The Upper Derwent: Long-term landscape archaeology in the Peak District

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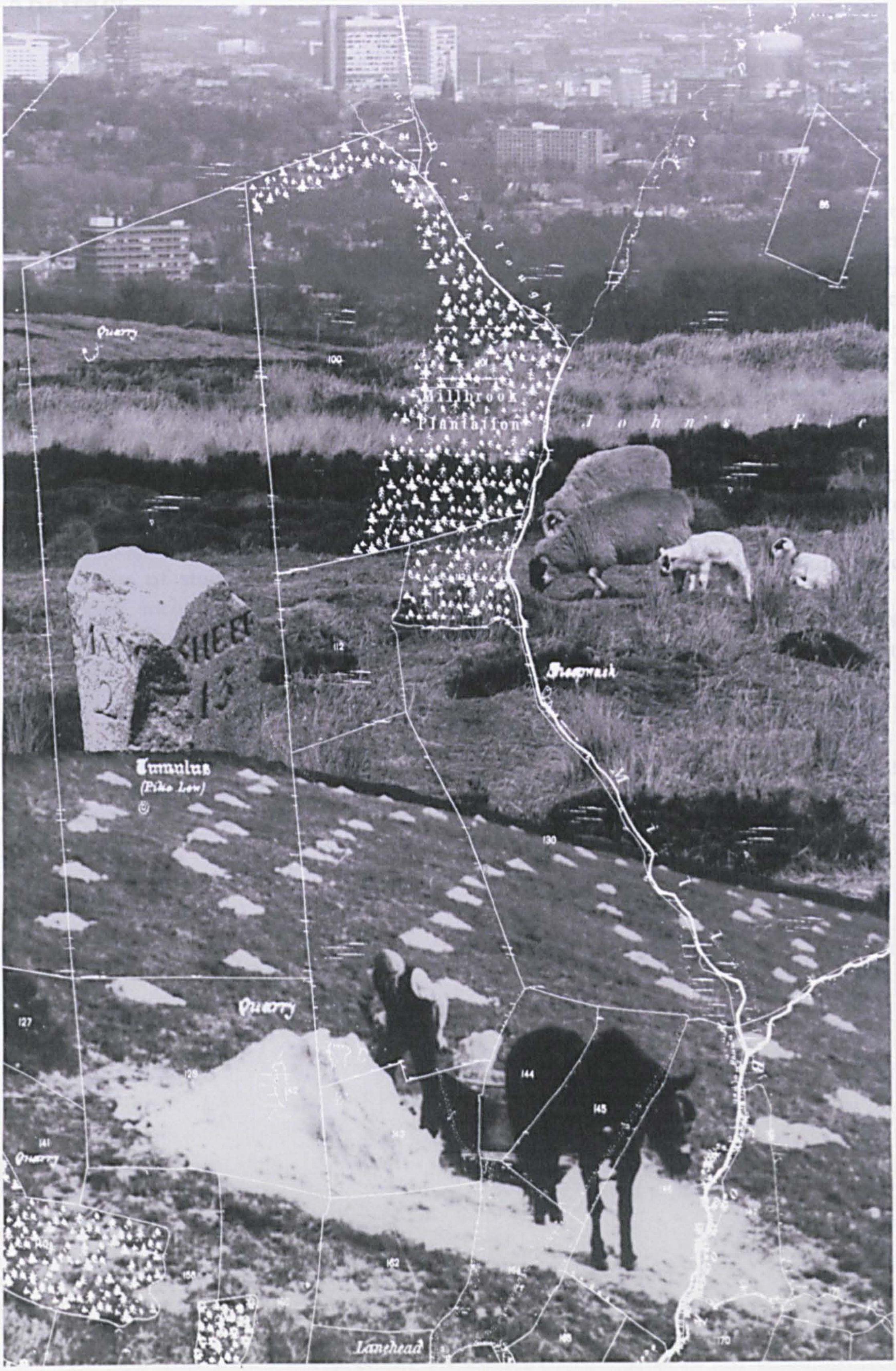

Quarry
Millbrook
Plantation
Sheepwash
Tumulus
(Pike Low)
Quarry
Quarry
Lanehead

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with writing a long-term archaeological landscape history of the Upper Derwent, situated in the Peak District. It is based on fieldwork I have undertaken or directed on behalf of the Peak District National Park Authority between 1994 and 2002 while employed as a Survey Archaeologist.

Original field data, gathered by field survey, fieldwalking and excavation, documentary sources and the recorded results of research are discussed as the archaeological evidence for occupation and activity in, and perceptions of, the area. This evidence is integrated into an interpretation of the landscape history of the Upper Derwent, covering a period from the approximate end of the last Ice Age to the modern day. The nature, scale, visibility and chronological resolution of archaeological evidence vary enormously over time. The limitations posed by this variability are addressed, and the opportunities for more in-depth analysis acknowledged.

The thesis also explores Andrew Fleming's proposition that we can only interpret the long-term landscape archaeology of an area by exploring the detail of the local evidence in relation to its wider context (Fleming 1990). This takes the 'face-to-face' community as the main focus of study. There are two fundamental issues that have to be addressed in attempting such a study, which are related to reconciling different scales of time and geography. One, is how to write long-term landscape history that covers a time-span extending way beyond a person's comprehension of their past world as understood through personal memory, story-telling and folklore or by other forms of archive. The second is to try to interpret how occupants of a local geographical area interact with regional trends and broader social institutions. I have primarily based my approach on that outlined by Fleming, while also incorporating elements of theoretical developments in landscape archaeology since 1990. Implications of this approach for landscape archaeology are discussed.

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All photographs are by Bill Bevan unless credited otherwise

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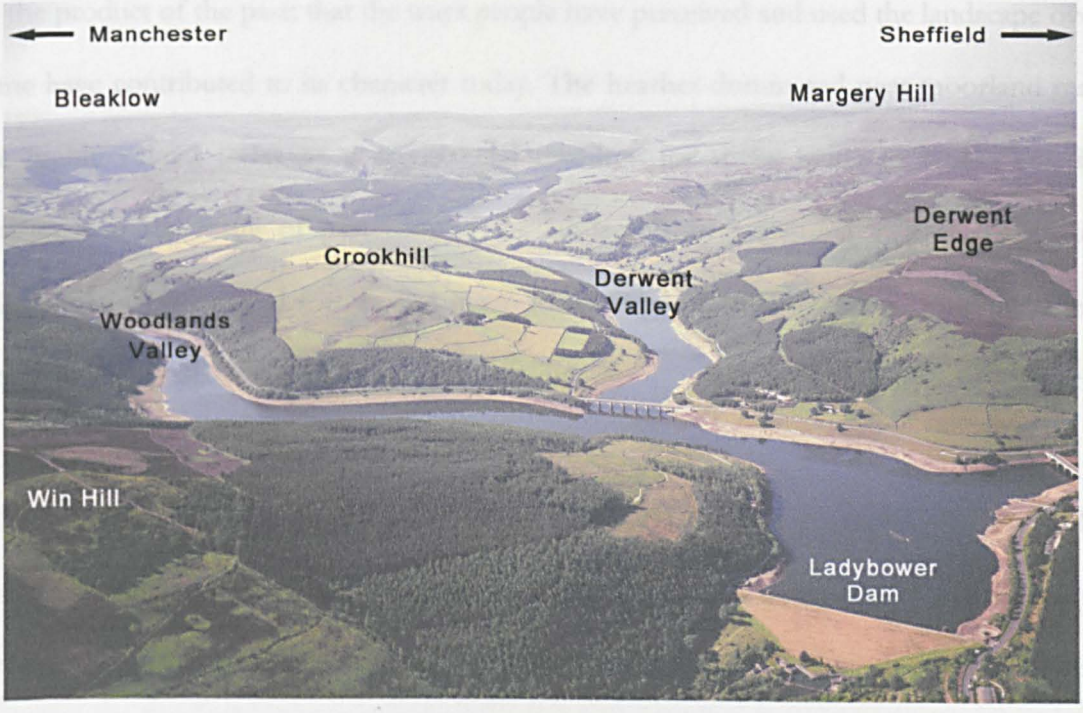
Paul Ardron initially alerted the Peak District National Park Archaeology Service to many of the archaeological features on the moorland and in the woodlands, during fieldwork for this thesis on peat cuts, and provided kindly information on his collection of artefacts. My interpretation of the area has greatly benefited from many fruitful conversations with Paul and with John Barnatt, Danny Hind, Mark Edmonds, Ken Smith and - for Tin Town – Professor Brian Robinson. I thank everyone who has helped with survey, fieldwalking, documentary research, excavations and post-excavation over the years: Kenny Aitchison, Paul Ardron, Paul Ash, Pauline Ashmore, Dave Ashton, John Barnatt, Pauline Beswick, Paul Buckland, the Byford family, Derek Cater, Vicky Cooper, Chris Cumberpatch, Gavin Davies, Mark Edmonds, Ashley Edwards, Kathryn Ellerby, Rowena Gale, Pru Goodman, Jill Gorvett, Ann Hall, Danny Hind, Tracey Hulme, Miles Johnson, Barbara Jones, Chris Jones, Robin Keech, Liz and Nick Landon, Mike Lea, (the appropriately named) Derwent Levick, Stella Maguire, Melissa Peet, John Roberts, Frank Robinson, Phil Sidebottom, Paul Smith, Pam Staunton, Gill Stroud, Alice Ullathorne, Helen Ullathorne, Arthur Wilson, Hugh Willmott and Jo Woofitt. I'm especially grateful to those who have patiently put up with questions about artefacts, and who have assisted with fieldwork in fog, rain, gales, t'under and lightning. I thank everyone who has given permission to use photographs or illustrations, and they are credited on the relevant captions. Thanks also to Peter Beardsley and Nigel Green for creative inspiration.

The following have read and commented on drafts of the text, and suggested many improvements: Paul Buckland, Mark Edmonds, Chris Cumberpatch, Phil Sidebottom, Rob Young and Georgia Litherland – who helped with an exhaustive proof-reading of the final draft. Any mistakes, omissions and bad puns are solely my responsibility. Georgia has had to put up with return visits to the Upper Derwent and endless ramblings about this or that of 10,000 years of history whilst giving support in return. It is to her and to GHB Ward of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers (the Upper Derwent's first landscape archaeologist) that I dedicate this thesis.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Setting the Scene



Photograph 1.1. The Upper Derwent looking north from above Bamford. PDNPA Collection

This thesis is a landscape history of the Upper Derwent, an area of Pennine valleys and high moorlands situated in the north of the Peak District National Park and to the east of Sheffield. My aim is to interpret how the area's landscape has been inhabited, perceived and organised for the 10,000 years since the end of the last glaciation up to the present century. Interpretation is based largely on my own fieldwork undertaken on behalf of the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group – a partnership of local organisations involved in the management of the area. The rationale for this is the recognition that the modern landscape is the product of the past; that the ways people have perceived and used the landscape over time have contributed to its character today. The heather-dominated peat moorland may be highly valued today as a recreational resource for those living in cities. Yet, its existence is the result of past uses of the landscape, first forming in prehistory after clearance of post-glacial forests and being maintained throughout the historic period as common land used for grazing and peat cutting.

There are two fundamental issues that have to be addressed in attempting such a study, which are related to reconciling different scales of time and geography. One, is how to write long-term landscape history that covers a time-span extending way beyond a person's comprehension of their past world as understood through personal memory, storytelling and folklore or by other forms of archive. Huge changes in the organisation of society, materials available for interpretation and perception of the landscape occur over a time-span of 10,000 years. Choosing the appropriate level of detail is important, and requires a balance that enables a close-grained understanding of the landscape at any one time while comprising enough brevity to maintain the flow of the history. The second is to try to interpret a local geographical area in its wider context. There are two dangers here. Evidence from the study area may be interpreted in a vacuum that gives great descriptive detail but does not interpret the lives of people in the locality in relation to wider or long-

term social changes. Alternatively, wider changes may be applied unthinkingly onto the study area, so that actions in the local landscape are seen simply as manifestations of general phenomena. This risks losing the aspect of regional variability and demotes people as passive reactants to forces beyond their control. I shall explore writing the landscape history of the Upper Derwent in a form that attempts to resolve these temporal and spatial issues. This requires moving between different scales of analysis, from the local to the wider world, and from the historically specific to the longer-term.

There have also been a range of more specific themes that have come out of this study. These include long-term environmental change, the changing nature of tenure, the evidence that specific locales were repetitively occupied over time, the participation of the area in regional social identities and how we can approach the variability in archaeological visibility/invisibility which occurs over such a long time-span. I shall come back to review these in the discussion (see Chapter 10), as well as highlighting them in individual chapters.

Underpinning all of this is the character of the archaeological evidence surviving in, or related to, the Upper Derwent. Its nature and survival varies enormously and the available evidence includes specific sites, artefact findspots, boundaries, environmental data, written documents, historical maps and wider areas of land-use. There are some periods, such as the post-medieval, where the amount of data is almost overwhelming but it is possible to reconstruct use of the whole landscape. There are other time-frames, such as the iron age and the early medieval period, when there is little or no evidence. I will attempt to cover all of these periods and to interpret how the long-term history of the landscape is made by successive generations of people who make decisions that alter their surroundings, changing some aspects whilst maintaining others. In applying appropriate forms of analysis to changing types of data, I aim to go from scatters of mesolithic stone tools to the early

20th century model settlement built to house navvies working on the Derwent and Howden dams.

1.2 Lie of the Land: Location, Topography and Geology

1.2.1 Location and Extent of Study Area

The Upper Derwent study area is located within the High Peak of the Peak District. It covers an area of 10,105ha formed by the catchment of two major rivers, the Derwent and the Ashop, centred on SK160920 (Illustration 1.1). The eastern boundary of the study area is approximately 12km to the west of Sheffield and the western boundary is 6km east of Manchester. For this thesis, I have based my study area on the Upper Derwent Management Area, a modern administrative boundary, which was designated by the Peak District National Park Authority (PDNPA).

No landscape exists in isolation and one of the difficulties of local or regional research is knowing where to draw the boundary to define the study area. Sometimes archaeologists choose topographical features, modern administrative units or the distribution of a specific type of archaeological feature/material to provide convenient boundaries and controllable limits to data analysis. The limits of any study have to be explicitly defined because societies do not fit neatly into bounded regions. While local communities may be identified as occupying certain geographic spaces, for example, the post-medieval township, the influences on their lives do not stop at the township boundary. Those occupants of the township would have visited nearby markets to sell produce or used land by agreement with their manorial landlords. To interpret the history of a landscape we need to investigate the interactions between the local communities and the world beyond as represented by wider structures and more enduring institutions. This is a difficult course to steer, for it requires neither describing local detail without relating these to bigger issues or imposing generalising models without reference to regional variability.

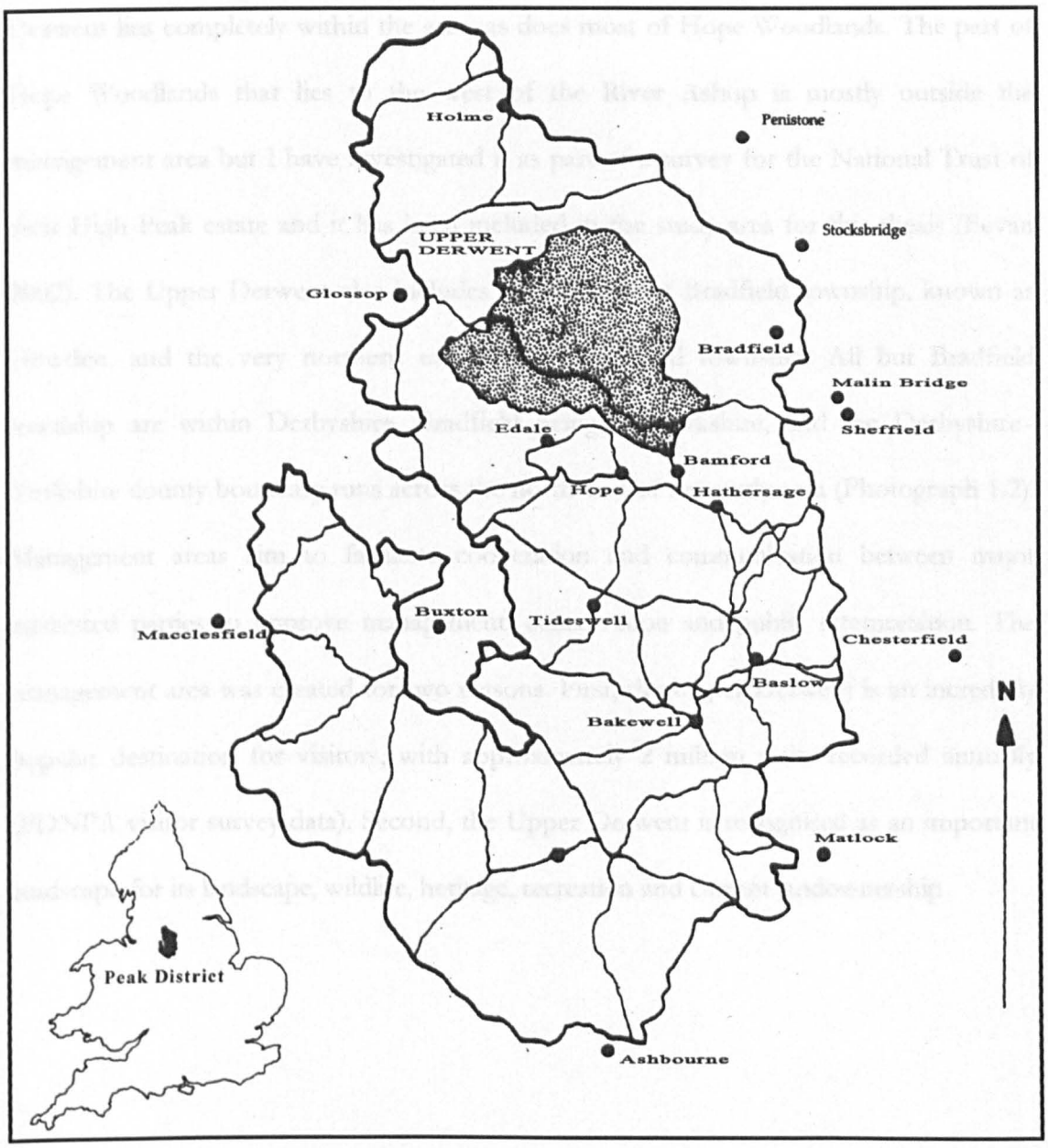


Illustration 1.1. Location of the Upper Derwent

The management area encompasses parts of four townships that formed the main focus for face-to-face community decision-making in the medieval and post-medieval periods. Derwent lies completely within the area, as does most of Hope Woodlands. The part of Hope Woodlands that lies to the west of the River Ashop is mostly outside the management area but I have investigated it as part of a survey for the National Trust of their High Peak estate and it has been included in the study area for this thesis (Bevan 2002). The Upper Derwent also includes a small part of Bradfield township, known as Howden, and the very northern extremity of Bamford township. All but Bradfield township are within Derbyshire, Bradfield being in Yorkshire, and the Derbyshire–Yorkshire county boundary runs across the north-east of the study area (Photograph 1.2). Management areas aim to facilitate cooperation and communication between major interested parties to improve management, conservation and public interpretation. The management area was created for two reasons. First, the Upper Derwent is an incredibly popular destination for visitors, with approximately 2 million visits recorded annually (PDNPA visitor survey data). Second, the Upper Derwent is recognised as an important landscape for its landscape, wildlife, heritage, recreation and current landownership.

Photograph 1.2. The Derbyshire–Yorkshire county boundary where it crosses Little Howden Moor

The Authority recognised that policies and initiatives to manage such numbers required a forum where local landowners and residents could discuss and decide on strategies in relation to land management, conservation and public interpretation. Therefore, the Upper Derwent Officer Working Group (UDOWG), was set up and comprises those individuals and agencies which have a major interest in the management of the area, including the local parish councils, the Peak District National Park Authority, and landowners such as Severn Trent Water, the National Trust and Forestry Commission. UDOWG was approached by the Authority's Archaeology Service (PDNPAAS) with a proposal to carry out an archaeological survey of the whole of the management area after Paul Ardron brought to the Authority's attention the potential for archaeological survival in the area (Ardron 1999). Paul is an ecologist who used to walk extensively in the area making notes of features of ecological or archaeological interest and collecting specimens and artefacts. I directed the survey between 1994 and 2002. As an employee of the PDNPAAS I have been responsible for undertaking or directing the majority of the fieldwork and for interpretation of the survey's results. The survey was undertaken to provide a better understanding of the archaeological remains of the area. This was seen as essential if archaeological considerations were to be effectively incorporated into land management practices and plans, and into interpretation of the area to visitors. While archaeological information is contained within the county Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs) for Derbyshire and South Yorkshire, and the National Trust's own SMR, by the very nature of these records they are all very limited in their content. As a result, the amount of positive management input that it has been possible to make for the archaeology of the area has been very restricted. This paucity of information was not the result of a lack of archaeological features in the area, but rather the lack of a comprehensive record.

1.2.2 Geology

At depth, the Peak District is floored by heavily faulted and folded metamorphic rocks, thought to have been laid down in late Precambrian times (Aitkenhead et al 2002). Above this lies a series of sedimentary rocks that were laid down during the Carboniferous period, when the Upper Derwent was part of a progressively shallowing marine basin.

Outcropping rocks are Carboniferous and comprise the Kinderscout Grit group of the Millstone Grit series and the Edale Shales (Stevenson and Gaunt 1971; Woodcock and Strachan 2000). Strata of the group found in the Upper Derwent are: Kinderscout Grits, a coarse-grained, pebbly sandstone; Mam Tor Beds, a coarse-grained feldspathic sandstone; and Shale Grit, a thick-bedded turbitic sandstone containing shale bands (Anderton et al 1979). Below the grits are the Edale Shales, dominated by turbitic, calcareous siltstones and mudstones. These were laid down during the Late Namurian, over 300 million years BP, and were deposited as sediments carried by a series of major fluvial valleys that flowed into the Peak District basin from the north-east (ibid). The sediments are highly stratified because of cyclic changes to the sea level with breaks in deposition most likely being caused by low-points in the sea level. The Shale Grit forms the outcropping rock across most of the Upper Derwent. Kinderscout Grit outcrops east of the River Derwent forming impressive features such as Howden Edge, Derwent Edge and Bamford Edge (Stevenson and Gaunt 1971). It also forms the craggy summits of Crookhill and Win Hill. Mam Tor Beds have been exposed at the confluences of the River Derwent with the Westend and Ashop rivers, and along much of the Woodlands and Alport valleys (Johnson and Vaughan 1983). Edale Shales outcrop near the confluence of the River Derwent and Millbrook (Stevenson and Gaunt 1971).

During the Carboniferous, plate-tectonic activity several hundred kilometres to the south affected the Pennines by creating a system of faults. One of these faults, known as the Alport Fault, runs approximately east–west across the study area, beginning in the east between Doncaster and Nottingham and ending in the west at Glossop (Aitkenhead et al 2002). Tectonic movement along the faults created a series of basins and intervening blocks, dropping the land here and raising it there. Much of the Upper Derwent lies above the Alport basin which is a east–south–east-trending feature that extends for approximately 10km from the Alport Valley in the west to Derwent Moors in the east and drops to over 4000m below O.D. (ibid; Stevenson and Gaunt 1971). Between this and the Edale basin to the west, Kinderscout forms a broad syncline, while to the north-east rises the Fagney syncline. This gives a basic structure to the Carboniferous geology of the Upper Derwent comprising lower ground to the south and east with higher ground to the north and west.

During the Pleistocene, at least one glaciation covered the area and deposited medium and fine-textured tills and other deposits largely derived from the underlying gritstone and shales (Kear 1985). The last, Devensian, glaciation did not reach as far south as the Dark Peak, affecting lower ground to the west and east but not extending above 300m O.D. (Johnson 1985; Stevenson and Gaunt 1971). The Upper Derwent was under periglacial conditions at this time, and the gritstone and shales were mixed to create medium-textured soils by solifluction during summer melting of permafrost (Kear 1985). These drift and head deposits are found around Crookhill, on the sloping shelf below Derwent Edge, and on the valley sides of the Derwent Valley, Woodlands Valley and Alport Dale (British Geological Survey 1974, 1977). Alluvium would have been deposited on the valley bottoms but cannot be mapped because of the presence of the reservoirs, except for its furthest extent up the Woodlands Valley, which extends approximately 0.5km beyond the limit of the Ashop arm of Ladybower Reservoir (ibid).

Landslips are found on a number of valley sides throughout the area. The most extensive lie along the eastern side of the Alport Valley and northern side of the Woodlands Valley between Alport Castles and Hagg Farm, and below Cowms Moor. The landslip at Alport Castles is one of the largest in inland Britain (Johnson and Vaughan 1983). More discrete landslips, of 500m or more in extent, occur below Crookstone Hill, along the north side of Ashop Clough, at Ashopton, in Ouzelden Clough and in the Westend Valley (Redda and Hansom 1989). Elsewhere, very small, local landslips are found in many of the clough sides, such as one in Howden Clough which was used as a lead-*melting* hearth in the 13th century (see section 5.11). Landslips occur throughout the southern Pennines where Mam Tor Beds overlie Edale Shales (Johnson and Walthall 1979). These are all visible as irregular hummocky areas caused by the deposition of debris as unsorted rock and earth. In the larger slips, the main body has moved in more of a cohesive block of rock, and these are characterised by more undulating central areas surrounded by hummocks. Soils appear to be thin on many landslips, as indicated by a dominant vegetation of meagre grass sward. Deeper soils and damp conditions are found in the hollows between hillocks. One effect of landslipping in the Woodlands Valley has been to create a northern valley side with more gentle slopes than the southern side, but also with extensive areas of rough ground with thin soils. The potential effect of this on land-use can be clearly seen at Upper House Farm where the improved fields of rich grassland are located above an area of hillocks covered in much poorer grass (Photograph 7.11).

Very few of the southern Pennine landslips have been securely dated and it has been speculated that they occurred between the end of the last glaciation and the beginning of extensive forest cover in the later mesolithic (ibid). A peat lens below secondary slumping at the toe of the Alport Castles landslide has been approximately dated on botanical

grounds as forming between 8300 and 7600 BP (Johnson and Vaughan 1983). The main slip occurred before this time and after the post-glacial formation of Head deposits on the lower slopes (ibid). Coldside landslip in Edale has been radiocarbon dated to beginning at 5860 BP and ending by 5560 BP, so placing it firmly in the mesolithic and indicating that landslide activity had ceased within 300 years of its starting (Redda and Hansom 1989). Slope instability has been interpreted as resulting from either the penetration of forest roots carrying water further into the rock profile or the burning of woodland by mesolithic people (ibid, 211-212). The massive slip on Mam Tor, to the south-west of the study area, is still active, and some movement may post-date forest clearance.

1.2.3 Topography

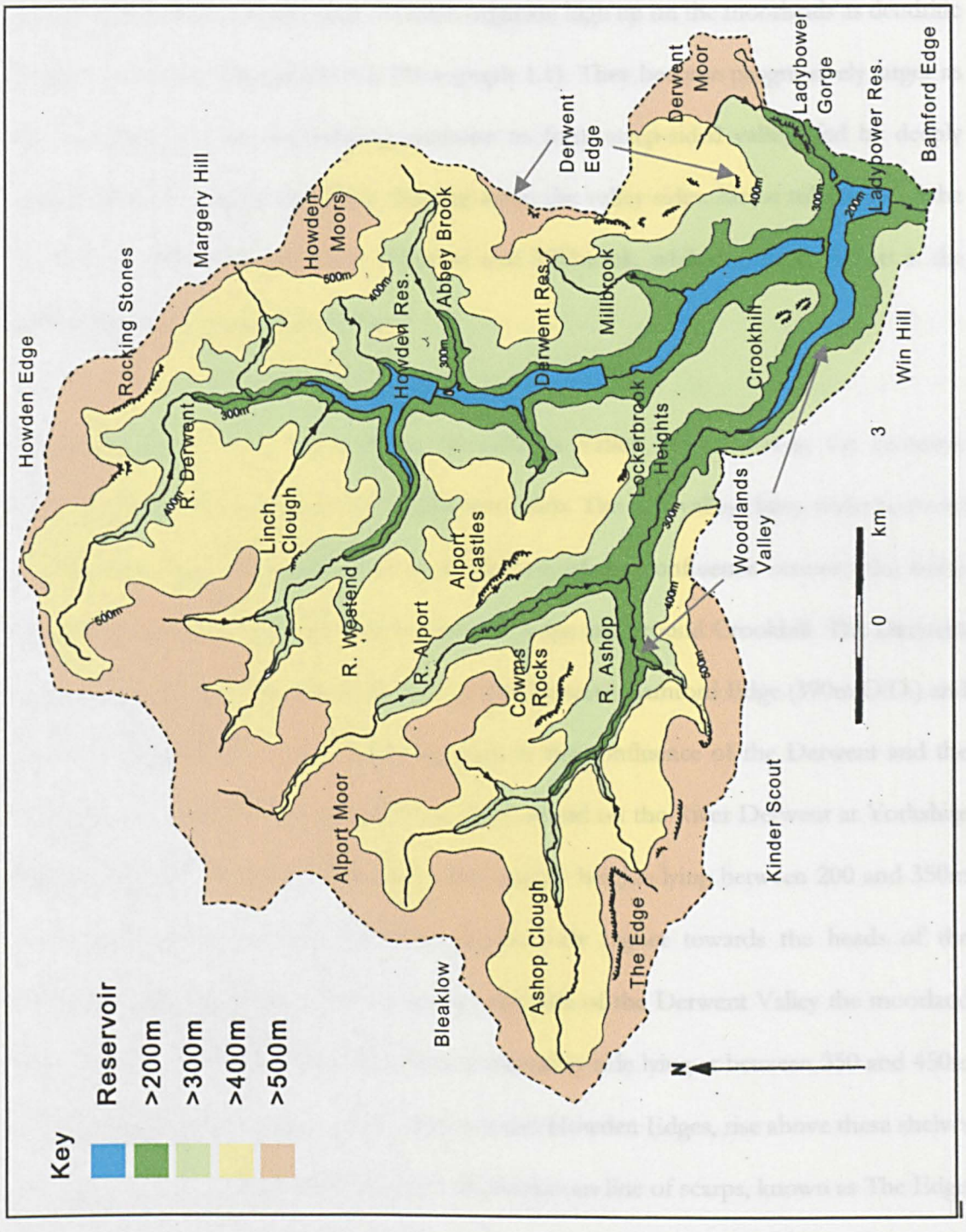


Illustration 1.2 The Upper Derwent: Topography

Rivers and minor watercourses have eroded through the Carboniferous rocks to form steep-sided valleys and tributary cloughs. The two major rivers in the Upper Derwent are the Derwent and the Ashop, both of which originate high up on the moorlands as dendritic systems of cloughs (Illustration 1.2. Photograph 1.1). They become progressively larger as they cut deep into the surrounding gritstone to form steep-sided valleys fed by deeply cleaved tributary cloughs and rivers flowing down the valley sides. Major tributaries of the Derwent are Abbey Brook, River Westend and Millbrook, while the River Alport is the main watercourse feeding the Ashop.

The River Ashop flows through the Woodlands Valley before joining the Derwent approximately 700m north-west of Ladybower Dam. The two valleys have wider bottoms with gentler valley sides adjacent to and upstream of the confluence between the rivers Ashop and Derwent, especially below Derwent Edge and around Crookhill. The Derwent Valley becomes narrower and steeper as it passes between Bamford Edge (390m O.D.) and Win Hill (462m O.D.), before widening again at the confluence of the Derwent and the River Noe. The lowest elevation is 160m O.D., found on the River Derwent at Yorkshire Bridge (SK198849). Most of the valley sides occupy heights lying between 200 and 350m O.D., with these elevations becoming progressively higher towards the heads of the Derwent and Woodlands valleys. Along the east side of the Derwent Valley the moorland forms a series of shelves immediately above the valley side lying at between 350 and 450m O.D. Steep gritstone scarps, notably Derwent and Howden Edges, rise above these shelves to between 480 and 540m O.D. Another discontinuous line of scarps, known as The Edge, Seal Edge and Blackden Edge, separate the Kinder plateau from the western valley sides of the Woodlands Valley. Crookhill is a distinctive topographical feature located between the Woodlands and Derwent valleys north of confluence between their respective rivers. It is a rounded hill, flanked by relatively gentle slopes and topped with two rocky crags rising to

382m O.D. Immediately north of Crookhill, the two valleys are separated by a narrow ridge, 1km long and approximately 350m O.D., which gives way to higher ground situated above 400m O.D. that forms a broad moorland plateau extending to the north west. To the north, east and west of the two valleys the land rises to high, undulating moorland which reaches up to 546m O.D. to the east (Margery Hill), 636m O.D. to the west (Kinder Scout) and 628m O.D. to the north (Bleaklow) (Photograph 1.2). Soils are generally thin on the higher ground and valley sides, and the underlying gritstone outcrops to form tors with major formations at Bleaklow, Rocking Stones, Grinah Stones, Cowms Rocks, Alport Castles and along Derwent Edge. Deeper soils are found in the valley bottoms and the lower, gentler valley sides.

1.2.4 Post-Glacial Vegetation

In a traditional landscape history it would be common to have a section on the vegetation history of the study area here. I have decided not to do so, instead including evidence for post-glacial vegetation history, including peat formation, with the appropriate periods so as to integrate changes to the vegetational environment with other evidence for human land-use. Vegetation is greatly affected by human activities rather than being a phenomenon that goes on in the background of the landscape while people live their lives on top of it. An impression of this distance between human and vegetation histories is emphasised when there is a separate section dedicated to the latter. Radiocarbon dated environmental samples are an important body of data to be used in the interpretation of a landscape's archaeological history. I have decided to include the discussion of vegetation alongside such other forms of evidence as artefacts, structures, and documents. Available environmental work from within the Upper Derwent is restricted to one pollen study of a peat core at Featherbed Moss, Snake Pass (Tallis and Switsur 1973), and the species identification of three charcoal samples from features excavated by myself (Gale 1999, 2002, 2003). The

bulk of the environmental discussion is, therefore, based on samples from throughout the Peak District and is largely framed at the regional level with reference to how the Upper Derwent may have related to this.

Modern vegetation is discussed in section 1.3.

1.2.5 Geology and Topography of the Surrounding Region

The whole of the High Peak is formed out of the same series of Grits as the Upper Derwent. High moorland continues beyond the extent of the survey area for 3 to 5km to the east, 2 to 5km to the west and for a minimum of 4km to the north. Moorland gives way to foothills and narrow valleys which define the eastern and western limits of the Pennines. Immediately to the east and west of the Upper Derwent these foothills and the lowlands beyond are now occupied by the cities of Sheffield and Manchester respectively. Approximately 3km to the north-west of the study area, the Longdendale Valley forms the major topographical feature, beyond which the Pennines continue northwards. The River Derwent continues to the south of the study area and, after 2km, is joined approximately 2km south by the Hope and Edale Valleys.

Here the Grits divide into two ranges, the Eastern Moors and Staffordshire Moorlands, both of which comprise expanses of moorland plateaux and high shelves covered in peat. These form a girdle around the Carboniferous limestone plateau, known as the White Peak, which is central to the Peak District. The limestone formed as two sequences of shallow-water carbonate deposition, known as the Derbyshire and Staffordshire Platforms, during the Dinantian (Aitkenhead et al 2000). This was overlain by Edale Shales and mudstones, and penetrated by basaltic lavas in a small numbers of places. Today, the plateau comprises extensive rolling ridges and upland basins rising to over

450m O.D. Steep-sided dales cut into the limestone and in places form narrow gorges, most of which have been dry valleys since the Late Glacial. Large valleys cut through softer shales between the limestone and the Grits, creating scarp-edges in the gritstone which rise above the valleys. The Derwent separates the Eastern Moors from the Limestone and is dominated by Quaternary deposits (Aitkenhead et al 2002). The aforementioned Edale and Hope Valleys separate the High Peak from the Limestone, and the Dove and Manifold border the south-west of the plateau. The only other major valley is the Wye which runs westwards through the limestone from Buxton.

The limestone, gritstone and shale valleys create three contrasting landscape zones (Anderson and Shimwell 1981; Barnatt and Smith 1997). Green fields, white dry-stone walls, villages and a scarcity of woodland, which is restricted to the dales, characterize the limestone. The gritstone is a darker landscape of grey dry-stone walls and dark-green fields occupying the lower slopes and more favourable locations, giving way to peat-covered heather and rough grassland moorland above. The main valleys are occupied, with villages and dispersed settlement within hedged and dry-stone walled fields. Woodland is found on the valleys' steeper slopes and as small areas of regenerating birch on the gritstone moors. Pasture predominates in the region though there is limited arable cultivation, mostly in the main valleys and the southern and eastern areas of the limestone.

Surrounding the Peak District are the more gentle, lower altitude lands of the Coal Measures to the east, the alluvial gravels of the Trent Valley to the south and further Coal Measures to the west. Beyond these formations and underlying the Trent gravels are Permo-Triassic sandstones.

1.3 Character of the Upper Derwent Landscape and its Effect on Archaeological Preservation and Visibility

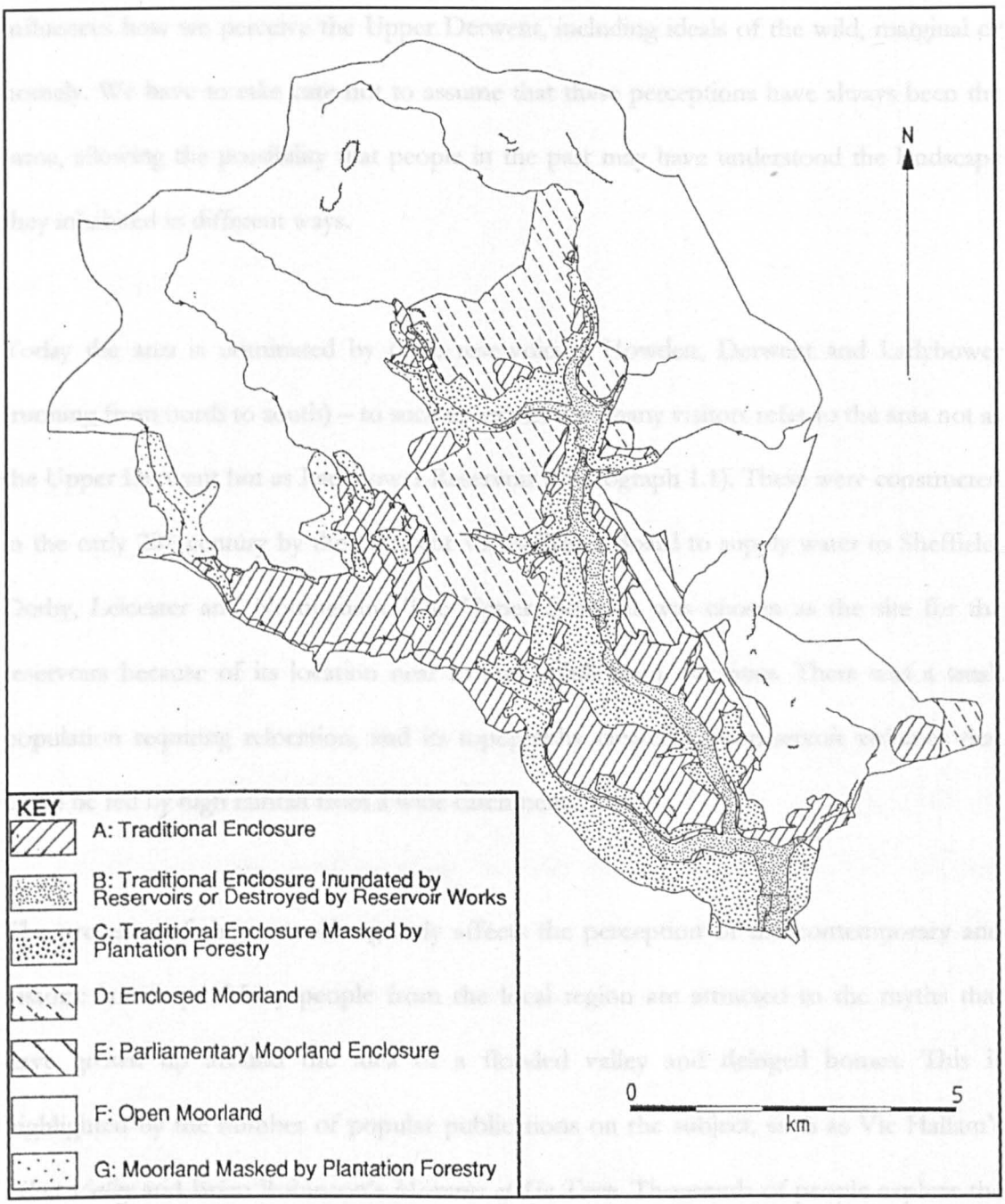


Illustration 1.3. The Upper Derwent Management Area: Landscape Character

In this section I will outline the character of the different elements that go to comprise today's Upper Derwent landscape (Illustration 1.3). As well as setting the scene by describing the types of landscapes present it will also discuss how they affect archaeological

visibility of standing features and artefact scatters. The current management of the landscape encourages some forms of archaeology to be seen and others not. It also influences how we perceive the Upper Derwent, including ideals of the wild, marginal or homely. We have to take care not to assume that these perceptions have always been the same, allowing the possibility that people in the past may have understood the landscape they inhabited in different ways.

Today the area is dominated by three reservoirs – Howden, Derwent and Ladybower (running from north to south) – to such an extent that many visitors refer to the area not as the Upper Derwent but as Ladybower Reservoir (Photograph 1.1). These were constructed in the early 20th century by the Derwent Valley Water Board to supply water to Sheffield, Derby, Leicester and Nottingham. The Upper Derwent was chosen as the site for the reservoirs because of its location near to and uphill from the cities. There was a small population requiring relocation, and its topography created large reservoir volumes that could be fed by high rainfall from a wide catchment.

The presence of the reservoirs greatly affects the perception of the contemporary and historic landscape. Many people from the local region are attracted to the myths that have grown up around the idea of a flooded valley and deluged homes. This is highlighted by the number of popular publications on the subject, such as Vic Hallam's *Silent Valley* and Brian Robinson's *Memories of Tin Town*. Thousands of people explore the otherwise drowned landscape during exceptionally dry summers when the ruins of farms and Derwent village are revealed. It is the main archaeologically related subject discussed by visitors I have met when doing fieldwork. Others, more often from much further afield, see the human landscape as existing only from the water level up, forgetting that the valley bottoms were farmed and home to thriving communities. Another legacy of

the construction of the reservoirs is the extensive conifer plantations, established on the valley slopes around each reservoir to help stabilise the soil and reduce the deposition of silt. This, in combination with the gothic style of the towers on Howden and Derwent dams, in effect creates an Alpine feel to some of the valley which is a further attraction for tourists and day-trippers.

1.3.1 Moorland

Many visitors describe the area as rugged and since the 19th century walkers have been attracted to its open moorlands, its skyline often broken by outcropping edges and tors. They are often perceived as wilderness, untouched by human hand. This is very much a false impression, one largely derived from an urban perspective of those who desire to escape the confines of modern city living. The moorlands are very much a human-effected landscape, created through the prehistoric and later removal of woodlands in tandem with climatic change, and maintained through sheep grazing which prevents regeneration. Those who live and work amongst them perceive the moorlands differently. They were, and still are, integral to the agricultural economy, essential elements of a farmer's land, but very much to be respected for the difficulty of terrain, surprise changes in weather and the difficulties in navigating around such extensive areas of relatively featureless terrain.

Photograph 1.3. Moorland near Snake Pass. PDNPA Collection

The moors are covered by blanket peat bog that consists of cotton grass (*Eriophorum spp*) blanket mire, heather (*Calluna vulgaris*) moorland, rough grassland (dominated by *Molinia coerulea* with rare occurrences of *Nardus strula*), rush marshes (*Juncus spp*) and mixed species communities (Ardron et al 1989). Moorland is under relatively low land-use pressure so there is a high survival of archaeological features from all periods. Many of these are visible above the blanket peat. However, peat will have also covered features pre-dating and contemporary with its formation which remain hidden. Peat began to develop during the mesolithic, becoming almost as widespread as it is today by the end of that period (Tallis 1964a, 1964b, 1991). During the relatively dry climate of the earlier mesolithic, peat formation began in water-collecting basins with large catchments. From about 7,500 years ago peat began to spread outwards from these basins during wetter conditions. Since at least the medieval period the peat moorlands have been primarily livestock pastures, sources for quarried stone and peat fuel for domestic fires. The latter two uses have potentially the greatest impact on earlier archaeological features and artefact assemblages. However, because prehistoric activity took place on the underlying soils, all but the most extensive peat cutting causes relatively little destruction and, more often than not, has revealed sites.

Erosion of peat provides tiny windows into this buried landscape from which artefacts and occasionally structures are found which have contributed greatly to understanding prehistoric land-use on the moors. However, it should be remembered that the distribution of moorland artefacts is significantly influenced by the distribution of erosion patches. Most finds of artefacts have been made by ramblers and interested collectors along footpaths or in specific locations prone to erosion. Interested ramblers have made many finds so the network of footpaths is a major influence on where artefacts are discovered. Erosion away from footpaths may be related to degree of slope, aspect and those localised areas where

sheep regularly concentrate. For example, the identification of a 13th century lead-working site in Howden Clough was only possible because of erosion caused by livestock sheltering against the natural landslip the hearth had been built upon.

1.3.2 Farmland

From the medieval period onwards the valley bottoms, lower valley sides and favourable locations at higher altitudes have been enclosed into small fields and woodlands bounded by dry-stone walls. The surviving farmland comprises improved grassland pasture, known as inbye, on the lower valley sides of Derwent and Woodlands valleys, and in Alport Dale. Extensive areas of this pasture have been lost with the creation of the reservoirs in the early 20th century (see section 1.3.4). Enclosed fields higher up the valley sides, known as intakes, are dominated by a typical moorland vegetation of tussocky grass, dwarf shrub and sedge (Ardron 1999). This patchwork of irregular fields is, today, one of the significant landscape uses and greatly influences our perceptions of the Upper Derwent landscape. Before the medieval period the land-use would have been organised along very different lines at different periods which I will discuss later.

For most of the medieval and post-medieval periods, farming in the area has been predominantly pastoral with limited arable. The field walls that subdivide the farmland are themselves features of the historic landscape, some are still kept up whilst others have falling out of use in relation to changing agricultural demands in the 20th century. The abandoned walls usually survive as lines of wall footings or tumble, though some have also been used as sources of stone to maintain walls still functioning as boundaries.

Photograph 1.4. Enclosed farmland is characterised by small, irregular walled fields such as these below Derwent Edge

Many archaeological features have been preserved under pasture and are visible as a variety of earthworks. Limited destruction or degradation of some features will of course have taken place over time, for example by ploughing for arable or grass reseeding and by the reuse of stone. Working backwards through time levels of destruction increase so that there are more features preserved from the historical period compared to prehistory. From later prehistory onwards people probably re-used many of the same areas most favourable for agriculture and associated settlement. Areas better suited to more recent arable, such as the gentler valley sides and valley bottoms may often be the areas where earlier settlements and field systems were located. Use of the bottoms for arable may have been limited until metal-tipped ploughs capable of dealing with heavier soils were introduced during the iron age. Very few artefacts or cropmarks are identified within such pastoral farmland because at present ploughing is an extremely rare occurrence, currently only undertaken to improve pasture.

