limestone plateau. The Northumbrian crosses are found at Eyam, Bakewell, Bradbourne and Wirksworth. The crosses decorated in Scandinavian styles are found on gritstone uplands to the west of Buxton, within the Derwent Valley to the south of Bakewell, at Bakewell and in Derwent hamlet (Sidebottom 1993).

Sidebottom has interpreted the evidence from the stone crosses as indicating the Peak District was populated by an Anglicised population, who paid tribute to Mercia from, at least, the 7th to later 9th centuries AD. After Wessex's military victories over the Danelaw

kingdoms and polities, influence over the region's lands switched from Mercia to Northumbria. Northumbrian lords are recorded as acquiring land at this time, except in those locations where Mercian crosses survive, with the exception of Hope, which was bought by the King of Wessex in the early 10th century AD from a 'heathen', presumably a Viking, and granted to a Northumbrian lord soon after (Hart 1981; Sidebottom 2000). Scandinavian-styled crosses occupy the gritstone and are similar to examples found on the fringes of the Pennines to the north, north Wales, Cumbria and the Isle of Man (Phil Sidebottom pers comm). Their presence has been interpreted by Sidebottom as indicating places where Norse settlers were encouraged to occupy more agriculturally marginal locations around existing populations, so as to improve then increase landowners' tax revenues. The distinctive crosses may be because they were less sure about their relationships with surrounding people. However, lords of any ethnic identity recognised that social standing was in part associated with stone sculpture that used a well-known suite of images and symbols. As such, sculpture did not passively reflect cultural interaction but played an active role in integration through the combination of different motifs and carving traditions (Hadley 2000).

4.8.5 Early Medieval Peak District Settlement Patterns

Contemporary with the 9th to 11th century ethnic and political changes, was the nucleation of settlement on the limestone and in the surrounding major valleys into villages surrounded by common fields, a process which continued into the 13th century (Williamson 2003). Prior to this, Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon rural settlement had been in individual farmsteads and small hamlets dispersed across the landscape or grouped into loose clusters. The creation of open fields was related to nucleation in some way, probably as a mechanism for organising use of the agricultural landscape by densely concentrated local populations.

The creation of villages with common fields was mostly concentrated in the Midlands and the mitigating reasons are complex and vary from place to place. It has been suggested that nucleation was a product of Scandinavian settlement, however, we know little of Viking rural settlement and it is unclear whether nucleation into villages preceded or post-dated Scandinavian settlement (Hadley 2000). In preceding centuries it appears that Anglo-Saxon settlement involved a continual shifting of location until nucleation sedimented these larger

settlements at more static locations, though village layout did not necessarily remain unchanging. The impetus for nucleation was a complex interplay between landowners and peasants which at some places may have been undertaken quickly and at others over a longer period of time. The layouts of many villages suggest they were planned, probably by local landowners enforcing re-settlement for their own needs. Lords may have attempted to make such a planned reordering of the landscape to control the peasantry who themselves may have resisted, acquiesced and compromised according to their own motives for the nature of occupation (*ibid*). Farmsteads may have coalesced over time into villages if populations expanded or people may have chosen to reorganise the way they lived into more communal settlements in relation to changing local economic and social conditions. Whichever the motive, the result was a dramatic reorganisation of social interaction between individuals and households mediated through the way people occupied the landscape.

Tenth-century Anglo-Saxon charters exist for the Peak District, mostly showing English kings granting estates, corresponding with villages, to supporters (Hart 1981). The formation of Anglo-Saxon estates was tied up with feudalism. Local landowners received their social position from paying tribute to kings and other greater lords. Tribute was paid in the form of military service based on the number of men the local lords could muster from their territories rather than in their capacity as landlords (Hadley 2000). In the nucleated landscape, villages were the social centres of estates which physically embodied the lord's social position as a peasant-providing landowner.