1.3.3 Woodland

Photograph 1.5. Conifer plantations created in the early 20th century by the Derwent Valley Water Board fringe the reservoirs. PDNPA Collection

Extensive areas of woodland are situated on the valley sides around the reservoirs, in the Westend Valley and in Ashop and Lady cloughs. The majority are coniferous and broad-leaved plantations within which small areas of semi-natural mixed woodland survive. Large plantations were created in the 20th century after the building of the reservoirs (see section 1.3.4). These plantations have had a major impact on the survival and identification of archaeological remains. Ploughing for tree planting will have destroyed many features, while the dense tree cover, especially of immature plantations, masks much of what remains. Those plantations situated on the gentler valley sides will have had potentially more impact on archaeological survival than those situated on the steeper upper valleys. This is because of the higher likelihood that human activities creating structures and depositing artefacts will have occurred on the more moderate slopes.

1.3.4 Reservoirs

Within the reservoirs many of the archaeological remains have been destroyed or hidden by water.

1.3.4.1 High Water Level

Archaeological features that stand close to the high water mark are particularly vulnerable to erosion from wave action, frost and visitor pressure. These areas are characterised by high land erosion with much loose stone and shale. It is here that the damage to archaeological deposits is most severe. Where wall remains survive these are rarely more than footings and most of those built following the contours of the reservoir sides have been destabilised by water erosion, resulting in collapse.

Photograph 1.6. The draw-down zone of the reservoirs following the drought of 1995

1.3.4.2 Draw-Down Zone

This area lies between the high and low water levels, the latter varying in height depending on rainfall and demand for water. Fluctuating water levels leave a band of the reservoir bed periodically exposed, most often in summer after sustained episodes of dry weather. The survival of archaeological features is dependent upon their location within the draw-down zone. Those which are close to high water level are more frequently exposed to erosion through wave action, weathering and visitor pressure. At the other end of the scale are those deposits which are only exposed infrequently and for most of the time remain inundated except in times of severe drought. Because for the most part the latter deposits are submerged, they are less eroded and the survival of organic remains is usually high. The survival of archaeological features on the draw-down zone is also relative to the gradient of the reservoir sides. Where steep gradients occur, walls and other built structures have often been obliterated due to the destabilisation of the land surface. Soil has been eroded away leaving a surface comprising loose stones and shale, which gradually slips towards the reservoir bottom.

Ground disturbance also uncovers artefacts such as stone tools and pottery sherds that have lain buried since their deposition, so permitting their identification, systematic collection and analysis. Such opportunities for artefactual discovery are rare in upland valleys where a lack of extensive ploughing does not allow much scope for fieldwalking. Their exposure within the reservoirs therefore provides a rare opportunity to use artefacts to greatly aid our understanding of land-use in the valley bottoms and on the valley sides from the mesolithic onwards. For much of prehistory such finds and environmental data provide the major sources of information on human activity. During the medieval and post-medieval periods pottery can in some cases be associated with settlements so aiding dating and the interpretation of farming lifestyles through time.

However, the rising and falling water levels also have an impact on the distributions of artefacts. While general scatters are very good indicators for the locations of activities, it is difficult to identify any internal coherence due to the effects of wave action tending to move artefacts around and gather them in the locations of eddies.

1.3.4.3 Areas More Permanently Under Water or Buried Below Silt

Erosion from the reservoir sides has resulted in many relatively level areas of the reservoir bottoms being sealed by deposits of silt produced by erosion. Silt is also deposited on level areas of the reservoir sides, even relatively close to the reservoir edges. Such deposits mask archaeological remains so that many may lay hidden even when these areas are exposed during low water levels. The silts also help to preserve remains and some measure of their survival was shown by the excavation of the 10th century cross-shaft fragment within the silt-covered site of Derwent hamlet in 1991 (Sidebottom 1991, 1993). The deposit of silt had protected the archaeological remains (fireplace, pottery, metalwork and wood) to the extent that although this area of the reservoir is subject to exposure and an extremely heavy visitor pressure during drought conditions, they had remained in situ since the building was demolished in the 1940s.

1.4 Land or Landscape?

The concept of land*scape* itself is a culturally specific Western construct, originating in Renaissance ideals of form and perspective where people are distanced from the land which is objectified and 'viewed'. (Cosgrove and Daniels 1989; Bender 1993; Tilley 1994). This construction of landscape was associated with the rise of property as the basis of economic wealth, social status and political authority in the 17th century (Daniels 1990). As property defined the ruling classes, landscape became an important subject of art, literature, cartography and gardening from the 17th century onwards (Cosgrove and Daniels 1989). Here, a conceptual link was made between land as object, to be viewed in a detached manner, and land as commodity, which was quantified, given a value and detached from people. Various devices, for example the composition of the painting or the planting of trees, were used to frame the landscape as something to be looked upon rather than moved through or inhabited. This act in itself creates the distance between the viewer and the land. All that is seen occupying the land, whether plants, livestock or agricultural labourers, are also reduced to become elements of the land*scape*. Only certain sections of society were doing the viewing, these being the landed and educated classes who sponsored, consumed and gossiped about the artists, landscape gardeners and their works. For the rest of society the concept of gazing upon the landscape rather than living in it would not be a major element of their lives, until the development of mass tourism after the railways opened up the countryside to those living in the new industrial towns. By then, the relationship with what they saw was again different.

An extreme example of the dichotomy in conceptualising the landscape, between the owners (viewers) and inhabitants, is that of the enlargement and redesigning of Chatsworth Park, Derbyshire, between the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Barnatt 1997). Chatsworth House was founded in the 1550s by the First Earl of Devonshire on

what had been the site of a monastic grange and was bordered by the open fields and enclosures of Edensor village in the wide valley bottom of the River Derwent to the west. In the 1750s and 1760s much of the valley land to the west and north were landscaped by Capability Brown. The resulting idealisation of a natural and pastoral landscape was, in part, oriented to be viewed from the house. This entailed the demolition and repositioning of parts of Edensor village to remove it from sight from the house, and the removal of remaining open fields and of enclosures to create grass parkland with trees. Edensor was rebuilt behind a convenient hill in an estate style of highly ornamented buildings so that when it had to be passed by the Duke or visitors it contributed to the view.

Some observers have noted that the objectified landscape of Western society can be contrasted with non-western societies, which may have close-grained or mythologised relationships with the land they inhabit (Bender 1993; Gosden and Lock 1998; Thomas 1993; Tilley 1994). However, this dichotomy oversimplifies our attitudes to landscape within the West, where many people who work on and with the land do have a close and highly textured relationship with it. The dichotomy is partly a contemporary intellectual one between Western-educated middle-class professionals and those who have direct experience of working land – between the lookers and the doers. What is important is to acknowledge that occupation and perception of a landscape varies with personal experiences and from the standpoint of social identity. While the Devonshires were reforming the physical world along ideals of what a landscape should *look* like, their tenants at Edensor were continuing to work on the land amongst the inconveniences of having their whole physical world shifted, removed and repackaged to their landlord's liking. While the Duke's opinions and thoughts about the landscape he had engineered are recorded in estate documents and letters, the reactions of his tenants are not.

A farmer living and working in the Upper Derwent will know intimately every part of his farm and moorland grazing, and for different places will know how well pasture grasses grow, which are most susceptible to waterlogging in wet weather or parching in dry weather, how much sunlight they get, what the best routes are, etc. Different places also have stories attached to them which help to create a mythologized perception of the landscape. In the Upper Derwent, most stories are of encountering strangers in the valleys, or of local residents and travellers caught on the moors in sudden storms. There are local stories of a doomed shepherd boy scratching 'lost lad' on a nearby rock in the 17th century, of the remains of Scots' stragglers discovered in the winter of 1745 and of a sheepdog waiting dutifully by the body of its dead master in the 20th century (Byford 1981; Daniel 1935).

The landscape is understood through knowledge, folklore, and personal and communal memory which come from both the everyday inhabitation of the landscape and practical information based on experience. A forester in the valley will have a somewhat different relationship with the landscape to that of the farmer. It is one where the vertical is emphasised in the closely planted rows of conifers which create very much an enclosed, and darkened, landscape at the expense of any long-distance views or vistas. The trees themselves are financial resources to be managed as efficiently as possible, then harvested. The topography, usually seen from the vantage of timber-felling and removing equipment, may be thought of as either enabling or hindering their removal due to the nature of the terrain – a landscape of specific logistical problems.

1.5 Integrating Paradigms of Landscape Archaeology: Andrew Fleming

Landscape archaeology developed in Britain during the 20th century, partly out of this conceptualisation of land as landscape outlined above. Another major impetus has been the deep-seated place that the countryside has in the national identity of England (Lowenthal 1991). The 20th century importance of the countryside as an ideal in Britain has grown out of the creation of industrial urbanism from the 18th century onwards (Bunce 1994). The majority of people live in towns or cities, and the countryside has become symbolized as the idyllic alternative to these urban environments through the complex interaction between social, intellectual, economic, artistic and scientific values. The dramatic growth of cities in the 18th and 19th centuries, the economic re-evaluating of the surrounding countryside as the provider of resources for the urban population, and the improved transport along rail and road in the 19th century increased the distinction between urban and rural while fundamentally linking the two. The growing middle classes were able to move to suburban and rural areas to distance themselves from the urban pollution and the working classes, while emulating the rural gentry (ibid; Williams 1985). Both the middle and working classes were able to 'escape' the claustrophobic population densities and sun-covering factory smoke by going into the countryside to walk (Sissons 2002). More and more the countryside was perceived by city dwellers as a recreational amenity and a place beyond the cobbled streets where natural beauty and heritage survived. In contrast to the large populations, fast pace of life and continually expanding or changing built landscape of the city, rural societies were thought to be smaller in scale and unchanging. As such the countryside landscape became culturally conceived from the urban perspective, symbolised nostalgically as an idyll preserving the values and beauty that have been lost in the city. Landscape archaeology has, therefore, largely been born out of the British conceptualisation of the countryside and, as a result, has been conceived as a rural discipline. The vast majority of

landscape archaeology projects have been undertaken in the 'countryside'. Since the first development of landscape archaeology as a sub-discipline of archaeology, with the work of W.G. Hoskins in the 1950s, which was based on the work of Osbert Crawford and Sir Cyril Fox, landscape studies have gained greater importance as various archaeologists have realised the need for thinking about human inhabitation beyond the site-specific (Aston and Rowley 1974; Aston 1985; Bender 1993; Crawford 1921, 1928, 1953; Fleming 1971, 1973; Fox 1932; Hoskins 1955, 1977; Ingold 1993; Rackham 1986; Renfrew 1975; Tilley 1994; Williamson 1987, 1993). Nearly all of the significant contributions to landscape archaeology in Britain have been written by people working in rural contexts. Exceptions include studies of a painter's experiences of 19th century Paris, housing schemes in 20th century Belfast and the spread of urban housing beyond the city limits in late 19th/early 20th century Sheffield (Edholm 1993; Jarman 1993; Rylatt [n.d.]). But more urban landscape archaeology needs to be undertaken to contribute to the interpretation and understanding of the growth of urbanism.

In 1990, Andrew Fleming proposed an approach that incorporated analysis of different social scales and the production of long-term histories (Fleming 1990). Fleming's contributions to landscape archaeology began with the processual mapping of prehistoric territories (1971), moved on to the detailed recording and interpretation of relict prehistoric upland landscapes on Dartmoor (1984, 1988) and have recently been focused on a more Hoskins or Rackham-style long-term history of Swaledale (1998). He has, therefore, embraced both the systematic analysis of spatial order, and the recording of common features allied to identifying land-use over broad areas to build up a detailed local picture.

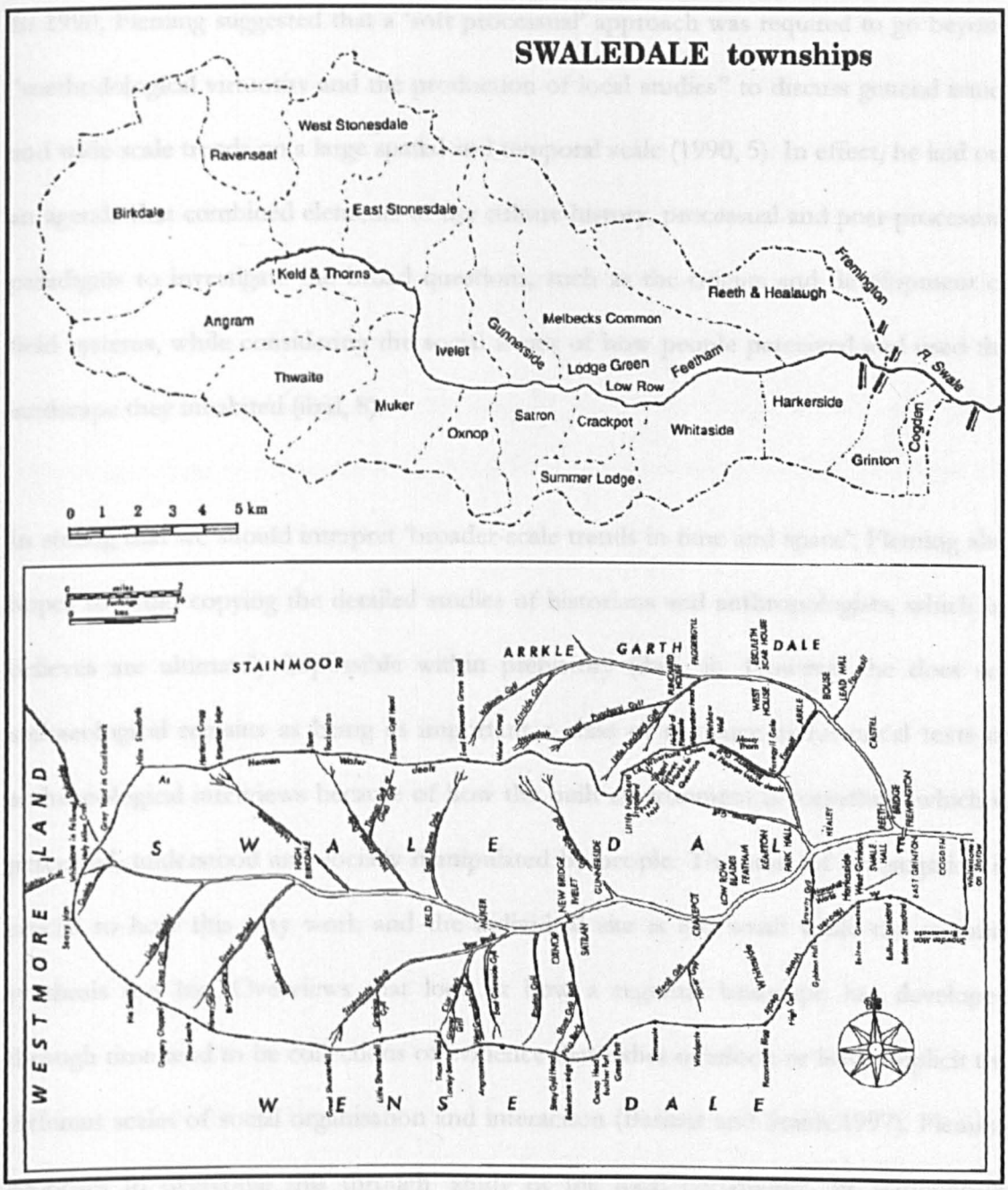


Illustration 1.4. Swaledale, townships (above) and in the early 18th century. From Fleming 1998

In 1990, Fleming suggested that a 'soft processual' approach was required to go beyond "methodological virtuosity and the production of local studies" to discuss general issues and wide-scale trends on a large spatial and temporal scale (1990, 5). In effect, he laid out an agenda that combined elements of the culture-history, processual and post-processual paradigms to investigate the broad questions, such as the origins and development of field systems, while considering the social issues of how people perceived and used the landscape they inhabited (ibid, 8).

In stating that we should interpret 'broader-scale trends in time and space', Fleming also hopes to avoid copying the detailed studies of historians and anthropologists, which he believes are ultimately impossible within prehistory (ibid, 8). However, he does see archaeological remains as being as important a class of evidence as historical texts or anthropological interviews because of how the built environment is something which is perceived, understood and socially manipulated by people. The scale of investigation is crucial to how this may work and the individual site is too small while the regional synthesis too big. Overviews that look at how a regional landscape has developed through time tend to be collections of evidence that either overlook or leave implicit the different scales of social organisation and interaction (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Fleming proposes to overcome this through 'study of the local community, its symbolically important places and its boundaries' (1990, 13).

He sees the small community as a robust institution with a capacity for long-term history that is affected by formal institutions on a regional scale. This is one of Fleming's most important contributions to landscape archaeology because it enables the integration of historically particular human action with the 'grand narratives' of wide-ranging social structures and long-term trends through the context of the landscape. It attempts to

avoid losing too much local detail to abstraction at the big scale while, conversely, not getting bogged down in local description that is divorced from far-reaching trends. Individuals and families interact most with others that live within their local community so that the boundedness of a community is emphasised more than its permeability (ibid, 12). This is also where social identity is most strongly created through the regular, everyday reworking of social relations. Communities are interconnected with their neighbours through sharing resources and by exchange, so participating in wider, regional identities. At a regional level, or for later periods national scale, communities are incorporated into larger formal institutions. For example, *civitates* were created by the Roman authorities as regional administrative units to facilitate the government of people across the Empire. Monastic orders were large institutions extending over numerous regions and kingdoms of medieval Europe, which articulated with local communities through the acquisition of land for agricultural estates. In the post-medieval period, government agencies were responsible for expanding international trade that created new markets for locally produced goods, while making accessible exotic types of material culture. Throughout the historic period in Britain communities were also subject to manorial control that involved the exchange of rent or tribute for rights to occupy and use land. All of these examples involve the imposition onto communities of external power structures. But, these are not identical institutions that create identical conditions throughout Britain, they are negotiated and formed at the local level through the relationship between the two. This encourages us as archaeologists to move between different spatial and temporal scales of social articulation to write long-term histories that maintain the focus on the relationship between people and society.

1.6 Outline of My Approach

In working through my aims outlined at the beginning of this chapter I will build on the work of previous studies. I will specifically refer to another landscape project undertaken in the Peak District, that of Richard Hodges's work at Roystone Grange, because of the models of landscape history from the iron age to the early medieval that he produced for the wider Peak District region (Hodges 1991a, 1991b; Hodges and Wildgoose 1981. Illustration 1.5). I will take the local community, geographically defined by the Upper Derwent, and the long-term history of 10,000 years of human occupation as the main scales or axes of analysis.

The discussion will move between individual sites – perhaps better thought of as locales in the landscape rather than traditional sites, extensive areas of the Upper Derwent landscape and the wider region of the Peak District. I will discuss the interactions between structures of social organisation, including landowning in the historical period, and community inhabitation of the landscape. I think that this relationship is significant in determining how local landscapes are used, perceived and how change over time occurs.

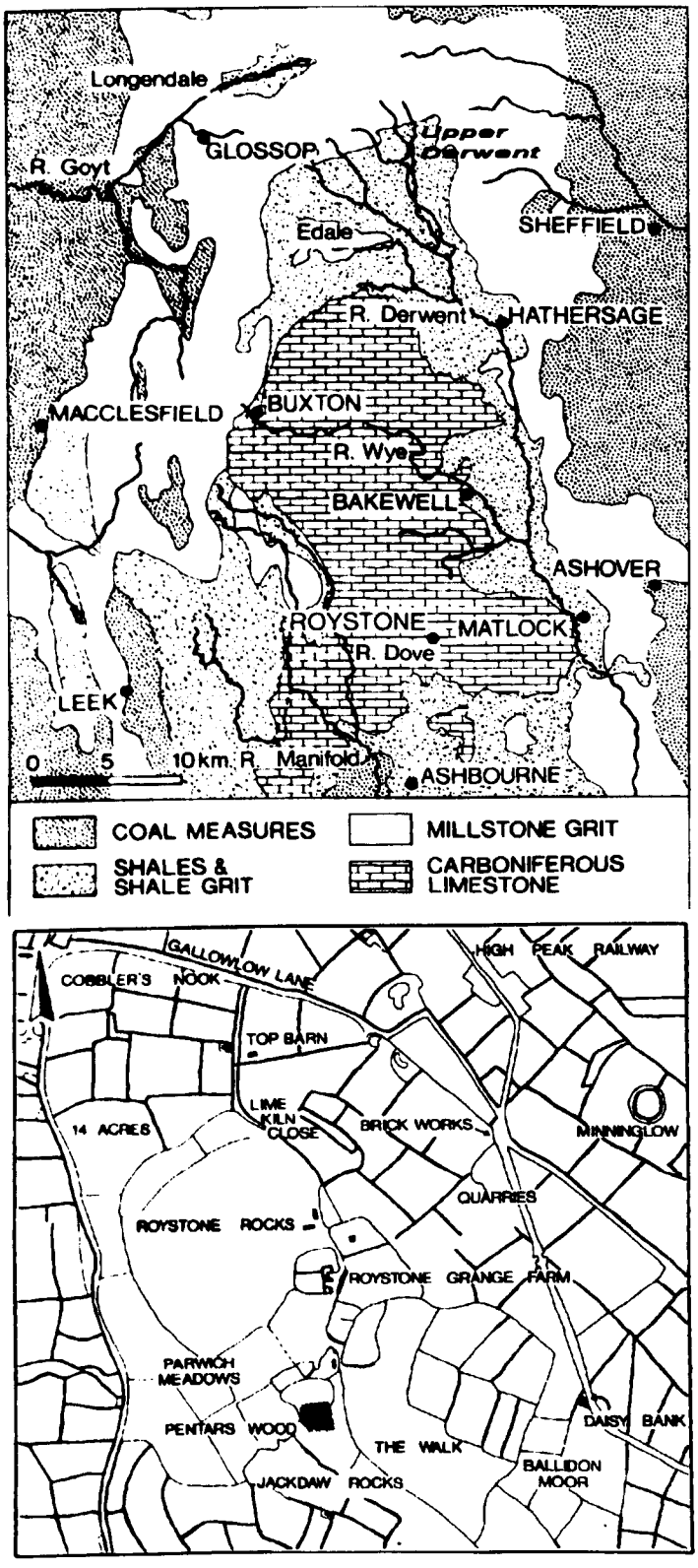


Illustration 1.5. Roystone Grange, location (above) and study area (below). The landscape studied is located on different geology, and much smaller than that of the Upper Derwent. From Hodges 1991a

My work has been made possible by the value we place on the rural landscape in Britain, which has been manifested in the designation of selected areas as National Parks, Areas of Natural Beauty and Environmentally Sensitive Areas. This is a perception of the countryside as an important resource to be conserved for recreational use by urban populations and for its innate special character, which is threatened by industrial urbanism (Bunce 1994). In the case of the Upper Derwent, the historical dimension has been identified as an important character of the landscape because of the influence of the Peak District National Park Authority, and this thesis is itself a product, as well as partly being an interpretation, of 20th century countryside ideals. I will return to this issue in more detail in chapter 9.

I define landscape as being the meaningfully constituted world within which people act out their lives (Bender 1993; Ingold 1993). People negotiate social relations through the landscape – the use of material objects, inhabitation of settlements, routines of daily life, tenure of land, procurement of resources and the creation of myths and folklore occur within the landscape. Identities, whether individual, group or national, are created and reworked through the landscape, through the world that people inhabit (Bender 1993). I include interaction with the geology, topography and soils, built structures, the vegetational environment, material culture and with other people. The numerous structures and finds that survive from different periods did not exist in isolation, but represent the interconnected elements of past landscapes that have survived to the present. Some are redundant and seen as relics of other times, while many more are still incorporated into the fabric of the working and living landscape. The features are mostly the product of common or everyday activities and the interpretation of their inter-relationships helps to give an understanding of the varying uses and perceptions of the landscape, and how this landscape has developed through time.

In discussing people's inhabitation of landscapes, I agree with Fleming that the local community is a useful scale of analysis to work at, and that the relationship between these communities and broader social structures needs to be addressed. This requires the archaeologist to work at different spatial scales of analysis, including the household, local community, and regional or national institutions. Here, I have been greatly influenced by Giddens's structuration theory which outlines that social change occurs in the duality that exists between agent and structure, that an individual is a knowledgeable actor who lives in a world which has a set of social rules and norms (Giddens 1984). We need to keep an eye on how the land of a single farmstead developed and was organised, how this fits into the local pattern of settlement and land-use, and how the locality participated in wider society through power relations and exchange/trade. I shall now outline the nature of some of these different scales and why it is important to address them.

The local scale of analysis is crucial because this is where social identity is most strongly created and where the most immediate decisions associated with dwelling in the landscape are made. There is a certain level of boundedness to the local community because of the differences in frequencies of interaction within and between communities (Fleming 1990). However, these identities and decisions are not made in a social vacuum but are negotiated and reworked in relation to the world beyond the locality. People live within and create their world across varying spatial scales, travelling packhorse routes to neighbouring market towns, tending stock in fields or entering the interior of a house from outside. These relate to the direct experiences an individual may have in their own lifetime. There are also much wider and more enduring structures of, often slowly changing, institutions, the history of which may be far removed from the everyday experiences of an individual. The 16th century farmer would have little say in who

replaced the monastery as their landlord, but that new landlord would have a great influence on the farmer's future. Regular patterns of prehistoric flintworking indicate that people shared in traditions about the right or wrong way to make tools across large areas that they would not have had direct experience of. We need not only know to of these wider institutions, but to interpret how they impinged upon and were perceived by communities, and how the relationships between them created the local landscape.

Time is a central element to my approach. Time is more than Ingold's temporal understanding of the world within an individual's lifetime (Ingold 1993), or the grand chronological framework applied by archaeologists. Human actions and perceptions are structured at varying temporalities; the immediacy of individual events, the daily cycle, passage of seasons, lifespan of an individual, of living amongst different generations, and the organisation of society and the landscape perpetuated at the level of more persistent traditions and institutions (Bourdieu 1977; Gosden 1994). An important idea we can use to understand long-term landscape change is that an individual lives within a community that has a longer history than their own personal lifespan. Communities have a past, present and future, however time is conceived to run, whether as linear or cyclical constructions for example, and which operate on different temporal scales. The individual is born into a world that already exists, a combination of physical realities and ideological concepts comprising traditions, myths, customs and the physical elements of the landscape. Some of these may just be community stories that help to explain the world, such as the tales of people lost on the moors in bad weather. Other customs may be formalised as institutional structures, such as the medieval manor or obligations to participate in ceremonies at a distant henge.

This past might sometimes not be acknowledged explicitly when features and locales are fundamentally tied with the present and routine day-to-day lives of individuals and their close kin. These may include the maintained clearing in the forest, 19th century access to the common that originated in the medieval period, or the work of a grandfather in clearing ground of woodland and enclosing it to create fields. Woodland may be perceived as a barrier to agricultural production in one century and a valuable resource in the next.

There may be other features that are not incorporated into current routines. These are relics of earlier times such as prehistoric barrows or long-abandoned houses. They may be encountered during and perceived in relation to everyday practices, or they might lie in remote locations and rarely be come upon but still known about. Such features may be given an overt past and brought into the present through folklore and myths, though any direct knowledge of past social circumstances in which they were created or used may be lost. Some might be thought of as taboo places to be avoided, others as inferring or legitimising land-use rights, and yet others left forgotten and neglected. As a landscape is inhabited over time some built features or characters of land-use will persist, and their meanings change over time as new generations rework the meaning attached to them. A burial barrow might go through a number of phases of rediscovery after its initial creation and use in a funerary rite.

Anticipating the future is also a central element of human experience, for example in relation to the growth of your children, forthcoming crop harvesting or the completion of an iron-smelting event. Returning to the hypothetical grandfather, a farmer may feel an onus on them to continue the work of their ancestors in increasing the landholding through continuing to maintain land fertility and completing further enclosure.

There are appropriate ways to act in the wider society you live in, which are often conceived as 'the-way-we-do-things', and an individual growing up in a community learns about the customary ways of living. These will be based on the interaction between local tradition and the wider institutions discussed above. In relation to that learning experience the individual develops a body of personal knowledge, including attitudes and opinions about the conduct of their lives and the world they know. The individual may concur with or challenge different aspects of social practice. In this way, that means of understanding the world and of doing things are continually renegotiated. Over the long term society may change, though not in the linear evolutionary path of increased complexity. It is remade and reinterpreted by successive generations, which can result both in change and in maintenance of the complexity of different customs.

What I have endeavoured to do with this section on time is to discuss a conceptualisation of time based on the work of the *Annales* school and Anthony Giddens, as influenced by Heidegger, in a way related to the experiential dwelling in the landscape rather than as abstract theorisation (Braudel 1980; Burke 1990; Giddens 1984; Knapp 1992). Based on their works I divide time into four levels, which are not distinct from each other but which are in a constant set of interconnecting relationships. There is the *event*, the carrying out of everyday tasks and immediacy of experience. There is the *dasein* of the individual's lifetime, of the generation, which involves reflection and anticipation, and importantly the ability to think of social identity as shared between generations. This is fundamental to interpreting how a community inhabits a landscape over successive generations, and how knowledge of the recent past is passed over time. There are the *conjonctures* of institutional time-spans that persist beyond the life of the individual and which cannot be fully appreciated by an individual except by their

experience of them situated within tradition. Then there is the *longue duree* of the very long-term, such as the vast periods of time that slow environmental change takes, which again may only be understood in terms of the individual's experiences of them. A medieval farmer would not have a scientific understanding of the development of soils and podzols, but would know, from intimate knowledge of working with land, the varying nature of soils and what may be successfully undertaken at different locations. The work of the *Annales* is not a model I wish to directly follow, and I do not aim to deconstruct or debate *Annales* in detail here. Inherent in the Braudelian approach are problems of the focus being primarily on environmental and long-term factors as overriding motivators for change (Moreland 1992). Where I think conceptualising these four aspects of time is useful, is that it provides theoretical tools for thinking about the different time-spans of experience and landscape inhabitation, discussing social interaction between structure and agency, and writing long-term histories.

Through the writing of this thesis I hope to bring out the varying spatial and temporal scales to write an historical narrative of the Upper Derwent landscape. This of course presents problems – the large amount of data, the numerous connections between locales and features which may have been made, how those connections may have changed over time, how to avoid giving a series of static snapshots of the past, and tacking between the different scales of analysis. A fundamental concern is how to discuss specifics in sufficient detail while maintaining a suitable temporal scale relative to a 10,000-year history.

I shall explore overcoming snapshots in time by maintaining a historical momentum and steering a course that links the analysis of local detail with broader discussions. Wider trends will be brought in where appropriate and as expressed through their relationship

with the Upper Derwent. I shall present these in chronological order so that we follow the changing nature of landscape occupation over time and to get a sense of the historical trajectories. This is important to interpret how ideas of landholding were reworked and related to previous conditions, and how the built expression of land-use related to what was already in existence. It is also a method which I think encourages interpretation of contemporary features on their own merits rather than as survivors of later land-use. It is still possible to talk of the later destruction of earlier sites or refiguring of previous land-use patterns, but in such a way that we build on earlier periods in the same temporal order as historically constituted through time. To put it more succinctly, we can see what is inherited from the past by successive generations.

1.7 Archaeological Survey and Methodology

The whole of the study area has been surveyed to PDNPA Phase 1 survey guidelines, comprising a comprehensive walk-over search of the farmland, moorland and plantation woodlands. As discussed in section 1.3, the different landscape characters of the Upper Derwent affect potential survival and visibility of archaeological features. The areas covered by woodland, farmland and the reservoirs have been subject to greatest disturbance, yet occupy the parts of the valleys most likely to have attracted settlement and agricultural activity in the past. The same walk-over survey methodology was adopted for all areas. The main impediments to this approach were the lack of long-distance visibility in woodlands, a factor which increases survey time and the chances of missing features. The reservoirs were initially seen as unfortunately being a gap in the survey area because of the obvious barrier to investigation posed by the water. However, large parts of the reservoir beds were exposed during exceptionally dry weather in 1995 and the PDNPA took the opportunity of including them in the survey.

The survey area was divided into units that could be inspected in a day. Within each unit the land was systematically investigated by dividing it into rough transects, related to the local topography, which used prominent landmarks as pointers to align walking on. In this way all of the ground within the survey area was viewed at close quarters and, importantly, whether or not a parcel of land had been satisfactorily investigated was verifiable at the time of the fieldwork. Where prominent locations allowed good views of land on the other side of a valley, the opportunity was taken to get an overview of that piece of land before walking over it.

The survey also included archaeological artefacts discovered through systematic fieldwalking or by chance. At the beginning of the project it was envisaged that the only

artefacts to be included in the survey were to be either those already recorded in the county SMRs or kept by private individuals who gave access to their collections. The main collections are those of Arthur Henderson and Paul Ardron, who both fieldwalked the reservoir edges. Collectors have tended to give detailed grid references for finds eroding out of peat; however, for finds made on the draw-down zone of the reservoirs location information is more vague. It is generally accurate enough to tie down a scatter to within a specific collection area. There is usually not the detail to analyse variations in artefact densities within scatters. I was also able to organise some fieldwalking on the draw-down zones of the reservoirs, when low water levels allowed access; that was conducted by members of ARTEAMUS. ARTEAMUS is a local archaeological fieldwork society based in Sheffield and founded by members of the Division of Life-Long Learning, University of Sheffield – its members are drawn from throughout the Peak District and surrounding areas. One of the aims of the PDNPA Archaeology Service is to involve the wider public, including local communities, in an understanding and the conservation of the region's cultural heritage (PDNPA 2000). We work with volunteers where it is practical for the project we are engaged upon, where their work will benefit the Park's policy and where the volunteers will gain an appreciation of the Peak District landscape. Involvement in fieldwalking matched all three criteria because my time on the Upper Derwent survey did not include fieldwalking, while ARTEAMUS have developed a good reputation for conducting fieldwalking along the Peak District Transect in collaboration with Mark Edmonds, University of Sheffield, and John Barnatt, PDNPA.

Each fieldwalking area was divided into transects which were tied into the Ordnance Survey grid by use of an electronic distance measuring device (EDM). The three-dimensional location of the find of every stone tool was recorded using an EDM to match the system used on the Peak District fieldwalking transect (John Barnatt pers comm). This

transect crosses the region from west to east, passing through Bakewell, and taking in the various different geologies of the Park. All other finds were gathered and bagged by 10x10m squares within each transect.

Primary sources available in Chatsworth House, Sheffield Archives, Derbyshire Record Office and Lichfield Record Office were searched. Due to time constraints, the types of documents and collections were limited to those which were most relevant to interpreting land-use. These comprised historical maps (Ordnance Survey, estate, tithe and enclosure plans) with attached terriers where written, estate management records, probate inventories, highway surveys, enclosure awards. Public Record Office documents were referred to where published elsewhere, for example Domesday or Chancery Rolls. Published sources were also heavily referred to. A number of these were based on in-depth primary documentary research of specific themes, for example routes and trackways from the medieval period onwards. The handbook of the Sheffield Clarion Ramblers, published between 1902 and the 1960s, was an important source of information on the routes and commons of the area. The club promoted access to open spaces and the handbook's editor, GHB Ward, conducted extensive documentary research to investigate the historical rights of way in the region.

In total, 1,681 features were identified, of which only 153 had been previously recorded (Appendices 1-3, 11). These comprised structural features, earthworks, findspots, standing buildings and field boundaries including those dating from the 20th century. The majority of this work was conducted by myself, while some plantations as well as the reservoir bottoms were surveyed by Phil Sidebottom under my direction and some farm areas by John Barnatt. Discoveries were sketch-plotted on Ordnance Survey base maps according to the PDNPAAS Phase 1 archaeological survey standard. Within enclosed land 1:2500 base

maps were used, while on the open moorland maps at 1:10,000 were used. Locations, sizes and shapes of features were estimated and plotted by eye. Within enclosed land the locations of features were ascertained by estimating the proportional distance between two boundaries, that is, whether it lay half-way, one-third, etc from one boundary to the other. PDNPAAS estimates the accuracy of this method in enclosed land to be within 5m while on open moorland greater discrepancies can occur, possibly as much as up to 50m where there are no landmarks nearby included on the Ordnance Survey maps. Field notes were written as annotations to the base maps. Where a more complicated feature was encountered, such as the foundations of a settlement, a larger-scale sketch plan was produced at approximately 1:500 scale. Previously unknown burial barrows were recorded to the system developed by John Barnatt during his survey of barrows throughout the Peak District (Barnatt 1996a). This comprised laying a metric tape across the centre of the barrow to make a baseline from which taped measurements were taken to pictorially record the form and nature of the barrow, including surface features. A standard pro-forma was also completed to record the barrow's relationship with the surrounding landscape, including what land was visible from it, its nature, condition and any evidence for disturbance.

This form of walk-over survey allied to documentary research is very much suited to identifying archaeological features in a large previously uninspected region, such as the Upper Derwent, because they can be identified and recorded relatively quickly. The level of detail and accuracy is appropriate to the landscape approach where features are seen as elements within the wider landscape. The inter-relationships between features can be analysed to produce an interpretation of how the landscape has been used and how use has changed over time. Some of these interconnections can be interpreted from how features respect or slight each other, and often a relative chronology can be proposed. Detailed

descriptions of features as observed on the surface can also be made, including any variations in their form. Through this method the nature and use of the vast majority of features can be interpreted with a good degree of confidence. Documents provide valuable information for the medieval period onwards on the overall landscape and individual features that it should be considered a fundamental element of walk-over survey. Documents can provide key dates on which to hang the historical development of a place upon, the absence or presence of a feature at a certain time, and how specific locales were used and perceived. Most documents record the actions and concerns of the landowning classes so are inherently biased towards the concerns of those classes. This raises a number of key issues because it is within the structure of landownership that the lives and actions of those living in a place are carried out. We can read written texts to interpret changing perceptions held about the landscape, the social conditions of landlord–tenant relationships and aspects of how local and broader scales interacted.

After the Phase 1 survey was complete, I undertook Phase 2, which consisted of detailed, metric survey and excavation of a small number of features, conducted over a four-year period (Appendices 4-10). Features selected for detailed survey were those identified as being significantly important for their archaeology, requiring more detailed records for their adequate management, or suffering from erosion. A representative sample of features was selected, the majority of which were the sites of abandoned medieval or later farmsteads. Other surveyed features comprised two Romano-British settlements, a section of a paved packhorse route, four groups of prehistoric barrows, two lead-working hearths, and the navvy settlement known as Tin Town.

All of these features, except for Tin Town, were surveyed by tape using the offset method. A baseline was laid across the feature and tied into the Ordnance Survey grid using an

EDM or theodolite. Measurements of the feature were made to this baseline using fibreglass EEC Class II metric tapes. For extensive features, secondary baselines were set up where required, using EDM, theodolite or optical square to ascertain right-angles. Hachure plans of each feature were plotted at a scale of either 1:100 or 1:50. Due to the size of Tin Town, covering an area of approximately 1km by 200m, it was surveyed using a Topcon GTS-202 EDM and data downloaded on to a Husky data logger. A grid of 14 survey stations was first established. The results were manipulated and plotted using LSS land survey software.

During Phase 2 a number of features were identified as suffering from ongoing erosion caused by livestock or water action along the draw-down zone of the reservoirs. I undertook the direction of rescue excavations of three of these threatened sites: a 13th century lead hearth in Howden Clough (Appendix 10), a group of neolithic pits in Howden Reservoir (Appendix 5) and a 15th century lead hearth in Linch Clough (Appendix 8). These have provided more detailed information on these three sites, as well as preserving by record features which would otherwise have been lost. Excavation was carried out by hand using the PDNPAAS guidelines (PDNPAAS 1995). Each context was excavated separately and recorded on a context record sheet completed by the excavator responsible for removing the context. Single and multi-context plans were produced at 1:20 and sections were drawn at 1:10.

The survey has produced a large number of reports and associated archival information (Appendices 1-11). This 'grey literature' is unpublished but is archived and available for public consultation at the PDNPAAS offices in Bakewell and the relevant county SMRs that cover the Upper Derwent – Derbyshire and South Yorkshire. All reports were written for UDOWG and the area's landowners as tools for estate management and interpretation

to the public. Therefore, they attempt to present the results of fieldwork in a language and format suitable for this use by land managers rather than archaeologists. The reports produced during the Phase 1 survey contain a detailed description of each feature in the form of a catalogue linked to a series of features plans (Appendices 2-3). Interpretation is limited to that which is directly necessary for the better understanding of features and their context in the development of the historic landscape of the Upper Derwent.

The PDNPA archive reports included in Appendices 1- 11 are provided as a series of word and image files on a CD-Rom, specifically to avoid using the paper that would be required to print over 1000 pages of reports and creating an unwieldy thesis. Each report is stored in a folder, of the same name, as a word document which can be opened and read onscreen or printed out. Accompanying drawings are stored in the folder as TIFF files that are given the name of the illustration number used in the report text. These can opened in an image viewing application as required. There is also a text file called Readme First that containing notes on accessing the Appendices, and their contents. The CD requires only windows explorer (or its equivalent), a word processing application and an image viewer to open – all of which are standard on a home computer operating system, such as Microsoft Windows or Apple Mac OS.

1.8 Organisation of Thesis

The remainder of the thesis is divided into nine chapters, eight of which are historical discussions of specific periods interpreting the evidence of the area itself – on its own terms – and trying to understand how occupation was related to wider social trends and *conjonctures*. I have broken down each chapter into themes for the sake of clarity. Experiencing the world does not fit neatly into categories, and the ways through which people interact with different scales are not so clear-cut or static. Each chapter finishes with a discussion that moves between different scales of analysis to bring together the interpretation in a less subdivided narrative.

In dividing the long temporal scale into shorter time periods, artificial chronological divisions are utilised to make feasible the discussion of the otherwise continual sequence of time. The periods will be related to developments observed in the archaeological evidence of the Upper Derwent as well as wider social trends rather than allowed to stand as arbitrary boundaries. Periodisation can also tend towards giving somewhat static 'snapshots in time' rather than emphasizing the social dynamics of history. Chapter discussions will therefore summarise the changes for each period.

The final chapter is a discussion that brings the interpretation of the Upper Derwent's landscape history into a single sequence. This discusses the key themes to have come out of the study about how generations of people inhabit this landscape over such a long period of time, and the implications of the results of the approach for archaeology. There are some explorations of how the landscape may develop in the future and recommendations for further research.

A note on radiocarbon dates. I have endeavoured to present radiocarbon dates as the determination BP which I have calibrated to 2 sigma using OxCal calibration software. This has not been possible where authors have not published the original uncalibrated date.

Chapter 2

Moving Through the Forest – Mesolithic to Early Neolithic

2.1 Introduction

The time-span of this chapter covers parts of two traditional archaeological periods – the mesolithic and early neolithic. I will first discuss the Peak District evidence to identify the regional context of patterns of land-use and long-term historical processes. Then I will describe and interpret the evidence for occupation in the Upper Derwent, including its changing nature from the early mesolithic to the later mesolithic/early neolithic, the character of the mesolithic–neolithic transition and how this relates to the regional picture. Environmental evidence and lithics provide the sole sources of data in the Upper Derwent, an area that is devoid of any built structures until the later neolithic. Lithic assemblages indicate some of the locations of activities and settlements which can be interpreted in the context of the assemblage compositions, topographical relationships and published regional vegetational histories.

The adoption of agriculture is one of the major archaeological issues of this time-span and is viewed as one of the defining phases in the history of human society. The nature of the evidence in the Upper Derwent has encouraged me not to separate the two periods into two chapters, but to interpret them together in order to explore the issues of change and continuity.

The question of the impact of agriculture on existing communities, or the mesolithic–neolithic transition, has been debated: was it solely an economic phenomenon (Zvelebil 1986) or an ideological one (Thomas 1991)? Was it a revolution that quickly moved society from wild to tame accompanied by the rapid introduction of a complete neolithic package including material culture, domesticates and burial rites (Childe 1963; Thomas 1991), or was it a more prolonged diffusion of ideas exhibiting both greater continuity of mesolithic traditions and a much slower spread of new forms of material culture with significant regional variations (Pluciennik 1998)? Greater regional variation and longer time frames have led some to define the whole of the neolithic as the period of transition (ibid).

Indigenous communities encountered what we call the neolithic in different ways and had different perceptions of the elements we define the neolithic as comprising – pottery, polished lithics and domesticated animals and plants (Armit and Finlayson 1992). Domesticating cattle did not automatically include the adoption of pottery or new forms of lithics, and people may have chosen to use or ignore exotic types of material culture. The overall impression for the Peak District is that the latter was the case (Garton 1991), with very few changes being observed in the lithics record during the early neolithic, and different elements appearing at different times (Hind 2000).

There are differences apparent in the size and density of lithics assemblages in the Upper Derwent, especially between moorland and valley locations, and explanation of this variability is another issue that will be explored in this chapter. I shall investigate to what extent this is a factor of lithics retrieval, including the physical nature of finds locations, the effects of erosion and collection strategies, before moving on to the interpret whether differences in the assemblages relate to land-use at the time of deposition. Influencing factors may be the nature of tasks undertaken in relation to resources associated with variations in vegetation and topography, and the scale and longevity of settlement.

The nature and degree of settlement mobility has been identified as an important research question in northern England neolithic studies (Frodsham 2000), and requires investigation in the Upper Derwent. While it has long been recognised that mobility was central to the occupation of the landscape during the mesolithic (G. Clarke 1954; Radley and Mellars 1964), the neolithic has traditionally been seen as a period when settlement became permanent (Barker 1985; Megaw and Simpson 1979; Piggott 1954). More recently, mobility has been interpreted as an important factor of the neolithic (Edmonds 1999; Ford 1987; Pollard 1999; Thomas 1991; Whittle 1997). In approaching the question of occupation permanence, attempts have been made to define mobility and sedentism as settlement options in the later mesolithic and early neolithic (Pollard 1999; Whittle 1997). Settlement mobility/sedentism can be characterised into residential mobility, which involves wholesale movement at varying intervals; logistical mobility, which involves establishing the whole community at a base, with tactical forays into surrounding landscape; and embedded mobility, where a territorially restricted group visits the same places each season using fixed facilities such as houses (Whittle 1997). These patterns of mobility may be associated with short-term sedentism where individual settlements last a single year to a generation.

Mobility does not necessarily end with the adoption of farming – the building of houses, cultivating crops and tending livestock can be incorporated into planned movement. Fully sedentary lifestyles, involving the permanent occupation of specific sites over generations, can only be identified with confidence during the neolithic in the Northern Isles of Scotland (Pollard 1999). Complex patterns of short-range shifting settlement may have been common, with people relocating occupation from one locale to another, perhaps within a well-defined region, and possibly every few years (Whittle 1997). The whole community is not necessarily tied to living together all year long and sections may separate to occupy other locations in relation to perceived needs and desires, such as lithics acquisition or livestock pasture.

2.2 Peak District Context: Mesolithic to Early Neolithic Vegetation History

Environmental work with results relevant to the mesolithic and early neolithic has been conducted at a small number of locations in the Peak District. Work by Tallis in the High Peak, north of the Upper Derwent, provides the most comprehensive study of the vegetational history and was conducted in a landscape comparable to the study area (Jacobi, Tallis and Mellars 1976; Tallis 1964a, 1964b, 1991; Tallis and Switsur 1990). Cores taken on the limestone plateau have produced results relevant to the impact of later mesolithic and early neolithic activity on vegetation (Taylor et al 1994; Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). Some of Sheila Hicks's work on the Eastern Moors is relevant to the 5th and 4th millennia BC, as is work at Ringinglow Bog to the east of the Upper Derwent (Conway 1954; Hicks 1971, 1972).

2.2.1 Early Mesolithic

In the High Peak, the immediate post-glacial vegetation has been characterised as arctic tundra from peat cores taken at Robinson's Moss, Longdendale (Tallis and Switsur 1990). Non-arboreal pollen, including *Calluna*, Cyperaceae, *Empetrum*, Filicales, *Filipendula*, Poaceae and Tubuliflorae dominate the basal part of the pollen diagram (ibid, 861). These open conditions were slowly colonised by birch, hazel, pine and willow by the early 8th millennium BC, 8950±80 BP (8290-7820 Cal. BC - Q 2320). Oak, alder, ash and lime followed to form an altitudinally zoned forest approximately 8775±90 BP (8250-7600 Cal. BC – Q 2321). Tallis has interpreted the evidence as indicating that in the High Peak, mixed forests filled the valleys with oak dominating on the lower moors up to about 425m O.D. Above this, the woodland began to thin out and oak gave way to pine

and birch. Ground above approximately 500m was covered by hazel, willow and birch scrub. At this time Britain basked in the best climate of the last 20,000 years and its most extensive woodland cover (Simmons 1996). If the Upper Derwent vegetation was similar to that at Longdendale, approximately 4km to the north-west, it would have been wooded like this during the early mesolithic with even the high plateaux around Bleaklow, Margery Hill and Kinder being covered with light scrub.

Within the altitudinal banding of species, the nature of the forest would have been extremely diverse in terms of extent of the canopy, age of trees and distribution of species. There would have been significant gaps in the woodland, caused by the death and regeneration of trees as a result of a number of factors including storms, fire and grazing animals (Vera 2000). Vera has investigated the lowland woodlands in Europe and the eastern United States, and concluded that the traditional view of the forest as a stable and continuous entity was wrong, and that a more dynamic and diverse landscape existed in the post-glacial 'wildwood'. To summarise Vera, grasslands are created in gaps by grazing mammals, thorny scrub colonises these openings from adjacent woodland and spreads progressively across the open ground. Seedlings growing amongst the scrub are protected from herbivores and grow to maturity to form extensive woodlands. The shade of the canopy limits scrub regeneration and allows grazing animals to browse amongst the woodland, so reducing the regeneration of trees. The canopy slowly opens up as fewer dead trees can be replaced, allowing more grasses and herbs to establish themselves and slowly create open grasslands. This theory indicates a landscape that was a mosaic of woodlands, scrub and grasslands that comprised a diversity of habitats, plants and animals.

2.2.2 Later Mesolithic to Early Neolithic

During the later mesolithic there is stability in the composition and altitudinal zonation of the High Peak forests until the mid-5th millennium BC, as indicated by the consistency in pollen spectra at Robinson's Moss between 7675±65 BP (6640-6420 Cal. BC – Q 2273) and 5470±50 BP (4460-4160 Cal. BC – Q 2434) (Tallis and Switsur 1990), and comparison of pollen diagrams with profiles taken from Alport Moor and Snake Pass, both Hope Woodlands (Tallis 1991). However, while species composition remains mostly constant, this period is matched by increases in quantities of grassland and bog species, including *Calluna*, Cyperaceae, Poaceae, Potentilla and Rumex, and the presence

of Corylus charcoal (ibid). This has been interpreted as a sequence of peat formation beginning during the later 6th millennium BC off flat or gently sloping high altitude plateaux above 550m O.D., such as the Kinder massif, and reaching a lowest elevation of 400m O.D. in the fourth millennium BC (Tallis 1991; Tallis and Switsur 1973). Peat formation was dated at Leash Fen, on the lower lying Eastern Moors, to 4300±150 bc – GaK 2284 (Hicks 1971).

Peat forms where water transpiration and run-off is reduced so ground becomes waterlogged (Moore and Bellamy 1974). As peat grows it acts as a reservoir, further reducing drainage of precipitation. Blanket mires, characteristic of north-west Britain, tend to first develop as bogs in water-collecting basins and depressions. Under favourable conditions, the reservoir capabilities of peat can allow bog to spread across surrounding areas, covering large tracts of land where topography is suitable (ibid). Podsolisation, too, occurs in wet conditions, whereby organic material washed down from the peaty layer attacks minerals in the underlying soil and forms soluble iron compounds that are then leached down the profile and redeposited as a thin, hard layer of iron-pan (Ball 1975). This further limits drainage, and creates more acidic soils, so encouraging the rate at which blanket peat can spread away from basins. Peat accumulation was a slow process, with an average of between 20 and 80cm every 1,000 years calculated for British bogs, with the greatest rate of formation occurring during the 8th and 7th millennia BC (Walker 1970).

At Carsington, on the south-east edge of the limestone plateau, unpublished work by James Grig shows the development of lime dominated woodland in the mid-Holocene (pers comm). At Lismore Fields, a pollen core taken at approximately 300m O.D. indicates a more open landscape of woodland, grassland and heath compared to the High Peak prior to 6000 BP, a date estimated from a radiocarbon date of 6630±80 BP (4550-4160 Cal. BC – OxA 1978) (Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). This was followed by the regeneration of a mixed deciduous woodland within which there were open areas. Cereal pollen appeared sometime between the estimated dates of 5740 and 5045 BP, and became more abundant by 4460±100 BP (3500-2850 Cal. BC – OxA 1977) (ibid). Cereal grains from post-holes of a building were radiocarbon dated to 4930± 70 BP (3950-3530 Cal. BC – OxA 2434) and 4970±70 BP (3950-3640 Cal. BC – OxA 2436) (Garton in prep). More sustained and

extensive clearance begins in the late part of the millennium, while both tree and cereal pollen increases during the 4th millennium BC (Wiltshire and Edwards 1993).

A temporary phase of forest clearance in the mid-5th millennium BC, shortly above a date of 5780±90 BP (4850-4400 Cal. BC – Beta 68243) and widespread disturbance at 5190 ±60 BP (4230-3800 Cal. BC – Beta 64033) accompanied by an increase in non-arboreal pollen (but no cereals) is indicated in pollen cores from Lathkill Dale (Taylor et al 1994). Studies across the Eastern Moors indicates that by the early 5th millennium BC, the natural vegetation on the gritstone hills was dense woodland up to altitudes of at least 400m (Conway 1954; Hicks 1971, 1972). A reduction in woodland associated with a widespread decline in elm and the appearance of grassland species, is dated to the late 5th and early 4th millennium BC; (3040±140 BC (4250-3350 Cal. BC – GaK 2293) and 2820±110 BC (3800-3100 Cal. BC – GaK 2294) at Totley Moss and Hipper Sick respectively (Hicks 1971, 1972). Cereal pollen was not securely identified until later. Hicks took samples from a transect that ran north to south along the approximate watershed of the gritstone moorlands, with sites located at Ringinglow Bog, Totley Moss, Salter Sitch, White Edge, Leash Fen and Hipper Sick. The nearest of these to the Upper Derwent are Ringinglow Bog, approximately 6km to the south-east at 410m O.D., and Totley Moss, 8km to the south-east at 370m O.D.

These environmental samples show that in various areas of the Peak District, there was a transition from dense woodland cover to mixed vegetation containing open areas of grassland during the 5th to 4th millennia BC. In the High Peak this began in the 6th millennium and was associated with the spread of peat. Small amounts of cereals appear in the 5th millennium at Lismore Fields. Variations in the pollen composition and chronology of vegetational changes between different samples indicates that they give a localised record of the environment rather than a regional depiction (Edwards 1979). The heavily wooded environment would reduce the distances of pollen travel to the immediate local area (Hicks 1971). It is therefore impossible to use a group of samples from one geological zone in the Peaks, such as the Eastern Moors, as a model to directly transfer to elsewhere in the region (Garton 1991). Instead, they are of greatest use as comparative material to discuss the patterns of land-use elsewhere in the region and to frame potential research questions for future environmental work in the Upper Derwent.

A slowly shifting pattern of woodland, scrub and clearings would have provided a diverse range of habitats throughout the mesolithic and neolithic (Vera 2000). Clearings are important because they attract large game animals, such as deer, to the more abundant vegetation that grows with better access to light, are suitable for pasturing livestock and growing cereals, and provide the space for settlement areas. Clearings appear naturally as a result of lightning strikes, wild fires, gales or wild grazing pressure and it is likely that they always formed an element of the post-glacial landscape. Once made, they may be maintained over long periods of time, potentially lasting hundreds of years, by repeatedly attracting herbivores even after human occupation is abandoned (Buckland and Edwards 1983). Studies of European and North American forests have shown that traces of previous human clearance activity can remain in the landscape as patterns of differential vegetation colonisation for periods of over 500 years (Vera 2000). This does not imply that clearings were permanent features, but that natural and human activity created a slowly shifting mosaic of mature forest, clearings and regenerating growth.

The gradual increase in open areas seen in the Eastern Moors and limestone plateau pollen evidence during the 5th and 4th millennia BC, and the spread of peat moorland on the gritstone uplands in the 6th to 4th millennia BC, suggest that there were influences on the landscape that reduced the natural extent of woodland regeneration as part of the mosaic. Tallis views the High Peak evidence as suggesting that human activity during the mesolithic, in tandem with the onset of a wetter climate, led to the extensive spread of peat. It is thought that the vegetation and ground cover of the High Peak was repeatedly burnt, as suggested by the concentrated finds of carbon and charcoal, typically at the junction between the mineral soil and overlying peat, in virtually every palaeoecological sample contemporary with the mesolithic (Jacobi, Tallis and Mellars 1976; Simmons 1996). It is difficult to distinguish between anthropogenic and natural fires, however, the high quantities of charcoal, preserved both as fine charcoal rain and spreads of charcoal, are greater than can be explained by domestic or natural fires, and tree pollen indicates that woodland growth above 350m O.D. was suppressed during the later mesolithic even though small numbers of preserved tree stumps indicate suitable growing conditions (Simmons 1996; Tallis 1991). This coincidence of charcoal, mesolithic occupation and vegetational change is unlikely to be accidental. The most compelling interpretation of this evidence is the use of burning to modify woodlands as part of landscape management strategies, including the creation or improvement of clearings to encourage

lush ground vegetation to attract grazing animals and the use of fire to drive animals towards hunters (Lewis 1982; Simmons 1996). While forest clearance, or at least impeding natural regeneration, was a sustainable strategy in lowland areas, where woodland regenerated easily, this was not so on the higher ground of uplands such as the Dark Peak which have naturally high rainfall (Barnatt and Smith 1997). It was not until the 4th millennium BC before most of the higher ground above 400m O.D. was covered, while below this, mixed woodland remained (Tallis 1991; Tallis and Switsur 1973). The spread of peat occurred over a long time-span and was, therefore, not something that would be obvious within the lifetime of one generation.

2.3 Peak District Context: Review of Regional Evidence and Interpretations

2.3.1 Mesolithic: Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological evidence for mesolithic activity in the Peak District largely comprises stone tools and waste from their production, though hearths and arrangements of post-holes or stones afford tantalising glimpses of settlements. We define the mesolithic in both technological and chronological terms as a post-glacial period when people employed characteristic microliths that were much smaller than palaeolithic tools. Worked stone, mainly dark chert from the limestone plateau or flint from sources beyond the region, has been found in almost every parish of the Peak District (Barnatt and Smith 1997).

Distribution maps of the Peak District show the densest concentrations on the shales to the south of the limestone plateau, where ploughing is most common, and in the north of the High Peak where erosion of peat is greatest (Hart 1981). There are a number of mesolithic assemblages on moorlands around the Upper Derwent in the High Peak (Illustration 2.1). Sites have been found on Broomhead Moors, Mickleden Edge, Hingcliffe Hill, Pike Low, Bradfield, Deepcar, Stanage Edge, Burbage, Moscar Cross and Totley (Hind 2000; Radley and Mellars 1964). The moorland assemblages vary in size from under 10 to over 400 implements, while approximately 23,000 pieces have been discovered at Deepcar overlooking the confluence of the Don and Porter valleys (Radley and Mellars 1964). Sites are widely scattered, except at Mickleden Edge where four concentrations lie in close proximity to each other, and most common on east to south-east facing slopes off the summit between 300 and 400m O.D. (ibid). A wide range of flint and black chert implements are common. Chert originates from the limestone

plateau and Yorkshire Dales, and flints from the Yorkshire/Lincolnshire Wolds, tills to the east or on the Cheshire Plain, and the Trent gravels to the south (Brooks 1989; Buckland and Dolby 1973). Approximately 18km to the north of the Upper Derwent lies Marsden Moor which has the highest density of recorded mesolithic findspots in England and Wales, including assemblages at March Hill, March Hill Carr, Dan Clough, Lominot and Dean Clough (Spikins 1999).

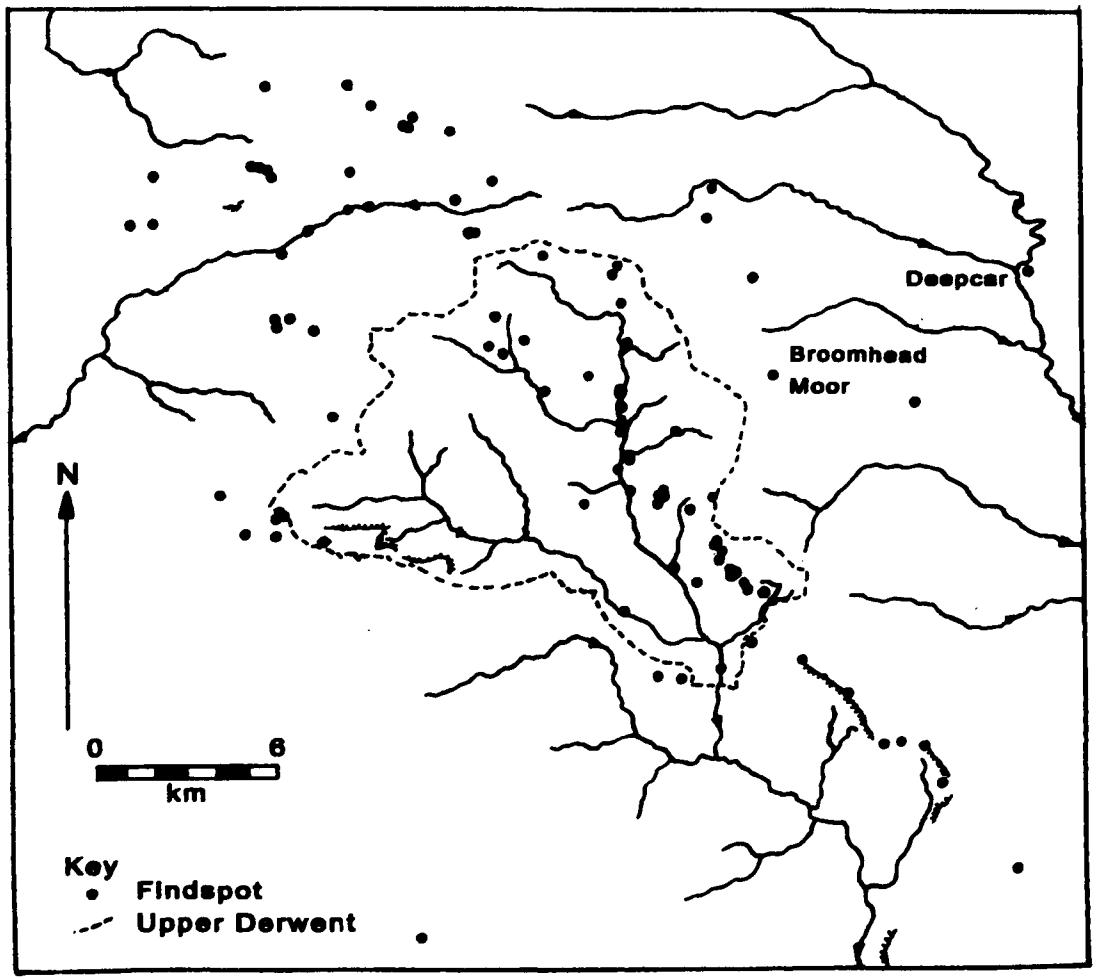


Illustration 2.1. Locations of Mesolithic sites in the Dark Peak

Most mesolithic finds in the uplands of northern England, including the Peak District, are found between 350m and 450m O.D., which approximately corresponds with the upper edge of enclosed pasture and the start of moorland (Simmons 1996). Upland sites tend to be found at places of high visibility, often on south-facing slopes and at riverheads (Spikins 1999).

It is recognised that there are spatial biases in the locations of finds caused by the uneven distribution of amateur collecting and the concentration of ploughing in the south-east of the region (Barnatt 1996c; Garton 1991). Hind (2000) has suggested that the high occurrence of finds in the High Peak is a product of the high number of amateur collectors who have focused their attention on the moorlands. Until recently, amateur collections provided the bulk of lithics evidence in the region. He also makes the point that local moorland distributions are related to locations most susceptible to peat erosion and the favoured footpaths followed by collectors. On a broader scale across the southern Pennines, there appears to be little correlation between the densest locations of lithics sites and the most severe peat erosion (Spikins 1999).

Recent fieldwalking projects have investigated some of these distributions with a more systematic approach to collection strategies, including the ongoing work of the Peak District Fieldwalking Project. This is an east–west transect running from the Dove Valley in the west to the Eastern Moors in the east investigating ploughed fields in all of the major landscape zones of the region: limestone plateau, shale valleys and gritstone uplands (Myers 1991; John Barnatt pers comm). Preliminary analysis of work done along this transect in the 1980s indicates that 50% of fieldwalked fields on the limestone plateau contained later mesolithic material compared to 25% in the valleys and 29% on the gritstone uplands (Myers 1991). Studies of material discovered during a second phase of fieldwalking in the late 1990s emphasises this contrast in terms of lithic densities, which were higher on the limestone plateau. Over 20 finds per hectare were made in 50% of fields on the plateau, while only 14% of fields in the valleys and no fields on the gritstone managed more than 10 finds per hectare (Hind 2000). On the Eastern Moors, mesolithic artefacts mainly comprise individual finds and small scatters with very few discrete concentrations. During an assessment of the effects of peat erosion on known lithics findspots recorded in the county SMR on Tintwhistle Moor, to the north of the Upper Derwent, sites were inspected in the 1980s and early 1990s (Garton [n.d.]). Ten scatters were discovered, ranging from a single blade to an assemblage of 40 pieces including flakes, cores and blades, all of which were mesolithic in date. Less than ten artefacts were found at five locations, between 11 and 20 pieces at one site and 21 to 40 pieces at four sites. Subsequent excavation of one of the larger findspots resulted in the recovery of a further 74 pieces. Flint, probably from the Cheshire Plain, and black and grey chert from the limestone plateau or Yorkshire Dales were present. Of possible

significance for interpreting mesolithic use of the high uplands was the observation that scatters were either predominantly knapping waste or solely implements suggesting a separation of production and use (ibid).

Many scatters are very small, sometimes no more than one or two tools, while others are the much larger assemblages of dozens or hundreds of pieces. They are most commonly found near watersheds or scarp edges above valleys; there is an almost continuous sequence of knapping sites along the top of Stanage Edge, for example, which would have provided relatively clear routes around the dense valley forests (Hind 2000).

Earlier assemblages are dominated by non-geometric microliths mainly made from flint, while those of a later date comprise smaller, more-geometric microliths produced in both flint, predominantly from the Cheshire Plain, and fine-grained black chert from the limestone plateau of the Peak District (Hind 2000; Myers 1986). Early mesolithic findspots also tend to comprise smaller numbers of pieces and an abundance of preformed cores, while many later assemblages are larger and include unmodified blocks of source material (ibid).

A number of mesolithic structures have been found on the fringes of the Peak District. At Deepcar, South Yorkshire, 12km east of the Upper Derwent, one of the few structures of the early mesolithic was excavated in the 1960s (Radley and Mellars 1964). Quartzite blocks and sandstone flags were arranged in an oval pattern interpreted by the excavators as the possible footing of a windbreak. Within this was a roughly circular setting of gritstone blocks approximately 4 by 3m across, inside which were three hearths. A total of 23,000 flint and chert tools and waste flakes were found concentrated within the structures and continuing to the south. Most of these were Wolds flint. A series of five stakeholes on Broomhead Moor, approximately 4km east of the Upper Derwent, have been interpreted as a windbreak near to a paved area and hearths radiocarbon dated to 8573 BP ± 100 BP (8000-7350 Cal. BC – Q 800) in association with lithics (Radley et al 1974).

2.3.2 Into the Early Neolithic: Archaeological Evidence

Lithics scatters also dominate the early neolithic, assemblages of tools and waste flakes representing the locations of settlements, tool-production sites, the deliberate funerary or

ceremonial deposition of implements in the ground and hunting (Barnatt and Smith 1997). As for the mesolithic, fieldwalking has provided the bulk of data and has been prone to the same distributional biases towards the limestone plateau, based on amateur collecting and recent ploughing. The Peak District Fieldwalking Project (see section 2.3.1) was again able to identify early neolithic lithics as being distributed across the three topographical zones of the Peak District. Differences between zones were less marked when compared to later mesolithic material – 20% of fieldwalked fields on the limestone plateau contained material, 33% in the shale valleys and 14% on the gritstone uplands (Myers 1991). At Roystone Grange, an extensive test-pitting survey identified later mesolithic to early neolithic material (Hodges 1991a). Small concentrations of 7th to 4th millennium material are distributed across the landscape, typified by small concentrations of limited tool types or stray finds (Myers 1992). The only discernable shift in distribution is one from an even coverage of 7th to 5th millennium material in the valley and on the surrounding hills, to an absence of 4th millennium material in the valley (Hind 2000). Similarly, at Dirtlow and Bradwell Moor there is evidence for 7th to 4th millennium activity on the limestone plateau overlooking the Hope Valley (Dearne 1997; Guilbert et al 1995, 1997). There is also the identification of mesolithic and neolithic material occupying the same area at Lismore Fields (Garton in prep). This correspondence in the patterning of later mesolithic and early neolithic material is seen across the Peak District (Hind 2000) and throughout much of the Central Pennines, so indicating a continuity in the use of places across the early mesolithic, later mesolithic and early neolithic (Spikins 1999).

There are a number of difficulties in assigning fieldwalking assemblages to either the later mesolithic or early neolithic. The difficulty in separating the two periods is because many of the early neolithic tool-working practices, involving the systematic working of cores, and raw materials are similar to those of the later mesolithic (Hind 2000). Microlith manufacture appears to continue relatively late in the Pennine Chain (Spikins 1999). The two most common diagnostic early neolithic implements found by fieldwalking are polished stone axes and arrowheads, the latter being a category of tool most likely to be lost away from settlement locations and incorporated into assemblages of other periods (Garton 1991).

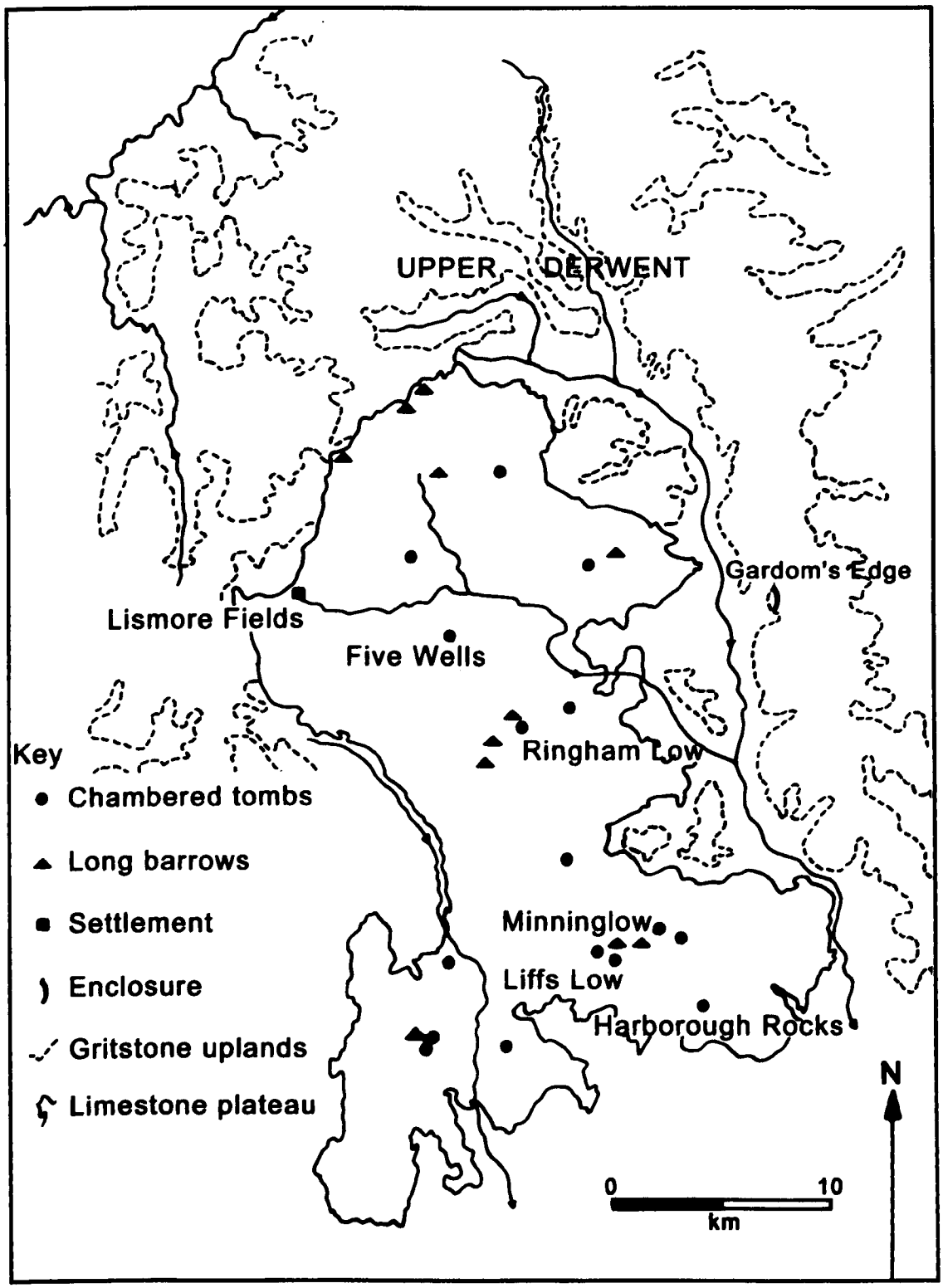


Illustration 2.2. Locations of Early Neolithic chambered tombs, long barrows, settlement and enclosures in the Peak District

Perhaps the biggest identified difference between the mesolithic and early neolithic was in the construction of monumental tombs and gathering places during the latter. There are between seven and 11 long barrows and between eight and 16 chambered tombs, three of which comprise chambers within long barrows, surviving in the Peak District

(Illustration 2.2). By analogy with monuments in other regions of Britain, the majority are most likely to date to the 4th millennium BC, though there are no radiocarbon dates and few diagnostic artefacts in secure contexts (Barnatt 1996a). There is evidence at some sites for long and complex histories, which may have continued to the 3rd millennium BC (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001), and a great variety in layout and design between individual tombs (Barnatt 1996a). All were built on the limestone plateau and tend to occupy positions located either near to watersheds or overlooking lower shelves and basins (Barnatt 1996c). At least four of the chambered tombs, including Minninglow and Five Wells, are passage graves where access to the interior was maintained; while up to 12 of the sites, such as Liffs Low and Ringham Low, are closed chambers that lack easy access to their interiors (Barnatt 1996a). A passage grave at Harborough Rocks contained a rear chamber where skulls and pelvic bones were deposited, a passage with limb and rib bones, and in front of this was a deposit of the remains of at least five humans accompanied by pottery and very fine leaf-shaped arrowheads (J. Ward 1890). Possible forecourts between simple horns have been observed at Long Low and Ringham Low (Barnatt 1996a).

A large stone-built bank enclosing the top of Gardom's Edge, Baslow, has recently been proposed as early neolithic in date because of its stratigraphic relationship to elements of a later prehistoric cairnfield and the clustering of earlier lithics, recovered within test-pit transects, in its vicinity (Barnatt et al 1995, 2002. Illustration 2.3). The bank is over 600m long and displays variability in build along its length, which is broken by a number of entrances. There is evidence for phasing, the erection of timber posts and burning of large amounts of wood at the northern end (Barnatt et al 1998). The interior of the enclosure is densely boulder-strewn. Charcoal samples are still awaiting dating that will securely date the bank. Another, similar, enclosure has recently been discovered at Cratcliff Rocks, Harthill (Makepeace 1999) and the enigmatic enclosed outcrop of Carl Wark, Sheffield, has also been interpreted as an early neolithic enclosure, though iron age and early medieval dates have also been postulated (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hart 1981; Savage 1999). In contrast to tombs, which are restricted to the limestone plateau, the enclosures are all on the gritstone of the Eastern Moors and outlying outcrops.

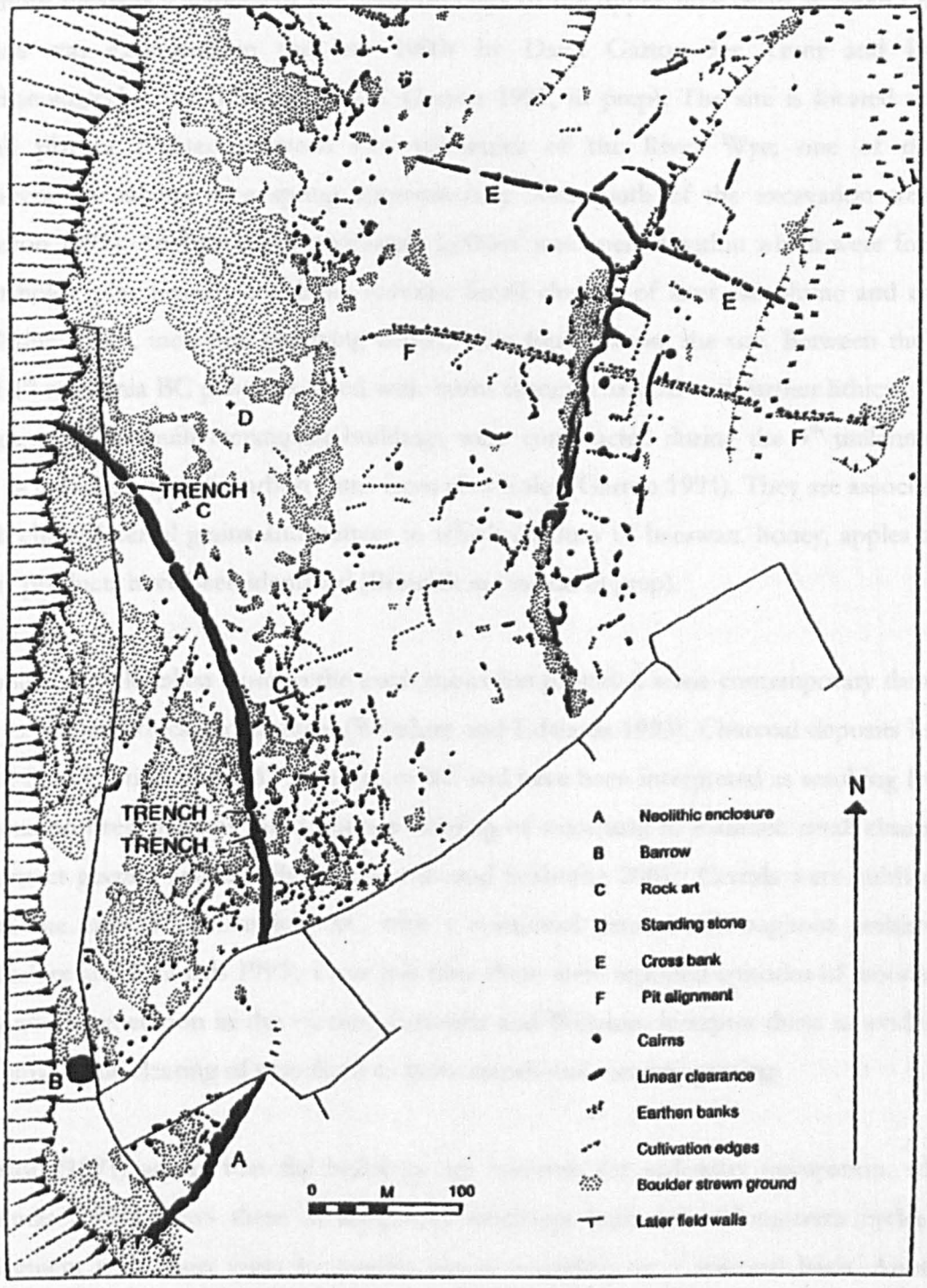


Illustration 2.3. Gardom's Edge enclosure, Baslow. From Barnatt et al 2001

2.3.3 Lismore Fields and Roystone Grange

There are two locations in the Peak District where occupation locales dating to the mesolithic and early neolithic have been investigated in some detail: Lismore Fields, Buxton, and Roystone Grange, Ballidon.

Lismore Fields is a settlement site lying on clays of the upper Wye basin at 300m O.D. which was excavated in the late 1980s by Daryl Garton for Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust (Illustration 2.2. Garton 1991, in prep). The site is located on a small plateau situated between two tributaries of the River Wye, one of these watercourses issuing as a spring approximately 90m south of the excavation trench (Garton 1991). An area of approximately 3,000m^2 was opened within which were found post-holes, pits, hearths and lithic scatters. Small clusters of later mesolithic and early neolithic lithics, including knapping debris, were found across the site. Between the 5th and 4th millennia BC pits were filled with burnt stones, charcoal and further lithics. Two or three timber-built rectangular buildings were constructed during the 4th millennium BC as indicated by radiocarbon dates from post-holes (Garton 1991). They are associated with charred cereal grains and pottery in which residues of beeswax, honey, apples and dairy products have been identified (Beswick in Garton in prep).

A pollen sample taken close to the excavations has provided some contemporary data to the excavated lithics and features (Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). Charcoal deposits have been found dating to the 6th millennium BC and have been interpreted as resulting from vegetation fires, perhaps the deliberate burning of woodland to maintain small clearings to attract grazing animals (ibid; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Cereals were cultivated from the early 5th millennium BC with a continued presence throughout prehistory (Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). Over this time there were repeated episodes of woodland loss and regeneration in the vicinity. Edwards and Wiltshire interpret these as evidence for small-scale clearing of woodland to grow cereals and creating grazing.

Garton (1991) argues that the buildings are evidence for sedentary occupation, while Thomas (1991) views them as temporary dwellings built within long-term cycles of movement with short visits to specific places occurring on a seasonal basis. Another interpretation is that they represent sustained occupation over a number of years within a pattern of shifting settlement (Pollard 1999).

Analysis of prehistoric artefact distributions was an important element of the Roystone Grange project. The farm is currently undisturbed pastureland and the interpretation of agricultural settlement since the Romano-British period suggests that pasture has dominated the valley for at least 2,000 years (Hodges 1991a). In the absence of ploughed

fields for fieldwalking, transects of test-pits across the hill-tops surrounding the valley were employed and compared with material found in the valley-based excavations. Though not analysed indepth at the time, a later study of the material showed that there was activity or occupation across the study area during the mesolithic and early neolithic (Hind 2000). The material was dominated by local cherts with the presence of some flint. Small concentrations and stray finds of lithics were evenly spread on the hills and in the valley, while larger concentrations were absent. A group of worked cores was found by a sheltered water source, suggesting the manufacture of tools for later use at this favoured location. Diagnostic early neolithic tools were absent from the highest ground with the largest assemblages being found on the lower hills and slopes.

2.3.4 Contrasting Interpretative Models: Myers and Hind

The region's evidence for the mesolithic and the transition to the neolithic has been interpreted very differently in two major studies. One model sees mesolithic activity revolving around the procurement and processing of game within the context of a mainly meat-based diet with activity being largely environmentally determined (Myers 1986). Another model builds on the work of Myers but sees mesolithic diet as being more balanced between meat and plants, and proposes that the gathering of plant foods, creation of clearings and procurement of stone was more socially involved than a simple reaction to the environment (Hind 2000).

Beginning with Myers, he proposes that differences in sizes and composition of lithics scatters indicate differences in the locations and types of procurement strategies employed (Myers 1986, 224). In the early mesolithic, spring and summer were taken up with encounter-based hunting, while valley locations were used in the autumn for specialised intercept-hunting of red deer. Meat from the autumn hunt was then stored and used over winter, which was spent in coastal locations. The interpretation of an upland to coastal occupation range is based on two elements. First, Myers has identified White flint, attributed to sources on the Wolds, as comprising 80-99% of pieces in early mesolithic Peak District assemblages (ibid, 311). Second, Myers has used a model of embedded procurement as the main form of stone acquisition (ibid, 66). The spread of woodland by the 7th millennium BC is thought to have removed conditions suitable for an autumnal intercept-hunt by blocking deer-migration routes (ibid, 221). In the later mesolithic, the raw material composition of assemblages changes. There are much higher

percentages of chert and till/gravel flint, often comprising over 80% of a scatter, while White flint is absent or forms a negligible proportion of sites (ibid, 367). Raw materials were transported in unmodified form from procurement sites to longer-occupancy settlements to provide an adequate supply of tool blanks for use where needed. Tool styles became more regionalised and raw materials more locally sourced, suggesting that territories shrank. Myers sees this as resulting from adaptation to the wooded environment by more generalized and opportunistic subsistence strategies that replaced the logistical mobility of the autumn hunt with the hunting of dispersed, non-migratory animal populations accompanied by greater residential mobility (ibid, 375). People are thought to have actively hunted in winter, and developed strategies to manage game, such as creating clearings.

He does not consider gift exchange as a predominant means of acquiring flint because there is no observed linear reduction in numbers of pieces over distance from source, both in the early and later mesolithic (ibid, 395). He therefore interprets the acquisition of stone materials during the mesolithic as by visiting sources embedded as part of routines of movement across the landscape. The transition to early neolithic is explained by Myers as a continuation of the long-established economic goal of developing further risk-reduction strategies. Organising labour for crop planting, weeding and harvesting is seen as tying people to areas, so replacing mobile lifestyles with sedentary ones. He sees this as affecting lithics procurement because the reduction of residential mobility would leave many communities isolated from lithics sources.

Turning now to Hind, he concentrates on the later mesolithic and early neolithic. He interprets differences in lithics scatters as showing that different places were visited at different scales of occupation and longevity of stay: some were home to persistent use over a long time, some were used over more limited periods and others were used episodically over and over again. Quite often their size suggests residence by no more than an extended family. The time taken to create and/or maintain clearings suggests that these were far from opportunistic, but bound up with the creation and maintenance of personal and communal identity. Decisions taken and activities required to make clearings would be within the context of communal experience of previous woodland clearance. Within traditions of clearance, people would have expectations about the right sorts of places to create them, how to go about it as a group and the form of personal

involvement. Once made, they then give a strong sense of place and tenurial responsibilities within residential mobility. Hind sees people as moving along paths of least resistance in a variably wooded landscape: the edges of precipitous dry valleys, rivers and the high watersheds. River edges were important locations because they supported a variety of resources such as edible seeds, tubers and greens as well as medicinal plants and herbs. Human selfhood would have been developed in part through interaction with other people and with animals in the context of attachment to land. Procuring stone would have been carried out within the context of inter-community relations and affirmation of tenurial identity. People from different communities may have come into contact at procurement sites in different ways and combinations to other tasks, as well as experiencing the remains of previous visits by others. Flints from the Wolds, Trent gravels and Cheshire Plain may have been acquired by exchange.

Hind's study of stone tool assemblages from the Peak District has led him to the conclusion that the mesolithic to neolithic transition is practically invisible in the lithics record, with blade-working traditions continuing much the same from the 5th to 4th millennia BC. Microlith manufacture in the Pennines appears to continue alongside the use of post-buildings and long cairns. While domestic livestock and cereal cultivation were adopted in the 5th and 6th millennia BC respectively they supplemented forager diets rather than replaced them. None of the so-called neolithic indicators occurred at the same time. It is therefore inappropriate to speak of two distinct periods, each with a set of essential practices. In Hind's model, the tasks associated with agriculture would have been incorporated into existing traditions of landscape occupation.

2.3.5 Interpretation: People, Places and Paths in the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic

Based on the evidence of vegetation, lithics material, monuments and the important Lismore Fields excavation, and with reference to the work of the researchers who have produced theoretical models for the Peak District, I shall now give an interpretative overview of the region in the mesolithic and early neolithic.

Attempts have been made to interpret how society was organised in the mesolithic and early neolithic, for Britain generally (Bradley 1987a; Edmonds 1999; Simmons 1996; Thomas 1991; Tilley 1994) and the Peak District specifically (Barnatt 1996c; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hind 2000). All see individuals identifying with the extended family

as the main community of social identity, complex relations being based on ties between kin. Other important social affiliations would have been based on gender, age and groups engaged in tasks such as gathering, tending herds or quarrying chert. These were the groups that an individual spent his or her day-to-day life amongst, the 'face-to-face community' to borrow a term from Fleming's study of medieval Swaledale (1998).

The varying sizes of mesolithic scatters along with the character of stoneworking have been interpreted as indicating a mobile population (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Myers 1986). In these models, variations in assemblage size and composition represent different levels of inhabitation. Smaller sites with little debitage and a restricted range of tools are taken to be the locations of brief visits where occupation was not long enough for large amounts of material to be deposited (Myers 1992). These might be locations where specific tasks were undertaken, such as tool or plant procurement, game hunting and butchery (Binford 1978). Larger assemblages may indicate regularly revisited places. If there is a wide variety of implements, a balanced assemblage representing a range of tasks, the scatter may be the location of more prolonged residence (Hind 2000).

Another aspect of mesolithic and early neolithic stoneworking is that good-quality stone was systematically worked to produce portable blades and flake cores. This has been interpreted as being the production of readily carried blanks that could be worked into tools as needed by relatively mobile communities (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hind 2000; Myers 1986). The scale of mobility has been explored in relation to the dominant source material for stone tools. Myers has interpreted the change in bias from flint sourced outside the region in the early mesolithic, to chert, from the limestone plateau, in the later mesolithic as indicating that people moved between the Pennines and the neighbouring lowlands in the early mesolithic but were more constrained in their movements to the Peak District during the later mesolithic (Myers 1986). This takes the view that lithics are procured from source rather than obtained by exchange.

How people moved around the landscape, how mobile they were, is a debatable issue which we have seen is more complex than a choice between complete mobility and full sedentism (see section 2.1). Studies show that foraging communities can be sedentary or move great distances annually, the whole group may move en masse or smaller groups may separate for specific tasks over short periods (Hayden 1981; Jochim 1976; Riches

1982; Whittle 1997). Visiting some places repeatedly and some anew would require a good working knowledge of the landscape and of other groups of people who might be encountered. I would suggest that such movement was undertaken according both to traditional rights and new exploration, possibly linked to the seasonal changes in climate and natural resources or in relation to more immediate needs. A strong sense of place is created and reworked through the routine inhabitation of the same locations – making and managing woodland clearings, acquiring chert from known seams, revisiting the same positions, travelling the same paths over and over again. With a sense of place, ideas of tenure and social identity linked to the landscape are established (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hind 2000).

Evidence for the transition to the early neolithic is unclear in the Peak District, largely because of a paucity of securely dated evidence and the ambiguity of the data. Small concentrations of 7th to 4th millennium material are found across the Peak District, many being small concentrations or stray pieces. There is a continuation in tool-working practices, including microlith production, the use of similar raw materials and types of locations, so indicating that there was no radical change in the lithics record contemporary with the advent of agriculture (Hind 2000; Spikins 1999). Hind accounts for this as indicating that there may have been little distinction in the range of procurement and manufacturing activities practised over this time at these locations (Hind 2000). Cereal cultivation appears to be adopted in the early 5th millennium BC at Lismore Fields, and is present on the Eastern Moors in the 5th millennium BC (Hicks 1971, 1972; Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). How prevalent arable was is unclear, but on the basis of the small quantities of cereal pollen it has been argued that there was no wholesale adoption of cultivation, with livestock rearing, gathering and hunting being of greater importance (Barnatt 1996c). Mortuary deposits radiocarbon dated to the end of the 5th millennium and beginning of the 4th millennium BC from Whitwell long cairn, 20km to the east of the Peak district, display tooth wear indicating a diet that was still largely based on coarse fibrous plant material typical of foragers (Chamberlain and Witkin 2003). This evidence, as it is, blurs the boundary between the later mesolithic and the early neolithic.

The lack of dramatic change in the lithics record suggests that communities continued to incorporate some levels of mobility, possibly related to the seasons and different resources, from the 6th to 4th millennia BC. This is a view proposed by a number of archaeologists

(Barnatt 1996c; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hind 2000), though Daryl Garton sees the Lismore Fields evidence as indicative of a sedentary population (Garton 1991, in prep). As Pollard and Whittle have demonstrated, there is not a simple dichotomy between fully permanent or highly mobile populations, rather the evidence for the neolithic in Britain suggests that communities were involved in more complex patterns of shifting settlement comprising long-term residence and short-term occupation related to perceived needs, and without requiring the whole community to move together (Pollard 1999; Whittle 1997).

The main valleys, such as the Derwent, would have been heavily wooded and ideally suitable for over-wintering, while more open landscapes of the limestone plateau and gritstone uplands would have been ideal for summer grazing (Barnatt 1996c; Barnatt and Smith 1997; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hind 2000). The animal husbandry regimes are unknown due to a lack of surviving faunal remains, but the dominance of woodland in the Peak suggest it was on a small scale, and Myers has interpreted small lithic scatters comprising a restricted range of tool types as suggesting a few individuals tending herds (Myers 1992). Cultivation may have been restricted to spade and ard horticulture wherever light, fertile soils were found. Areas of light soils are common on the gritstone and limestone but may also be found amongst the shales of the valleys as alluvial or outcropping deposits. Some of this may have been undertaken in traditional clearings, originally made to improve vegetation and attract game, and the spatial and temporal patterns related to agriculture are likely to have been related to existing traditions of land-use. New tasks are required of farming, and time previously spent in gathering and hunting may have been more occupied with herding cattle, growing fodder and cultivating crops. This model sees aspects of the 'neolithic package' being adopted at different times by communities and incorporated into existing patterns of landscape occupation.

Chambered tombs are interpreted as built where people reworked their right of tenure and social relations through invoking ancestral links to land and kin (Barnatt 1996c; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Their concentration on high locations in the limestone plateau placed the monuments in areas which would have been suitable as summer upland grazing for livestock, hunting grounds and routes across the landscape for movement of people and livestock (Barnatt 1996c). As such, the limestone was a place where people from different communities were most likely to come in contact with each other, the mingling of comparative strangers with their herds being likely to cause tensions over rights to land

tenure (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). The tombs reinforced traditional claims to the most contested seasonal pastures (Barnatt 1996c) and bonds of kinship between different families (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). On the basis of morphological comparison with well-investigated tombs elsewhere in Britain, access was probably maintained into the passage graves so that new deposits could be made and the bones could be used (Barrett 1988). Bones may have been used in ceremonies as the material representation of ancestors, the mythologised forebears of the kin, in ceremonies where human remains were manipulated and venerated to give guidance or justification to social practices (Edmonds 1999).

The location, variation in bank build, number of entrances and boulder-strewn nature of the interior of the enclosure at Gardom's Edge, Baslow, have been interpreted as a place built and used by different communities. The density of boulders and low numbers of finds suggests against settlement within the interior. Within the more mobile model, this would be a place where comparative strangers from different families and communities across the region, including areas to the east of the gritstone outside of the Peak District, held ceremonial meetings (Barnatt et al 1995). Gatherings could give the opportunity for different communities to exchange gifts, negotiate where they intended to go during the following seasons and to acknowledge or contend access to certain places. Such relationships with other communities may have had some influence on subsistence because food is likely to have been an important element in expressing inter-community relations through feasting, ceremony, exchange and marriage (Ingold 1980).

The tombs and enclosures would have been impressive reference points in the landscape, built by shared labour to give a permanence and validity to their rights of access to the land. The conducting of rites which invoked the ancestors through the display of their bones at tombs would reinforce a community's links with the land and the importance of fertility, death and rebirth. Such ideals might not have been new because gatherers and hunters need to be aware of fertility and the reproductive cycles of wild animals and plants to schedule procurement activities. However, domesticates require careful attention to ensure successful birth and germination, which involve the development of stronger ideas about fertility and the links between the productivity of the community, its domesticates and rights to land.