Nucleation was not a universal change to the settlement pattern of England and in many regions dispersed settlement continued either as the only settlement form or alongside villages. The maintenance of dispersed settlement may have been an element of peasant resistance, the result of a lack of active landlord coercion or, at least in areas with a mixed pattern, evidence for differing levels of household integration into the wider local society – ie some people were deliberately excluded from the nucleation process. It has recently been suggested that land productivity was a major influence on whether settlement could be nucleated or not (Williamson 2003). Overall, relatively little work has been conducted on dispersion in comparison to village formation for the period, a matter which could well do with being addressed across Britain.

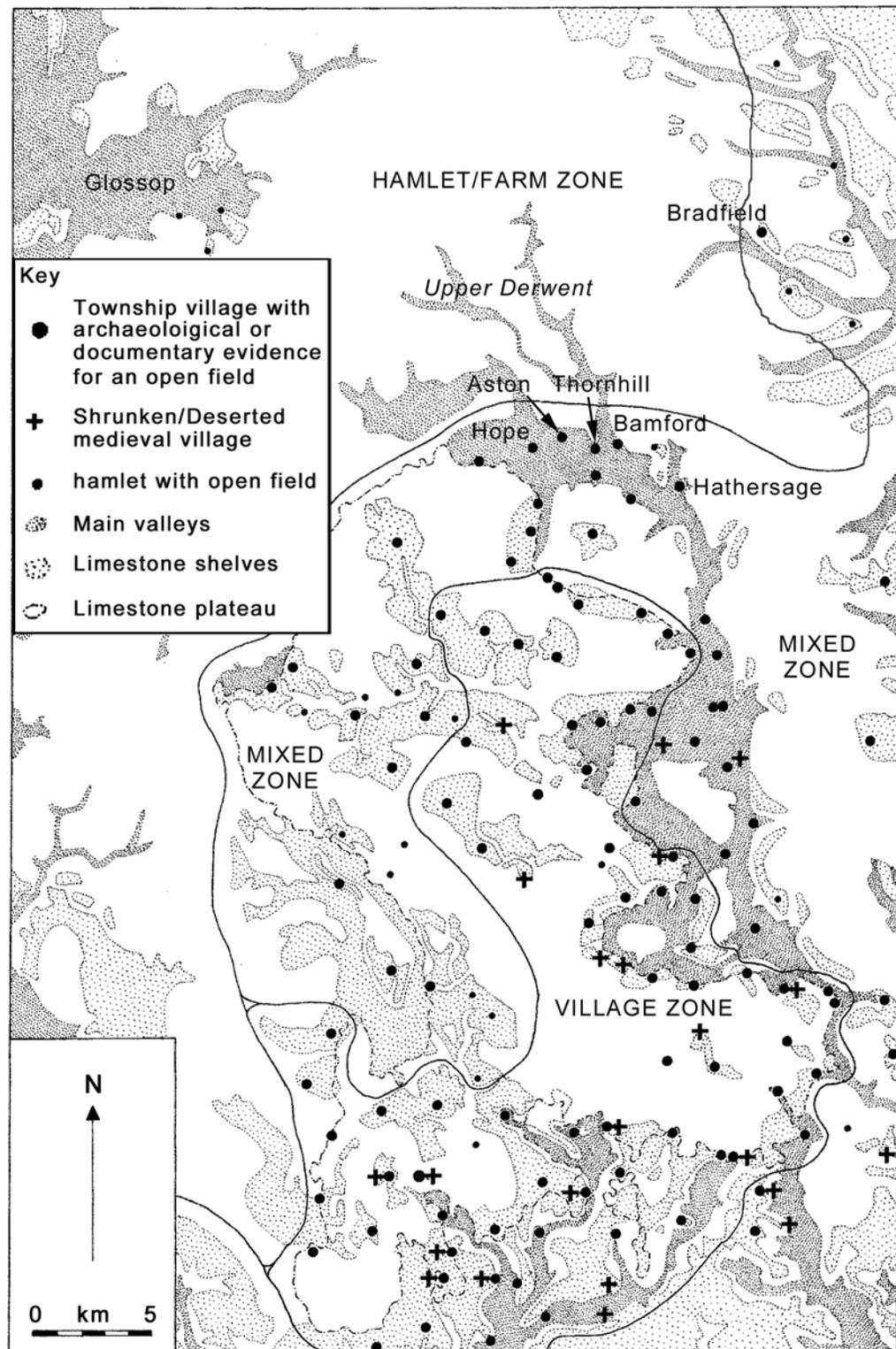


Illustration 4.10. Medieval settlement zones in the Peak District. Adapted from Barnatt and Smith 1997

In the Peak District, nucleated villages, small hamlets and dispersed individual farmsteads all exist (Barnatt and Smith 1997. Illustration 4.10). On many areas of the limestone plateau nucleated settlements with adjacent strip fields completely replaced all other settlement types, which were abandoned in favour of tofts and crofts in the villages. In some places, such as the Hope and lower Derwent valleys or the north and west of the plateau, villages appeared alongside dispersed settlements, so that a mixed pattern developed of varying settlement sizes and patterns of nucleation/dispersal. Villages were completely absent from the Dark Peak and Staffordshire Moorlands. This may support Williamson's argument (Williamson 2003), because these three zones do relate to broad areas of land productivity with dispersed settlement being maintained in those area of higher moorlands and narrow valleys.

4.8.6 Domesday Approaches

The Domesday survey of 1086 was produced as a result of the conquest of England by William the Bastard of Normandy and his desire to audit the land that he now controlled. As the first extensive documented survey of England it has long provided a watershed in historical studies of the use and organisation of the landscape. Domesday shows that the Peak District was subdivided into numerous manors, many held in royal hands, which were probably based on Anglo-Saxon estates (Barnatt and Smith 1997). These formed the basis for later medieval landowning patterns in the region.