With evidence strongly suggesting that people lived mobile lifestyles, they probably lived in and travelled within a defined geographical area they had the right to inhabit, based on traditional claims passed from one generation to another and reinforced through storytelling and by the very act of dwelling there. Some of these places, such as tombs, may have been regularly visited again and again, but this would not necessarily be the case for all settlement locales, which may have been occupied for a number of years before another site was chosen (Pollard 1999). Over time some areas of the landscape may have become identified with or claimed by one group, while other areas were shared by a number of groups.

This is, therefore, the current state of knowledge for the region, and the basic interpretative model that I shall use as the context for interpreting and comparing the Upper Derwent material.

2.4 Upper Derwent

2.4.1 Lithics: Context of Artefact Recovery

2.4.1.1 Collectors

There are a total of 54 findspots of mesolithic to early neolithic lithics in the Upper Derwent. The majority of the artefacts have been discovered by amateur collectors, and of those most finds have been made by two people, Alistair Henderson and Paul Ardron. Henderson ranged wide over the Peak District's rights of way and open access moorlands between the 1930s and early 1970s, amassing a huge collection of flint, chert and other stone tools and waste flakes. His fieldwalking was so prolific that a joke circulated the Hunter Archaeological Society in the 1960s which went something like –

Question:
'Where is the mesolithic of the Peak District?'

Answer:
'Under Alistair Henderson's bed.'
(Hind 2000)

Henderson deposited his collection in the Sheffield City Museum, where it resides today. Paul Ardron, an ecologist, began his fieldwalking in the early 1990s, and has focused much of his attention on the High Peak moorlands where he is actively collecting. Ardron's collection is in his own possession.

Details of Henderson's collection have been entered into the Derbyshire and South Yorkshire Sites and Monuments Records (SMRs). Other less prolific fieldwalkers' collections have also been entered in the SMRs, when, and if, they contacted the relevant counties or the Peak District National Park about their finds. Ardron's collection has not been made so publicly available at present, however he kindly provided me with basic information about location, numbers and types of pieces and estimated dates. I have had to rely largely on dates ascribed to assemblages by the SMRs or Paul Ardron himself, except for Sheffield City Museum's Henderson Collection, which was re-evaluated by Hind (2000) in the context of his study of the mesolithic to neolithic transition in the Peak District.

It is certainly a tribute to Henderson, Ardron and others that we have such a breadth of information about prehistoric lithics in the Upper Derwent. However, the locational information does come with some caveats. As the nature of their interest would suggest, neither has taken a systematic approach employing measured transects and statistically proven sampling strategies. Both have walked across most of the varying types of landscape present in the Upper Derwent, except for within walled fields. Finds are distributed across moorland, in woodland, on the reservoir draw-down zone and along rights of way. Once Henderson discovered artefact-rich locations, he appears to have repeatedly revisited the same places. Ardron has done likewise though after a long period of prospecting across much of the landscape (Paul Ardron pers. comm.). When collecting material, both pinpointed the location of each scatter with a six or eight-figure grid-reference, but neither recorded the locations of finds within the scatters. Much of our lithics evidence is therefore determined by the places these collectors chose to investigate, in part influenced by rights of way, but not wholly so. Resolution of locational information is at the level of the scatter, rather than at the level of intra-assemblage patterning.

Accessibility and public transport may also have played a part in the distributions. Both Henderson and Ardron reached the Upper Derwent from their Sheffield homes either by walking across the intervening moors or catching buses; a bus service has, and still does, run along the Derwent Valley but not the Ashop Valley. Forty-four of the total of 54

findspots are located in the Derwent, its minor tributaries or on the moorlands between it and Sheffield. These all lie to the east of SK 1460.

Finds distributions are therefore greatly influenced by favoured livestock sheltering spots, places where the wind catches peat edges and rights of way. This partial spatial information shows where people were present but by no means gives a comprehensive picture of the places that were visited.

In an attempt to analyse some of Henderson's and Ardron's valley distributions, I organised three seasons of limited fieldwalking within the draw-down zone of the reservoirs. These were undertaken with the help of ARTEAMUS, a local archaeological society, who carried out the fieldwalking and lithics analysis (Hind 2000; Peet 2002). Transects were located to sample five known findspots by covering both the artefact-rich areas and neighbouring 'artefact-free' areas to see if the recorded boundaries of scatters were real, or a result of collectors focusing on those places where they expected to find lithics. The results of this small survey indicate that Henderson and Ardron's concentrations appear to be real and are related to areas of level or gently sloping ground, avoiding the steeper slopes, and lying within the reservoir zone where there is erosion to the subsoil rather than redeposition of silts (see section 1.3.4.2).

I am, therefore, indebted to Ardron, Hind and Peet for providing the data descriptions on which I base the interpretations of lithics and landscape use upon in the following sections.

2.4.1.2 Character of Findspots

Another factor that determines where finds have been made is the locations where the soil is broken and artefacts come to the surface. As for much of the uplands of Britain, the Upper Derwent's landscape is dominated by peat moorland and permanent pasture. Within these areas, the main places where artefacts are found are patches of erosion caused by walkers, livestock and wind. On moorland, the effect of rights of way on lithics distributions is indicated by seven out of 18 findspots being on footpaths. Footpaths strongly influence distributions, but do not dominate them. Erosion has a significant effect on the distributions of findspots, as demonstrated by a project undertaken by Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust on Tintwhistle Moor, an area of peat moorland

comparable to the Upper Derwent moors and situated 6km to the north-west of our study area. The project concluded that lithics distributions in peat uplands are governed by the locations of peat erosion, rather than representing a complete picture of prehistoric activity (Garton [n.d.]).

However, the Upper Derwent has another side to it, one that is common to many upland valleys near to cities and towns – its use for reservoirs (Illustration 1.2). From the paucity of finds below 350m appearing in the mesolithic literature about the uplands, it would seem that reservoirs have not been greatly exploited for fieldwalking elsewhere (Simmons 1996). That may not seem to be much of a surprise, given the obvious limitations of fieldwalking underwater. However, the water levels of reservoirs usually rise and fall throughout the year so revealing the eroded beds around their edges. These are the draw-down zones that attracted Henderson and Ardron down from the moorlands. The drop in water levels of the three reservoirs in the Upper Derwent varies according to rainfall and routine maintenance operations, however the levels stay at maximum only in unusually wet summers. Though restricted by the fluctuating levels of reservoirs, this provides a significant window of opportunity to study the patterns of prehistoric activity in the valley bottoms and lower valley sides.

2.4.2 Lithics: Description of Finds

The 56 findspots vary enormously in character, size, date and topographical location. Early mesolithic material can be confidently identified at six locations, later mesolithic to early neolithic can be likewise recognized at 26 locations, and 22 findspots contain lithics which can only be broadly characterised as mesolithic (Table 2.1 – see rear of thesis). A number of these findspots are palimpsests of material from different periods, two of the locations of early material also containing later artefacts. The problems of chronological resolution are indicated by the proportions of finds which can be dated with confidence. In interpreting the Henderson collection, Hind was able to assign 3.3% scatters to the early mesolithic, 17% later mesolithic, 26% undifferentiated mesolithic, 15% early neolithic and 2.7% undifferentiated neolithic (Hind 2000). Nearly half, 48.4%, of the scatters could not be closely dated with any confidence, while the remainder were later neolithic or bronze age in date (ibid). Most of the undateable assemblages comprised small episodes of tool making producing non-diagnostic tools or waste flakes. These problems of chronological resolution are not unique to the Upper Derwent but are

similar across the Peak District (ibid). Care also has to be taken in dating assemblages containing arrowheads. They are the most likely tools to be lost by chance and may be found in scatters to which they are chronologically and functionally unrelated (Barnatt 1996c; Garton 1991).

The following sections will describe then interpret the lithics evidence by period: early mesolithic, later mesolithic/early neolithic and undifferentiated mesolithic.

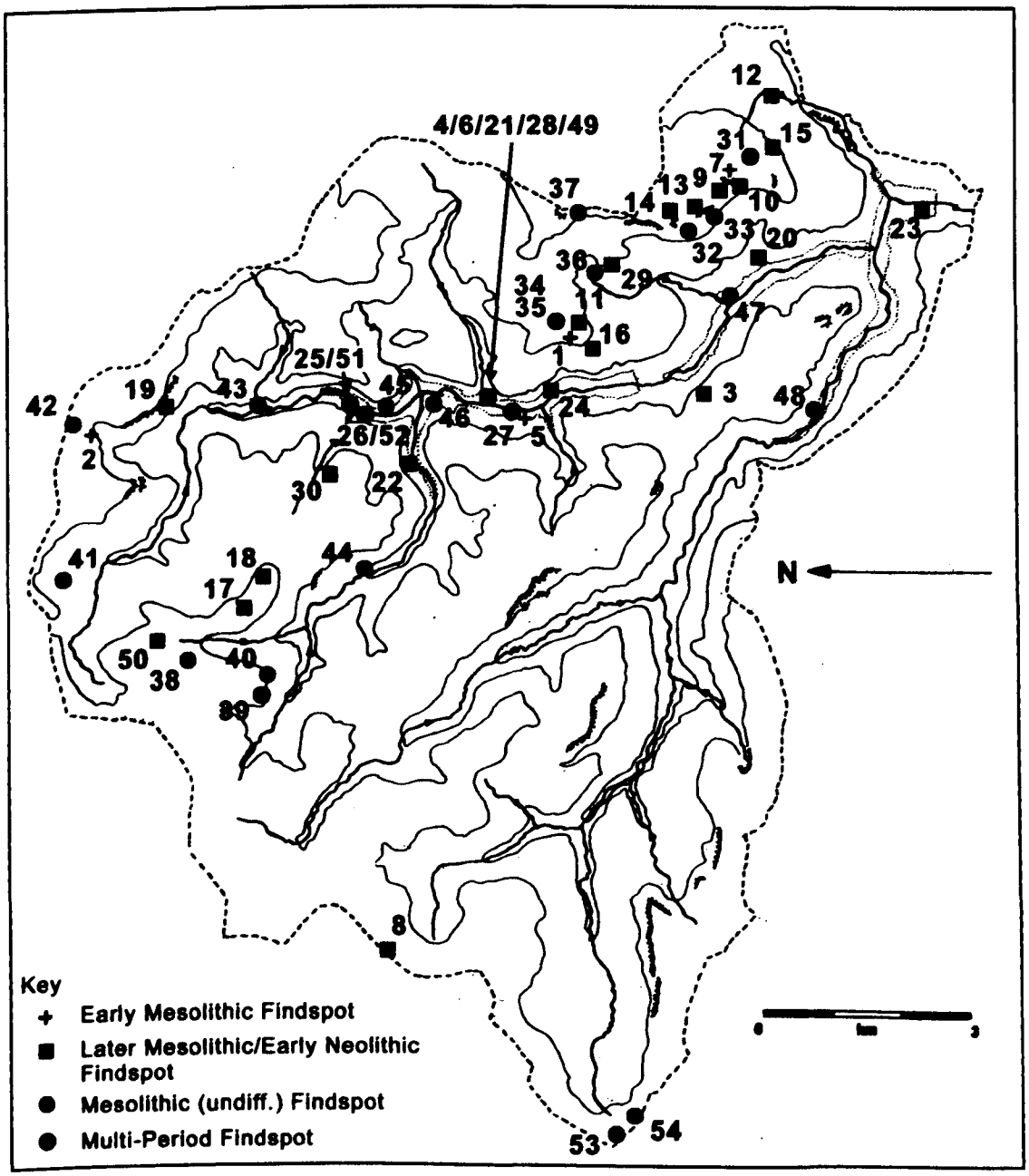


Illustration 2.4. Locations of Mesolithic to Early Neolithic findspots

2.4.3 Early Mesolithic Lithics: Description of Finds and Interpretation

Early mesolithic findspots (Illustration 2.4) comprise a flint blade found on a moorland shelf at 410m O.D., a scraper accompanied by a flake and hammerstone found between crags and a watercourse on a moorland clough-side at 460m O.D., a flint knife at 350m O.D., a group of knives and a blade found on the valley side at 230m O.D., a core, flake and a broad blade microlith found together by a tor on Derwent Edge at 480m O.D., and an unknown number of points, blades and scrapers found by the confluence of two watercourses on the valley bottom at 230m O.D. All of the findspots where numbers of artefacts are known comprise small assemblages of less than 10 individual pieces.

The small size of the assemblages suggest the locations of temporary camps or stray losses. The amount of early mesolithic material is so small as to make it impossible to interpret in more detail how people would have inhabited the landscape. At best, they indicate that both the valleys and the uplands were visited and tools were manufactured at high altitudes, presumably in relation to anticipated needs.

2.4.4 Later Mesolithic to Early Neolithic Lithics: Description of Finds and Interpretation

2.4.4.1 Description

The more numerous locations of later mesolithic to early neolithic implements are found both on the higher ground of the moorland and in the valleys (Illustration 2.4. Table 2.2).

Topographical Location	Number of Scatters
Moorland Edge inc. tops of valleys	7
Moorland plateau and shelves	9
Valley sides	1
Lower valley sides and bottoms	10

Table 2.2. Topographical locations of Later Mesolithic to Early Neolithic findspots

The single valley-side findspot comprises a blade and a blade core, both made from flint, and is located within a plantation woodland. The nature of the assemblage is similar in content and size to many found both on the moorlands and in the lower valley. Its significance is not so much that it shows the presence of people in valley-side contexts, but that, in its singularity, how little material has come from these contexts which are currently dominated by permanent pasture and plantations. These are two areas not conducive to

finding lithics by fieldwalking, though they could be investigated by a systematic test-pitting exercise as undertaken at Roystone Grange.

Of the 16 moorland findspots, six are located on featureless expanses of topographically undifferentiated ground and ten are at more prominent locations such as edges, tors, watercourses or immediately above the tops of valleys. Ten of these locations are at altitudes above 440m O.D., which would have been covered by light woodland and open scrub if Tallis's work in the High Peak can be extrapolated to the Upper Derwent (Tallis and Switsur 1990). Six are situated between 350m and 430m O.D., and therefore in or alongside much thicker woodland. The distributions of these finds are in part created by the current network of moorland footpaths, seven being found on public rights of way. The other four are found in erosion scars. At seven of these locations only a single implement was found: two have leaf-shaped arrowheads, three have blades, and there are a 'sub-triangular' flint and a polished stone axe. Six findspots consist of small assemblages of blades, scrapers and waste flakes numbering no more than 12 pieces at each place. Three findspots comprise over 20 pieces each. The smaller findspots are comparable to results of the Peak District Transect Survey on the Eastern Moors where densities are recorded as below ten finds per hectare (Hind 2000). The three scatters of 20 or more finds are, therefore, twice the size of these Eastern Moors finds and more densely concentrated.

Of the ten findspots adjacent to prominent landscape features, six are at altitudes placing them within or near to the thicker forest spilling up from the valleys. Two are by watercourses running across a shelf, one is immediately above the valley side and three are likely to be on or near to the forest edge itself. At four higher sites, most likely to be within light woodland or scrub, three are next to tors and one is by a watercourse in a deep clough.

If we descend from the moors and return to the valleys, we see something of a different picture emerging. While six locations are of individual finds and groups of ten or fewer pieces similar to those found on higher ground, four are much larger in scale (Illustration 2.4. Table 2.1). Running from north to south, 120 pieces have been found in an area covering approximately 1,000m^2 to the north of Linch Clough at 260m O.D., 291 in an area 100m long by 30m wide to the south of Linch Clough again at 260m O.D., at least

50 covering an extensive area almost 600m long and 50m wide extending north from Ouzelden Clough at 230m O.D. and at least 173 across 10,000m^2 to the south of Abbey Brook at 225m O.D. The numbers of finds at these latter two sites only include those in the Henderson Collection and not the reported hundreds more artefacts of this period collected by Paul Ardron (pers comm). A variety of flints and cherts from both primary and secondary sources are present, but chert, and mainly black chert, is most common. These four locations are the largest known later mesolithic to early neolithic lithics sites discovered by fieldwalking in the Peak District situated below 350m O.D., though they are tiny in comparison to the 23,000-piece assemblage found at Deepcar (Hind 2000; Radley and Marshall 1963; Simmons 1996).

They share many things in common in addition to the large sizes of the collections and areas they cover. They are all multi-period sites. As well as later mesolithic to early neolithic material, they contain finds dated as undifferentiated or early mesolithic, later neolithic and bronze age. The later mesolithic/early neolithic material comprises a range of microliths, blades, blade cores, knives, awls and flakes. A perforated macehead fragment was found amongst the scatters by Abbey Brook. There is a high percentage of waste flakes and chunks, varying from 50% to 75% of each assemblage, most of which are from secondary or tertiary reduction of flakes and blades so suggesting that the working of already prepared cores (Hind 2000; Peet 2002). The findspots are all on areas of gently sloping to level ground that break up the steep valley sides, close to the River Derwent, yet above the narrow floodplain. All but one are concentrated near to the confluences of the River Derwent with tributary streams.

2.4.4.2 Interpretation

2.4.4.2.1 Living it High

The seven individual finds on higher ground represent places where a single implement was lost or discarded while being used. The remaining nine moorland findspots are similar in character and landscape situation to the majority of those found by survey by the Peak District Fieldwalking Project, and are comparable to those from the Eastern Moors (Hind 2000). They may indicate places where people spent more time, either pausing for a short period to furnish tools for immediate use or occupying temporary camps. However, it is possible that only a small proportion of the 'target' population of originally deposited lithics has been discovered at each location. Much larger assemblages

were found immediately above the valley side above 300m O.D. on Tintwhistle Moor (with one totalling 114 pieces after excavation), in the Central Pennines and on moorlands to the east of the Upper Derwent (Garton [n.d.]; Radley and Mellars 1964; Spikins 1999). The settlement site on Broomhead Moor shows that occupation structures were built in moorland contexts (Simmons 1996), and its proximity to the Upper Derwent indicates the likelihood of similar settlements and large scatters across the plateaux. There is the possibility that the Upper Derwent moorland assemblages represent the partial discovery of more sustained residences. This would require a systematic sampling of findspots, similar to that undertaken by Trent and Peak Archaeological Trust on Tintwhistle, to elucidate further.

The finds of ten scatters by prominent landscape features place them at locations which would aid navigation through woodland and provide resources. As well as the obvious availability of water at the streamsides, the tors provide shelter and are highly visible landmarks. The tops of the valleys are approximately coincidental with the upper edge of the dense valley forest. Forest edges provide abundant resources such as animals attracted by the combination of woodland cover and greater open-growth vegetation.

2.4.4.2.2 Into the Valley of Life

The size, tool range and high percentages of debitage in the four valley assemblages indicate the range of activities carried out at these places in addition to the manufacturing of tools themselves from prepared cores. There are implements used for cutting, scraping, piercing, carving and slicing.

The Upper Derwent locations would have been deep in the thick valley forest though within openings of the canopy by the water-edge. The sizes of the assemblages indicate areas inhabited over longer periods of time than the transient stopping points common on the higher ground. Aggregations of finds, in themselves, do not equal long-term sedentary settlements, because they may have been deposited as the result of repeated, intermittent occupation. However, the range of activities represented in the composition of the assemblages does suggest sustained settlements, where a whole community or some individuals stayed for longer periods. The clearings, would have been maintained or repeatedly recreated according to the rhythms of occupation at these locations. Acts of clearance in the valleys were undertaken by small communities, involving conscious

decision-making related to the immediacy and anticipation of perceived needs and rights, and based within a known tradition of dwelling in the forest. Once made, the potential longevity of clearings would have drawn successive generations, so creating a structure to land-use that transcended the life time of the individual. Close-grained environmental evidence is required to further understand the potential for such small-scale changes in vegetation in these valley settings.

The nearby river would have provided a range of resources. Salmon and other fish in the water itself, water-washed pebbles are ideal hammer stones, sedges and rushes are suitable for making baskets, water-edge plants provide numerous food supplies, while the lush forest-edge vegetation is attractive to grazing animals. It has also been suggested that this was the highest navigable point of the River Derwent for much of the year, and quantities of chert could have been transported by boat to these riverside locations, then prepared for greater portability while crossing the surrounding, higher land by foot (Hind 2000). Travelling by boat along the river would have been one means by which people moved between the Upper Derwent and other areas of the Peak District further south. We could be seeing the different residences of a number of kin-groups occupying the Upper Derwent, where their tenure in the same landscape overlapped with each other rather than the area being the reserve of one group. This complexity of local inhabitation may have also been incorporated into patterns of movement, possibly related to seasons and changing resources, that took in broad landscape swathes, including the High Peak, eastern foothills of the gritstone moors, the Don and lower Derwent valleys, limestone plateau and the Central Pennines.

Comparison can be made with Lismore Fields, which was also situated in a valley, a wide basin at approximately 300m O.D., within 90m of a spring (Garton 1991, in prep). Later mesolithic and early neolithic flints comprised hundreds of pieces spread in distinct clusters across the 3,800m^2 of excavation trench. A polished stone axe and sherds of pottery made in Grimston-type fabric were associated with features of one of the timber buildings. While no pottery or stone axes have been found in the Upper Derwent, the sizes and extent of lithic scatters situated near to watercourses in sheltered positions, suggest that these are likely locations for settlement activity similar to that excavated at Lismore Fields.

Within the Upper Derwent, groups may have commonly moved between valley and upland, repeatedly staying at favoured locations in the valleys while camping less frequently or stopping for short periods of time at sites on the higher ground. The Upper Derwent is not a huge area and, for me, it takes little more than an hour to climb from valley bottom to moorland. While I cannot comment on my fitness and ability to cross rough ground relative to prehistoric people, I can guess that the abilities of people inhabiting such a landscape might be somewhat better. Routes through the valley and on to the valley sides would have been through dense woodland, and forest navigation techniques such as maintaining paths or marking trees would be important. Once on the scrub-covered highland, more open views would enable navigation by prominent landmarks, including edges, tors and the forest edge. The lower shelves below 500m are dissected by cloughs that create barriers to movement of up to 100m in depth. The cloughs can be crossed by clambering across steep ground or circumnavigated by following watersheds. Community and individual conceptualisation of the world would have moved between the inward-focused, enclosed familiarity of the surrounding woodland and the more outward-looking, open experience of the higher ground. For people crossing the landscape on longer journeys, the watersheds would provide the easier paths, while people using the landscape locally may not have found many benefits in following such routes and may have actively wanted to enter cloughs for the resources and shelter they provide. Cloughs also provide more gently graded approaches onto the higher ground, but the valley sides are not so steep or high as to prevent their straight forward ascent. It is easy to overplay the importance of valleys and cloughs as routeways and barriers to local movement.

2.4.5 Undifferentiated Mesolithic: Description of Finds and Interpretation

As nearly half of the findspots comprise material that can only be assigned to the mesolithic in general, rather than earlier or later, we cannot ignore or overlook them (Illustration 2.4). What do they add to the picture of landscape inhabitation interpreted above? Six are part of larger assemblages of later mesolithic/early neolithic material and add to the existing interpretation of these locations as being significant locales. The remainder follow the same distribution and scatter size patterns as noted above, 11 are located on the moorlands and five in the valleys. They extend the presence of people throughout the area, mostly as background scatters of individual or small groups of finds away from the main concentrations.

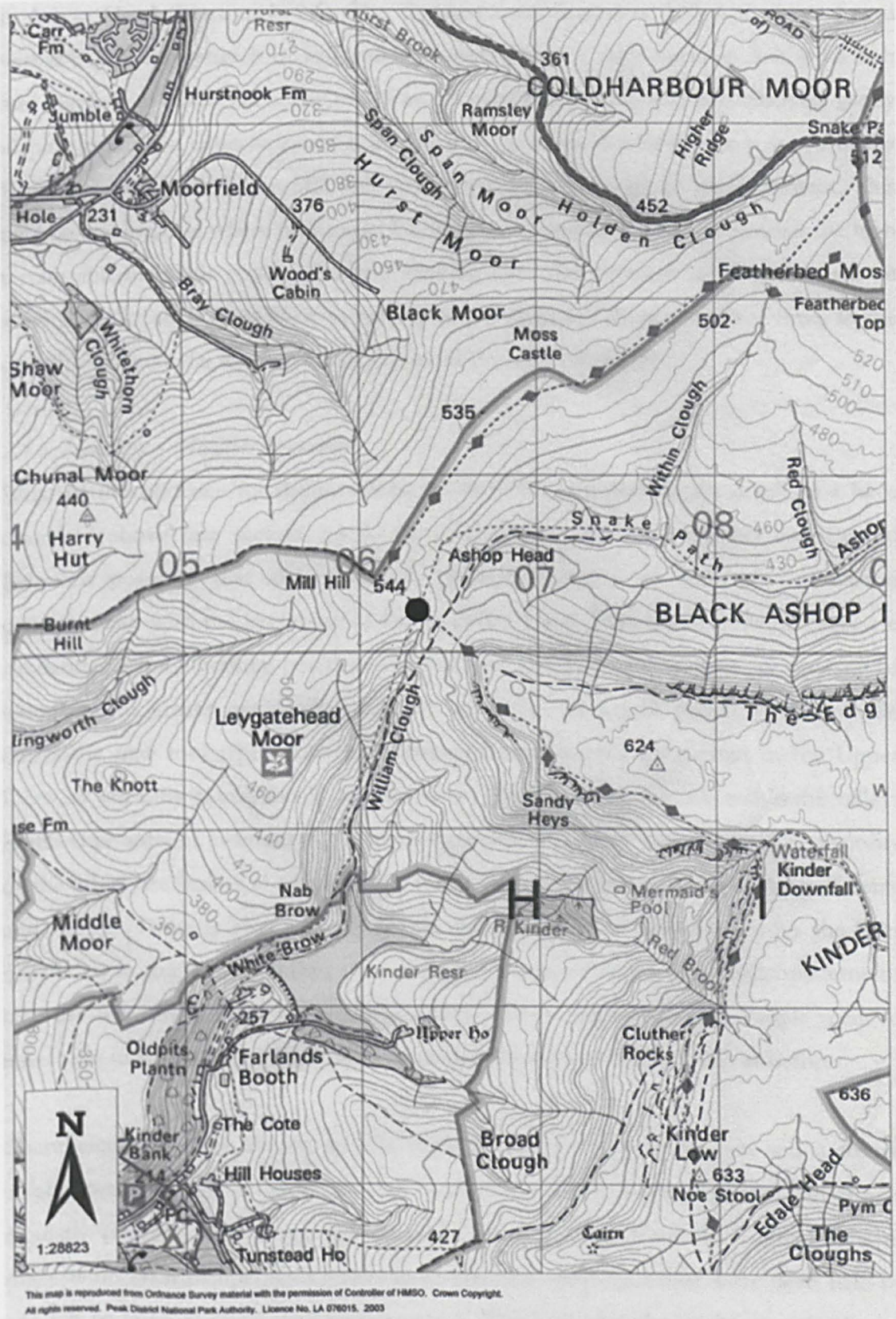


Illustration 2.5. Topography of Ashop Head, where a findspot of over 200 mesolithic flints (marked as a black dot) occupies a high-altitude pass over steep ground

One significant topographical location that may indicate something of hunting practices is Ashop Head (Illustration 2.5). The findspot comprises over 200 flint pieces found within a 20m long stretch of footpath on a pass across a ridge between Ashop Clough and Hayfield at 520m O.D. The pass forms a natural routeway between relatively gently sloping ground on either side, and is bounded to the south-east by the steep scarps of the Kinder plateau and has the Mill Hill to Featherbed Moss ridge to its north-west. This may be one location where deer might be expected to regularly navigate through the high terrain and the finds could indicate a location used for intercept-hunting. At such an altitude the locale is most likely to have been occupied for short periods of time, so the quantities of material were probably deposited from repeated visits.

2.4.6 Mesolithic – Neolithic Transition

What of the evidence for the mesolithic to neolithic transition in the area? As I have discussed above (see section 2.3.5), the evidence for the Peak District and Central Pennines suggests that there was no dramatic change to sedentary cultivation contemporary with the beginning of the neolithic (Hind 2000; Spikins 1999). There are similarities in tool-working practices and findspot locations, only small-scale opening of woodland to create grasslands, and low quantities of cereal pollen. Some of the diagnostic new tool types, such as leaf-shaped arrowheads, are present in the Upper Derwent but only in very small numbers. They appear on the uplands and in the valleys in the same sorts of locations as the more widespread flint and chert blades. The majority of the lithics are similar in terms of raw materials and the systematic reworking of cores and blades. There is also a continuity in the locations of findspots. From the later mesolithic to the early neolithic, the same places were occupied and similar patterns of land-use were maintained between the valleys and the higher ground. People seem to have been inhabiting the Upper Derwent during the early neolithic much as before.

Chambered cairns are absent, so it is unlikely that the Upper Derwent was a shared upland pasture, akin to those on the limestone plateau, where different kin-groups regularly brought their herds and mingled. Their absence from the Upper Derwent suggests no such competing interests in an area that may, therefore, have been held by one kin or open to many without contention. The high altitudes of the moorlands and spread of peat would have reduced the potential of the highlands of the area for upland pastures and the frequency or density of use may have been much lower than on the

limestone. Neither are there any large ceremonial enclosures, such as at Gardom's Edge, which would have brought different communities into the area for ceremonial gatherings. The complete absence of the range of ceremonial and funerary monuments implies an important feature of the nature of settlement in the Upper Derwent. If the monuments were important, even essential, elements of the pattern of landscape occupation for communities in the region, the people dwelling in the Upper Derwent would have had to visit the limestone plateau and Eastern Moors to participate in ceremonies at the monumental centres.

As they came into contact with domesticates, they may have adopted them into their existing routines. Cattle could have been pastured in clearings and amongst lighter scrub on the higher ground, while clearings may have also been suitable for small areas of crops. The large lithics scatters are found at locations where the soils are a mix of light sands and clays which contain many stones. Cultivation of the ground with wooden and stone tools to improve pasture or grow crops would have been possible on the sandy areas at these places.

Contact with domesticates was not the only change occurring at this time. The ongoing spread of peat at the expense of woodland and mixed vegetation during the early neolithic was slowly reducing the potential of the upland areas to sustain food-bearing plants and game. Opportunities to gather and hunt would have become limited, groups would have needed to range over greater distances to find food and over-wintering would have been harder due to reduced stores. If the Upper Derwent was one part of a much larger area, incorporating both the gritstone moors and valleys and the limestone plateau, which was ranged over by a group or groups, they may have slowly come to visit it less often or in smaller numbers.

2.5 Discussion

The evidence for the Upper Derwent indicates that the area has an archaeologically visible history of land-use and occupation from the end of the last glaciation into the early neolithic, which bears comparison with evidence from the Peak District. Lithic scatters indicate the locations of settlements and, in the range of tools and size of assemblages, also suggest something of the nature of the settlements.

Assemblages of lithics are found across all the landscape zones of the Upper Derwent: in the valley bottom, on the valley sides and on the moorland shelves and ridges. The early mesolithic is represented by only six findspots of small scatters of implements and tool-production waste with no evidence for the repeated occupation of specific places. The wider environmental evidence from the region does not indicate any significant manipulation of the landscape. This is indicative of infrequent visits by small numbers of people staying temporarily at different locations, possibly in the autumn to intercept deer, as Myers suggests for the Peak District as a whole (Myers 1986).

During the later mesolithic and early neolithic assemblages become more common and some much bigger. There are more moorland findspots, though they tend still to be small. These are comparable with those found by fieldwalking on the Eastern Moors to the south (Hind 2000), but much smaller to some assemblages found on similar moorland locations to the east and north of the Upper Derwent (Garton [n.d.]; Radley and Mellars 1964; Simmons 1996; Spikins 1999). We can say that the Upper Derwent evidence indicates that inhabitation of the moorlands included passing activity and short-term occupation, but cannot limit the potential of all settlement to be limited to brief visits because finds in neighbouring regions demonstrate the possibility for larger upland sites.

There are similar scatters to those on the moorlands in the valley bottom. In addition, we find four large assemblages comprising 50 to 291 artefacts, with a wide range of implements and waste flakes mainly from secondary and tertiary working. These are the largest assemblages discovered by fieldwalking below 350m in the southern Pennines but significantly smaller than the Deepcar site, situated to the east of the gritstone moors (Hind 2000; Radley and Mellars 1964). The location of each is significant in being on approximately level ground lying adjacent to the confluence of the River Derwent with one of its tributaries. Each comprises a wide range of tools and waste flakes typical of balanced settlement assemblages. Flint and chert are present, with black chert from the limestone plateau being the most common. These were favoured locations, situated in the valley forest adjacent to watercourses, where a range of resources and shelter from the elements were provided. It is likely that occupation was made within clearings which would have required management and maintenance. There is evidence across the region which is interpreted as indicating significant vegetation management through fire-setting

(Jacobi, Tallis and Mellars 1976; Simmons 1996; Wiltshire and Edwards 1993). The same areas were repeatedly visited, possibly over long periods, though whether settlement was short-lived or more continued at any one time is unclear. They do indicate that specific places in the landscape were gaining meaning in relation to settlement, locales which specific communities and families may have perceived as being theirs to occupy by right. This suggests that during the later mesolithic different ideas of tenure and perceptions of landscape were being formed over time which incorporated more sustained occupation of more clearly bounded areas.

It is impossible to differentiate between later mesolithic and early neolithic artefacts, because the raw materials and forms of tool working involving the systematic production of cores and blades remains similar. The only new diagnostic forms present are leaf-shaped arrowheads, which are stray finds rather than indicators of settlement locations. Otherwise, the transition from mesolithic to neolithic in terms of stone-working is hazy and not a clear-cut distinction. This fuzziness between the periods is also evident in other artefacts and in the environmental evidence. Cereals and livestock were present from the early 5th millennium BC, but they supplemented foraging and hunting rather than replacing them. Chambered tombs and long barrows most likely to date to the 4th millennium BC. The impression is that none of the traditional indicators of the neolithic arrived in the Peak District at the same time.

The absence of large ceremonial enclosures and monumental tombs from the Upper Derwent draws the area into comparison with the current interpretations of the early neolithic in the Peak District (Barnatt 1996c; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Hind 2000). These models invoke kin-groups practising some level of settlement mobility, involving parts or the whole of communities, related to the locations of resources and traditions of land-use. Clearings were being made in the extensive woodland creating grasslands, and the more extensive open areas on the uplands of the limestone plateau were associated with chambered tombs. The presence of chambered tombs on the limestone uplands, but nowhere else in the region, suggests that they were built on shared upland pastures, where different kin-groups regularly brought their herds and mingled with different communities. The people meeting on the pastures were from communities that also occupied the surrounding valleys and gritstone, such as the Upper Derwent – where the absence of tombs implies it was occupied by one kin group or open to many without a

similar intensity of social interaction to the limestone uplands. The absence of tombs and of large ceremonial enclosures, such as that at Gardom's Edge, is significant for interpreting the involvement of the Upper Derwent in regional trends. If the monuments were socially important locales where members of different communities from extensive tracts of the surrounding region met, either for large gatherings or when pasturing livestock, as part of traditional patterns of landscape inhabitation, then it is likely that people dwelling in the Upper Derwent would have participated in this social interaction. At least part of the community may have taken livestock to pasture and identified with a specific and regularly visited locale, so implying that people moved between the Upper Derwent and neighbouring landscapes as part of their routines. They may have also visited monumental enclosures on the Eastern Moors to participate in ceremonial gatherings. This involves the individual holding knowledge of 'imagined communities' beyond those people dwelling with each other on a daily basis, people who are only met irregularly and after long time periods. These forms of social contact facilitate, and may be constructed around, exchanges of gifts, ideas or marriage partners, times when social identity and world views are reworked in relation to others.

Within the Upper Derwent, the mesolithic – neolithic transition is really a history of continuity in the pattern of land-use, with activity focusing on the same valley locations at the confluences of watercourses. This should not come as a great surprise, if the introduction of domesticates was a long process, whereby the transition from hunter-gathering to farming as the primary basis for subsistence may have occurred throughout the neolithic rather than at its beginning. There was change evident in the High Peak environment, as the repeated clearing of woodland opened more land and peat formed across the higher ground. This again took place over a long time frame, and though the peat was not as extensive as it is today, it was a change which led to the peat and heather landscapes which define the present moorlands.

Chapter 3

Living and Dying in Later Prehistory

3.1 Introduction

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

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

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

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

3.2 Peak District Context: Later Prehistoric Vegetation History

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.3 Peak District Context: Later Prehistoric Archaeological Evidence

3.3.1 Lithics

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

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

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

3.3.2 Large Communal Monuments

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

Photograph 3.1. Arbor Low henge

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

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

Bull Ring, one was recorded as standing in the late 18th century, after which date the interior was under cultivation (Pilkington 1789). Both henges are associated with earlier long barrows lying within 1km, one at the Bull Ring and two at Arbor Low (Barnatt 1996a). Arbor Low is also associated with two later neolithic/early bronze age barrows, one built on the bank of the henge. Fieldwalking in the vicinity of Arbor Low has indicated a significant increase in the density of later neolithic age lithics around the henge and a clustering of more exotic artefacts, such as polished stone axes, polished knives and maceheads (Bradley and Hart 1983).

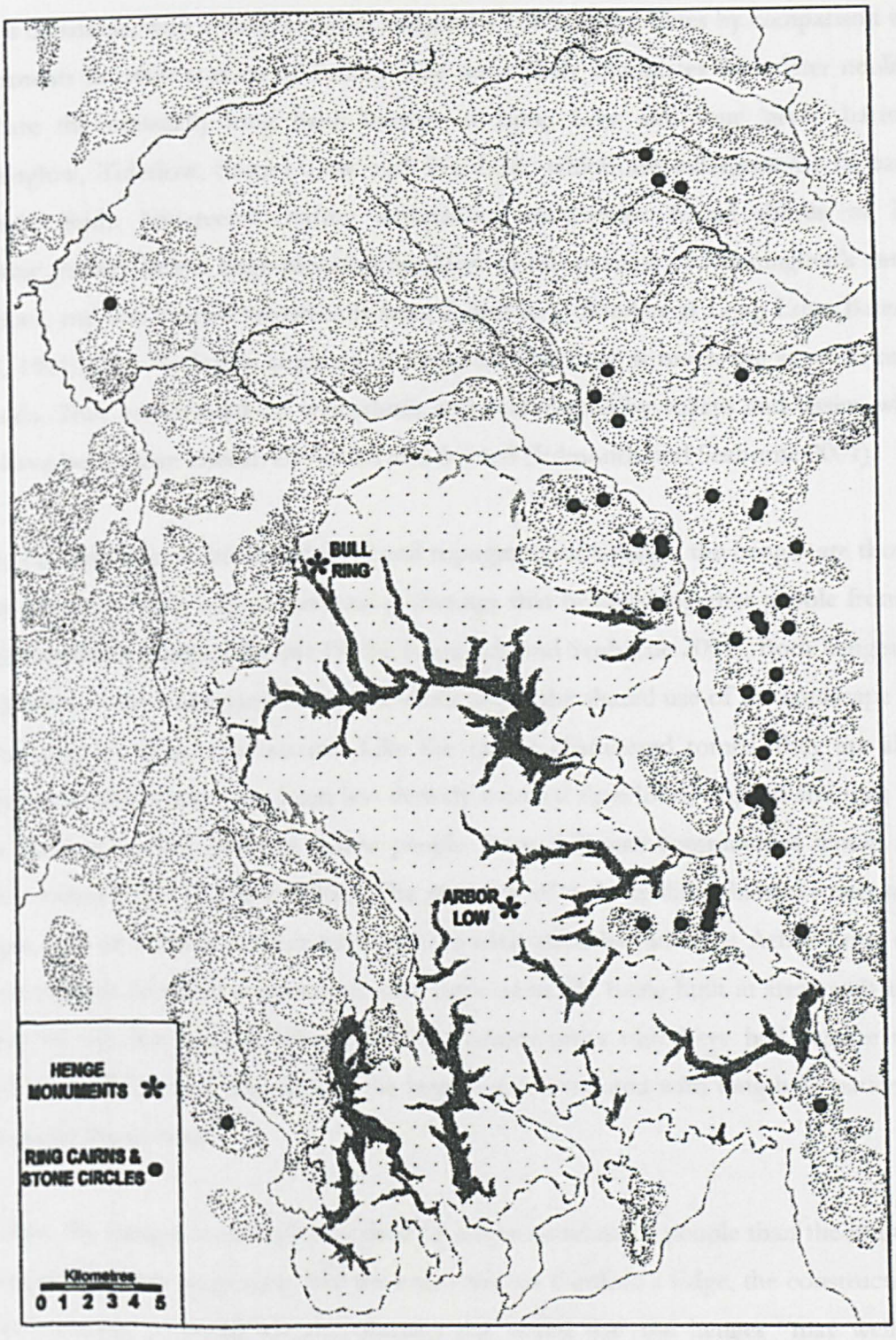


Illustration 3.1. Arbor Low and Bull Ring henges, and stone circles in the Peak District. From Edmonds and Seaborne 2001

As discussed in the previous chapter there are between eight and 16 chambered tombs and between seven and 11 long barrows surviving in the Peak District, which can be broadly dated to the neolithic, and these often have evidence for long and complex histories (Barnatt 1996a). Exactly when within the neolithic they were built and actively

used is debatable, with a number being assigned 4th millennium dates by comparison with monuments in other regions of Britain. The most likely candidates for a later neolithic date are the unusually long bank barrow at Long Low and four 'great' barrows, Minninglow, Tideslow, Stoney Low and Pea Low, which are enlargements of earlier mounds (ibid). Nineteenth-century antiquarian excavations found sherds of later neolithic pottery below large blocking boulders in the passage of Minninglow's central chamber, and leaf-shaped arrowheads were found in a chamber at Long Low (Bateman 1848, 1861). The landscape contexts of these later barrows is much the same as earlier mounds. They are situated on watersheds and surrounded by valleys and basins which may have been more intensively settled and farmed (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001).

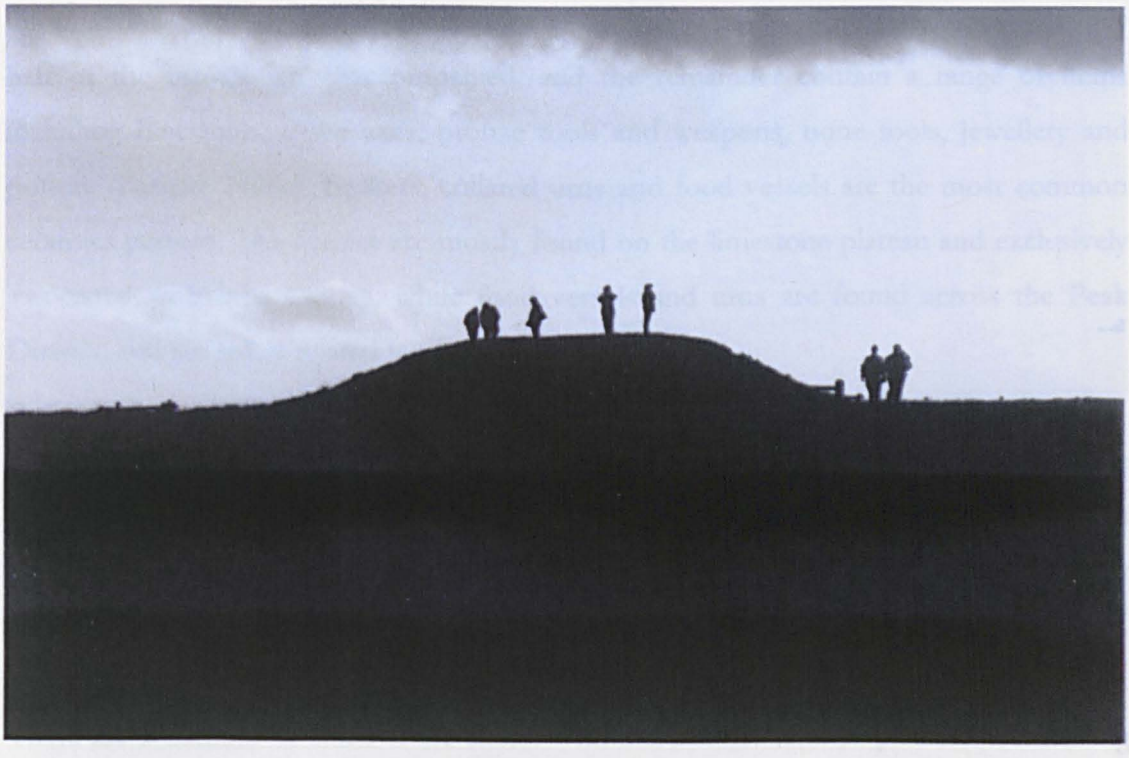
Based on their size, architectural form and topographical settings, the henges are thought to be associated with large communal gatherings that brought together people from the wider surrounding area, (Barnatt 1996a; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Both henges and barrows may have continued to rework ideals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

Possibly, the henges were built and used by larger numbers of people than the individual chambered tombs, suggesting, like the enclosure on Gardom's Edge, the construction of wider concepts of social identity. Barnatt has stated that the henges "may well have allowed different groups from segmented communities to come together to build and use the monuments. Doing this would have welded social identity, creating larger coherent groups and thus through time peripheral locales became central ones" (1996c, 54). The different communities were comparative strangers to each other for most of the year and ceremonies held at the henges would have reaffirmed kinship ties and involved the negotiation of access to different areas of the landscape. In this context, the large artefact

scatters in the vicinity of Arbor Low have been interpreted as the campsites for communities attending gatherings at the henge (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Within the context of recent reinterpretations of later neolithic society (Bradley 1984; Barrett 1994; Thomas 1991), Barnatt explains the appearance of henges as indicating people who were becoming more sedentary over time as greater levels of agriculture were incorporated into their lives and traditional claims to land became more fixed (Barnatt 1996c).

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

3.3.3 Smaller Monuments: Stone Circles, Ringcairns and Barrows



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

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

Smith 1997. Illustration 3.2). They are also found in a much wider variety of topographical locations, are a lot smaller and, in the case of barrows, there is variability in the treatment of the dead.

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

Stone circles and ringcairns are found exclusively across the gritstone uplands with the majority on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 1990). They vary in size (from 5m to 30m in diameter) and character: free-standing stones, upright stones placed in a circular embankment and embankments without orthostats (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Examples include Nine Ladies on Stanton Moor, and Barbrook I and II on Big Moor. There are a number of small stone circles with internal mounds or platforms, including Strawberry Lea near Totley Moor and at Doll Tor on Stanton Moor. It is unclear whether they are stone circles that have had their interiors filled later or whether they are variations of kerb cairns with their continuous ring of stones. The closest stone circles to the study area are on Bamford Moor, to the south-east, including the Seven Stones of Hordron which overlooks Ladybower Gorge.