Many settlements in the Peak District are listed in Domesday, though many others are omitted. The absence of a named settlement cannot be taken as evidence that it did not exist at the time, because the aim of Domesday was to list the names of estates and their administrative sub-divisions rather than all settlements. Places within estates were only entered in the survey if they had specific administrative functions, though their names may also appear if they are synonymous with the township itself (Roffe 1986). The effects of Norman intimidation during the so-called 'harrying of the North', which followed the Norman Conquest, are indicated at a number of places, such as Bakewell, where land is described as reduced in value between 1066 and 1086 (Morgan 1978).

4.9 Early Medieval Upper Derwent

It might seem that this extended review of the region in the post-Roman and early medieval period is a way of making up for a lack of contemporary evidence in the Upper Derwent. The evidence certainly is slight, being restricted to a radiocarbon dated pollen core and a fragment of carved stone cross (Sidebottom 1993; Tallis and Switsur 1973). However, the reason is to investigate the changing nature of the occupation of the surrounding landscape in an attempt to develop a way of dealing with archaeological invisibility that does not simply rely on abandonment as a reason. This too often is followed by avoiding interpretation of a local landscape for that period of invisibility.

4.9.1 *Post-Roman Settlement*

So what is the evidence for the nature of post-Roman settlement in the Upper Derwent? If the area was heavily integrated into the Roman market economy and dependent on selling produce, then existing lifestyles may have challenged by changing political organisation. Hodges would interpret that the Upper Derwent was a marginal area that was abandoned when the Roman support for a cash-crop economy evaporated (Hodges 1991a, 1991b). However, the pollen evidence from Featherbed Moss suggests otherwise. Woodland did not regenerate in the post-Roman period but open conditions were maintained until 1400 ± 50 bp (540-770 Cal. AD), after which only some regeneration occurred (Tallis and Switsur 1973). This indicates a presence in the landscape long after the end of Roman rule and a management of that landscape that prevented total reforestation. Based on my discussion of the evidence for post-Roman land-use in Britain (section 4.7), I propose that dispersed settlement in the Upper Derwent continued within the changing social framework. Settlements and fields probably occupied similar valley-bottom locations as those in the Roman period, with the higher ground used for pasture. Occupation becomes invisible not because the area is abandoned but because pottery, the most common form of durable material culture, ceases to be produced and used.

4.9.2 *Borders*

Over the subsequent five centuries the Upper Derwent came to occupy a border location between different socio-political groupings which was to be reworked and reconceived until the Norman Conquest. A boundary between some of these groupings was delineated in the

immediate post-Roman period by the Grey Ditch that was built by occupants of, at least, the northern limestone plateau to exclude those living in the Hope Valley and perhaps the wider Dark Peak. Bar Dike may have been a similar social boundary to the north-east. In the 7th or 8th centuries AD these groupings are defined as distinct ethnic peoples – the Pecsætna and the Elmetsætna – by Mercian kings. The location and nature of the social boundary between them is unknown, as is how they perceived the Mercian differentiation, but the Upper Derwent lay somewhere along the boundary as defined by Mercia. Whether the Pecsætna can be related to the 7th century barrow builders is another question, which lies beyond this thesis, but there are no Anglo-Saxon barrow burials in the Upper Derwent. The statements made through these barrows about cultural identity and connections to geographically defined land appears not to be appropriate in the study area. If a cohesive cultural group can be associated with the distribution of 7th century barrows, or at least a group of communities, who entered into the same dialogue between the dead and the living, the Upper Derwent appears to have lain beyond its immediate control. Still, the indication for the maintenance of cleared land in the area implies occupation so someone appears to have been living there. If the Grey Ditch, barrows and Tribal Hidage can be taken together as a legitimate body of comparative evidence, it could place the occupants of the Upper Derwent as either part of the Elmetsætna or in an ambiguous zone inbetween.

By the late 9th century, the Upper Derwent's boundary position possibly came to approximate with the border between Anglo-Saxon Mercia and the Danelaw, then by the early 10th century between Mercia and Northumbria. This border may have been between small social groups, possibly with semi-autonomous control, who existed within wider structures of overlordship which may have been somewhat 'flexible' as the political power of lords and kings changed over time. During this period, such a border position would have made it both a central and marginal location in the landscape – marginal in the sense of being removed from the main political centres of the kingdoms, but central to the manoeuvrings between them to assert control over territory. We should not think of borders as being the lines on maps of today, but as wide areas of landscape where political dominion was contestable and enforceable. Early medieval physical boundaries such as Offa's Dyke, Grey Ditch or Bar Dike are comparatively scarce in the landscape, suggesting they were only built where certain social relations existed. Borders may have been perceived as important zones where the threat

from competing and neighbouring kingdoms needed to be prevented from continuing further. Settlement may not have been too safe if these areas were subject to raids from neighbouring kingdoms; however, it may have been actively encouraged by lords to put bodies in the way. If peasant households experienced danger, even the threat of it, under such conditions, they may have felt the need to move to safer places. How much shifting settlement patterns potentially enabled people to move over distances of 5km or more is unclear; however, contemporary settlement nucleation in neighbouring areas may have given people living in dispersed settlement on borders opportunities to relocate.

4.9.3 *Derwent Cross Shaft*



Photograph 4.5. Fragment of a pre-Conquest cross-shaft during its excavation in a cottage in Derwent hamlet. Photo by Phil Sidebottom

The presence of some occupation in the Upper Derwent is suggested by a fragment of a carved gritstone cross shaft (Photograph 4.5). The fragment was found at the site of Derwent hamlet where it was excavated from within the 19th century walls of a cottage, which had been rebuilt and/or enlarged between 1810 and 1896 (Sidebottom 1991, 1993). The decoration suggests that the cross was made in the early 10th century AD, and is one of those identified by Sidebottom as being stylistically influenced by Norse imagery. Could the Upper Derwent be one of these places where Norse settlers were encouraged to occupy more agriculturally marginal locations so as to improve them and increase tax revenues? Settlement may also have been encouraged to strengthen the political border by populating it with more households swearing allegiance. Alternatively such a border in an area with no nucleated population may have been perceived as relatively unobtrusive and less-contentious land to settle.