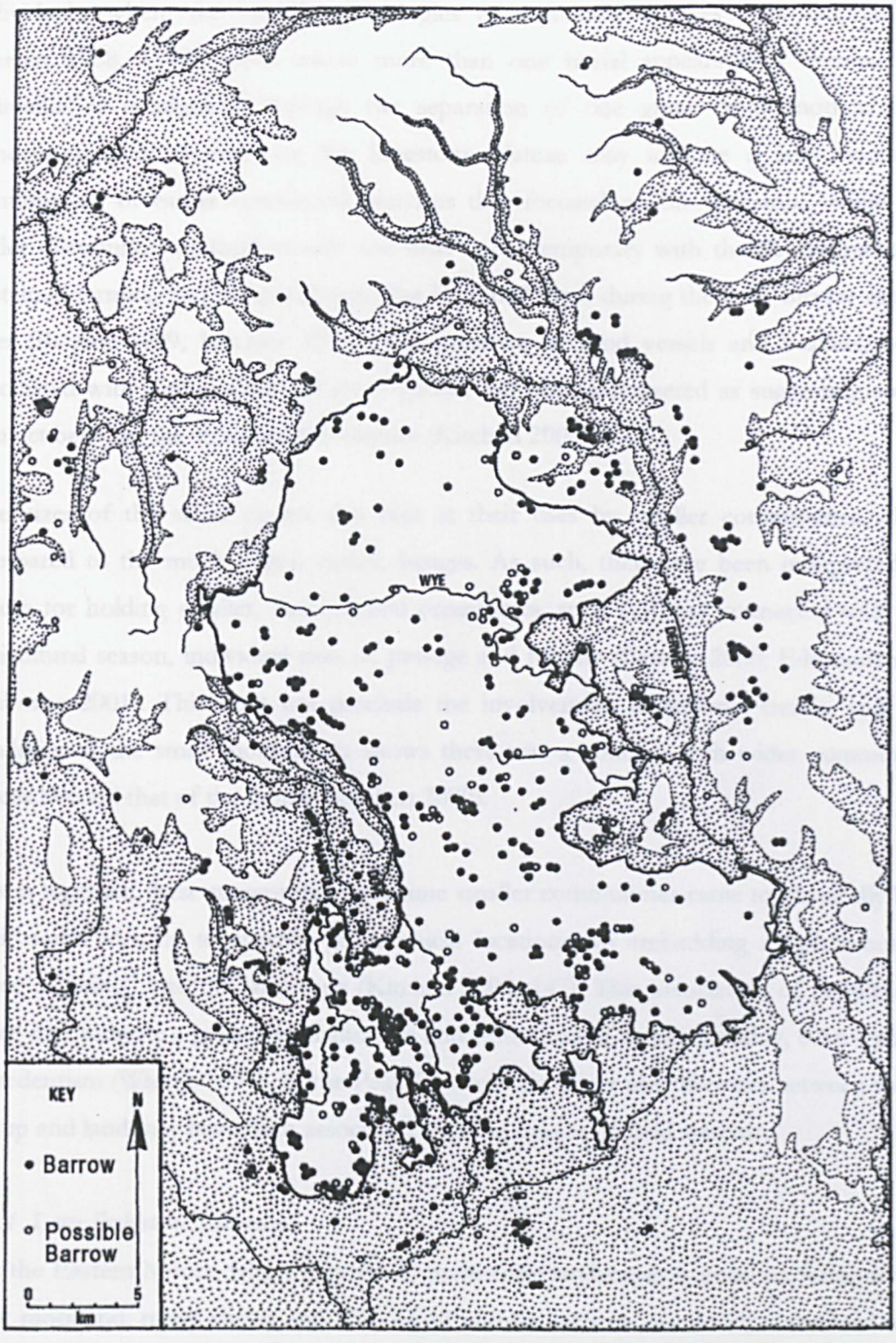


Illustration 3.2. Later prehistoric barrows in the Peak District. From Barnatt 1996a

The proliferation of barrows and stone circles compared to the lower numbers of earlier henges and tombs, and their strong relationship with locally prominent locations, signals that more places were perceived to be important. Barrows indicate a shift from building monuments marking ceremonies calling on communal ancestors, to burial rites of

individuals, where the specific genealogies of individual families were emphasised (Barrett 1988, 1994). Even where more than one burial appears in a barrow, the individual is emphasised through the separation of one grave from another. The concentration of beakers on the limestone plateau may indicate a later neolithic continuation of earlier ceremonial practices that focused on the limestone, while the wider distribution of food vessels and urns is contemporary with the development of sustained farming and its spread onto the Eastern Moors during the early bronze age or later (Barnatt 1999; Kitchen 2000). The presence of food vessels and beakers, both associated with similar suites of grave goods, has been interpreted as suggesting social contact between the region and Yorkshire (Kitchen 2000).

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

Taken together, these suggest that over time smaller communities came to physically link their social identity to specific geographical locations, so embedding a "place-bound sense of being" into the landscape (Kitchen 2000, 147). This association of people and place may indicate a greater formalisation and restriction of earlier mobility, even leading to sedentism (Whittle 1997). In the Peak District, this closer identification between social group and land may have been associated with the origins of field systems.

3.3.4 Later Prehistoric Settlements

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

Fields and settlements occupy terraces and low summits, which overlook the Derwent Valley to the west and, in lower numbers, the easterly draining watercourses that flow into the Rivers Rother and Don (Illustration 3.3). Mostly, they occupy areas of lighter, sandy soils situated below 400m O.D. suited for pasture and cultivation by wooden ard

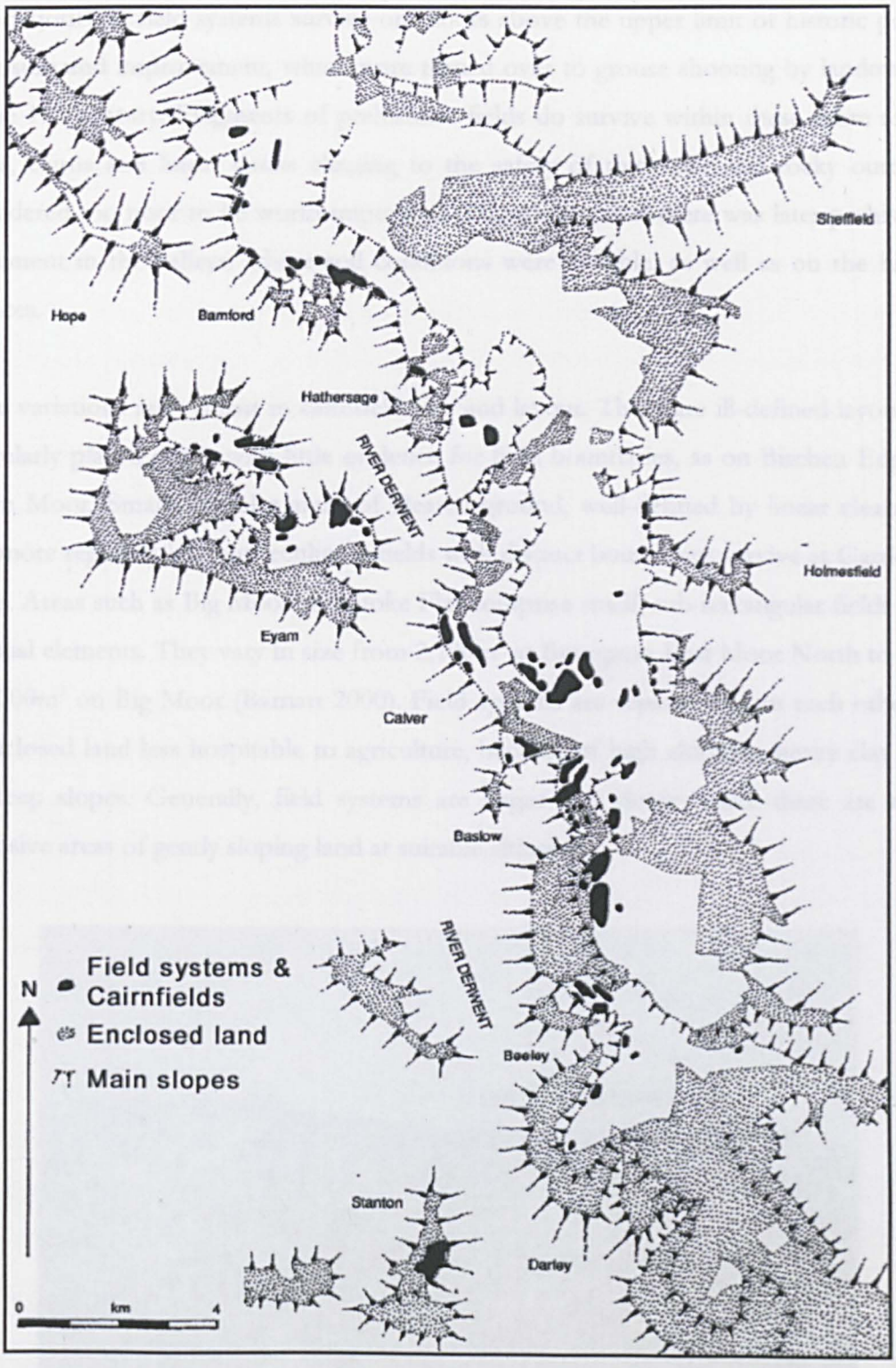
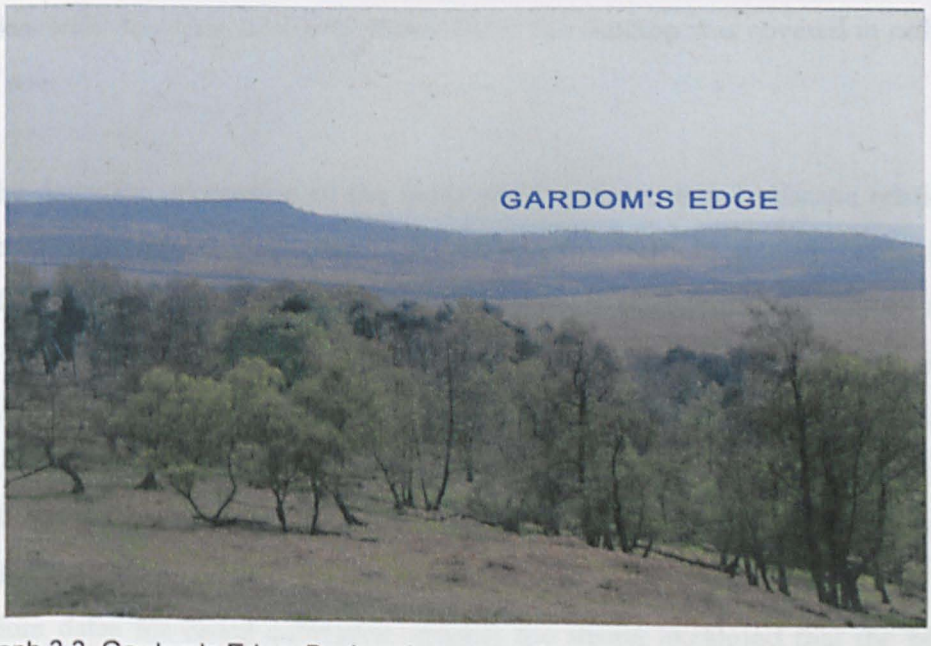


Illustration 3.3. Later prehistoric settlements and cairnfields of the Eastern Moors. From Barnatt and Smith 1997

and spade (Barnatt 1987, 1999, 2000). The fields have a very strong relationship with local topography or soils, and are not imposed on the landscape as, for example, the brickwork fields of the Sherwood Sandstone ridge running through West Yorkshire,

South Yorkshire and north Nottinghamshire (Riley 1980; Garton 1987; Chadwick 1999). The majority of field systems survive on moors above the upper limit of historic period enclosure and improvement, which were turned over to grouse shooting by landowners in the 19th century. Fragments of prehistoric fields do survive within these more recent fields, cairns and linear banks clinging to the safety of thin soils and rocky outcrops considered too poor to be worth improving. These show that there was later prehistoric settlement in the valleys, where soil conditions were suitable, as well as on the higher terraces.

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



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

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

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

2002). This includes friable pottery of similar later bronze age/early iron age forms to those found at Harborough Rocks, Mam Tor and Ball Cross and suggests some contemporaneity in the occupation of open and enclosed settlements in the region (Coombs and Thompson 1979; Hart 1981; Stanley 1954; Ward 1890).

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

3.3.5 Relationship of Barrows and Settlements

The barrows tend to be located on the edges of field systems, and are usually not placed in highly prominent locations (Illustration 3.4). They appear important to the extended families who occupied the settlements as physical reminders of earlier generations, the communities' connections with place and the symbolism of community identity through these geographical associations. Some burials were placed in clearance cairns and in stone circles, showing how burial rites, ceremonies and agriculture were all linked.

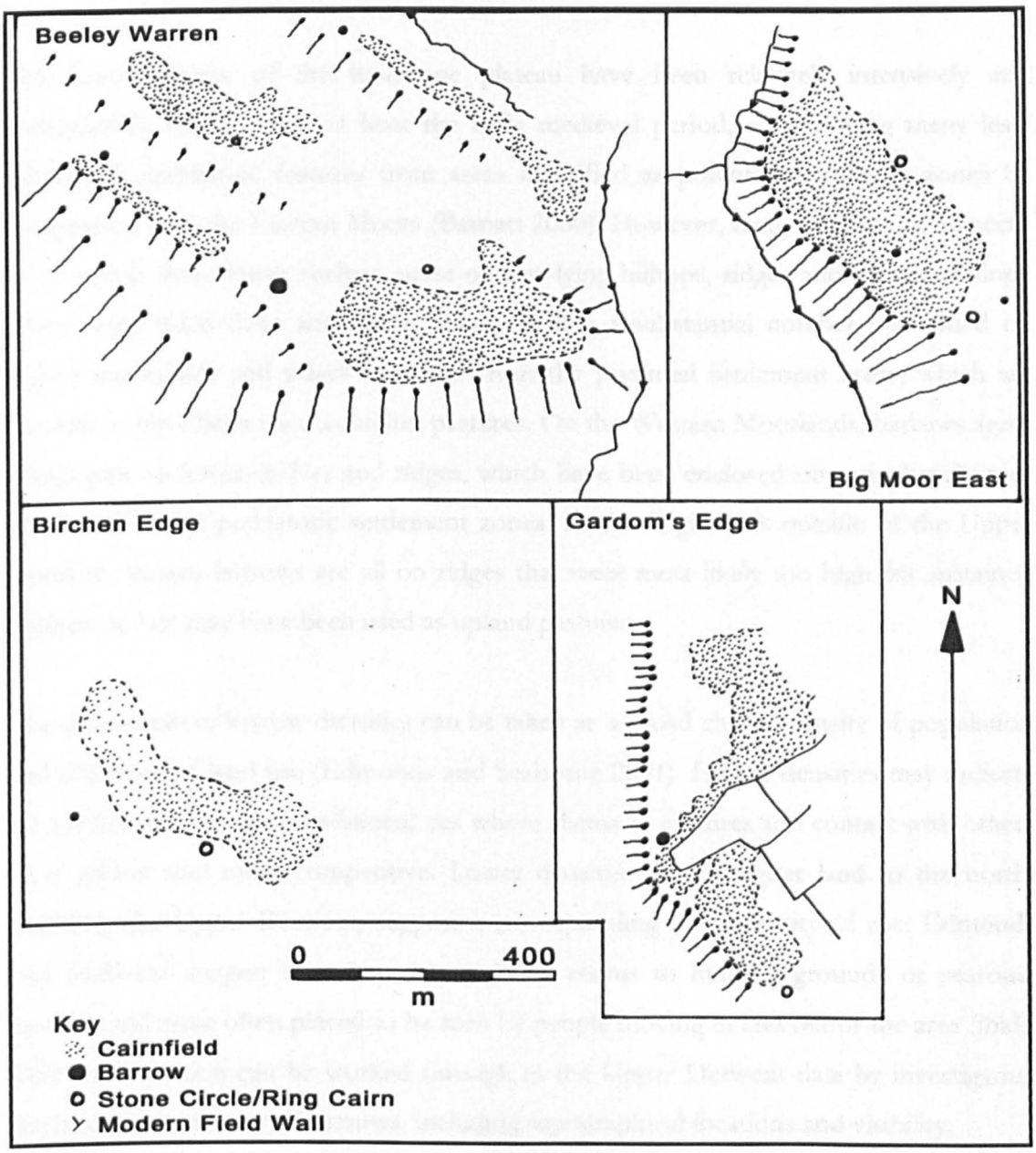


Illustration 3.4. Relationships of barrows and settlements on the Eastern Moors. Monuments are typically on the edges of field areas

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

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

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

3.3.6 Hill-Top Enclosures

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

Moor, Carl Wark, Ecclesall Woods and Wincobank, all in Sheffield, Burr Tor, Hathersage, Bunbury, Staffordshire, Great Low, Cheshire and Mellor, Stockport.

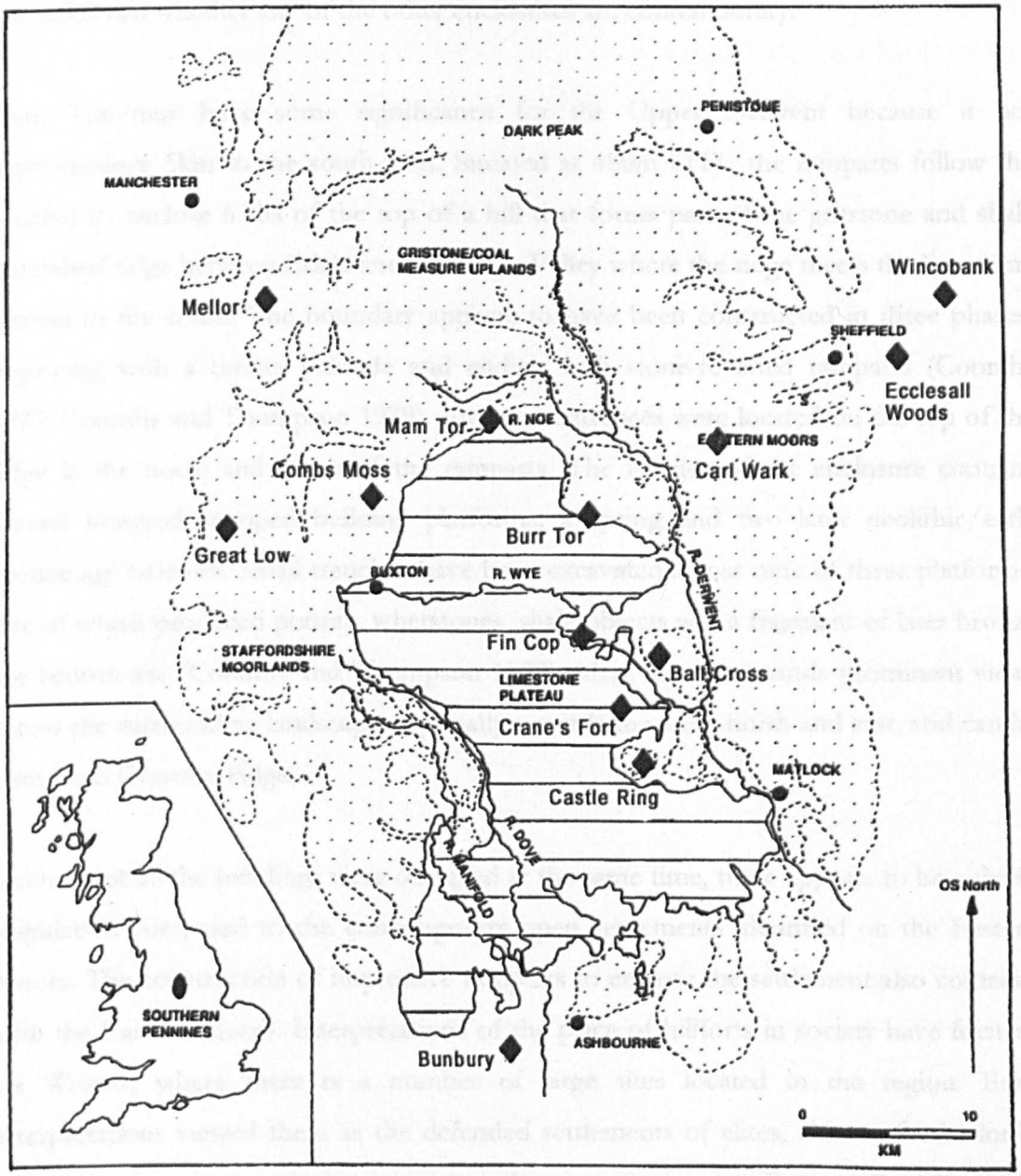


Illustration 3.5. Later prehistoric hill-top enclosures in the Peak District and adjoining areas. Adapted from Bevan 2000b

Mellor, Mam Tor and Ball Cross have been excavated. The former was occupied from the middle iron age to the Roman period, while the latter two sites have been assigned a later bronze age/early iron age date based on pottery fabrics typical of the period in the East Midlands region, and the presence of shouldered jars and globular pots (Barrett 1979; Hart 1981; Knight 2002). Two composite samples of charcoal were collected at

Mam Tor and radiocarbon dated to 3080±115 BP (1620-1010 Cal. BC – Birm 192) and 3130±132 BP (1680-1000 Cal. BC – Birm 202). Unfortunately, the insecure nature of the contexts from which the samples were taken means that these dates are highly unreliable. It is unknown whether any of the other enclosures are contemporary.

Mam Tor may have some significance for the Upper Derwent because it lies approximately 5km to the south-west. Situated at 480m O.D., the ramparts follow the contour to enclose 6.5ha of the top of a hill that forms part of the gritstone and shale watershed ridge between Edale and the Hope Valley where the ridge meets the limestone plateau to the south. The boundary appears to have been constructed in three phases, beginning with a timber palisade and ending with stone-revetted ramparts (Coombs 1977; Coombs and Thompson 1979). Inturned entrances were located on the top of the ridge in the north and south of the ramparts. The interior of the enclosure contains several hundred scooped building platforms, a spring and two later neolithic/early bronze age barrows. Small trenches have been excavated across nine of these platforms, five of which produced pottery, whetstones, shale objects and a fragment of later bronze age bronze axe (Coombs and Thompson 1979). Mam Tor commands prominent views across the surrounding landscape, especially towards the west, north and east, and can be seen from Derwent Edge.

Even if not all the buildings were occupied at the same time, there appears to be a dense population compared to the contemporary open settlements identified on the Eastern Moors. The construction of impressive ramparts to enclose the settlement also contrasts with the Eastern Moors. Interpretations of the place of hillforts in society have focused on Wessex, where there is a number of large sites located in the region. Early interpretations viewed them as the defended settlements of elites, akin to feudal lords, with an increase in complexity over time indicating greater centralisation (Cunliffe 1991). Others have suggested that the evidence for status is equivocal when the occupation evidence is compared to contemporary open settlements in the region (Hill 1996). Hill points out that there is little differentiation between hillforts and open settlements beyond the presence of the earthworks, and larger numbers of storage pits and structured deposits at the former. This model sees rampart building as an extension of the demarcation of social boundaries, as evident in the elaboration of boundaries and entrances, including the deposition of objects, at houses, fields, settlements and

enclosures. Inside houses, this is focused at the household level, in hillforts it is expressed at a wider community scale (ibid, 109). Ramparts were the physical expression of communal social identity, in addition to, rather than instead of, being a deterrent to small-scale inter-communal conflict (Bowden and McOmish 1987; Sharples 1991). Hill sees the nature of the earthworks and the evidence for feasting, as well as a breakdown in the common south-east orientation of open settlement house entrances and lack of permanent occupation evidence at some hillforts, as suggesting the enclosures were communal focal points in a landscape characterised by highly dispersed, individual farmsteads (Hill 1996). Where hillforts are absent, the settlement pattern is usually one of conglomerated groups of houses surrounded by fields with access to shared pastures and suggesting more regular routine social encounters (Hill 1996; Hingley 1984).

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

Whether Mam Tor can be interpreted as either dense, nucleated settlement or temporarily occupied communal centre is open to question. The dense occupation of the hill-top enclosure and the conglomerated open settlements and fields of the Eastern Moors, bare comparison to the evidence from southern England. The material culture from Mam Tor and the Eastern Moors is very similar. LBA-EIA pottery, whetstones and shale objects are common, and blue glass beads and lead objects are present, at both (Barnatt et al 2002; Coombs 1977; Coombs and Thompson 1979). Excavations have also identified similar quantities of artefacts associated with individual building platforms

(ibid). This comparable consumption of objects does not suggest an obvious hierarchy of social status between the two types of settlement. However, we know nothing about the contemporaneity of the building platforms with each other or with the earthworks, nor whether the earthworks were built in a single, short phase, or episodically over time. What differentiates the hillfort from the likes of Gardom's Edge is the aggregation of activity at a single locale, size of the ramparts and long-distance prominence of the hilltop. People were motivated to expend labour on large-scale construction in a location that visibly broadcast their presence across long distances, so suggesting a stronger shared community identity. On Gardom's Edge, the positioning of one of the round houses on a locally prominent ridge, and the erection of stone banks around the circumference of the building soon after abandonment, suggests that defining social boundaries through construction was a part of the repertoire of life here too. The difference being that it was focused more on the household level. There is also the significant difference between the topography of Mam Tor and the swathes of land at lower altitudes found on the Eastern Moors, which are occupied by extensive cairnfields and loosely conglomerated settlements. Mam Tor is surrounded by steep valley sides, wooded valleys of poorly draining, heavy soils and high land located above the upper altitude for recorded and potential settlement in the region (Barnatt 1999, 2000). Activity associated with the surrounding landscape would have been dispersed across greater distances separated by less traversable valleys, ridges and woodlands than on the Eastern Moors. Differences in settlement and expressions of community/household identity may, therefore, have been related to active engagement with the different options afforded by topography.

3.3.7 Overview

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

The increase in barrows between the early neolithic and early bronze age implies that the focus of monumental burial changed from the wider kin-group to smaller families and as

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

We cannot tell how sedentary or mobile the populations were who occupied these settlements. John Barnatt believes that the move to sedentary lifestyle was well advanced by the early bronze age, based on the proliferation of small ceremonial and funerary monuments placed in locations oriented to the local landscape, and the relationships between these monuments and field systems (Barnatt 1999; 2000). This is despite the latter being largely undated, except for elements of some that have been dated to later in prehistory. He sees this as a long transition beginning during the neolithic and ending by the late bronze (Barnatt 1996). Kitchen sees greater evidence for mobility, citing little or no direct evidence for technological change, intensification of land-use, increasing demarcation or division of land, or defining settlement locations (Kitchen 2000). Instead, the cairnfields may have developed intermittently over long periods of time (ibid).

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

3.4 Upper Derwent in Later Prehistory

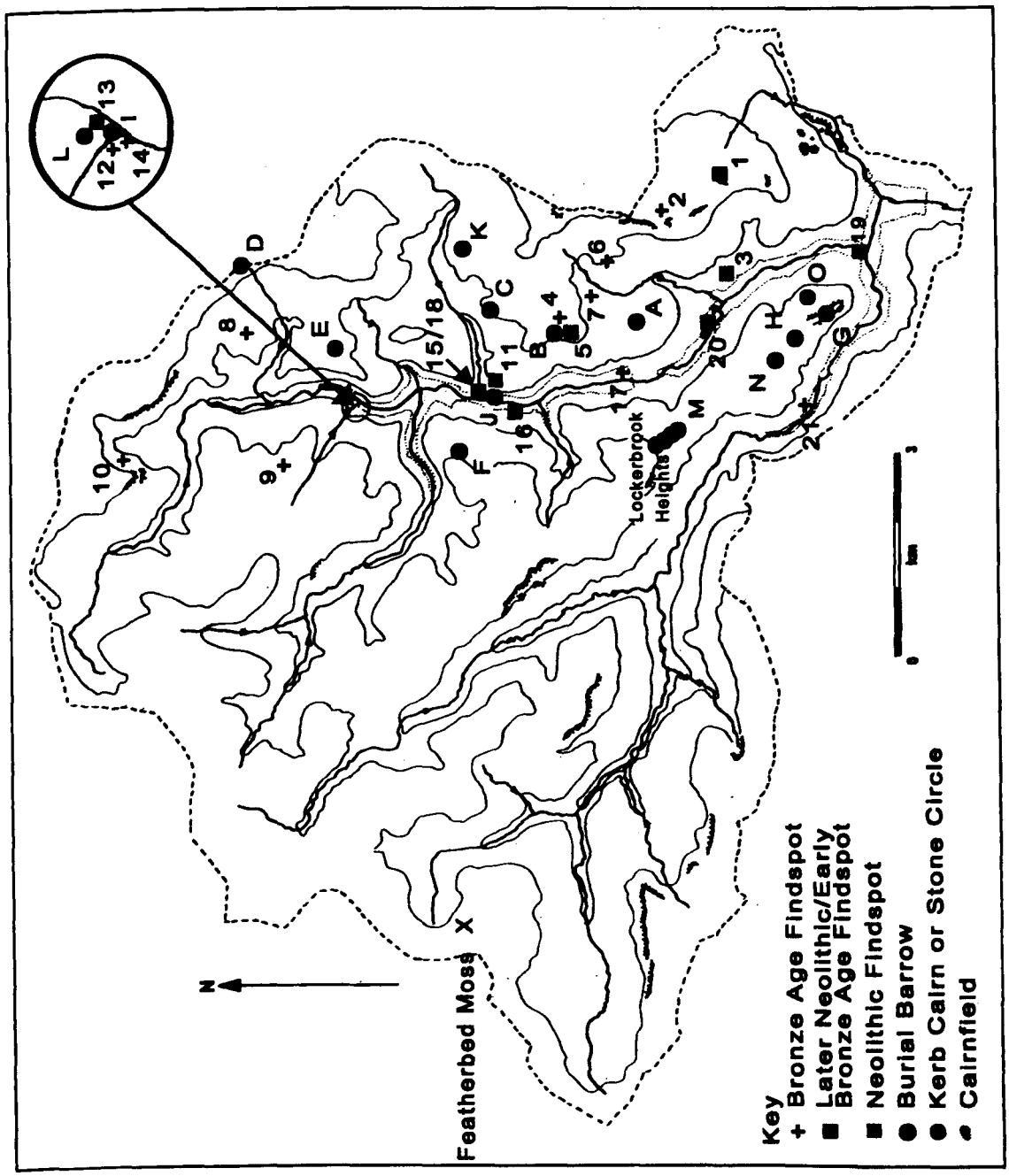


Illustration 3.6. Findspots and features of Later Neolithic to Early Bronze Age in the Upper

3.4.1 Constellations in Stone: Lithics and Small Finds

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

while the remaining 10 locations are in the valley bottom and lower valley sides. All are located in the Derwent Valley and neighbouring moors, while none have been found in the Ashop Valley.

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

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

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

Linch Clough are by far the densest known concentration of later neolithic/early bronze age lithics in the study area.

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.2 Burning and Digging: Pits

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

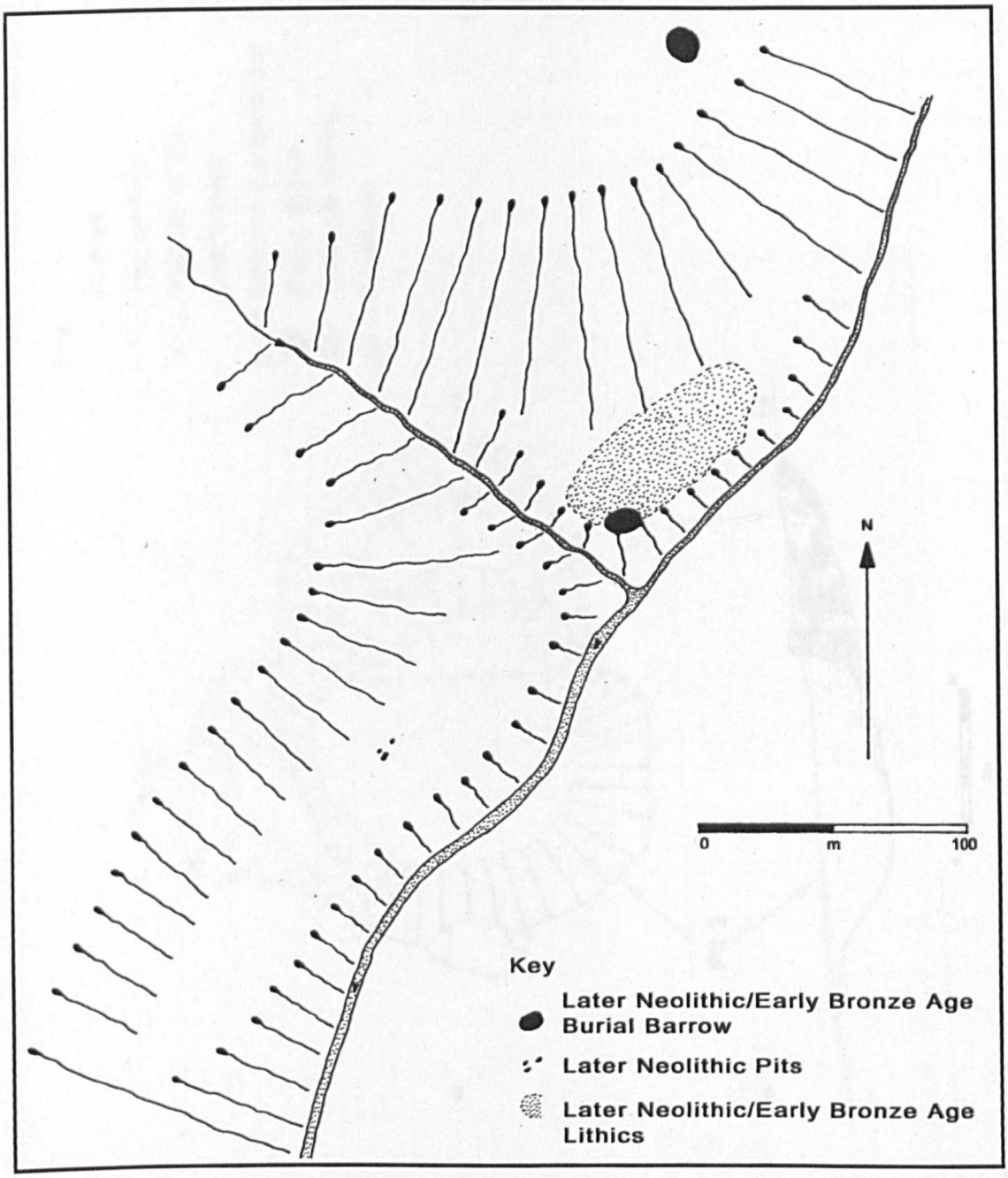


Illustration 3.7. Features at Linch Clough North and South

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

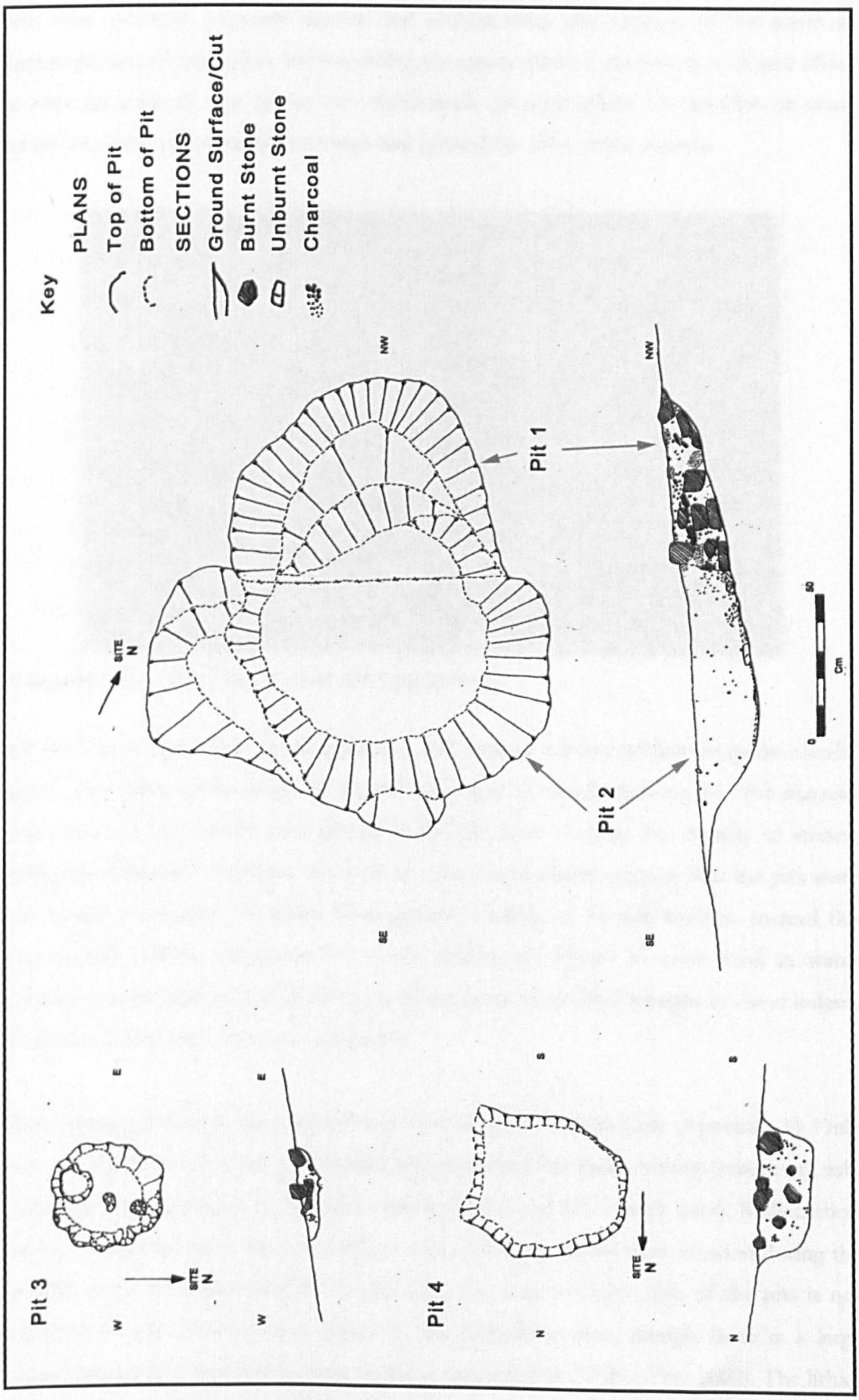


Illustration 3.8. Sections and post-excavation plans of pits, Linch Clough South

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4.3 The Dead Can Dance

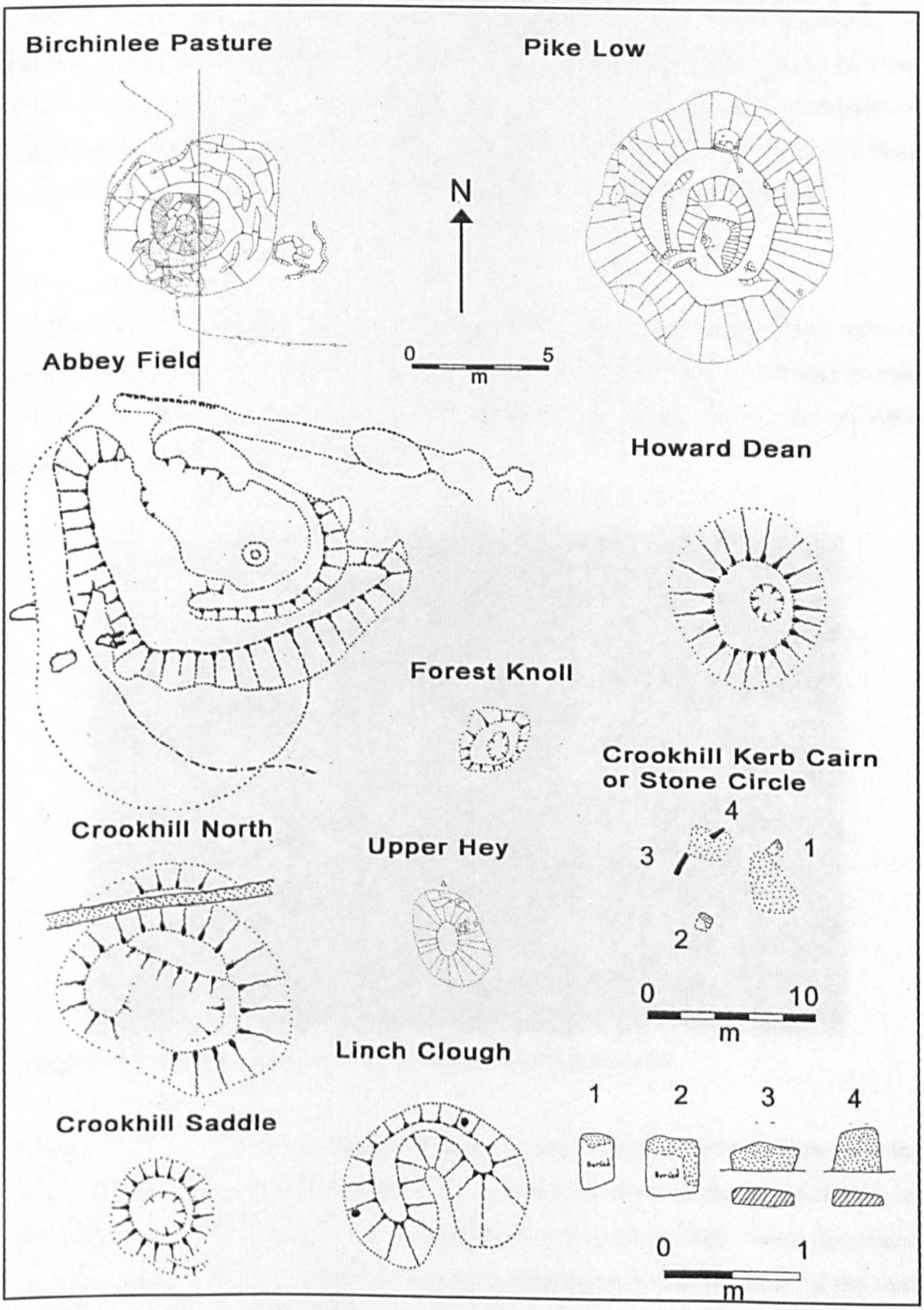


Illustration 3.9. Plans of various barrows and kerb cairn in the Upper Derwent

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

3.4.3.1 Valley Barrows

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

Photograph 3.5. Howden Reservoir burial barrow looking north-west

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

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

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

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

3.4.3.2 Moorland Shelf Locations

Photograph 3.6. Pike Low burial barrow looking south-west

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

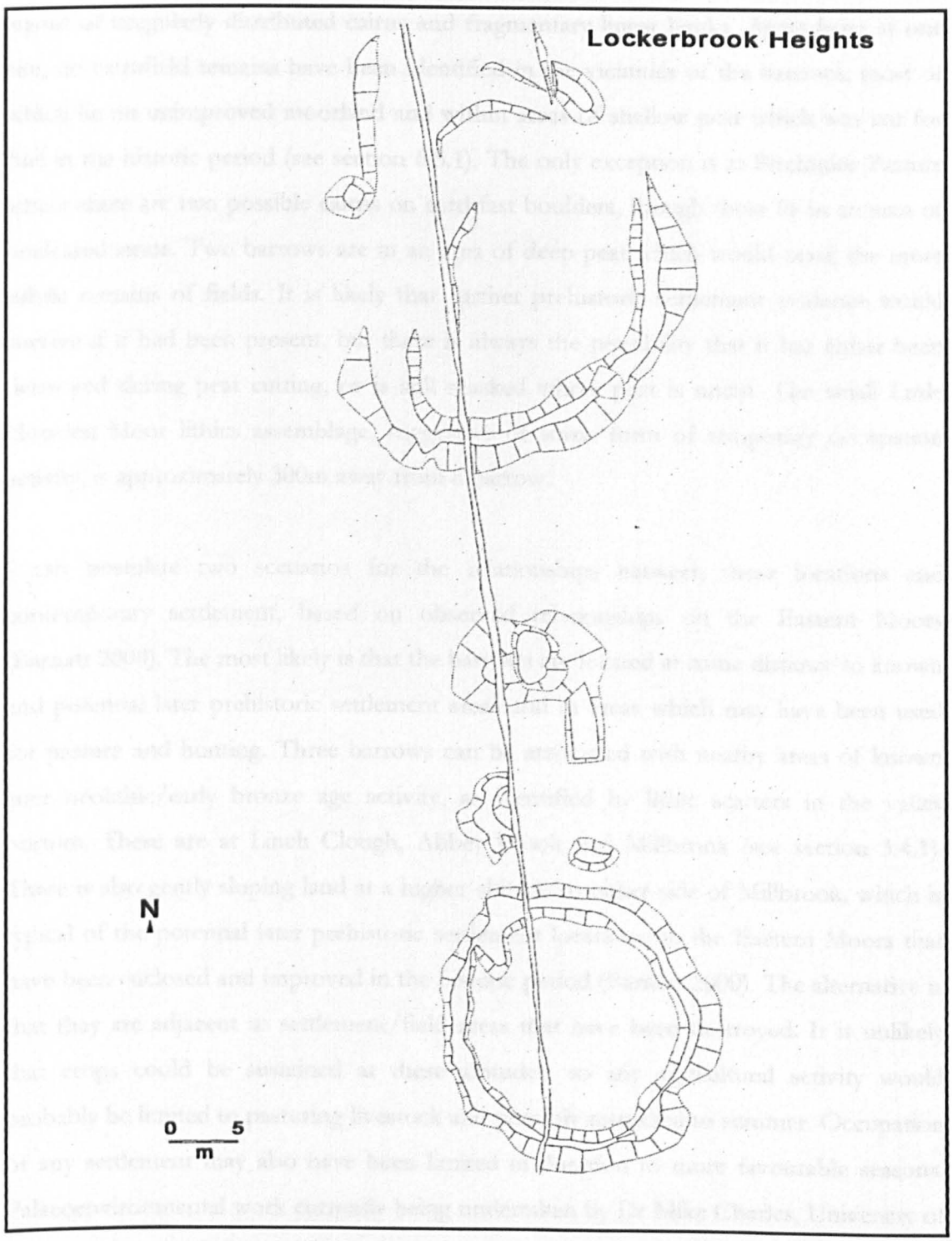


Illustration 3.10. Lockerbrook Heights complex comprises two large ring-banks (probably robbed barrows) and two smaller cairns, one with an attached platform. The smallest mound is probably a grassed earthfast boulder. A field wall built between 1627 and 1808 bisects the group

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

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

I can postulate two scenarios for the relationships between these locations and contemporary settlement, based on observed relationships on the Eastern Moors (Barnatt 2000). The most likely is that the barrows are located at some distance to known and potential later prehistoric settlement areas and in areas which may have been used for pasture and hunting. Three barrows can be associated with nearby areas of known later neolithic/early bronze age activity, as identified by lithic scatters in the valley bottom. These are at Linch Clough, Abbey Brook and Millbrook (see section 3.4.1). There is also gently sloping land at a higher altitude to either side of Millbrook, which is typical of the potential later prehistoric settlement locations on the Eastern Moors that have been enclosed and improved in the historic period (Barnatt 2000). The alternative is that they are adjacent to settlement/field areas that have been destroyed. It is unlikely that crops could be sustained at these altitudes, so any agricultural activity would probably be limited to pasturing livestock and possibly restricted to summer. Occupation of any settlement may also have been limited in duration to more favourable seasons. Palaeoenvironmental work currently being undertaken by Dr Mike Charles, University of Sheffield, includes a sample site on Little Howden Moor at 440m O.D. within the vicinity of a number of barrows, and it is hoped analysis and interpretation of peat cores will help to further interpret local land-use.

As on the Eastern Moors, these elevated positions do not equate with high visibility over long distances. They are prominent within the local landscape of the Upper Derwent itself or when approaching from particular directions. From the surrounding valleys the

shoulders of land, but not the barrows themselves, would only be visible from within clearings. Woodland cover would have obscured these locations much as the present plantations do (Photograph 3.9).