The context of the shaft fragment discovery does raise interesting questions of the provenance of the cross and the date of occupation at Derwent hamlet. The stone was obviously reused as domestic building material, and the potential locations for the original erection of the shaft are related to the sources of the building stone. While building stone could be bought and transported into the area from a ‘commercial’ quarry during the 19th century, it was also often supplied from within any part of the lord of the manor’s landholdings. Derwent church was rebuilt in 1867, and stone may have been brought into the valley for the new church while unwanted stone from the earlier building could have been acquired for other building purposes (though as yet we do not know whether building work at the cottage pre- or post-dated the church). This means that the source for the stone used to rebuild the cottage could just as easily be from outside the Upper Derwent as from within, and its provenance is, therefore, not secure. Basically, the fragment could as easily be a 19th century import in building material as an indication of the presence of a Norse community.

4.9.4 Domesday

Domesday does not name the Upper Derwent. (Morgan 1978). The area occupied the remote edges of three manors on the boundary of Derbyshire and Yorkshire. Land west of

the River Derwent was in Hope and to the east was divided between Hathersage and the Yorkshire manor of Sheffield/Hallam. The boundaries of the three manors meet at the confluence of the River Derwent and Abbey Brook. This is the first time that the Derbyshire–Yorkshire county boundary is indicated as running through the Upper Derwent. Shire counties developed during the preceding two centuries and, in the East Midlands, shires were created in the early years of the 11th century by replacing and building upon the five ‘Viking’ boroughs of Lincoln, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester and Stamford. The stimulus was perhaps the influence of growing county towns or the West Saxon royal government which wanted to replace administration based on large estates with the shires (Roffe 1986; Phil Sidebottom pers comm). From the first half of the 10th century it appears that the Derbyshire–Yorkshire county boundary followed a course which, in part at least, did not differ greatly from that between Mercia and Northumbria (Hunter-Blair 1948). The county boundary fixed a border across the Upper Derwent which may have been expressed more fluidly during the preceding five centuries.

There have been no 11th or 12th century ceramics recovered from fieldwalking in the draw-down zones of the reservoirs. Pottery vessels were again common throughout England after their widespread absence during the 5th to 10th centuries (McCarthy and Brooks 1988). Eleventh to 12th century fabrics have been found in the north Midlands and West and South Yorkshire. Derbyshire Medieval Sandy ware is the dominant fabric discovered in excavations on rural settlements in or to the south-east of the Peak District, including Roystone Grange, Bradbourne, Melbourne and Stanley Grange (Cumberpatch forthcoming). Substantial amounts were also found at Pevensey Castle in the Hope Valley, though this was a high-status residence so the levels of access to ceramics observed there cannot necessarily be taken as representative of the northern Peaks. Elsewhere in the High Peak there is a lack of 11th to 12th century pottery, however, this may reflect a lack of excavation in the area as much as a real absence (ibid). Excavations at Doncaster have shown that the size of assemblages and frequency of sherds increases substantially in the 11th and 12th centuries (Buckland et al 1989). In an area where topography constrains settlement opportunities to favourable locations and where certain locations were repeatedly returned to for occupation, we should be able to identify 11th and 12th century sites. We would expect to find some sherds along the extensive tracts of favourable land on the lower valley sides, which lie within the reservoir

draw-down zone and have been regularly fieldwalked. The lack of pottery suggests that there was either no or only very sparse settlement in the Upper Derwent.

Any abandonment of settlement since its last, unambiguous, presence in the Romano-British period most likely occurred some time during the 9th and 12th centuries. The Norman 'harrying of the North' is one landmark historical event that some abandonment can be hung on. Widespread depopulation and disturbance may have touched on the Upper Derwent directly but if not, opportunities may have been created for people to move to more favourable areas where farmsteads had been destroyed. However, this is in many ways substituting the Roman withdrawal with the Norman arrival as an explanation for abandonment. Rather than being a quick and reactive disappearance act, abandonment or a reduction in population in the Upper Derwent is more likely to have been a complex process carried out over successive generations during those four centuries and could have easily included periods of resettlement within that time. The gap of archaeological invisibility does not have to be static.

4.10 Discussion

From the end of the 1st millennium BC to the 6th or 7th century AD the Upper Derwent is characterised by much the same contrasting cycle of archaeological invisibility-visibility-invisibility as elsewhere in the Peak District.

Evidence for iron age land-use in the Upper Derwent is limited to a substantial period of woodland clearance beginning in the second half of the 1st millennium BC and the finds of a number of quern stones. Any settlement was probably small and restricted to favourable locations in the valleys, and on lower moorland shelf and hill-slopes where altitude and soil were suited to cultivation. Higher moorlands provided suitable grazing land, game hunting and possibly limited settlement opportunities. It would seem that later iron age and Romano-British settlement in the area was in a more open landscape than had been the case since the coniferous forests replaced more open alpine conditions following the end of the last Ice Age.

At the time of the Roman establishment of *civitates* across Britain, the Upper Derwent may have lain either in Brigantian or Corieltauvian territory, and it is unknown where the boundary between the two actually ran. The building of Navio on the south side of the River

Noe in the late 70s/early 80s AD, during or just after Agricola's campaigns in northern England, suggests the greatest threat of attack was perceived as coming from the north. If so, this suggests that the Romans perceived the Upper Derwent as being on or near the border of the area of the campaigns and the *civitas* of the Brigantes. Finds of 2nd to 4th century AD pottery, glassware and spindle whorls are suggestive of mixed agricultural activity. Though the amounts of material and numbers of sites are small, they do represent physical evidence for a Romano-British presence in the Upper Derwent. While the physical nature of the eleven valley bottom findspots is unknown, the restricted areas covered by artefacts suggests small sites, perhaps individual buildings, and these may be analogous to known dispersed settlement in the region. If so, it is likely that the valley-bottom sites were associated with rectilinear fields that have not survived later cultivation.

The two possible Roman roads that pass through or near to the area, and the domination of the pottery assemblage by Derbyshire ware, bring the occupants of the Upper Derwent into interaction with the Derbyshire/north Midlands region. Boundaries of cultural identity or ethnicity cannot be mapped from distribution plans of material culture (Jones 1997), however, the extent to which objects were circulated around an extensive region does indicate regular routines of social contact and movement. Whether this has any relevance to the boundary of a *civitas* is unknown because it is unclear whether the transportation of vessels and goods in the 2nd to 4th centuries AD was associated with civil administration. Derbyshire ware, made in kilns north of Derby, is the dominant pottery on rural settlements and in caves, and is present at towns, forts and *vici* in the Peak District and east Derbyshire. Pottery was used and discarded in domestic contexts, placed with burials and used possibly during religious or ceremonial activity in caves.