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

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

3.4.3.3 Crookhill Location

A group of five features on Crookhill form the nearest thing to a cluster of later prehistoric features in the Upper Derwent (Illustration 3.11). Crookhill is the prominent terminal of the ridge dividing the Ashop and Derwent Valleys (Photograph 3.10). Two craggy hill-tops rise to 350m and 380m O.D. above gently sloping terraces lying between 280m and 340m O.D. Below these shelves the ground drops steeply to the valley bottom on three sides, the exception being where the ridge runs north-west. There are two barrows, a stone circle or kerb cairn, a barrow or possible clearance cairn and a clearance cairn located on the terraces. The stone circle or kerb cairn comprises four small

orthostats enclosing a stone and earthen mound, approximately 6m in diameter located on the east facing terrace. Originally it probably had five, or possibly six, regularly spaced orthostats forming a ring. This is similar to other sites in the region where a stone circle encloses a barrow (Barnatt 1990). There are similar features 3.5km to the south-east on Moscar Moor, also on Totley Moor and at Doll Tor, Stanton Moor. It is unclear whether they are stone circles that have had their interiors filled at a later date or variations on the continuous rings of stones which form kerb cairns. To the north and in the saddle of the crags are two barrows, and on the west facing slopes are a two smaller cairns, which may be clearance or smaller barrows.

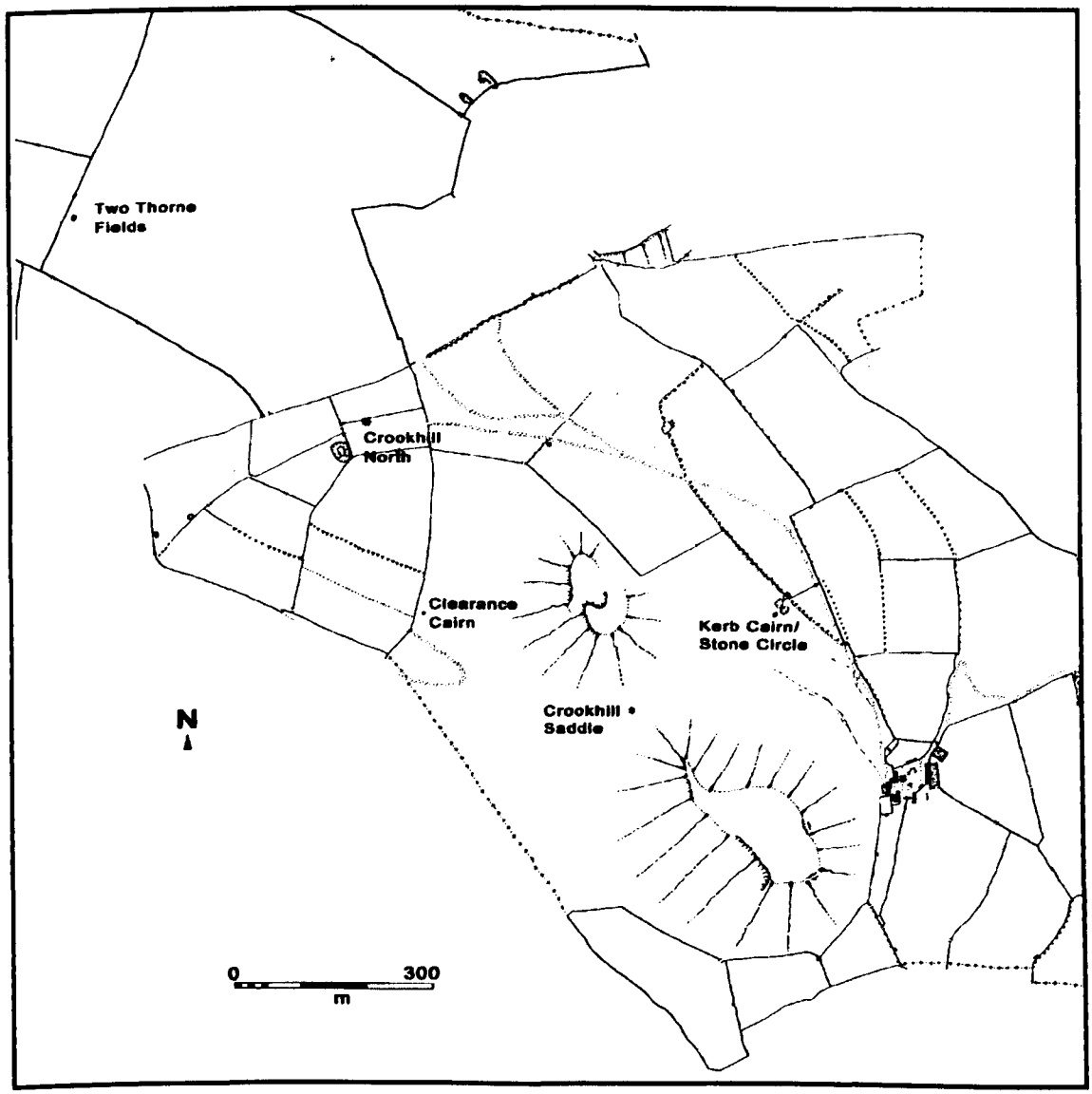


Illustration 3.11. Later prehistoric features at Crookhill, comprising 2-3 barrows, 1 kerb cairn/stone circle and a clearance cairn/barrow

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

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

3.4.3.4 Remote Watershed Location

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

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

3.4.3.5 Barrows Summary

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

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

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

3.4.4 Rocking the Free World: Derwent Moor Cairnfield

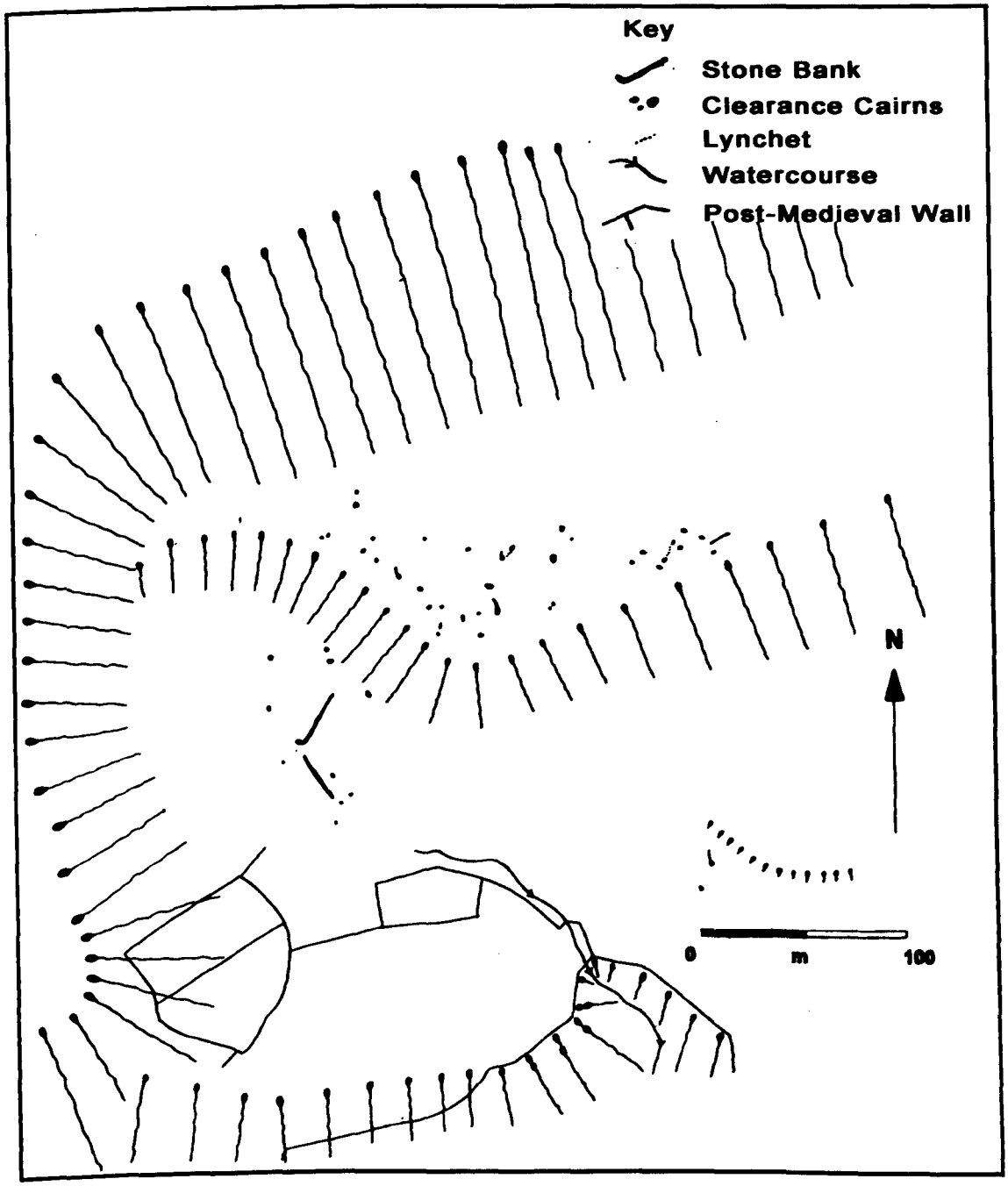


Illustration 3.12. Derwent cairnfield

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

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

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

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

3.5 Discussion: Bringing it all Back Home

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

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

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

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

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

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

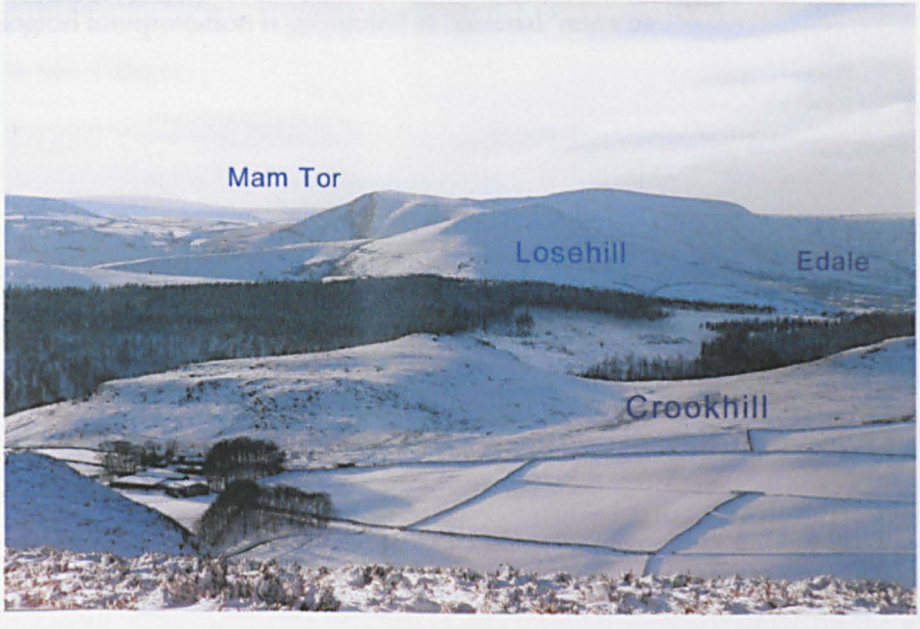
The clearing of ground associated with Derwent cairnfield also suggests a close involvement with place through the physical labour required to improve land for pasture or

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

The cairnfield and potential settlement areas open up the possibility that occupation of small areas of suitable land in the Upper Derwent was also contemporary with the later bronze age/early iron age dates for settlements on the Eastern Moors and at Mam Tor. By comparison with the Eastern Moors, any settlements may have comprised dispersed groups of houses associated with areas of cleared fields, but would have been much smaller than the extensive examples found close together on broad, low moorland shelves, such as at Big Moor and Gardom's Edge. The nature of the Derwent cairnfield suggests shorts periods, perhaps intermittent, of settlement at specific locales rather than the more permanent use over a long-period of time of these larger and more complex sites. There may have been one or a small number of kin-groups present in the Upper Derwent, who moved to occupy different locales that provided varying resources, some visited at different times of the year and others for a number of years. Such settlement would not necessarily have been restricted to the Upper Derwent itself, and there a number of similar, ill-defined cairnfields on nearby Bamford Moor. Again, settlement at these locations would have been closely linked to nearby pastures and the earlier barrows may have continued as structuring elements of land-use.

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

of peat cores within the Upper Derwent and better dating of the Derwent cairnfield are all required before this question can be taken further. Of significance, is that Mam Tor is visible from one particular area of the Upper Derwent, the higher reaches of Derwent Edge (Photograph 3.11). Anyone tending their herds or hunting along this scarp would have seen the hill, the earthworks, smoke rising from houses and signs of human activity. Their attention would be drawn towards it and what it represented, neighbours or a place of wider communal interaction and part of the landscape as 'extended home' beyond the valley.



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

If occupation in the Upper Derwent did span the long time-span covered by this chapter, then earlier elements would have been incorporated into the perceptions of the landscape by successive generations. Barrows were persistent, visible features, whether or not people continued to bury their dead in them, and continued to be associated with distinct topographically marked areas. Vegetation and soil change at specific locales caused by clearance, settlement, cultivation and grazing may have persisted for long periods of time, even where occupation was short-lived or intermittent (Vera 2000). Potentially, these features may have been actively called upon to give structure to the landscape by successive generations inhabiting the Upper Derwent for a period of approximately 1,000 years – recognised, giving meaning within social understandings of the landscape and incorporated

into later patterns of land-use. They would have been re-conceptualised over time through how they were experienced during routines of inhabitation and by the passing on of community knowledge in story-telling and folklore. Due to the problems of chronological resolution and limited material culture, I have had to greatly rely on comparing the Upper Derwent with regional trends, and a better understanding of the history of the local landscape during the time-span under discussion requires that we fall back on the ubiquitous call of archaeologists – 'more data needed'. Test-pitting transects targeted at different topographies and sites, excavations at known features, and close-grained environmental analysis are high priorities for future fieldwork attuned to exploring this broad interpretive framework. This is not to say that new data wins answers, but archaeological interpretation is grounded in material 'remains'.

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.

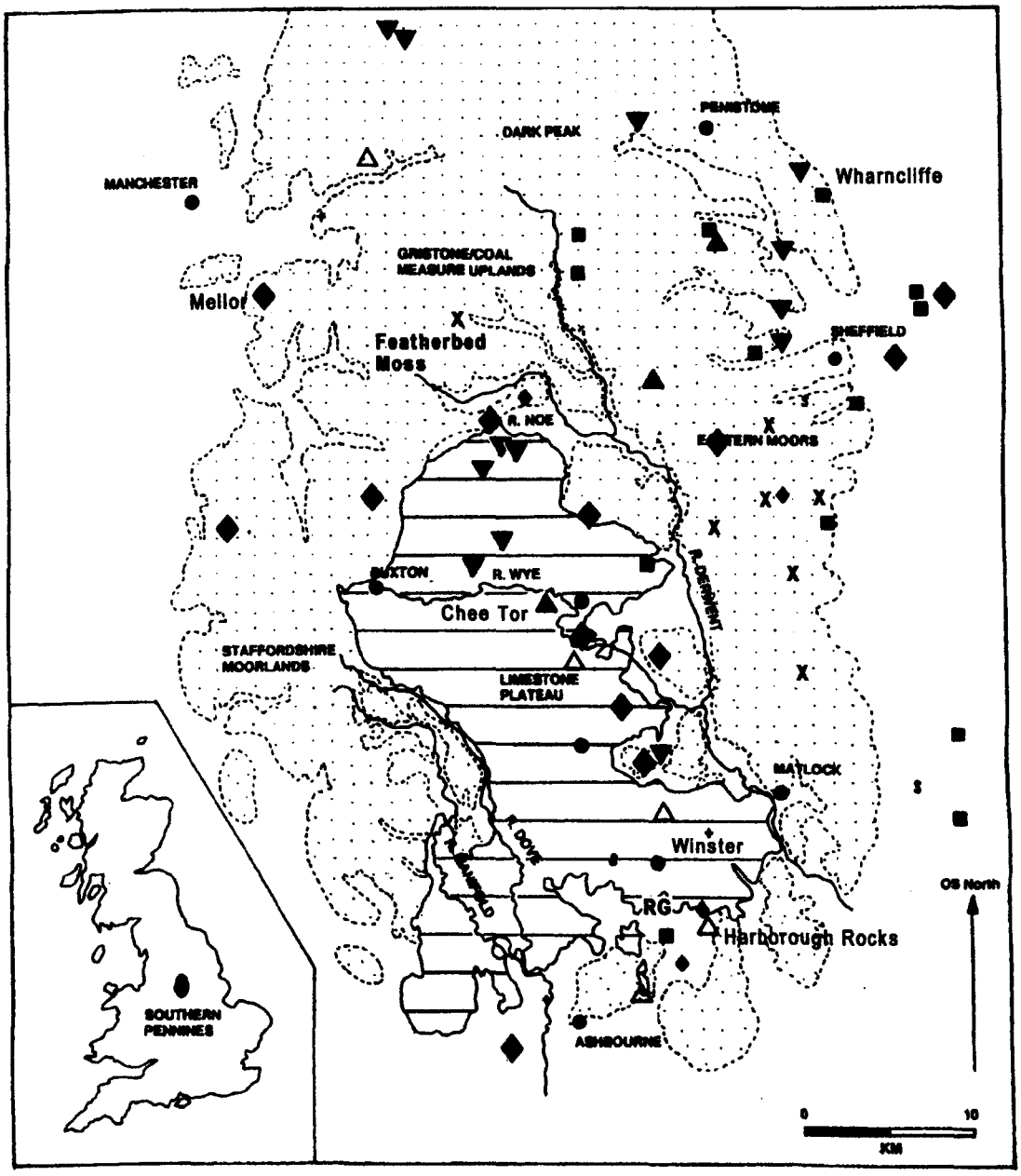
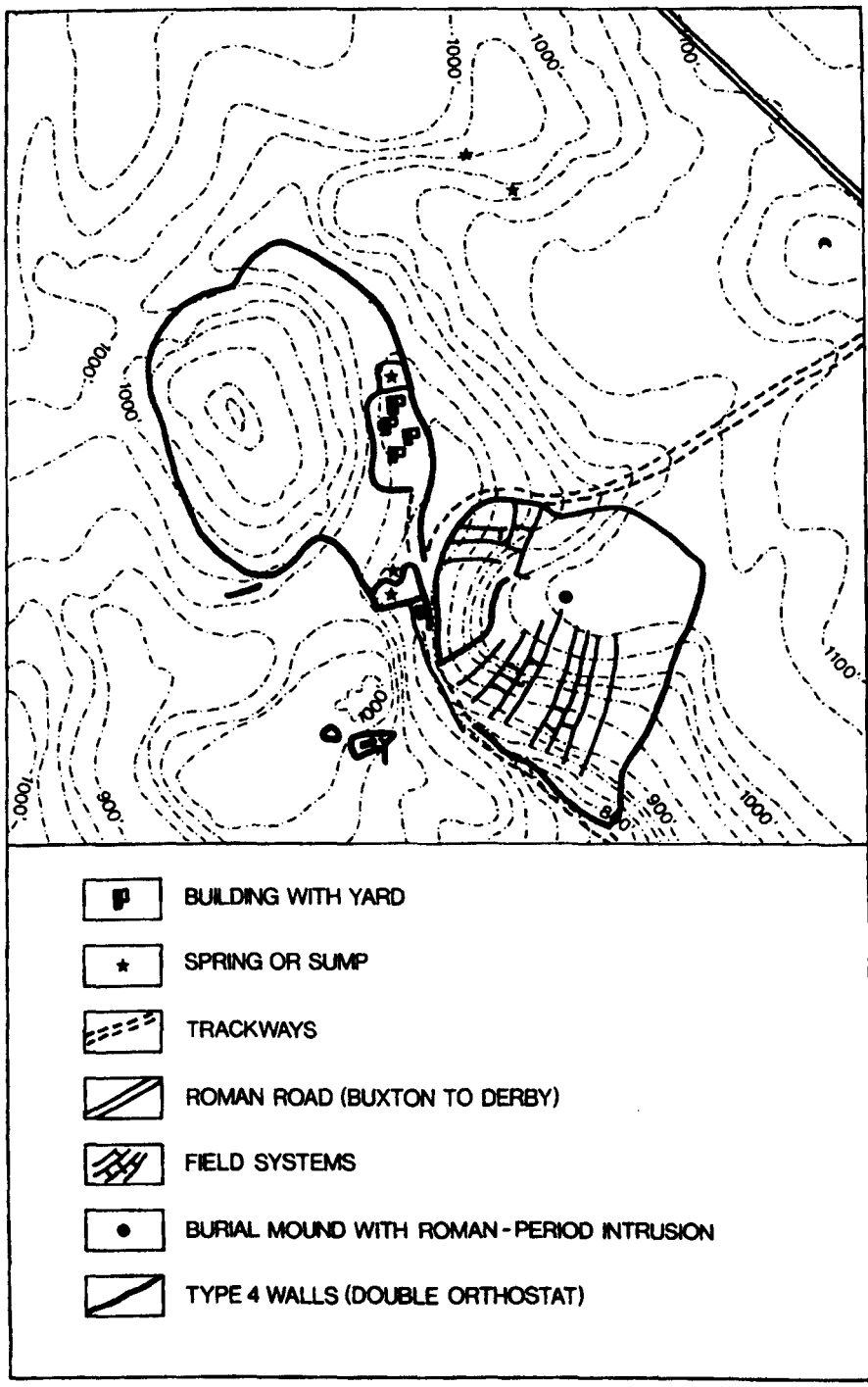


Illustration 4.1. Locations of places mentioned in sections 4.2 – 4.4. Based on Bevan 2000b



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 marginilisation 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 Wharncliffe, 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 lead 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 Corieltauvi 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 Corieltauvi (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

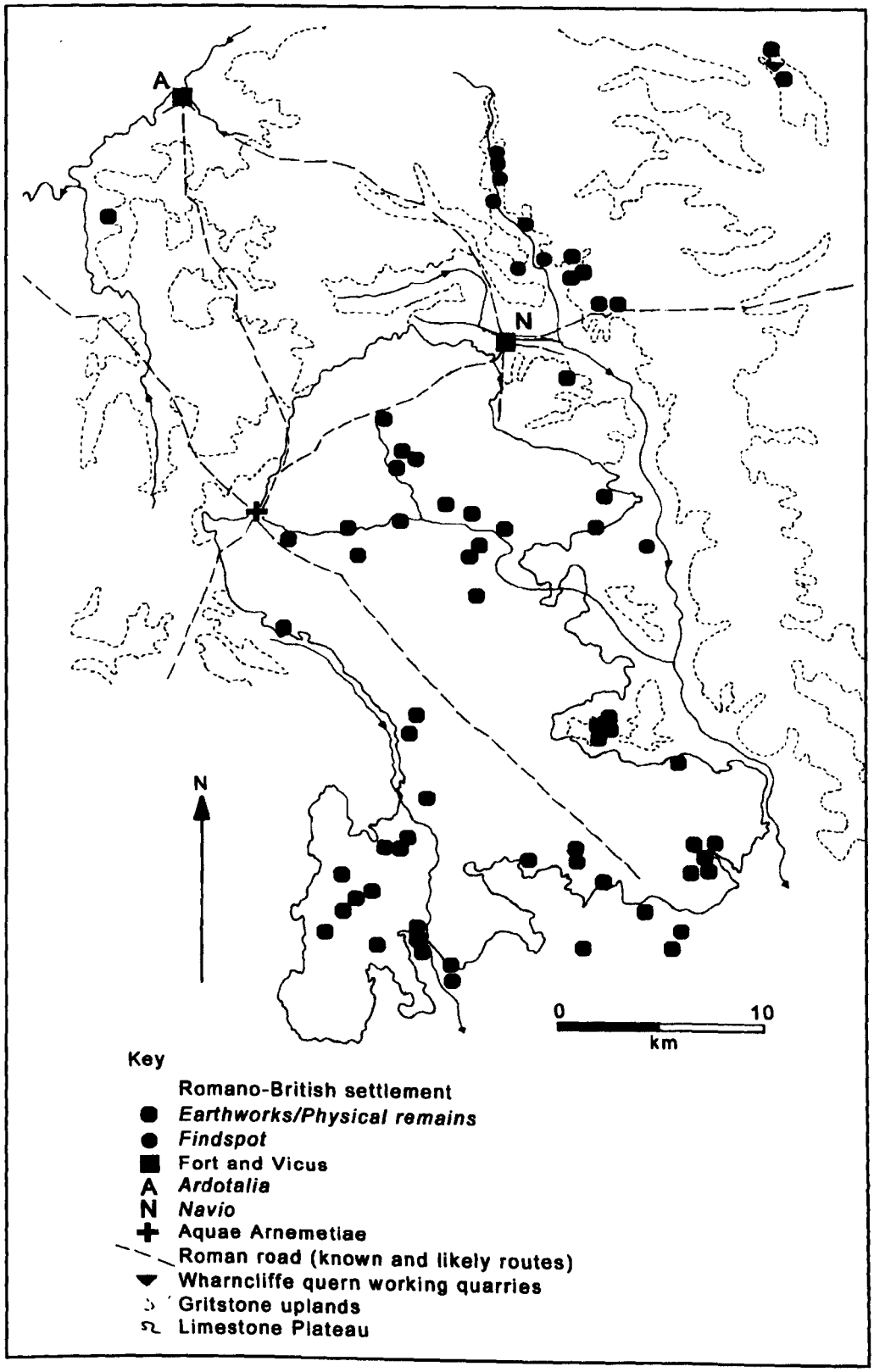
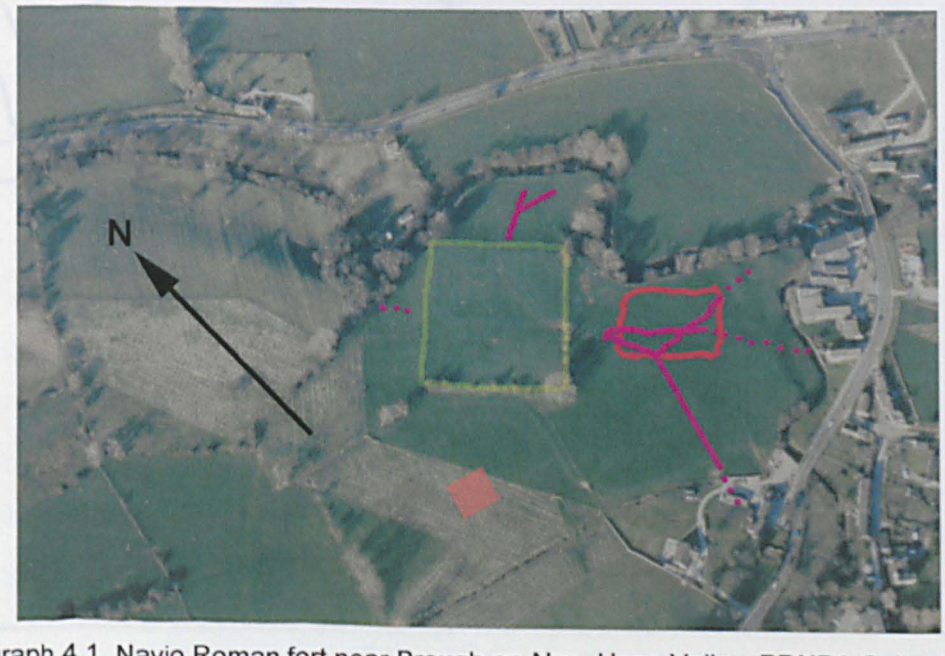


Illustration 4.3. Locations of Roman forts, roads, *vici*, towns and Romano-British rural settlements in the Peak District

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).

4.5.2.1 Forts and Vici



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

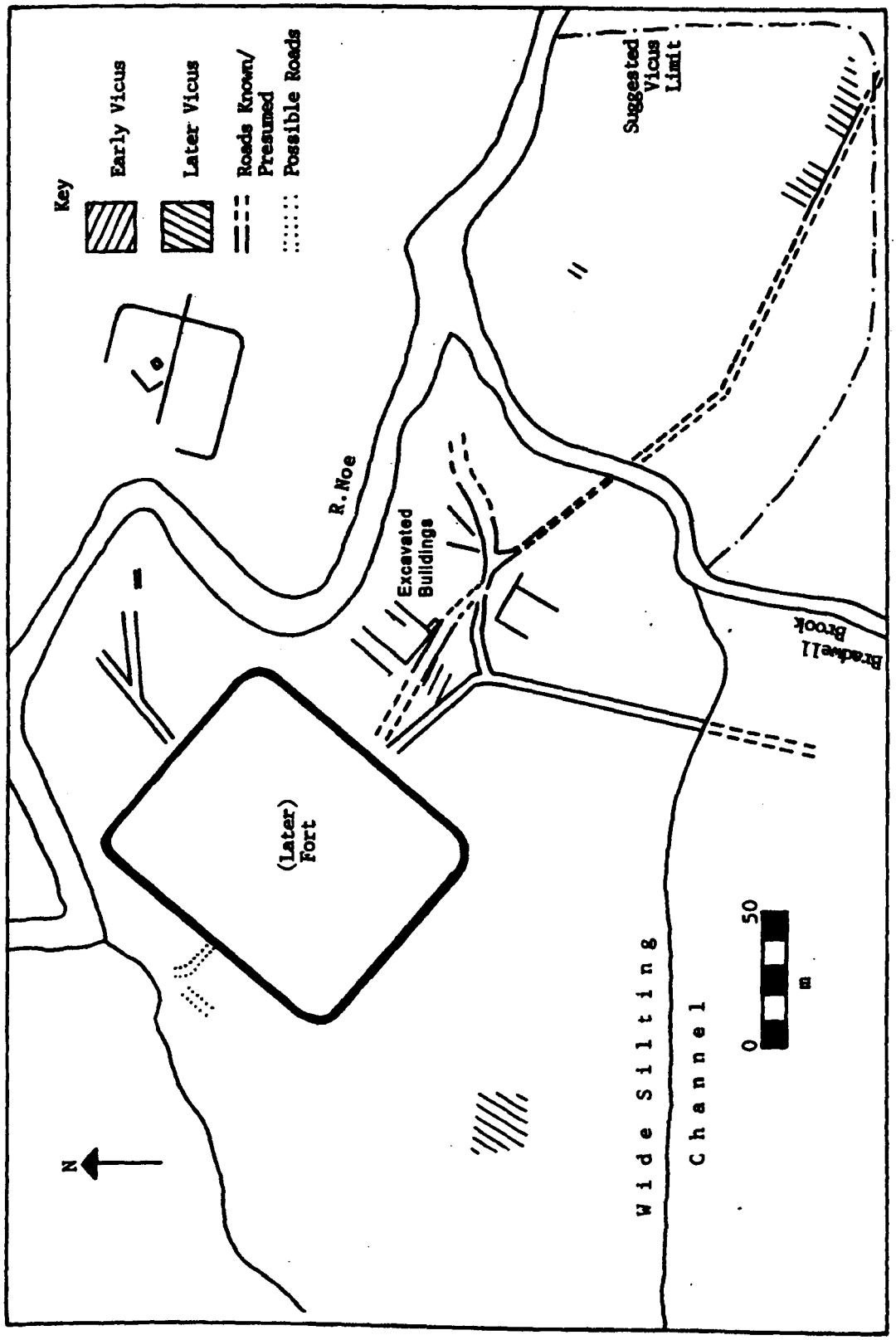


Illustration 4.4. The *vicus* and fort at Navio, Hope Valley. From Dearne 1993

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).

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.

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 Corieltauvi 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.

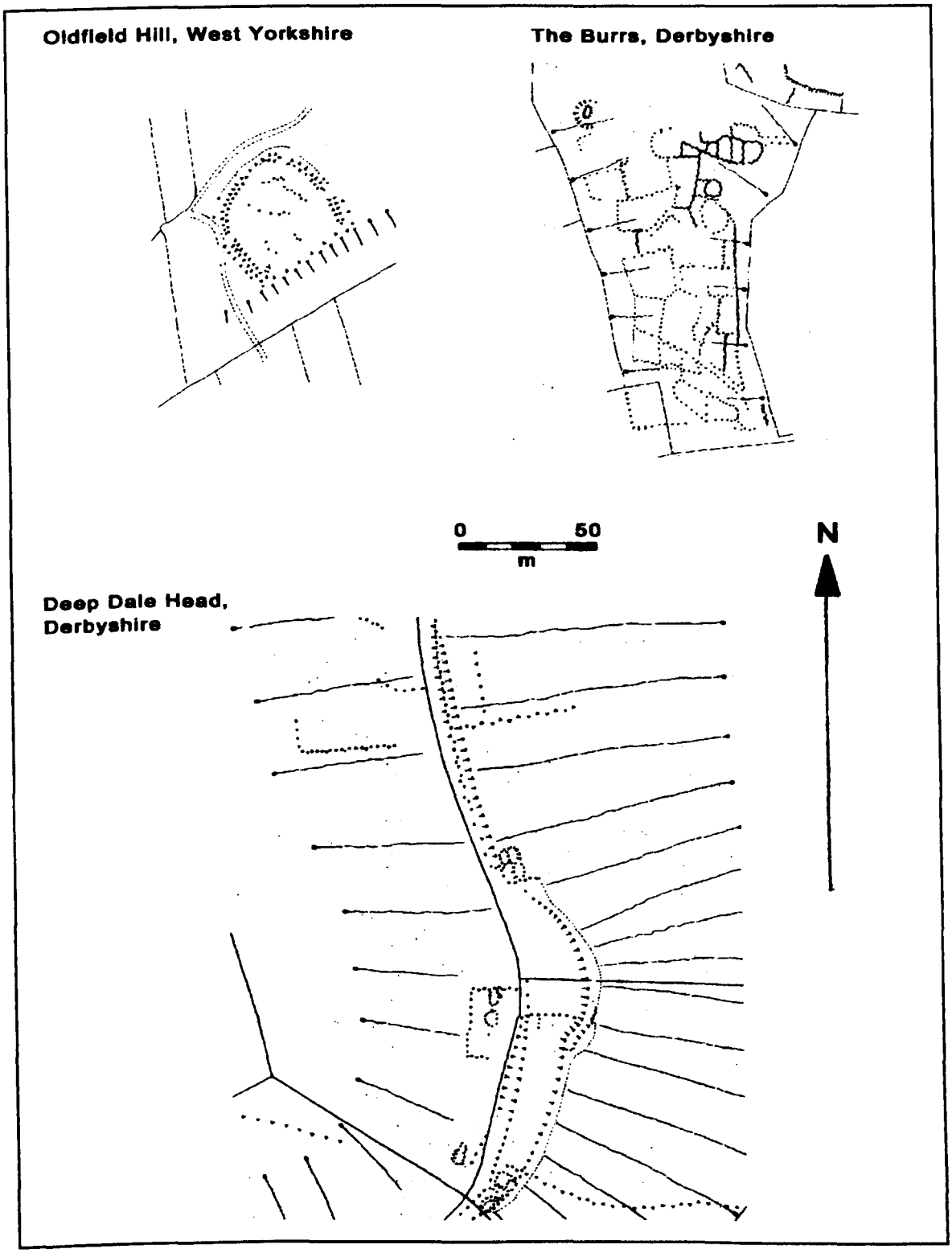


Illustration 4.5. Typical layouts of Romano-British rural settlements in the Peak District, including examples of enclosed, nucleated and dispersed settlements

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

olated without any evidence for associated fields. Most comprise the site of a single or nall number of buildings with one or two attached sub-circular or sub-rectangular nclosures. Buildings are visible at 70% of the settlements, and comprise rectangular, void and round floorplans in approximately equal numbers. These often occur in ombinations of two or more building types at any one settlement. The varying nature of ettlement and field layout is typical of Romano-British settlements throughout England nd 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).

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

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Peak District's only villa to date has been identified (Dearne at 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 at 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 24,000m^2. 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).

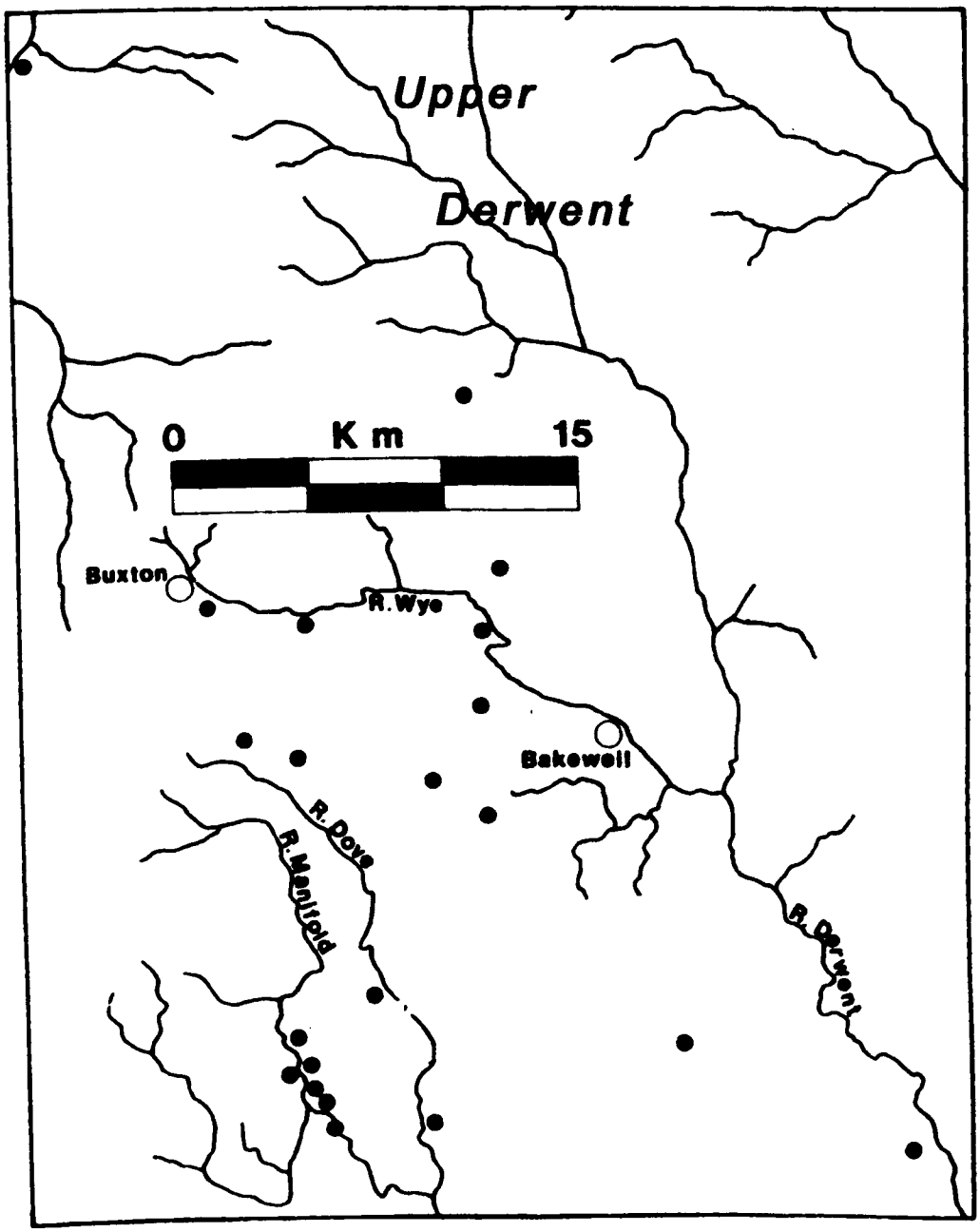


Illustration 4.6. Locations of caves containing Romano-British material in the Peak District. From Branigan and Dearne 1992

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

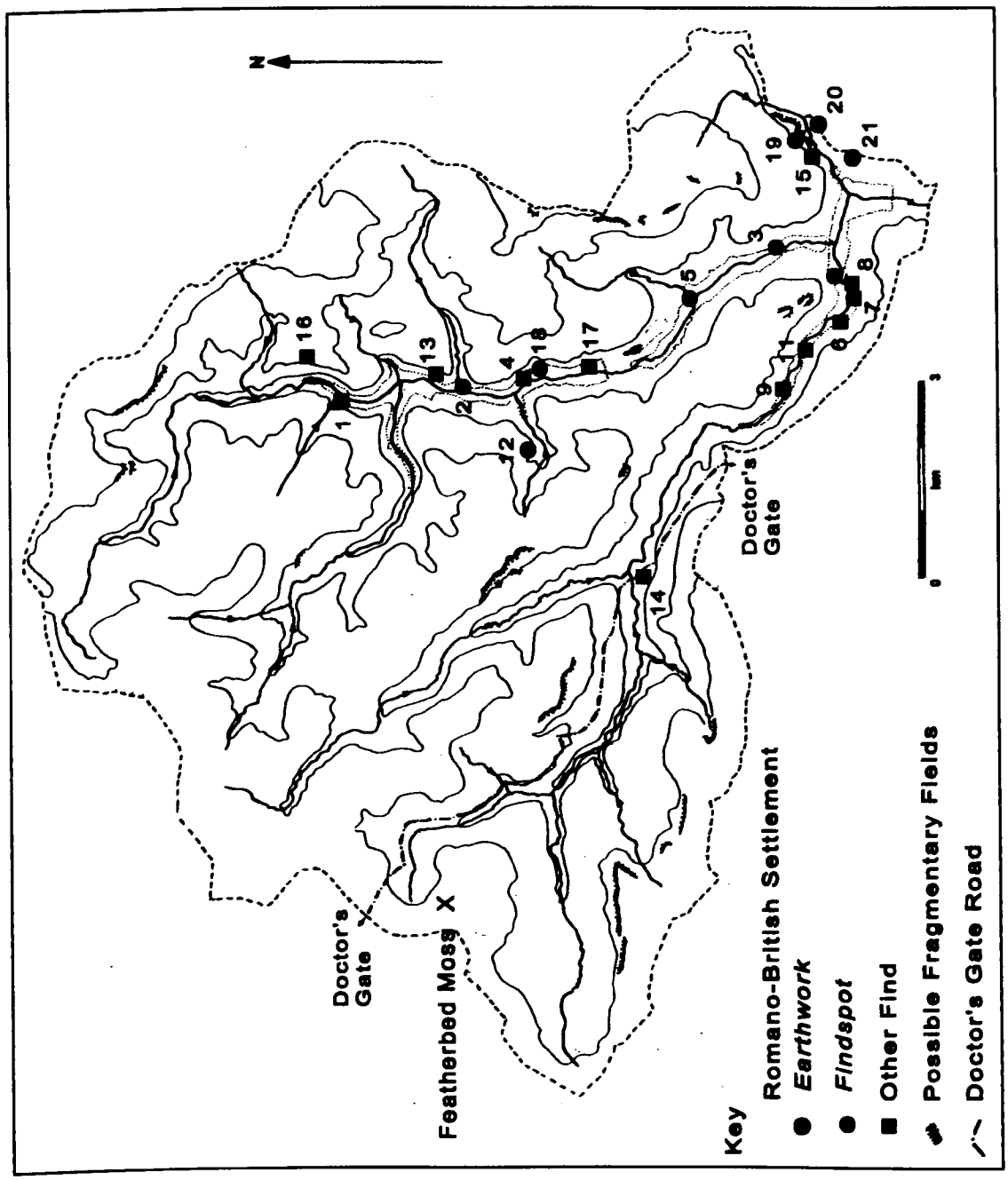


Illustration 4.7. Locations of Romano-British features and findspots in the Upper Derwent

(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.

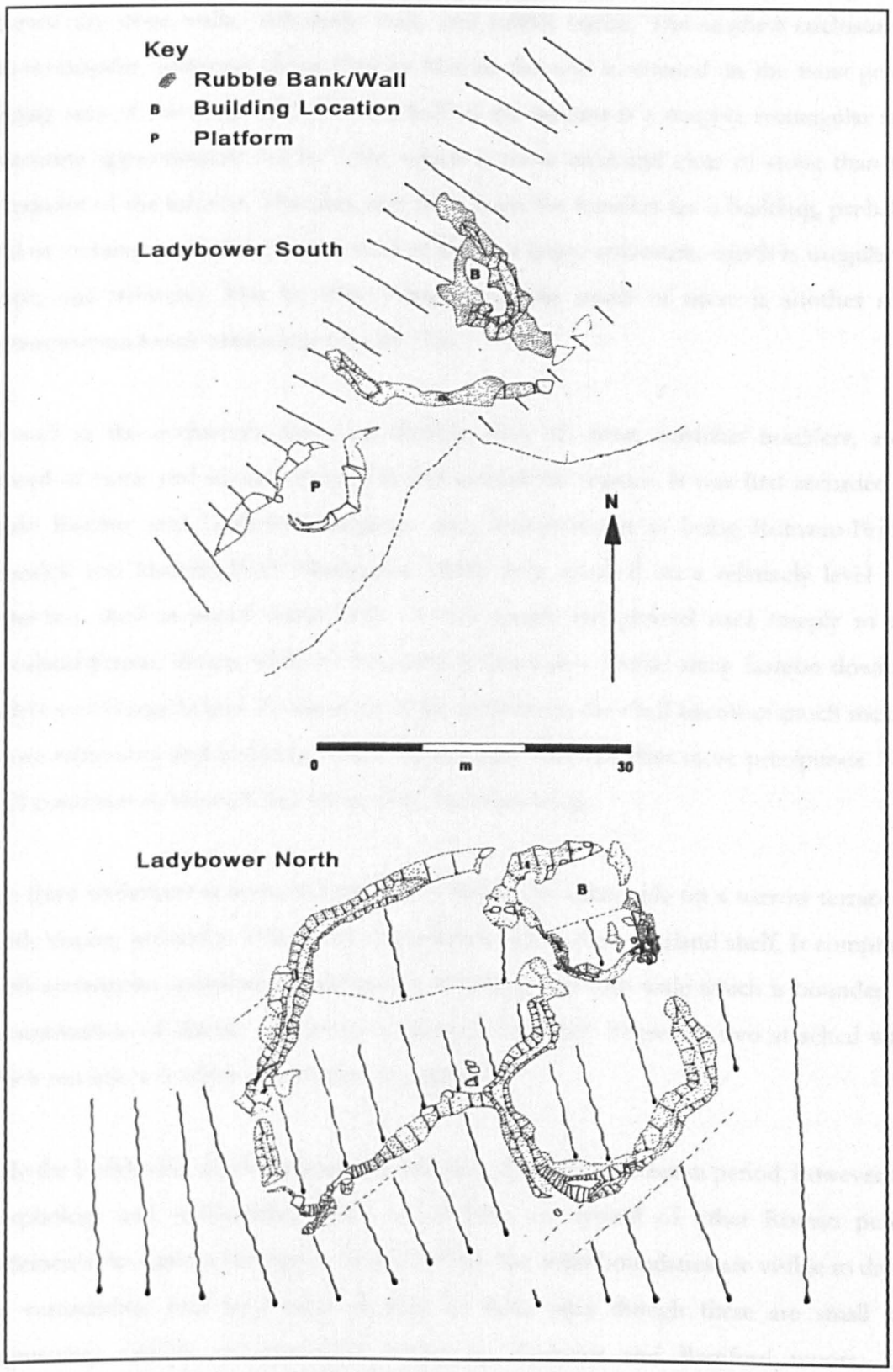


Illustration 4.8. Plans of Romano-British settlements above Ladybower Gorge

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 Pecsaetna, 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.

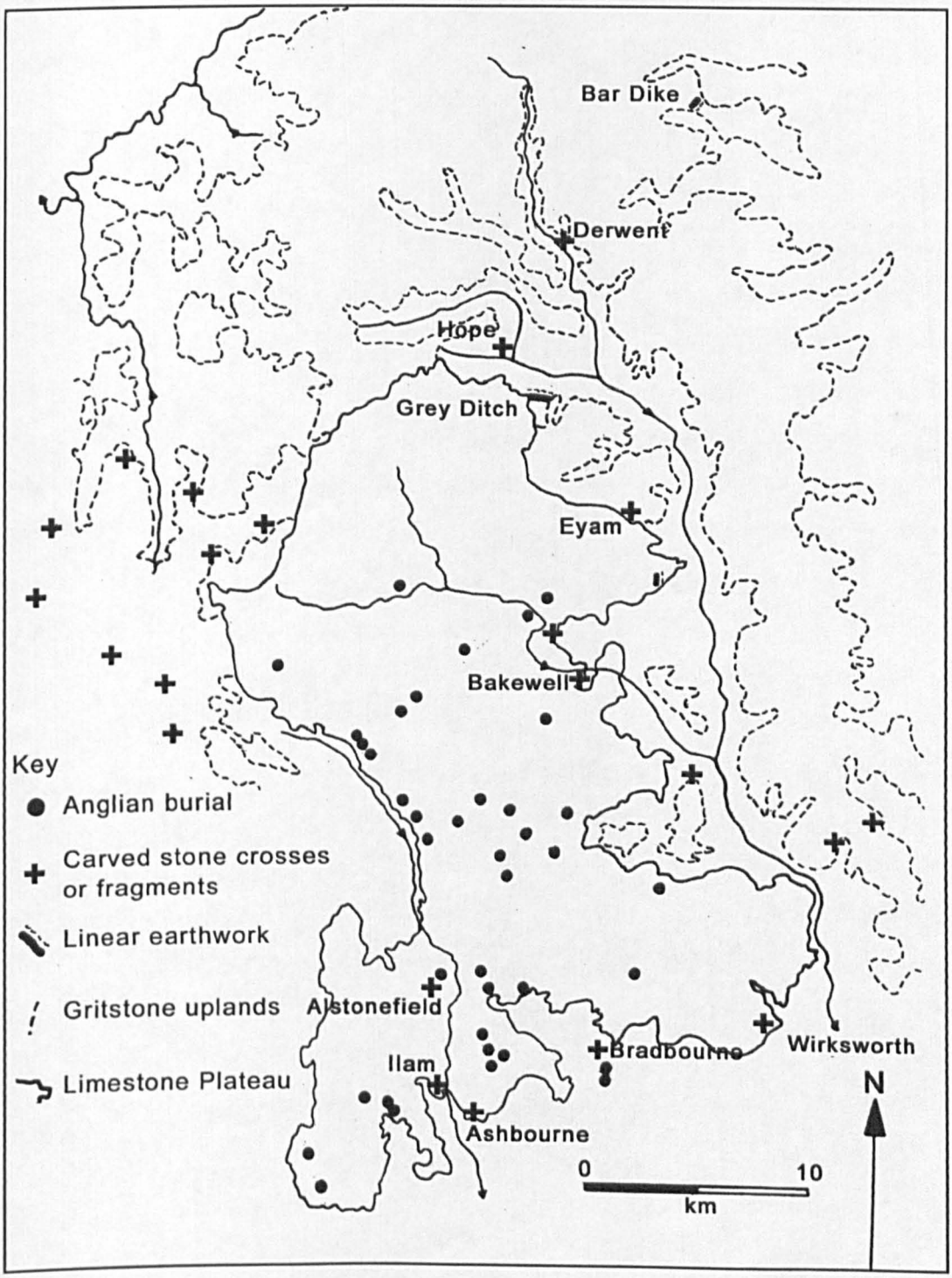


Illustration 4.9. Locations of places mentioned in section 4.8.1-4.8.4

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 Pecsaetna (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.

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 Pecsaetna

These burials have been associated with a group of people called the Pecsaetna, 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 Pecsaetna, or Peak Dwellers, as numbering 1,200 families (Hart 1981). The identification of the Pecsaetna 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 is 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 Elmetsaetna (Sidebottom 2000). The

Elmetsaetna 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.

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.

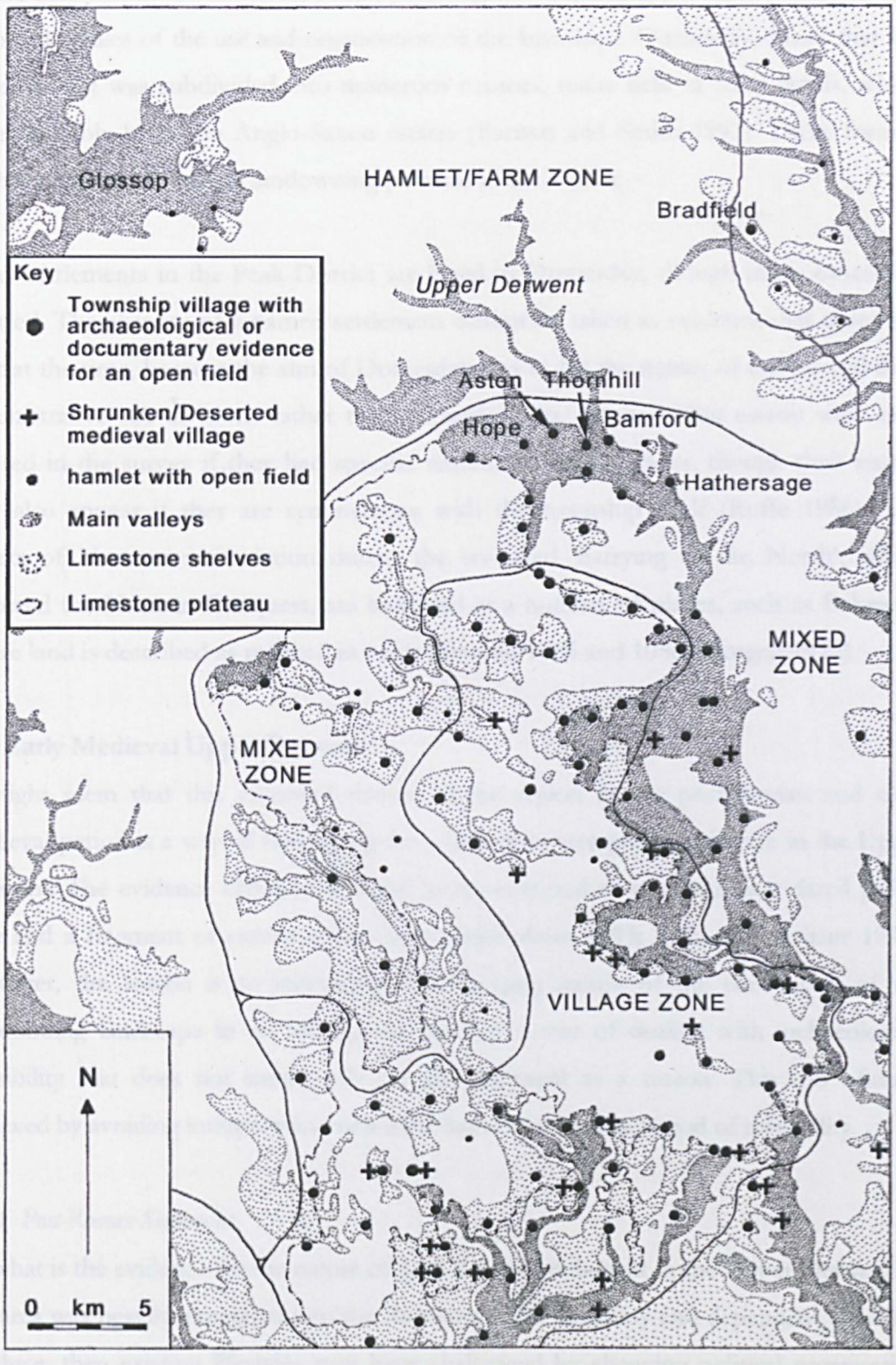


Illustration 4.10. Medieval settlement zones in the Peak District. Adapted from Barnatt and Smith 1997

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 Pecsaetna and the Elmetsaetna – 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 Pecsaetna 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 Elmetsaetna 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

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.

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

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 Peveril 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 that 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. I feel, I have

explored the landscape history Upper Derwent as far as possible given current evidence and hopefully have presented some of the issues that need to be addressed to open up interpretation further.

Chapter 5

The Medieval Landscape – Forest, Grange and Colonisation

5.1 Introduction

So far in this history there have been no written words to read about how the Upper Derwent landscape was used, no manuscripts to document the names of people and where they lived, no fragments of poetry or prose to conjure images of moors and vales. Nothing. Literally not a jot. As we have seen already even the most comprehensive record of land use in medieval England, Domesday, omitted the Upper Derwent. Then, with an act of contrite generosity from a member of the royal family hoping to ease his entry into heaven, words comes into focus in at the end of the 12th century. John, the Earl of Mortaigne, who would later come to rue the importance of written words when he signed the Magna Carta as King John, granted a block of land to Welbeck Abbey. This, and later grants, not only recorded the landscape but were instrumental elements in how it was inhabited and perceived over a period of approximately 350 years. The relevant texts dating from this period share a number of aspects in common. They were written by people in positions of social power to describe land under their control, and were means of legitimising that control. Names of individual locales and blocks of land were recorded, bringing landholdings into 'legal' being. Boundaries were described as experienced by traversing the landscape. Not only could 'sense of place' be developed through the physical inhabitation of the landscape, it could be given additional meaning by being encoded in text.

In this chapter I will cover the period from the 11th century to the mid-16th century, approximating with the later medieval period. Many of the structuring elements of later medieval settlement in the Peak District originated in the early medieval period, including the manorial system and nucleated villages with strip fields (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Dispersed settlement in isolated farmsteads and small hamlets was also an important aspect of landscape occupation in some areas, continuing a pattern prevalent in the Roman period (Bevan 2000a). I have discussed the nature of the evidence, which is somewhat sparse, for early medieval occupation in the Upper Derwent, which was one area where dispersed settlement was maintained without the formation of villages with strip fields.

The later medieval period in the Upper Derwent is defined by the nature of the evidence for the landowning structures that were imposed onto the landscape after the Norman Conquest: the manorial system and the Royal Forest of the Peak. During this period, one of the other common elements of landholding, the monastic grange or estate, was also present in the area. The period ends with the Dissolution of the monasteries and removal of Forest Law from the area west of the River Derwent. Crucially for such a landscape history as this, it also equates with a period when ceramic vessels were again common, and the evidence of these may be used at one level to indicate the presence or absence of settlement.

A dominant pattern of land-use appears to have originated in the Upper Derwent during the 13th century that continued to structure occupation of and movement across the landscape until the building of the reservoirs in the 20th century. This comprised:

- individual, dispersed farmsteads
- small, irregular fields enclosed within dry-stone walls
- woodland which was a scene of conflict between farmers wanting fuel and to clear land for agriculture, and the landowners, who reserved it for their own uses
- moorland common
- long-distance routeways, which connected the Upper Derwent with the wider world.

Relationships between wider structures of landowning, as articulated at the local level, and the inhabitation of the landscape created this pattern in the medieval period, and even after the 20th century flooding of the valleys, this pattern is still an important element of the area. The nature of landownership and tenure of course changed over this time. The Crown and Welbeck Abbey, a Premonstratensian monastic house, dominated in the medieval period, while secular lords, initially riding high on the gains of the Dissolution, predominated from the mid-16th to early 20th centuries. Most of the people who occupied the area, mainly tenant farmers, only come into focus by name in the post-medieval period when we find some surnames that endure the generations and others that do not. The wider socio-political circumstances in which inhabitation of the landscape occurred changed over time, so effecting the structures within which people

occupied the Upper Derwent. This and the following two chapters will focus on how this pattern was created, maintained and changed, prior to the creation of the reservoirs.

5.2 Regional Context: Medieval Peak District and Beyond

5.2.1 Settlement, Fields and Commons

The post-Conquest medieval rural settlement of the Upper Derwent is situated within the regional context of rural settlement in the Peak District. Approximately 90% of the population of Britain lived in the countryside and earned their living through agricultural production during the medieval period (Dyer 1988). Rural settlement in the region can be divided into the three geographical zones that originated in the early medieval period (see section 4.8.5): nucleated, dispersed and a mix of the two (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The Staffordshire Moorlands and High Peak comprised dispersed settlement, characterised by small hamlets and isolated farmsteads associated with small, enclosed fields. Nucleated villages and open fields dominated much of the limestone plateau and the valleys to the south. The remainder of the plateau, the Derwent Valley below Bamford, the Hope Valley, the Eastern Moors and the valleys along the south-west of the region, comprised a mix of nucleated villages and dispersed hamlets or individual farmsteads.

The majority of villages comprise a similar pattern of farmsteads spaced along a single street, such as at Chelmorton or Wardlow. There are also a number which developed around a market square or green, for example Hathersage or Monyash, and others which are loose aggregations of buildings (Barnatt and Smith 1997). There are rare examples where villages are known to have been founded after the Norman Conquest, such as Castleton in the Hope Valley, which was a planned market town established by William Peveril in the valley below his castle (Hart 1981). The presence of villages in the medieval period was neither static nor constant. Some villages grew and expanded while others were abandoned. A small number of villages recorded in Domesday were abandoned or shifted location at an early date, while others were abandoned in the late medieval period. Each village had an associated large common field, physically divided into strips by ridge and furrow or lynchets. The presence of these strips suggests that arable cultivation was an important element of agriculture.

Superficially these villages are similar to those seen elsewhere in England. Nucleated settlement occurs throughout the lowland areas but is most concentrated in the English

Midlands, of which the Peak District lies at its northern end. A settlement pattern of village and open field originating in the early medieval period dominated a swathe of land running from Northumberland and Yorkshire in the north, through Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and Warwickshire in the Midlands to Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire and Gloucestershire in the south (Gray 1959; Rackham 1986; Roberts 1996). Here also ridge and furrow predominated, at its most concentrated on the heavier clay soils of the Midlands, where it may have been an important method of drainage (Williamson 2003). Individual farmers were allotted strips throughout the open fields, often at some distance from their farmsteads. There was little pasture beyond the open fields, those of different villages often abutting each other, and a three-field rotation system was commonly employed to allow summer livestock grazing on one, while the other two were under arable. The organisation of the common fields in the Peak District is thought to differ from this model. The Peaks had much more in common with areas in the south-east and west of England, and parts of Yorkshire. In the Peaks there were usually extensive tracts of unimproved common pasture beyond the fields, on which livestock could be grazed in the summer before returning to the fields in the winter. An individual's land holdings in the field were clustered near to the farmstead and the three-field system was not so important (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Many of these fields were enclosed over a long period of time in piecemeal fashion, that is where enclosures were created by agreement between farmers, rather than according to Act of Parliament or an overall plan imposed from above (ibid).

Dispersed settlement dominated the uplands of England: the Pennines, the Scottish and Welsh Marches and the south-west peninsula (Roberts 1996). Dispersal was also common in the lowland areas of the south-east, west and north, where hamlets and isolated farmsteads existed alongside villages (Rackham 1976). Common fields were sometimes associated with dispersed settlement (Williamson 2002), a hamlet or a number of farms sharing an unenclosed field to grow crops in summer and pasture livestock in winter. This pattern is clearly seen in the Lake District where the valley-bottom land was often designated as the common field, enclosed within a boundary known as a ring garth or head dyke, and shared between the valley's farmsteads (Bevan et al 1990; Winchester 1987). Irregular enclosed 'fields', lying next to the farmstead and used for hay and arable in spring and summer and for pasture in winter only became frequent in Cumbria during the post-medieval period. Often known as 'inbye', they were not held in common or

shared, each farming household having sole use over those they created by clearing, improving and enclosing the land. Such enclosed landscapes were often created over long periods of time as families at each farmstead progressively enclosed more 'fields' in a piecemeal fashion. In upland areas, the higher ground beyond the inbye and limited open fields comprised extensive areas of rough, common land, which were used for summer pasture, as well as a large range of resources, such as peat, bracken and stone. A similar pattern of land-use characterised the Upper Derwent during the medieval period, which I will return to discuss in sections 5.5-5.12.

5.2.2 Vegetation History

The later medieval period is often omitted from the interpretations of environmental cores which are more often aimed at prehistoric and Roman vegetation histories. We now leave behind two of our main environmental companions, Hicks and Long, from these earlier periods. The other main researcher of pollen, Tallis, has undertaken or instigated work in the region which has looked at medieval vegetation histories (Livett and Tallis 1989; Tallis and Switsur 1973). Cores on the Snake Pass at Featherbed Moss, Hope Woodlands, are the most relevant to the Upper Derwent. Here a sustained phase of woodland clearance associated with *Plantago* and weed pollen began approximately 1023±50 BP (890-1160 Cal. AD). There was a slight increase in levels of tree pollen associated with decreased levels of pollen associated with weeds of cultivation, either side of a radiocarbon date of 717±50 BP (1210-1400 Cal. AD). This has been variously interpreted by Tallis as indicating the post-Norman Royal Forest of the Peak or a decrease in population related to the mid-14th century plague (Tallis and Switsur 1973). If anything, the radiocarbon date suggests that the plague may have effected rural settlement in the area. However, the highest radiocarbon date of the core is 491±50 BP which, when calibrated, covers a similar period of 1300-1500 Cal AD. This is associated with the lower limit of another phase of decreased levels of tree pollen and increased *Plantago* and weed pollen. Broadly, the core can be taken to show that between the 9th and 15th centuries AD, woodland levels were relatively lower than levels of weed pollen suggesting the maintenance of agriculturally based settlement in the area. Another core on Kinder Scout is situated between Edale and Hayfield on the western side of the High Peak and within the medieval bounds of the Royal Forest of the Peak. This indicates a slight increase in tree pollen following the Norman Conquest and the maintenance of similar levels throughout the medieval period approximating to 20-30% of total pollen

(Livett and Tallis 1989). This suggests that little change in woodland cover occurred, but unfortunately the core was not directly dated by radiocarbon dating. Instead the pollen profile was dated by assuming that similar proportions of pollen found at similar depths along the core equated with dated depths of the Featherbed Moss sample. The two cores achieve little more than indicating the presence of settlement.

5.2.3 Roystone Grange

There are 50 known granges in the Peak District which belonged to 20 monasteries (Barnatt and Smith 1997). This is of particular interest to the Upper Derwent where one or two Premonstratensian granges were founded in the 13th century (see section 5.5). Half of the Peak District granges lay on the higher land of the southern half of the limestone plateau. Twenty-six were Cistercian and three were Premonstratensian, two on the Eastern Moors belonging to Beauchief Abbey in Sheffield, and one on the south-east limestone being owned by Dale Abbey, near Derby. Most were located on the fringes of existing settlement and were new foundations in locations without existing farmsteads. Surviving grange buildings are rare, with examples recorded at Roystone Grange, Ballidon and Cotes Fields, Hartington Middle Quarter (Hart 1981). Estate earthworks survive at a number of grange sites, the most striking being a group of four estates existing in close proximity to each other north of Hartington (ibid). Each comprises either a sub-rectangular or sub-circular area enclosed within a bank and ditch, sometimes subdivided into smaller enclosures.

Roystone Grange is one of only two of the Peak District granges to be excavated, the other being Blackwell Hall Farm (Barnatt and Smith 1997; Hodges 1991a, 1991b; Hodges and Wildgoose 1991; Hodges et al 1982). Roystone was situated in a mixed settlement zone to the south-west of the Peak District and comprised an isolated farmstead founded as a grange by the Cistercian Garendon Abbey, Leicestershire, between AD 1154 and 1199 (Hodges 1991a, 1991b). Excavations revealed four phases to the grange buildings at Roystone, which comprised walls constructed from limestone. In the late 12th or early 13th centuries, a rectangular three-bay hall, oriented north to south and measuring approximately 15m by 8m, was erected on a revetted terrace. The southern bay contained a hearth and the northern bay was paved with flagstones and had a narrow open drain. A second building lay close to the north and may have been built at the same time. Another building was added to the south of the first, probably in the early 13th century. Measuring

approximately 13.5m by 6m, it comprised two storeys joined by external and internal staircases. The walling stones were dressed, unlike the first building, and contained finely cut door jambs and quoins. Hodges interprets this as being a manor house comparable to Canute's Palace in Southampton (1991a). This building was only in use for a short period before it was abandoned, possibly due to flooding. At the same time the floor of the first building was raised. Associated with the grange buildings was fine glazed tableware from several East Midlands potteries, and small numbers of glass vessels and gilded bronze objects. A lack of cooking vessels suggests that metal cooking pots were used instead of ceramic. The buildings were abandoned by the end of the 13th century in favour of a new site nearby to the north. Part of the original site was subsequently used for iron smelting.

The extent of the monastic estate has been reconstructed from Martin Wildgoose's classification of wall-building styles at Roystone (Hodges 1991a; Hodges and Wildgoose 1991). It appears to have comprised a sub-rectangular block of land approximately 154ha in size occupying the valley and surrounding hills, which Wildgoose believes was enclosed within a continuous boundary. The only internal subdivisions appear to be a group of irregular enclosures in the valley itself immediately to the north of the grange. Hodges interprets the site as a sheep ranch with the enclosures used for livestock management rather than arable cultivation.

Based on his work at Roystone, Hodges extended his model of economically driven colonisation and abandonment (section 4.2) to the later medieval period. He viewed settlement and agriculture at Roystone Grange as being viable only because some form of nation state developed in the 10th century, followed by a European-wide market system in the 11th century (Hodges 1991b). Monastic houses were plugged into European networks of sheep and wool trade. He returns to the theme that he proposed for the Roman period, that marginal areas such as Roystone were only suitable for the exploitation of cash crops when there was a substantial European-wide demand. It is the existence of distant markets and the mechanism to supply them, either the Roman empire or monastic houses, that Hodges sees as explaining the highly visible nature of Roystone's archaeology during the Roman and late medieval periods – and, conversely, the limited observed archaeological presence between the 5th and 12th centuries AD (ibid). The ways in which occupation may have interacted with the wider institutions are overlooked – the impression being that these institutions simply implanted settlement

into the area to provide resources for export. Overall, Hodges' interpretation of the region during the medieval period is somewhat woolly with little in the way of evidence-based explanation.

5.3 Monasteries and the English Landscape

The presence of the Premonstratensian estate in the Upper Derwent brings the local area into a national pattern of monastic agricultural land management and international trade. I will briefly review the national evidence here and in discussing the Upper Derwent will investigate how the locality articulated with this broader picture. Wool trade with continental Europe is seen as a significant element of many English monastic granges. Landowners had granted land for monasteries and monastic agricultural use since the 7th century, and after the Norman Conquest there was a large expansion in such grants by the new ruling classes (Aston 2000). These patrons were motivated by the desire to have prayers said in ecclesiastic foundations for their souls and their families, which would hopefully ensure their passage to Heaven, and advance their social status through the amount of money granted and the order chosen to receive it (ibid). By the 12th century, the Benedictine and Cluniac orders were well established in England and a rash of new orders were being formed by those who felt that the existing orders had lost their way from the monastic ideal by indulging in too many home comforts (ibid). Many of these new orders were founded in the 12th century: Cistercian, Carthusian and Grandmontine monks; Knights Templar and Hospitaller; and the canonical orders of the Augustinians, Gilbertines and, of direct relevance to the Upper Derwent, Premonstratensians.

5.3.1 Grange Farming

Most knowledge of monastic granges is based on Cistercian estates, largely because they kept extensive records (Aston 2000). Traditionally the history of Cistercian estates was thought to comprise acquisition of land, the direct farming of that land by monks and lay brothers, and then the later renting out of land to tenants. While most other orders copied the Cistercian land-management practices they did differ greatly in ideals, lifestyles and economies. The new orders of monks and canons looked to establish their monasteries in remote locations, idealising the concept of the Biblical wilderness within the context of European landscapes. They also received land to set up agricultural estates with which to provide food, resources and a monetary income by selling surpluses at market (Platt 1969). While the long-established Benedictine estates were often integrated

into the agrarian regimes of well-populated lowland areas, the later orders were again often granted remote areas with low populations. The Cistercians developed wilderness foundation myths to construct a moral, or spiritual, landscape rather than to adhere to a strict representation of reality (Menuge 2000). Abbeys and granges actually provided comfortable conditions with access to a range of material culture typical of contemporary settlements, and more high status artefacts. This is evident at Roystone Grange, where occupants lived in a substantial building and used glasswares, as well as more common tablewares – the latter similar to assemblages found at Bradbourne and Aldwark (Chris Cumberpatch pers comm) (see section 5.2.3).

Cistercians and other orders, such as the Premonstratensians, developed grange farming as a means of organising and exploiting their estates for material wealth and prosperity. Though often remote, granges were far from a reality of wilderness, but were flexible and efficient systems for controlling and manipulating the landscape to their benefit. Early in their history Cistercians worked their estates with the aid of *conversi* or lay brothers, sometimes displacing the existing population to reorganise land-use, though they later began to let their estates out to tenants (Moorhouse 1989). Sheep farming was a major industry of many orders with a large export market for wool on the continent. In the early 13th century, the Pope exempted sheep from tithes, and they were also exempt from various tolls, so making sheep an attractive business for monasteries holding extensive grazing lands (Aston 2000).

Premonstratensians grouped their houses into geographical areas known as *circaries*, within each of which two abbots regularly visited all houses and other estates to ensure that the precepts of the Order were being followed (Gribbin 2001). Welbeck was the head house for a circary which covered middle England and within which Beauchief and Dale abbeys were also located. It appears that there was some level of centralised organisation of granges within a circary, including cooperation between different houses (Colin Merrony pers comm). The Order's founding statutes state that much of the farm work should be undertaken by lay brothers who were described in a 12th century document as "illiterate men...labouring with their hands" (Bond 1993). Lay brothers had to identify themselves by wearing grey robes and growing their beards to a month's growth. After a protest against the wearing of beards the numbers of Premonstratensian

lay brothers began to decline in the 13th century and they disappeared entirely as agricultural workers by the 15th century (ibid).

5.4 Post-Domesday Upper Derwent Landscape

5.4.1 Post-Domesday Structures of Land Ownership

After William the Conqueror reapportioned his newly acquired kingdom, many Anglo-Saxon earls lost their estates to Norman barons who had aided William in 1066 and the years following. The Upper Derwent lay within three large manors, which were also ecclesiastical parishes: land to the west of the River Derwent was in Hope, while land to the east was divided between Bradfield in Yorkshire and Hathersage in Derbyshire (Byford 1981; Cox 1877. Illustration 5.1). While King William gave all three manors to loyal barons, the Saxon Royal Manor of Hope also lay within the Royal Forest of the Peak (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The Forest covered the western side of High Peak as far north as Longdendale, the Hope and Edale valleys, Chapel-en-le-Frith and the north-east corner of the limestone plateau. This was subject to direct royal control, another layer of landownership and administration laid out across the landscape. These manors and the Forest provided the landowning structures within which settlement and land-use would take place in the Upper Derwent throughout the medieval period.

Throughout this and the following chapters, I shall refer to the townships of Derwent and Hope Woodlands. Townships were local administrative units created as subdivisions of larger territories during the medieval period, each township comprising the area of land associated with a village, group of hamlets or several isolated farmsteads (Aston 1985; Fleming 1998; Jones 1961). The occupants of those settlements would consider themselves to be a cohesive community, identifying themselves as 'belonging' to the same place. As Fleming puts it, the township is the 'land of the face-to-face community...a definable area of land, but it is also a community, the self-organising, workaday, face-to-face theatre of action and experience for generations of people' (Fleming 1998, 33). The use of agricultural land and common rights were organised at the township level. In lowland England a township, manor and parish often correlate to the same place. In the uplands, medieval manors and parishes usually covered huge districts and contained a number of townships. In the Peak District most of the places listed in Domesday still exist today, and lie within their own civil parish or township (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Areas of moorland in the north and west of the region, including the Upper Derwent, were not listed in Domesday

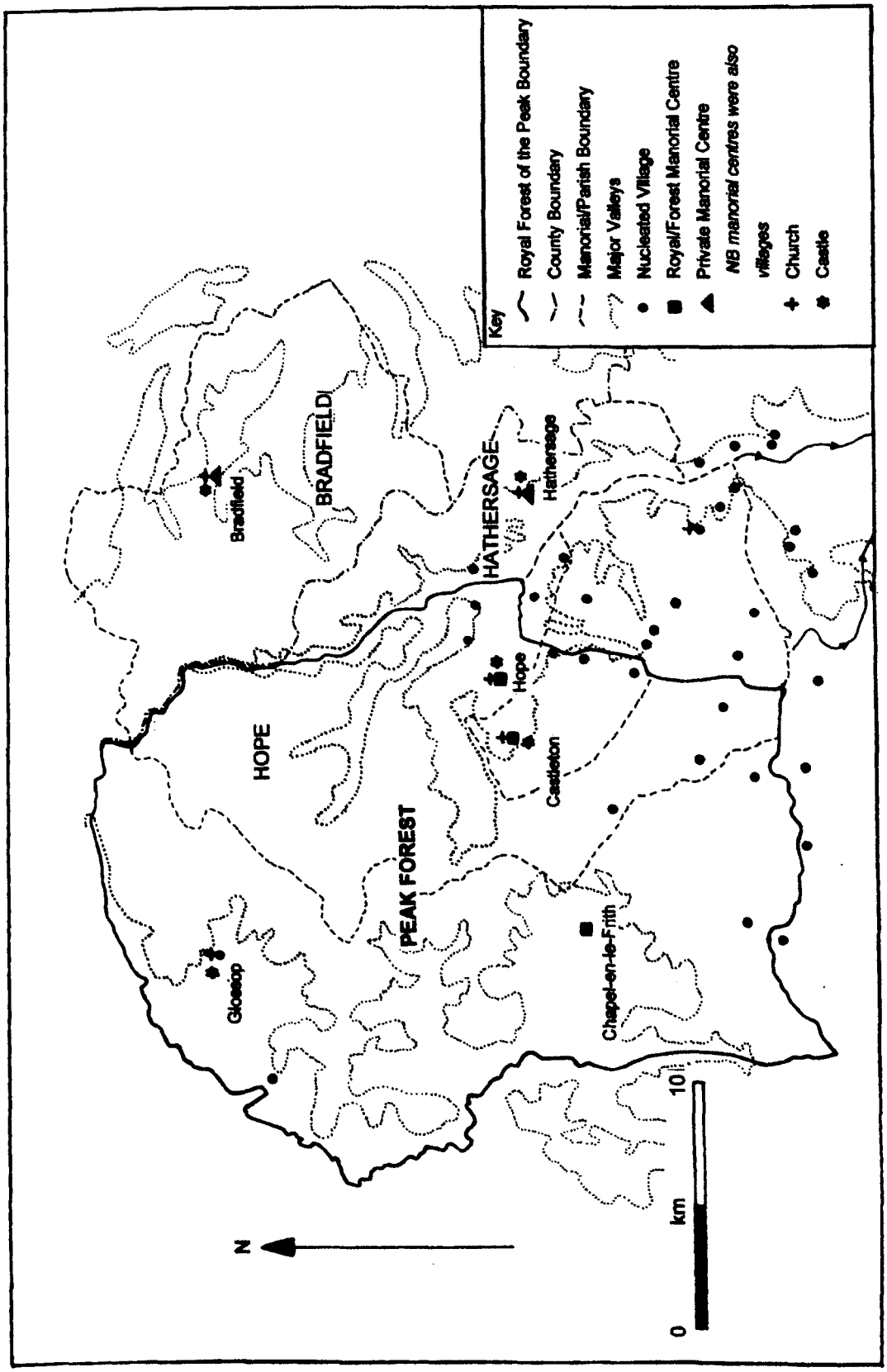


Illustration 5.1. Medieval Forest, County and manorial boundaries crossing the Upper Derwent, with associated power bases and villages. The Upper Derwent was divided between the manors of Hope, Bradfield and Hathersage after the Norman Conquest. The Yorkshire – Derbyshire County border and the boundary of the Royal Forest of the Peak also ran through the area

suggesting that townships in these areas were created after 1086. As we shall see, in the late 13th century there are documentary references to the villagers of Derwent and Ashop (Kerry 1893). The term villager, or villein, refers to a peasant who lives within a vill or township (Dyer 1988). Derwent and Ashop refer to two townships based on the two valleys of the same name in the Upper Derwent, and shows that these were two distinct, though probably closely linked, 'face-to-face' communities by the beginning of the 14th century. The two areas were specifically called townships in the 16th century, and by this time Ashop had become known as Hope Woodlands (Cox 1877; Saxton 1577). The emergence of the townships, within the manors and parishes of Hope and Hathersage respectively, was the result of the medieval history of land-use and ownership.

5.4.1.1 The Royal Forest of the Peak

A Forest was an area of land reserved for hunting deer and other game, and was usually controlled by the Crown, though some nobles also had their own private Forests (Aston 1985). While William Peveril held the land of the Peak Forest, the deer were the property of the king. The boundaries of the Forest were described in 1286 by the Crown as beginning in:

> "the south at the new place of the Goyt, and thence by the river Goyt as far as the river Etherow; and so by the river Etherow to Langley Croft at Longdenhead; *thence by a certain footpath to the head of Derwent; and from the head of Derwent to a place called Mythomstede Bridge*; and from Mythom Bridge to the river Bradwell; and from the river Bradwell as far as a certain place called Hucklow; and from the Hucklow to the great dell of Hazelbache; and from that dell as far as Little Hucklow; and from Hucklow to the brook of Tideswell, and so to the river Wye; and from the Wye ascending up to Buxton, and so on to the new place of Goyt."
>
> (Kerry 1893; my italics)

No built boundaries, whether earthworks, ditches or walls, are mentioned in this description, and on the whole extent of the Forest was deliminated by following watercourses and linking named places. Part of the Forest boundary followed the River Derwent through the Upper Derwent Valley, with what is now Hope Woodlands lying within the Forest but with Derwent and Bradfield outside the Forest (Illustration 5.1).

5.4.1.2 Forest Law and Practice

The term 'Forest' does not necessarily imply the existence of woodland, and while the Upper Derwent and Ashop valleys were largely wooded, other large areas of the Forest were not. Forests were formalised as royal hunting reserves by the Norman Kings (Kerry 1893, Cox 1905, Anderson and Shimwell 1981). The term 'Forest' and the related laws appear to be Norman imports (Rackham 1986). While the English kings and nobles did hunt, landowners exercised the sporting rights on their own land, with or without regard for tenanted land, rather than setting aside designated areas where deer and other game were allowed to roam freely and given protection from 'poaching' (in reality, hunting which was not Crown-regulated). Parts of the Norman Forest had been in royal hands from before 1066, while other areas are recorded in Domesday as waste or incurring a decrease in land value between 1066 and 1086 (Morgan 1978). Waste was unproductive land, some of which had been little settled in the early medieval period and some of which had been depopulated following the Norman Conquest. The use of the word 'waste' at this time is somewhat ambiguous. It is often associated with the 'harrying of the north' carried out by William shortly after 1066 to subdue northern England, however by the 13th century it means untenanted and uncultivated land, over which the lord of the manor had direct control and over which tenants often had common rights (Dyer 1988). Longdendale, to the north of the Upper Derwent, was recorded in Domesday as 'waste; woodland, unpastured and fit for hunting' (ibid). Whether this refers to Norman depopulation or a pre-existing lack of occupation, waste does appear to have been used as a term to describe land that was not tenanted. So Peak Forest may have been designated and created from an area which had previously been part settled and part waste, and a section of which had been held in royal hands during Anglo-Saxon times, and may have been used for hunting in places.

The amount of bloodsport hunting that was actually carried out in Forests is open to question. Few kings themselves hunted and professionals were employed to kill deer which would be consumed at royal feasts or given as gifts to favoured subjects (Dyer 1988). Private Forests were created as much to express the status of the individual concerned than as a utilised hunting preserve.

Peak Forest was therefore largely a moorland waste, with settlement and agricultural land in valleys and on the limestone plateau, and extensive tree cover existing only in some of the

valleys. The Forest courts were held at Bowden (Chapel en le Frith), Tideswell and Castleton/Hope. Peveril Castle was the administrative centre, and the Foresters' Chamber was at Peak Forest. The Forest was managed through courts, at which offences against Forest Law were judged, fines imposed and inquisitions held. These included courts that covered the whole of the Forest, known as eyres, and smaller courts for specific areas, known as swainmotes. Offences included trespass, poaching deer and other game, damaging woods, enclosing land and constructing buildings. Under Forest Law, both the enclosing of land and erection of buildings were illegal without the agreement of the Forest administrators (Cox 1905). The regularity of court meetings varied over time. Only three courts were held during the 13th century, while they were held twice a year during the reign of Henry VIII, 1509-1547. A number of officers were appointed to manage the Forest, including Verderers who received details of offences, Foresters who were responsible for the venison and who 'arrested' offenders, Woodwards who were responsible for trees, Agisters who collected money for pasture rights, and Rangers who saw that the Law was observed.

Forest management in practice often differed from the Law, and Forests could actually be susceptible to greater landscape change than land outside (Rackham 1986). While grubbing out woodlands, enclosing land or building settlements was forbidden by Law, it was often condoned in practice in return for an annual payment known as a fine. The opportunities for new settlement and enclosure within Forests were greater than outside, because of the lower densities of existing settlement in large areas of Forests, and the use of Forest Law as a convenient mechanism for generating revenue for the Crown. Throughout the whole of the Forest, 22 cases of illegally creating enclosed cultivated land were recorded in 1216, and 131 cases of illegal building were recorded in 1251 (Cox 1905). In both types of case, the enclosures and the buildings were usually allowed to remain, with the people concerned being fined, having to pay annual fees per acre and their heirs double rent for the first year after inheriting the land. While the locations of the buildings and enclosures listed in these cases are unknown, some settlement and enclosure did occur in the Derwent and Woodlands valleys in the medieval period (see sections 5.5, 5.6, 5.9).

5.4.2 Eleventh to Twelfth Century Lacuna

As discussed, the lack of 11th to 12th century pottery discovered during fieldwalking along the draw-down zone of the reservoirs suggests no or only very sparse settlement in the Upper Derwent (see section 4.9.4). This is supported by documentary and artefactual evidence for a colonisation of the area during the 13th century, with settlers coming into an area dominated by woodland and moorland. There were a named pasture at Crookhill and an enclosed meadow called One Man's Field (see section 5.5.1). The presence of the pasture and meadow does open up the possibility for some level of pre-13th century agricultural activity, possibly limited to summer grazing for settlements further down the valley such as Bamford or Hathersage. Taken together, the available evidence suggests that the Upper Derwent was dominated by woodland in the valleys and moorland on high ground with 11th and 12th century settlement either absent, low-level or restricted to those areas where fieldwalking has been impossible, such as the upper Woodlands Valley or Alport Dale. Environmental information on this period is currently lacking for the area, but radiocarbon dated pollen cores from local peat bogs would hopefully provide information to better understand land-use during this period.

5.5 The Monastic Estate

At least part of the Upper Derwent formed a large estate granted to the Premonstratensian Abbey of Welbeck by various landowners during the late 12th to the mid-13th centuries. Welbeck was founded in 1153 in north Nottinghamshire (Canons Regular of Premonstre 2002). It was the mother house of a number of subsequent abbeys including Beauchief, founded in Sheffield by 1176 and became the dominant house of the Order in England by the 16th century (Wheeler 1996). Both Welbeck and Beauchief were located in the same circary.

5.5.1 Welbeck Abbey in the Upper Derwent

Welbeck Abbey was first granted land in the Upper Derwent in the late 12th century by John, Earl of Montaigne, later King John of England (Illustration 5.2). The land was described as:

> "the pasture of Crookhill, the woods of Ashop up to Lockerbrook and from Lockerbrook up the valley of the Derwent and ascending up to Derwenthead."
>
> (Kerry 1893)

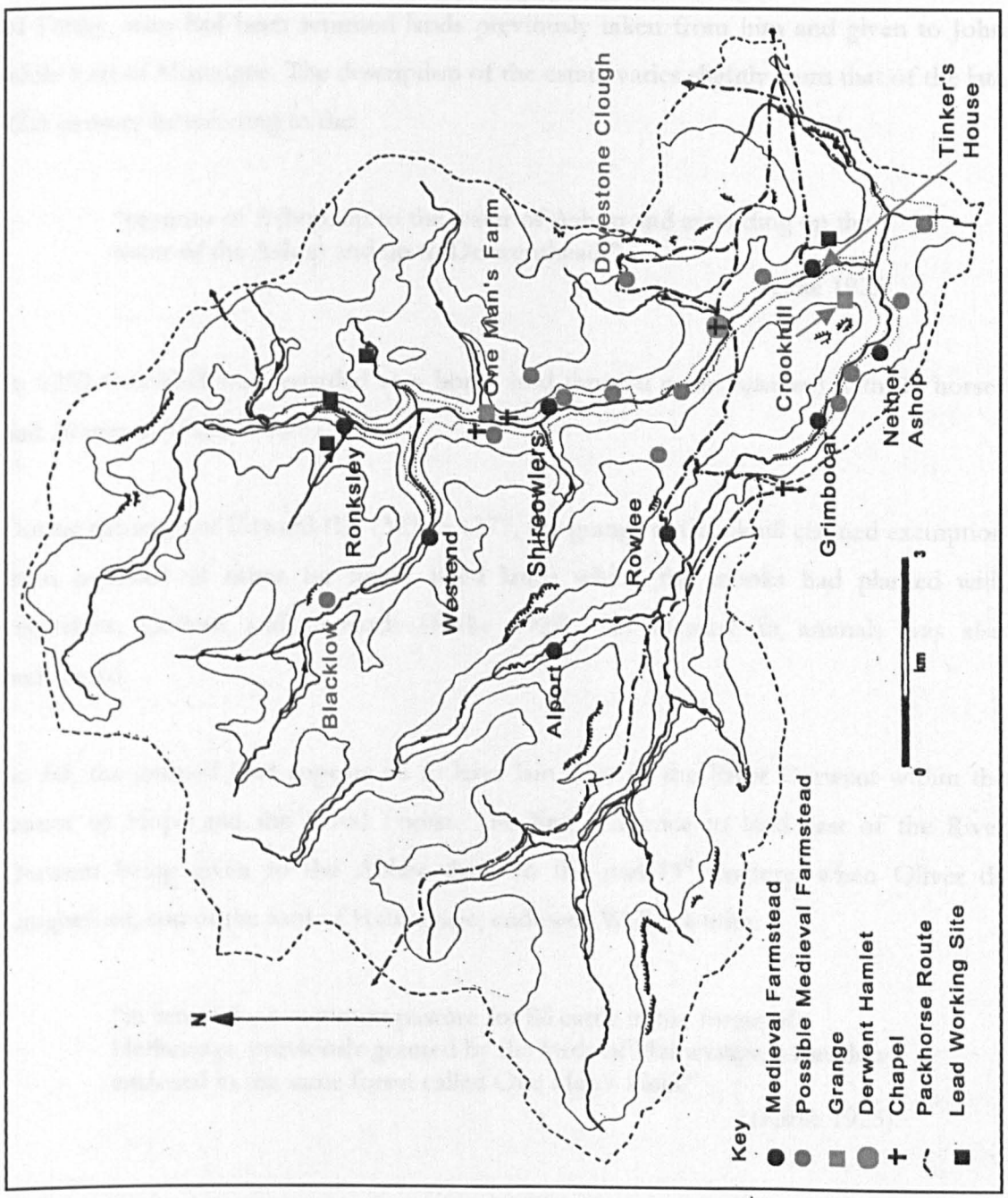


Illustration 5.2. Locations of Medieval features in the Upper Derwent

This endowment was confirmed in 1215 when John was king, but he reserved the wood and venison to himself. Henry III confirmed the grant again in 1251, when the following was also granted:

> "50 acres and an assart in the Forest known as Crookhill with buildings."
>
> (Bagshaw 1869-70)

The grant was confirmed a third time in an undated charter by William de Ferrars, Earl of Derby, who had been returned lands previously taken from him and given to John while Earl of Mortaigne. The description of the estate varies slightly from that of the late 12th century by referring to the:

> "pastures of Ashop, up to the water of Ashop and ascending up the water of the Ashop and up to Derwenthead."
>
> (Kirke 1925)

In 1252 Crookhill was recorded as a horse stud (known as an *equicium*) with 20 horses and 20 mares (Ward 1956-57).

During the reign of Edward III, 1327 to 1377, the grange at Crookhill claimed exemption from payment of tithes for newly tilled lands which the monks had planted with vegetables, gardens and orchards (Kirke 1925). An increase in animals was also mentioned.

So far, the granted land appears all to have lain west of the River Derwent within the manor of Hope and the Royal Forest. The first reference to land east of the River Derwent being given to the Abbey dates to the mid-13th century, when Oliver de Langheford, son of the lord of Hathersage, endowed Welbeck with:

> "in return for a common pasture for 80 cattle in the forest of Hathersage, previously granted by the lords of Hathersage, a meadow enclosed in the same forest called One Man's Field."
>
> (Kirke 1925)

Lord Furnival of Sheffield Manor is also reputed to have granted grazing land to the Abbey pre-1383, but the exact location, date and documentary reference are not given by the available source (Byford 1981). It is likely that this was an area in the Upper Derwent known as Howden that was part of Bradfield parish, in the manor of Sheffield, which bordered the earlier endowments. This area was mostly upland grazing, which dropped down into a narrow valley bottom via steep valley sides. A separate landholding within the parish occupied this Derwent part of Bradfield in the early 17th century (Harrison 1637).

Over a period of c.100–180 years during the 12th to 14th centuries, Welbeck Abbey built up a considerable landholding through a series of endowments from various landowners, a process of estate consolidation commonly practised by monastic orders (Moorhouse 1989). Land granted by the royal household all lay within the Royal Forest to the west of the River Derwent, and encompassed valley, woodland and moorland along the Ashop and Derwent rivers to the source of the Derwent itself. This seemingly included all or a substantial part of what became Hope Woodlands township by the 16th century (Saxton 1577). Endowments by local lords gave land to the east of the River Derwent in Hathersage and Bradfield parishes. The return to a benefactor of a common pasture for 80 cattle in Hathersage shows that the estate was not static but changed over time, at least during the 13th century. The documented land in Hathersage refers only to a meadow, which can be identified as an area by the confluence of the River Derwent and Abbey Brook which later became known as Abbey Farm (see section 5.5.2.2). While Derwent township's medieval history was strongly related to the Abbey's Upper Derwent landholding, the township's post-medieval landowning structure suggests that it was not part of the estate (see section 6.2). In the early 19th century Derwent was divided between 19 landowners while Hope Woodlands and Howden were each tenanted under a strong manorial system with a single landowner (Fairbank 1810). This difference in the structure of later landholding suggests that the Welbeck estate incorporated the two latter areas, but only One Man's Field within Derwent.