The restricted geographical distribution of Derbyshire ware indicates that an aspect of the consumption of tablewares and contents carried in ceramic vessels was regularly conducted over time within an identifiable region. Objects would have travelled by exchange and trade, which involves the movement of and social contact between occupants of small settlements. This draws the occupants of each settlement into contexts where the pottery could be acquired. Patterns of landscape inhabitation that those making, trading or procuring the vessels (or what they contained) were routinely involved with, incorporated movement within the

region to places that facilitated social interaction. Markets and *vici* are likely locations for social contact to be made, being places where farmers could exchange, sell produce and buy goods. Buxton and the *vici* are possible market locations as their positions adjacent to forts places them between the rural settlements and Roman administrative centres on the long-distance road network. However, it is unclear to what extent individuals living in the Peak District engaged with a Roman monetary economy. Was coinage, and the ability to buy something, restricted to soldiers, officials, Roman household slaves and merchants – those who participated in the administration of the province in some form? The limited amounts in the 1st and 2nd century AD suggest it was only used for official transactions, and letters from the 2nd century fort at Vindolanda describe soldiers, civilians, merchants and slaves paying for hay, materials, food and wages with coins (Birley 1990). These were all people who were part of, or engaging with, the Roman army, but the later increase in coin numbers and smaller denominations may have widened its use (Reece 1991). Exchange and barter would have remained an important mode of entering into social relations, and Derbyshire ware may have moved across the landscape along complex patterns of local and regional social contact. The pottery only suggests one set of interactions and contexts that an inhabitant of the Peak District would have participated in. In working through Fleming's concept that people inhabit a landscape as part of a community within a context of wider social structures (Fleming 1990), we can see this set of repeated interactions as one aspect of the negotiation and reaffirmation of wider social identities.

Ceramics then disappear from the area, contemporary with the cessation of workshop pottery production at the end of the Roman administration. What follows is a gap in the local archaeological record. The better understood aspects of early medieval landscape occupation in the Peak District largely pass the Upper Derwent by: the 7th century Anglian burials, the stone carved crosses, the nucleation of settlement into villages with associated open fields and the documentation of certain settlements in Domesday. Only the find of the 10th century cross-shaft fragment at Derwent hamlet brings any of these recognised themes into the study area. If it is in situ, which is questionable, it shows that the Upper Derwent was tied into at least one aspect of the complex ethnic settlement pattern of the wider region.

It would be very easy to use the slight material evidence during the whole of this period to relegate the Upper Derwent to being a marginal backwater beyond the main centres of activity. We could even use the near absence of iron age and early medieval artefacts or sites to make the history of the area ‘pause’ and wait to the more data-rich 13th century to pick up our narrative again. I’ve chosen not to do so because I do not believe that landscapes in central England become empty of people or devoid of history. Levels of activity may change but history still continues. The absence of traditional archaeological evidence either side of the Romano-British period is not uncommon in the Peak District, nor in many parts of central Britain. However, it could be easier to write off an area such as the Upper Derwent because of modern perceptions of marginality. The area is distant from large modern settlement and is given a ‘wild’ appearance by the moorlands. This marginality is heightened when the period under discussion is most understood by generalising research frameworks that tend to gravitate to southern Britain for data and themes (eg Bevan 1999a, 1999b, 2000b; Frodsham 1996; Fawcett 1997; Gwilt and Haselgrove 1997; Harding and Johnston 2000; Hill 1995).

To overcome wide variability in the use and survival of durable material culture we need to unshackle interpretations of different regions in Britain from the data-rich areas. Generalising models are limited in use in the face of regional diversity – what is needed are detailed local studies situated in their wider geographical contexts to attempt to interpret the historical trajectories of individual regions (Haselgrove 1999). Environmental sampling and absolute dating of organic deposits is one of the major methods we can employ to achieve this and overcome issues of ‘data-poverty’. The potential of environmental studies to give a different picture to the artefacts is seen in the Featherbed Moss pollen core. The sustained clearance of woodland between the later iron age and early medieval period contradicts an interpretation of abandonment based purely on the absence of securely dated artefacts. This single study is of course limited in its application, so what is required is a wider sampling project which will give a closer local picture for vegetation change. This requires the sampling of locations near to settlement areas in the valleys, as well as the more remote moorland locations. As before, I feel I have explored the landscape history Upper Derwent as far as possible given current evidence.