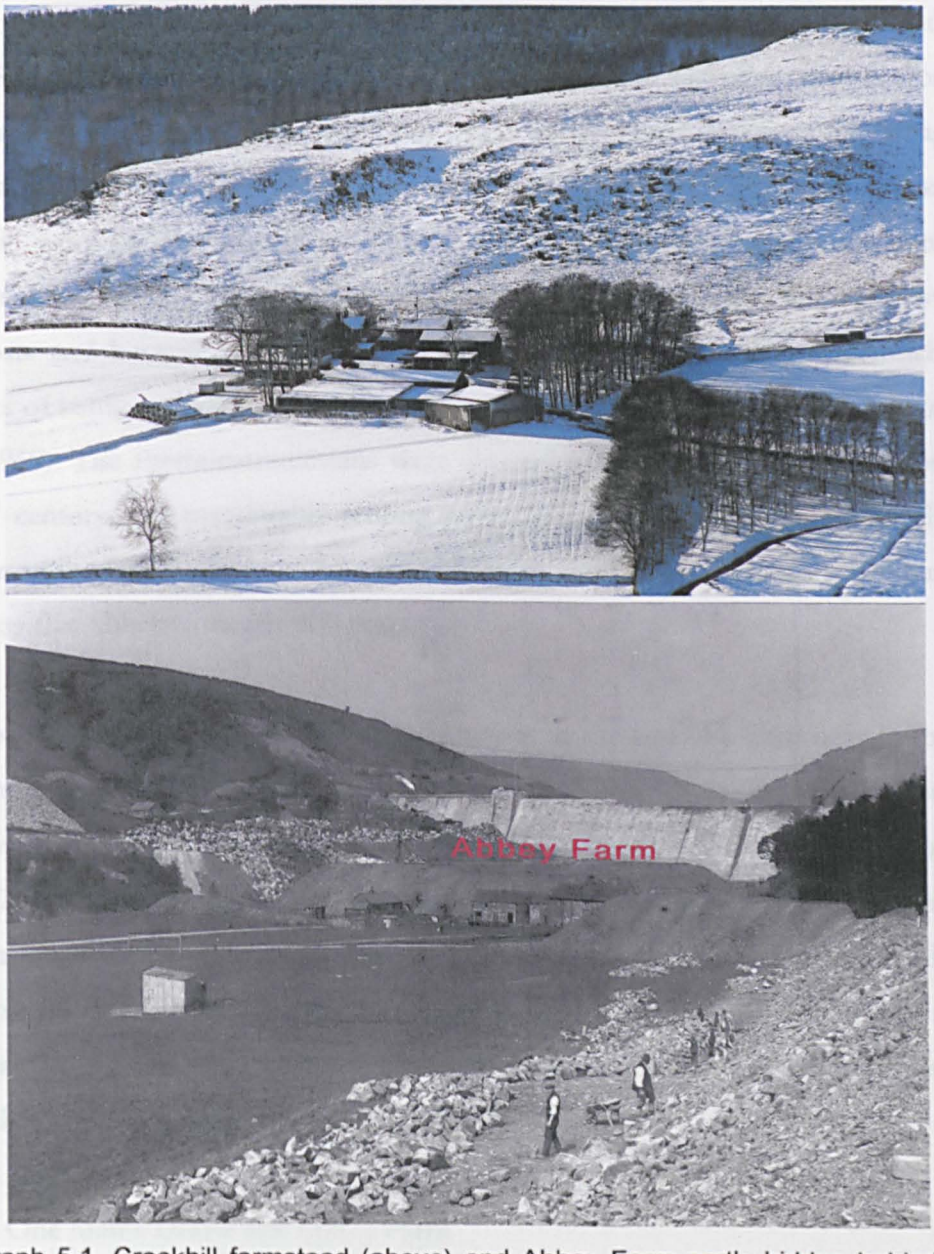
5.5.2 The Granges

Specifically named farmstead or grange locations in the grant documents are pastures at Crookhill (with buildings) and One Man's Field (Illustration 5.2. Photograph 5.1). The latter became known as One Man's House then, after the Dissolution of the monasteries, Abbey Farm (anon. 1656; Kerry 1893; Kirke 1925).

5.5.2.1 Crookhill

The history of Crookhill grange from the end of the 12th century to the middle of the 14th century is one of expansion under the direct management of Welbeck Abbey. The initial grant states that Crookhill was a pasture in the later 12th century, no buildings are recorded, therefore the land was presumably a defined area of rough, moorland grazing. This would have been used by occupants of Hope residing elsewhere in the manor, such as Bamford or Thornhill, unless there were any existing farmsteads in the Upper

Derwent which have not yet been identified. By 1251, a period of approximately 50 years, the Abbey had erected buildings, was managing 50 acres of pasture or farmland, a horse stud (probably breeding horses for sale as well as for their own use) and had created an assart (Bagshaw 1869-70; Ward 1956-57). An assart was a clearing made in woodland, and enclosed within a boundary which had the advantage of being exempt from paying tithes to the Church (Dyer 1988). Crookhill was still expanding a century later, as livestock levels were increased and the claim for exemption from tithes was made for newly tilled lands planted with vegetables, gardens and orchards (Kirke 1925).



Photograph 5.1. Crookhill farmstead (above) and Abbey Farm partly hidden behind a spoil heap during the construction of Howden Dam, 1901 – 1915 (below – Severn Trent Water Collection)

Within 100 years the whole system had changed. By the early 15th century, Welbeck had rented Crookhill to Thomas Eyre (Byford 1981). As a result, it became another tenanted farmstead like the others on their estates. The reasons for the changes in estate management are complex, and may be related to slowly deteriorating economic conditions, a combination of disastrous events during the 14th century and the reduction in numbers of lay brothers. Monasteries were finding it more difficult to sell wool across Europe (Platt 1969); when the Black Death, widespread cattle pestilence and a worsening in the weather followed in the 14th century, it dramatically effected agricultural productivity. While the Peak District seems to have escaped the worst of the plague, the period of social and political upheaval it caused did affect the region (Barnatt and Smith 1997). Some landlords took the opportunity to remove the surviving tenants from their land and establish large sheep ranches, such as at Haddon, were the village was abandoned and the strip fields turned over to sheep grazing (ibid). This shows that there were still wool markets to sell to, and large-scale sheep farming was not completely threatened. It is thought that many monasteries reacted by renting out their estates to save costs and because the decreased post-plague population comprised much lower numbers of landless poor so the peasantry could command higher prices for their labour (Platt 1969). The Premonstratensians were already reducing numbers of lay brothers in the 14th century, and presumably renting more of their estates (Bond 1993). The Eyre family remained in occupation of Crookhill until the early 19th century (Potter 1808), outlasting the Abbey by nearly 400 years.

It has been suggested that the medieval farm was at the site of a barn near to the River Derwent, rather than at the present site of Crookhill Farm, though evidence for this is not given by the relevant authors (Bagshaw 1869-70; Ward 1956-57). On Senior's survey of 1627, a farmstead occupied the present farm site, while the putative alternative location was a barn. No medieval pottery has been found from the area of Ladybower Reservoir immediately downslope of the barn site (Paul Ardron pers comm), and the medieval site of Crookhill Farm is therefore more likely to have been approximately where the current farmstead now stands.

5.5.2.2 One Man's House aka Abbey Farm

How the Abbey managed One Man's House is unclear. It may have followed the same approach as taken at Crookhill, or it may have rented out the land to a tenant

immediately. The 13th century description of the land as a 'Field' which had become a 'House' by 1557 (Kirke 1925) then 'One Man's House alias Abbey' by 1656 (anon. 1656), indicates that the Abbey founded a new farmstead or grange at this location, as they had done at Crookhill, rather than taking over existing buildings. A large assemblage of medieval pottery found at this site, including fabrics dating from the late 13th century onwards, show that the foundation came soon after the Abbey was granted the land (Beswick 1996). That the Abbey was granted an enclosed meadow does show that the location was already being actively managed and used for agriculture. As at Crookhill, this was probably by occupants of Hathersage, living elsewhere in the manor, unless evidence for an existing farmstead in the valley is still to be discovered. The location is a wide area of the valley floor, at the confluence of watercourses that had been a focus for activity in prehistory and the Roman period (see sections 2.4.4, 3.4, 4.6.1). Whether earlier forms of land-use had left any distinguishing effect on the area is unknown. The presence of an enclosed meadow here in the 13th century may have been related to long-term differences in vegetation created by previous land tenure, or possibly the same topographical qualities which had attracted settlement over preceding millennia.

Associated with the farmstead was a chapel, from which the advowson, bells and lead were exempted for sale of the farmstead in 1557 (Kirke 1925).

5.6 Farmsteads

5.6.1 Evidence

5.6.1.1 Artefactual

The medieval landscape beyond the grange(s) was occupied by a number of farmsteads dispersed along the valleys. Pottery dating from the mid-13th century onwards has been discovered in the reservoirs associated with 11 farmsteads, and at Derwent hamlet in addition to Abbey Farm (Illustration 5.2. Table 5.1). At Abbey Farm, Ronksley, Shireowlers, Tinker's House and Nether Ashop quantities indicate settlement during the medieval period (Table 5.2). Pottery has been found in much lower densities (less than 20 sherds) at Derwent hamlet, Birchinlee, Walker's Farm, Hollin Clough, Grainfoot, Ashop, Dryclough and Underbank.

Name	NGR	Sherd Count and Fabrics
Abbey Farm	SK 1700 9209	60 CMW, CMP, CMSW, SWW, CW
Ashop	SK 1881 8604	16 CMW, CMP, CW
Birchinlee	SK 1650 9180	12 CMW, CMP
Derwent hamlet	SK 1845 8850	16 CMW, CMP
Dryclough	SK 1820 8600	8 CMP, CMSW
Grainfoot	SK 1904 8797	4 CMP, CW
Hollin Clough	SK 1735 9010	19 CMP, CMW, CMSW
Nether Ashop	SK 1783 8629	80 CMW, CMP, CMSW, SWW
Ronksley	SK 1677 9410	46 CMW, CMP, White ware (from Vale of York), CW
Shireowlers	SK 1711 9119	73 CMW, CMP, CMSW
Tinker's House	SK 1930 8709	49 CMW, CMP, CMSW, SWW, CW
Underbank	SK 1745 8675	8 CMW, CMP, SWW
Walker's Farm	SK 1730 9090	7 CMW, CMP

Table 5.1. Medieval ceramic assemblages in the Upper Derwent
Abbreviations: CMW - Coal Measures white, CMP - Coal Measures purple, CMSW - Coal Measures sandyware, SWW - Surrey White ware, CW - Cistercian ware

Sherd quantities provide a rough guide to the presence of a medieval settlement, however, numbers of sherds discovered may be related to the intensity of fieldwalking, the degree of post-reservoir soil erosion or redeposition at any one site, the nature of deposition and the relative amounts of ceramics used compared to organic or metal vessels. For example, less than 20 sherds have been found at Derwent hamlet even though its medieval history is known from documentary sources (see section 5.7). Very few sherds have been found of *any* date near to farmsteads at Birchinlee, Walker's Clough, Hollin Farm, Hancock, Grainfoot and Dryclough, even though their post-medieval habitation is known, and their locations have been fieldwalked. The lack of sherds dating from the medieval period may not be a direct indication of an absence of medieval occupation. It is also clear that pottery found in the reservoirs can only be related to those farmsteads located in or near to those reservoirs. There are many farmsteads located at some distance away from the reservoirs, such as Alport and Rowlee, where fieldwalking has not been possible and artefactual evidence is lacking.

There are 14 fabrics identifiable in the medieval ceramics assemblages, most of which can be grouped into variants of Coal Measures wares (Beswick 1996). They were produced in potteries within a 30km radius of the Upper Derwent on the Coal Measures of South Yorkshire, Derbyshire and north Nottinghamshire. Seven are coarse gritty wares, comprising both Coal Measures white wares (CMW) and purple wares (CMP), most of which resemble products from Firsby and Rawmarsh, South Yorkshire and Brackenfield, Derbyshire used for jugs, cooking pots, lids, pancheons, cisterns and a possible chaffing dish (ibid; Cumberpatch in prep 1, in prep 2; Dolby in press; Hayfield and Buckland

1989; Storey 1978; Webster and Cherry 1973). CMP largely replaced CMW during the 15th century (Cumberpatch 2003; Hayfield and Buckland 1989). At those farmstead sites containing over 20 sherds both CMW and CMP are present, indicating longevity of occupation throughout the later medieval period. Grainfoot comprises only CMP, which could be taken as suggesting a post-14th century foundation date, however, the tiny numbers of sherds found prevents any meaningful chronological interpretation. There is an absence of Humberwares, which are found on sites alongside Coal Measures wares throughout South and West Yorkshire.

Coal Measures wares are found as the dominant fabric at medieval settlements throughout much of South/West Yorkshire and Derbyshire, and more occasionally in the Humber region (Cumberpatch forthcoming; Hayfield and Buckland 1989). Most are plain and unglazed except for the occasional jug with linear decoration. There are some glazed wares, notably purple, brown and olive green in colour, which are associated with late 14th to early 16th century vessels. There are seven finer fabrics used for jugs, cauldrons, cups and a pipkin. Again, most of these are plain but there are a number of jugs with clear, yellow or green glazes. Three of these are sandywares from Coal Measures sources, while non-local whitewares from Surrey and the Vale of York are found in small amounts at Ronksley, Abbey Farm, Tinker's House, Underbank and Nether Ashop (Beswick 1996). Cistercian ware has been included in here because it was manufactured in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Staffordshire from the mid-15th to late 16th centuries, and bridges the chronological divide between medieval and post-medieval (Cumberpatch 2003). It has been found in small numbers at Abbey, Ashop, Grainfoot, Ronksley and Tinker's House.

The ceramics assemblage for the Upper Derwent is typical of domestic medieval assemblages used throughout Britain for the storage, serving and cooking of food and drink (McCarthy and Brooks 1988). Medieval food and drink was resonant with gendered symbolism, habitual practice and status, which influenced the nature of ceramics used in preparation, serving and consuming (Dyer 1983). For the majority of people vegetable, cereal and pulse-based stews and pottages were their staple diet, supplemented by ale, bread and dairy products with small quantities of meat or fish (Cumberpatch 1997). Larger amounts of meat and, specifically, its cooking by roasting were associated with wealthy families. Unglazed gritty and sandywares were commonly used by women for

stewing, boiling, storing and brewing, while colour-glazed and decorated vessels are usually associated with serving food and drink at the table (ibid). Many of the decorated or glazed wares in the Upper Derwent are serving jugs and pots to be used at the table, while storage and cooking vessels are mainly plain and undecorated, though some are glazed. Ceramic tablewares are rare and other materials such as wood and leather, which were marginally cheaper, would have been used. Exceptions to this include the presence of Cistercian ware at a number of farms, and seconds in a Coal Measures ware at Nether Ashop – indicating a household keen to use tablewares, even when opportunities or finances enabled only the purchase of imperfect examples. These finds suggest that changes in drinking habits and, perhaps, social behaviour were occurring in the Upper Derwent contemporary with much of northern England (Cumberpatch 2003). The single pipkin sherd and absence of dripping trays and basting dishes suggests that roasting meat was uncommon.

5.6.1.2 Documentary Records

Documents are another important group of sources for interpreting and dating medieval settlement. The first documented date of a farm should not necessarily be taken as the date of its foundation, but as the earliest-dating document that has fortunately survived. Land-use was recorded for a variety of reasons, usually associated with ownership or transferral of land, but many activities, including the construction of buildings and enclosure, may have been agreed verbally rather than in writing. Apart from Crookhill and Abbey Farm, documentary sources record settlement at five other farmsteads (Table 5.2). Crown rentals in Derwent and Woodlands, dated between 1339-1413, list the following farms and their tenants: Ronksley, Grimbocar, Rowlee, Westend and Alport (Byford 1981. Illustration 5.2). The latter three of these are far removed from the potential fieldwalking zones in the reservoirs. In addition Westend and Lockerbrook are recorded as early as the 1280s (Cameron 1959), though these may be references to the valley and watercourse respectively rather than the farmsteads. A farmstead called Birth is also listed in the Crown rentals. This cannot be related definitely to any known settlement site but could be Birchinlee, or the name for an abandoned longhouse at Blacklowe.

Name	National Grid Reference	Evidence
Abbey Farm	SK 17000 92090	Pottery, documentary
Alport	SK 13540 91100	Documentary
Crookhill	SK 18665 86880	Documentary
Derwent hamlet	SK 18450 88500	Documentary, pottery
Grimbocar	SK 17130 87080	Documentary
Nether Ashop	SK 17830 86295	Pottery
Ronksley	SK 16771 94105	Pottery, documentary
Rowlee	SK 15360 89230	Documentary
Shireowlers	SK 17110 91190	Pottery
Tinker's House	SK 19300 87095	Pottery
Westend.	SK 15249 92897	Documentary

Table 5.2. Definite Medieval settlements

5.6.1.3 Standing Architecture

Architectural layout and features are another set of sources for interpreting settlement (Brunskill 1992); however, no standing buildings in the area inspected by the National Trust vernacular building survey contain any pre-17th century fabric. This is unsurprising considering the needs and desires for rebuilding over time in relation to maintenance and changing ideals about building layout and function. Between the late 16th and early 18th centuries most farmhouses throughout England were gradually rebuilt in more permanent materials (ibid). The majority of post-medieval farmsteads in the Upper Derwent were rebuilt on the same location, and this is likely to be the case for the medieval period too. There is only one example of earthwork evidence for a shift of farmstead location, at Bamford House, which is discussed below (section 5.6.1.4). Only the excavation of a farmstead, or series of farmsteads, can provide further information on specific building layouts and construction materials in the Upper Derwent.

5.6.1.4 Earthworks

There are also four sites, at Dovestone Clough, Blacklowe, Grainfoot Clough and Bamford House, where I have found the structural remains of settlements which may be medieval in date at locations not depicted on post-medieval maps (Illustration 5.2).

Dovestone Clough

At Dovestone Clough there is a group of three rectangular platforms with low stone walls, stone revetment and earthen banks that appear to have supported longhouses. The platforms are all terraced into the sloping moorland and are associated with a small, stone-lined kiln (Illustration 5.2). The kiln may have been a corn, wood or peat drier, malting oven or lime-burning kiln for lime imported from the limestone plateau, though

there is no change in vegetation around the kiln as might occur with high levels of lime on acid moorland. One of the platforms is 20m to the east of the other two, which are conjoined, and the space between then appears to have been enclosed. The site is located adjacent to a causewayed trackway, which is part of the line of the Sheffield to Derwent packhorse route, recorded in the 14th century (Dodd and Dodd 1980).

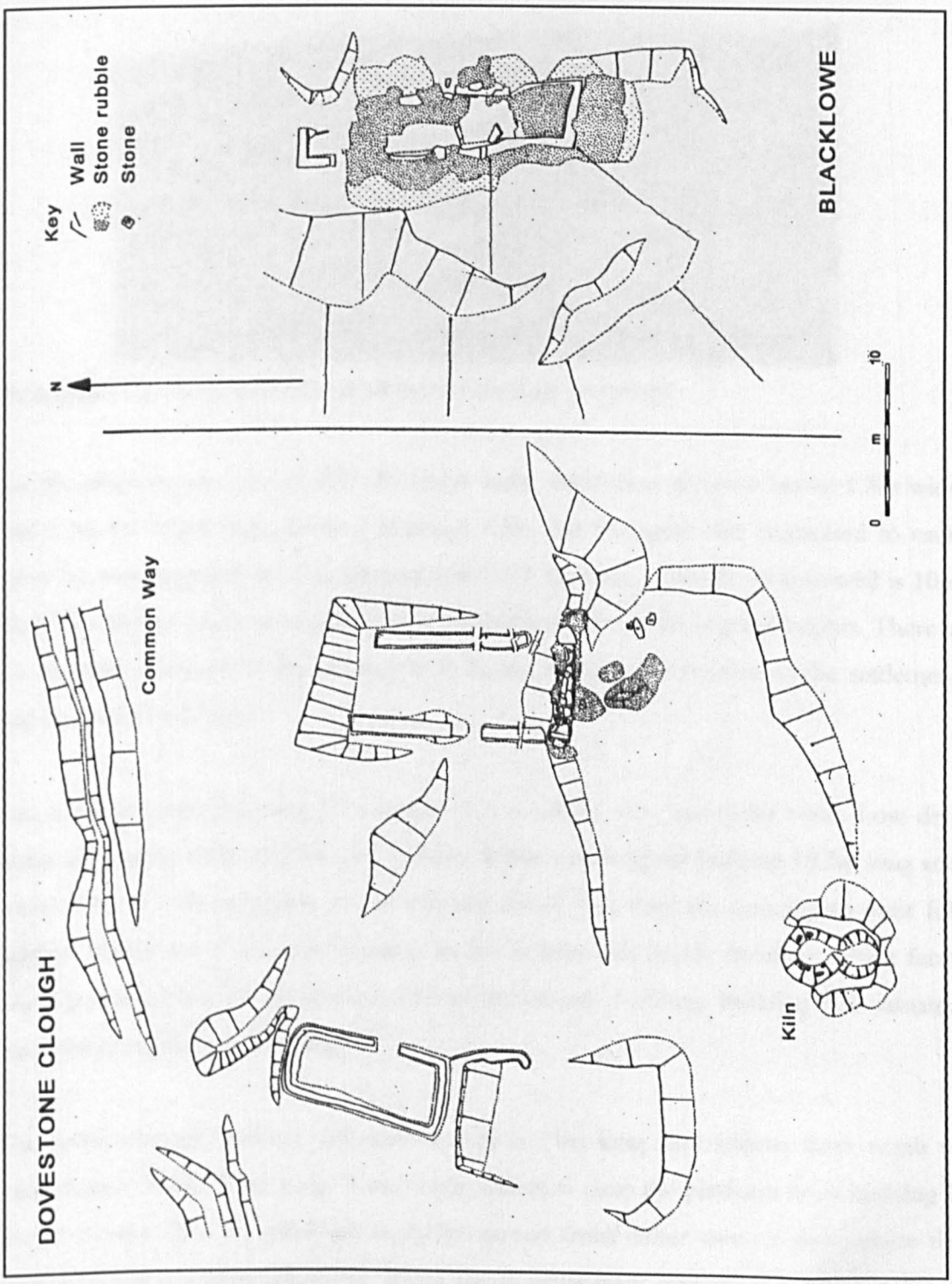


Illustration 5.3. Dovestone Clough and Blacklowe settlements

The eastern platform (Illustration 5.3) is 14m long and 8.5m wide. Its downslope, southern, edge is a 1.4m-high revetment of large gritstone boulders.

Photograph 5.2. Dovestone Clough settlement platform revetment

On the platform are two parallel dry-stone walls, measuring between 1m to 1.3m wide and 0.3m to 0.45m high, situated between 4.5m and 5m apart and connected to each other by wall foundations. The western wall is 12.7m long, while the eastern wall is 10m long. The lack of adjacent tumble shows that both stand to their original heights. There is a 1.9m-wide entrance in the western wall, facing towards the interior of the settlement and the other buildings.

The north-western platform (Illustration 5.3) is 10.8m long and 6.5m wide. Low dry-stone supporting walls of gritstone boulders define a rectangular building 10.7m long and 5.4m wide. A lack of tumble in the vicinity shows that they are standing to their full heights. There is a 1.6m-wide doorway in the eastern side of the building, which faces towards the interior of the settlement and the eastern building. Building B is situated immediately upslope of building C.

The south-western platform (Illustration 5.3) is 11m long, and widens from north to south from 7.5m to 9.5m wide. A dry-stone wall runs onto the platform from building B above. Access onto the platform could be gained from either west or east, where the platform surface is at ground level. There are no other walls evident on the remainder of

the platform, and no indication of foundations surviving below the turf. It appears that the building was constructed entirely from timber or turf.

Blacklowe

At Blacklowe a settlement consists of the remains of a rectangular stone longhouse on a rectangular platform excavated into the sloping valley side above the River Westend. Low dry-stone walls measuring approximately 13.5m long and 4.5m wide define the building (Illustration 5.3. Photograph 5.3).

Where visible, the walling is of high quality using rectangular Millstone Grit blocks, some of which are worked, placed carefully and closely together. Extensive sections of walling survive up to a maximum and original height of 1m at the southern end, which would have supported a steep-pitched roof set directly upon them or had upper walls of turf, cob or wood. There are more ephemeral traces of internal boundaries of a low earth and stone lynchet, and a single massive flat stone set upright which may have divided the building into three bays or rooms. A probable entrance, 0.8m wide and partly infilled with rubble, is visible in the southern wall.

Photograph 5.3. Blacklowe settlement, looking east along the length of the longhouse

Grainfoot Clough

A building complex at Grainfoot Clough comprises a large sub-rectangular platform, a smaller sub-rectangular platform, a sub-circular platform, a stone-lined sub-circular kiln and a terraced trackway (Illustration 5.4). The site is situated below Derwent Edge, near to the source of Grain Clough, and occupies the break of slope between a gently sloping area of ground and a steeper area lying upslope. The features and the long axis of the site are aligned along the contour. The complex is adjacent to the surviving hollow-ways and paving of the Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route.

The largest platform is approximately 13m long and 6.5m wide. It is terraced into the break of slope by being cut into the upslope above (from which there is some slumping of material onto the platform surface) and built up below. It appears to be constructed of soil and stone. There is a slight break of slope running along the surface, which may be associated with the feature's use or may be post-abandonment activity. This feature is probably a platform for a rectangular timber building. Situated approximately 13m to the north of the large platform is a smaller platform measuring approximately 9m by 4m which may have supported a rectangular timber building or a storage/working area. Approximately 6m diagonally downslope is a 7m by 5m sub-circular platform constructed of soil and stone with a stone revetment to its downslope edge. This feature is similar to charcoal-burning platforms found elsewhere in the valley, though none are so high up. Fragments of charcoal suggest this use. It is likely to be a working area of some sort, rather than the location for a building. A 3.5m diameter and 0.8m deep, sub-circular stone-lined kiln, is located 18m to the south of these platforms. It has steeply sloping or vertical sides, except to the downslope, where there is an opening approximately 1m wide. Downslope of this, there is a shallow mound which appears to be spoil from the centre of the hole. As at Dovestone Clough, the use of the kiln is unclear, with likely uses again being the drying of peat, wood or corn, malting barley or the production of lime.

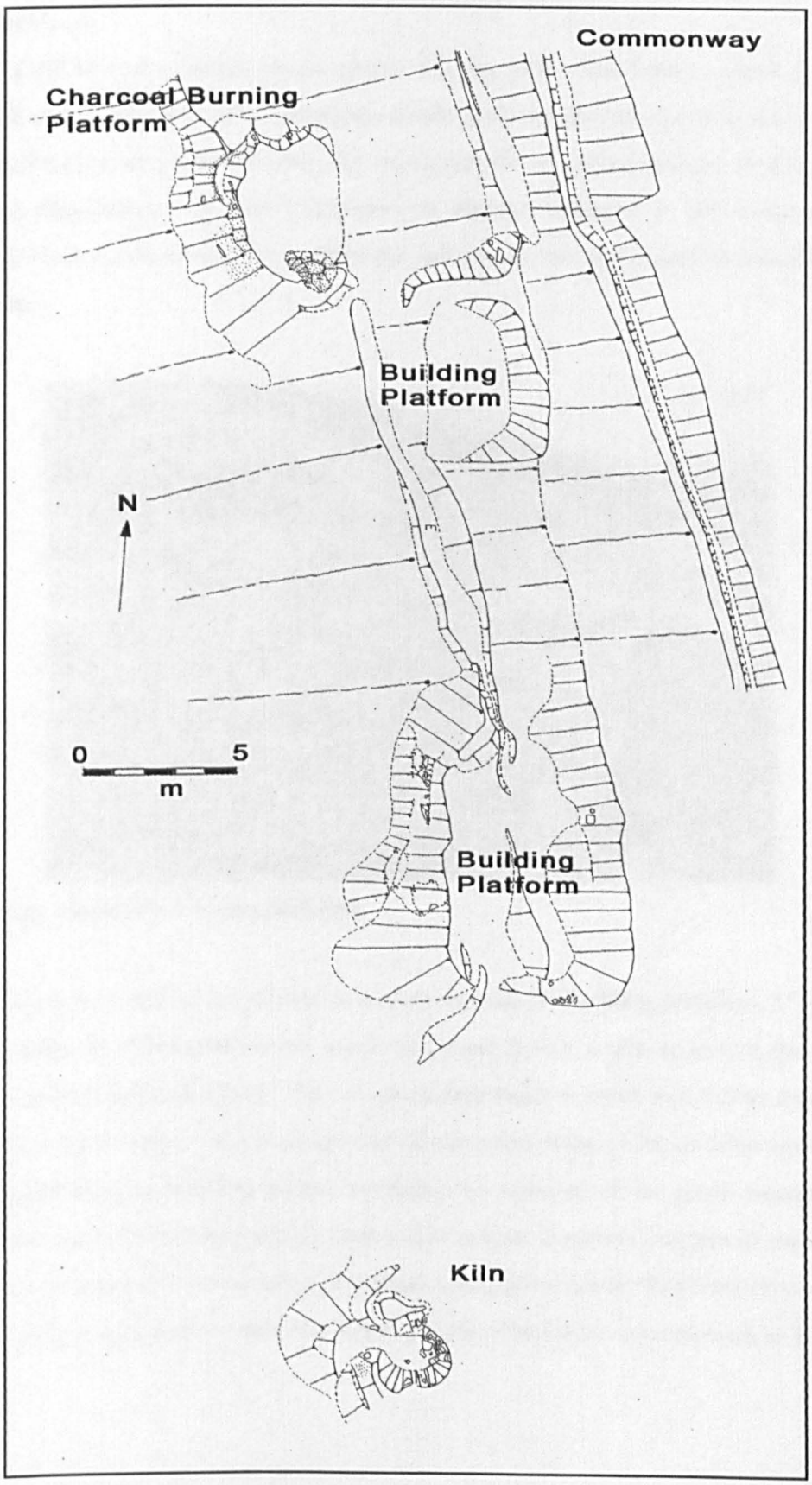


Illustration 5.4. Grainfoot Clough complex

Bamford House

At Bamford House, a large natural gently sloping valley-side terrace which has been modified and occupied by two rectangular building platforms connected by a lynchet and associated with a linear levelled area, may represent the line of a routeway or site of other activities (Illustration 5.5). The platforms are located adjacent to the stone ruins of Bamford House, which was occupied in the post-medieval period and abandoned in the 19th century.

Photograph 5.4. Bamford House platforms

At the south-east end of the terrace is a level rectangular building platform, 17.3m long and 6m wide. At either end are low earth and stone banks, which represent the remains of walls and/or building rubble. The south-eastern bank is stony and 1m to 2.6m wide, while the north-western bank is composed of earth and stone, 3.5m to 5.5m wide. There are mounds of stony building rubble overlying the terminal of the north-western bank. The presence of this building rubble shows that at least the lower courses of the building walls were constructed out of stone. Potential robbing for nearby Bamford House means that it is unknown whether stone was solely used for the lower courses, such as at

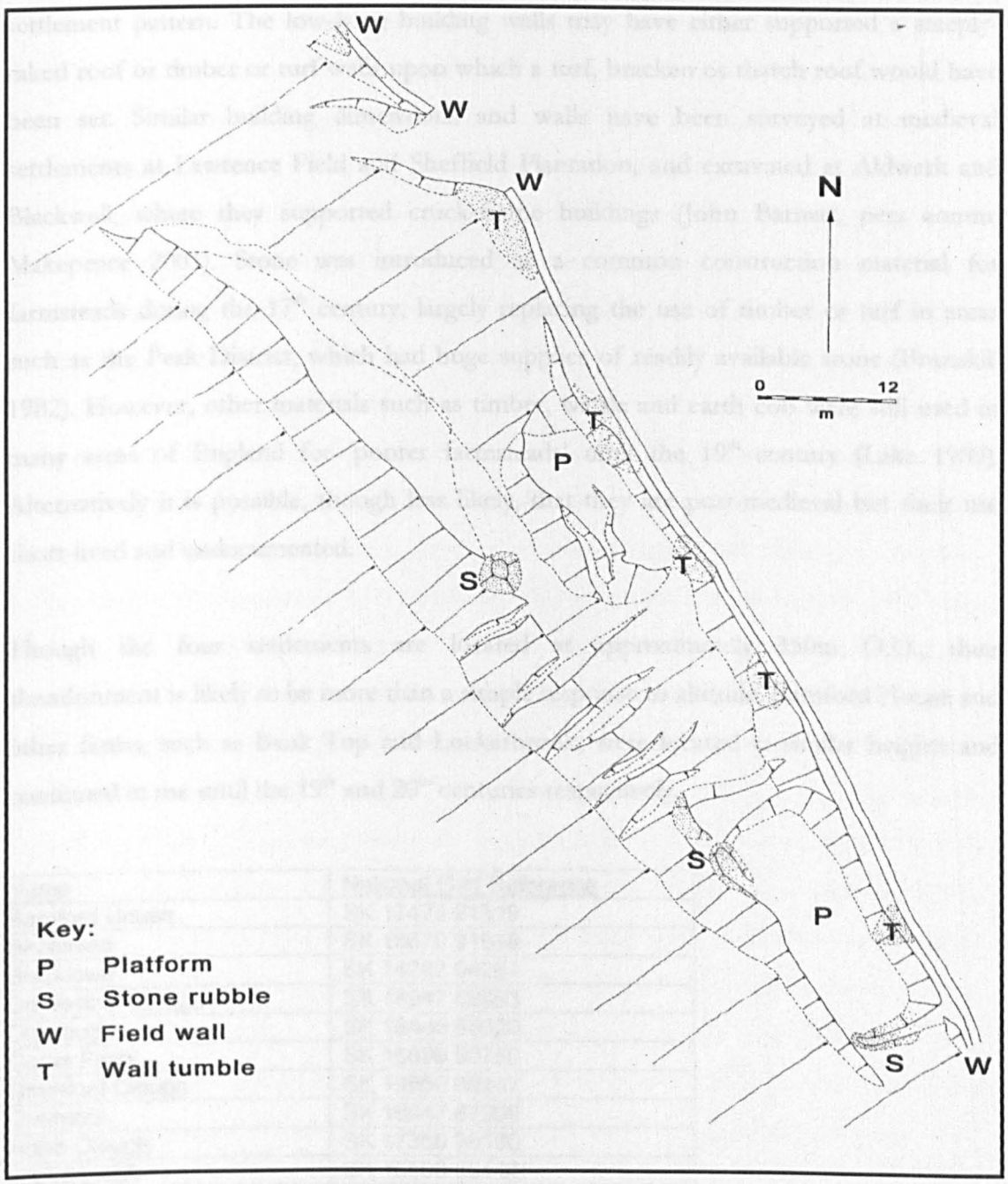


Illustration 5.5. Bamford House building platforms

Dovestone Clough, upon which turf walls or the roof were supported, or whether the walls were completely stone-built. Central to the terrace is a level rectangular building platform, approximately 12.5m long and 5m wide. There is no evidence for stone walls on this platform, suggesting that the building was timber-built unless all visible traces of stonework were removed during or after abandonment.

The building dimensions at the four sites and the presence of low-lying walls at Dovestone and Blacklowe suggest that they were part of the Upper Derwent's medieval

settlement pattern. The low-lying building walls may have either supported a steeply-raked roof or timber or turf walls upon which a turf, bracken or thatch roof would have been set. Similar building dimensions and walls have been surveyed at medieval settlements at Lawrence Field and Sheffield Plantation, and excavated at Aldwark and Blackwell, where they supported cruck-frame buildings (John Barnatt, pers comm; Makepeace 2001). Stone was introduced as a common construction material for farmsteads during the 17th century, largely replacing the use of timber or turf in areas such as the Peak District, which had huge supplies of readily available stone (Brunskill 1982). However, other materials such as timber, wattle and earth cob were still used in many areas of England for 'poorer farmsteads' until the 19th century (Lake 1989). Alternatively it is possible, though less likely, that they are post-medieval but their use short-lived and undocumented.

Though the four settlements are located at approximately 350m O.D., their abandonment is likely to be more than a simple response to altitude. Bamford House and other farms, such as Bank Top and Lockerbrook, were located at similar heights and continued in use until the 19th and 20th centuries respectively.

Name	National Grid Reference
Bamford House	SK 17473 91319
Birchinlee	SK 16670 91819
Blacklowe	SK 14282 94287
Dovestone Clough	SK 18947 89883
Dryclough	SK 18445 85920
Gores Farm	SK 16899 90750
Grainfoot Clough	SK 19950 88247
Grainfoot	SK 19047 87969
Hollin Clough	SK 17350 90100
Lockerbrook	SK 16500 89444
Parkinfield	SK 19820 85605
Underbank	SK 17540 86775
Walker's Farm	SK 17315 90900

Table 5.3. Possible Medieval settlements in the Upper Derwent

5.6.2 Thirteenth Century Colonisation

Settlement which can be definitely dated to the medieval period to the west of the River Derwent comprised Ronksley, Nether Ashop, Grimbocar, Rowlee and Alport, as well as Crookhill, and was part of a much wider phase of encroachment into the Royal Forest of the Peak documented in the 13th century (see section 5.4.1.2). East of the river there was contemporary settlement at least at Abbey Farm, Shireowlers and Tinker's House. Most

of the settlements within Derwent and Ashop valleys were within Welbeck Abbey's estate, and would have come under monastic management. The coincidence of the 13th century date for the earliest pottery found in the area, and the acquisition of much of the Upper Derwent Valley by Welbeck Abbey strongly suggests that many of the farmsteads were founded during the Abbey's ownership. Some were created in the same century that Welbeck was first expanding its estate. As has been discussed above (section 5.3.1), the Premonstratensian Order rented many of their estates to tenants, rather than directly managing them with lay brothers.

It is possible that any of the medieval farmsteads originated as shielings that were occupied by farmers from surrounding settlements in Hope, Hathersage and Bradfield. Shielings have been identified in a number of upland areas, both from place name and archaeological evidence, and is a possibility that should be considered for the Upper Derwent (Rackham 1986; Whyte 1985). The documented presence of a pasture at Crookhill and a meadow at Abbey Farm, at the time of granting land to Welbeck Abbey in the 13th century, indicate pre-existing pastoral use of the Upper Derwent. No buildings are referred to and the absence of 11th to 12th century pottery suggests no, or only very limited occupation. This does open up the possibility that there may have been other pastures and meadows within the Upper Derwent, which were used by people permanently settled elsewhere, and it may have been associated with some form of accommodation. It is tempting to interpret the single longhouse at Blacklowe as a shieling associated with such a pasture, though this could be based as much on the marginality of its remote location today. While the evidence is unclear, any existing pattern of grazing could have formed a basis for some of the medieval farmsteads.

Where were these settlers coming from and what was their relationship with the Abbey? They may have been from families that used any grazing rights that existed, laymen already known to the canons, or they may have been opportunists from villages to the south, looking to have a go at improving their lot away from the constraints of more heavily populated townships. They may have been invited by Forest officers and canons looking for people to improve land to generate income from fines and rents; or they may have been chancing their luck with the officers and canons, squatters hoping not to be evicted. For the settlements to remain in occupation, as the majority did, this recolonisation of the waste within their estate must have been accepted by the canons,

who had their own people living in the valley at one or two granges. As seen elsewhere on Premonstratensian estates, may have been used by the Abbey to manage the non-grange farmsteads within its Upper Derwent estate (Bond 1993; Wheeler 1996).

5.6.3 Settlement Pattern

As people settled in the two valleys from the 13th century onwards the choices they made, or had available to them, about where they would found their farmsteads set the pattern of settlement, which would characterise the area until the 20th century. The medieval settlement pattern of the Upper Derwent was one of isolated farmsteads dispersed across the landscape with only very limited nucleation into a single, very small hamlet, at Derwent (see section 5.7. Illustration 5.2).

There are complex and inter-connected factors behind this dispersed pattern:

a) Good agricultural land would have been of major importance, and nearly all the securely dated early farmsteads are found on relatively large areas of level or gently sloping ground. The only farmstead to be in a more marginal position is Ronksley, which occupies a small clough-side terrace surrounded by steep valley sides and with no access to extensive gentler slopes. What seems to be land of similar quality is not restricted to these settlement locations so seeking out good land, though important, was not the determining factor in the positioning of medieval settlement.

b) Access to water was also important and, again, all of the early settlements are adjacent to a watercourse or spring. Close access to water was an essential element in the positioning of medieval farmsteads in the Upper Derwent. This was not a constraining factor because there are many more water sources than settlements.

c) Being above the flood 'plain' may have also been a consideration, and again all but one of the early farmsteads are positioned on the break of slope between the valley bottom and the valley side. Abbey Farm is built right on the valley floor at the confluence of the River Derwent and Abbey Brook in a location liable to flooding, as indicated by the alluvial deposits.

d) The reactions towards, including constraints placed on, new settlement by the local landowners and the Forest officers would also have been significant. If the canons directed some settlement across their estate, they may have been able to determine where the new farmsteads were located, so encouraging farmers to open up different areas in the woodlands. Even if Forest officers condoned colonisation within the Royal Forest, they may not have looked favourably on any new settlement being highly prominent. A nucleated village with an open field requires the clearance of a large, single block of woodland for the field. Dispersed, individual farmsteads reduce the impact of settlement in the landscape.

e) A desire for social proximity or distance may also influence where settlers decide to found farmsteads and organise social relationships in the landscape. Most of the settlers sought out locations at some distance from each other, so dispersing the farmsteads 800m or more apart across the landscape. This probably results from a combination of two factors: a desire for some level of spatial isolation, and to give neighbours space, so allowing for potential future expansion of enclosure and land-use without being hampered by or posing a competitive threat to each other's land.

As more farmsteads were founded during the medieval period, the new settlements would have to fit into the existing pattern. This may have involved negotiation, agreement and contention with existing farmers. In most areas later settlement emulated the existing pattern of relative isolation, however, there are a small number of locations where this pattern was broken in favour of closer proximity (Illustration 5.2). On the east side of the Derwent Valley, Shireowlers and Walker's Farm are located within 400m of each other, though this proximity may be related to other factors.

More significant is that the only farmsteads depicted in Alport Dale on Senior's 1627 survey formed a small group situated approximately one-third of the way up the valley and at the location where the valley narrows considerably. The group is located on a high, level area of ground adjacent to the confluences of the River Alport and Swint Clough. The farm buildings are to the west of this level area, the River Alport is to the east and a wall that encloses the level area follows the break of slope above the scarp that drops down towards the river. Each farmstead is named Alport in Senior's survey, a name which is recorded between the late 14th and early 15th centuries (Byford 1981). The

group may have already been in existence at this time, or developed sometime during the intervening centuries.

The motivations behind the formation of this group in an area otherwise characterised by isolated farmsteads appear to be unusual. Partible inheritance, whereby a farmstead is divided between heirs, in relation to specific land-use or family circumstances, may have been the cause. The group creates different social relations to the isolated, individual farmsteads, invoking more common everyday interaction during the working of agricultural routines. Senior also shows that the enclosed fields of the farmsteads were intermingled with each other throughout Alport Dale, rather than being in the distinct blocks of the other farmsteads. This proximity does not simply equate with greater neighbourliness because there may be more likely points of conflict as well as opportunities for cooperation in the landscape, for example in relation to expansion of enclosure close to one farmstead bringing it close to the other(s). Elsewhere in the valley, enclosure by one farmstead could occur within a large area of land before impinging on the area another farmer was currently enclosed or planning to enclose. Alport Dale appears unique in the medieval landscape of the Upper Derwent and the nearest parallels are the Booths of Edale, which were founded in the early 13th century as specialist cattle farms known as vaccaries (Barnatt 1993).

The dispersed settlement pattern appears to be the result of the relationship between functional needs and social issues. Over time, more settlements and more farmsteads appear to have been founded in the valley. Unfortunately, the chronological clarity we have from existing evidence does not allow us to chart settlement progress throughout the medieval period. As further settlers did arrive, whether as incomers or as descendants of the existing population, potential locations for new farms would have been constrained by the existing settlement pattern. There is no evidence for whether landholdings were subsequently subdivided between members of a family on inheritance of tenancies, or were handed down as a whole to one inheritor. The latter was definitely the system used in the post-Dissolution Hope Woodlands township (Senior 1627), so may have originated in the medieval period, though the pairing or grouping of some farmsteads may indicate that there was some partible inheritance at some time. How the two different systems would manifest themselves on the ground is unclear, and a study in

the Alps suggests that they may not produce much difference in observable patterns of land tenure (Cole and Wolf 1974).

Some, if not all, of the settlement and agricultural use of the area involved the deliberate 'pushing of the boundaries' of Forest Law by tenants and landowners, as evidenced by the records of Forest transgressions and fines. This 'battle' between regulators and practitioners appears to be one characteristic of medieval land-use, and would have become more widespread as farmers tried to get as much land into their holdings as possible through enclosure and woodland clearance. There was more scope for this sort of activity in an area like the Upper Derwent than on the limestone plateau, where land-use was more constrained on a practical as well as a legislative level through the high settlement density and communal nature of the village open field. It is likely that settlers in the Upper Derwent also attempted to get as much from their landlords as they could, to take land into cultivation before their neighbours and to establish rights on the moorland common. This created a dominant pattern of land-use in the Upper Derwent, comprising individual farmsteads, small enclosed fields amongst woodland and moorland common, all of which were connected by trackways. This pattern would continue to structure occupation of, and movement across, the landscape until the building of the reservoirs in the 20th century, and even after that was still an important element of the area. I will continue in this chapter to discuss aspects of this pattern in relation to the medieval period; however, these are recurring themes which continue through the post-medieval period, and will be given different emphasis in this and the following two chapters.

5.7 Derwent Hamlet

Hamlets such as Derwent were common throughout medieval England. In some regions they exist with isolated farmsteads, while in others they are present where there are also villages. Derwent is seemingly unique in the medieval landscape of the Upper Derwent in being the only form of nucleation in a settlement pattern otherwise consisting entirely of dispersed farmsteads. The hamlet came to be a location where a range of services was provided to the surrounding population. This in itself is significant.

As discussed above (see section 4.9.3), the earliest evidence for possible settlement at Derwent is part of a 10th century AD gritstone cross-shaft which was discovered within

the build of a cottage constructed between 1810 and 1896 (Sidebottom 1991, 1993). However, there are problems in provenancing the shaft, which could have been acquired from either within or outside the vicinity of the hamlet. Pottery recovered from the area of the hamlet during low water levels in Ladybower Reservoir indicates occupation from the 13th century onwards, and numbers of sherds are greater than found associated with farmsteads (Beswick 1996; Paul Ardron pers comm).

Reputedly, Derwent hamlet was known as Water-side in the medieval period (Bagshaw 1869-70). While references to Derwent date as early as 1215 (Cameron 1959), they appear to refer to the valley or the river rather than to the hamlet. There is a reference to villagers of Hope, Aston, Thornhill, Derwent and Ashop damaging woods in 1285 (Kerry 1893). Rather than implying the existence of a hamlet at *Derwent* by this date, it shows that there was a community and the beginnings of a township known by this name.

The presence of a settlement larger than a farmstead, a hamlet, is first identified in the 13th century, when a corn mill and a chapel were located here. Welbeck Abbey built a chapel in the 13th century (Hallam 1989). During the late 19th century demolition of the hamlet's 18th century chapel to make way for a church, building components dating to the 14th century were discovered incorporated in the walls (Jourdain 1869-70). The chapel was situated close to the existing pond for the corn mill (Northend 1943). It is unknown whether the mill was also built by Welbeck, or by secular lords of Hathersage. There is a picture developing of a group of various buildings, including a mill and a chapel, being constructed in proximate location to one another, to serve the surrounding community. The mill was the only one in the Upper Derwent, including the Ashop or Woodlands valley. Its presence is significant – a mill would not have been built unless there were sufficient arable farming in the surrounding area to supply it. While landowners could force their own tenants to use their mill they could not really succeed with such a policy beyond their manor. Either it was convenient for local farmsteads outside of Hathersage to mill their corn at the Derwent mill, or the area of Hathersage, which became Derwent township, was part of Welbeck Abbey's estate so the Abbey constructed a mill for use by all their tenants.

One of the most important factors in the hamlet's development was the line of the packhorse route between the valley and Sheffield. The route is first documented in the early 14th century as a 'common way' (Dodd and Dodd 1980; Hey 1980. Illustration 5.2). From Sheffield, it crossed the intervening moors to descend into the Upper Derwent Valley via three separate routes which are all visible as hollow-ways: one via Millbrook to meet the river at the site of the hamlet, another via Grindle Clough and the third via Ladybower Gorge. Welbeck Abbey built a bridge across the river in the 13th century (Dodd and Dodd 1980). We do not know whether the hamlet or the packhorse route came first, and which influenced the location of the other. There is also the question of whether the route pre-dated the foundation of Crookhill or was created as a result. The canons would have required a route from their granges in the Upper Derwent to Welbeck Abbey, and Sheffield would have been an ideal destination because of the presence of Beauchief Abbey. This daughter house of Welbeck would have been an important stopping-off point on the journey to and from north Nottinghamshire.

Surviving hollow-ways on the Ladybower Gorge branch take the route into the valley south-east of Crookhill and, in 1627, Senior depicts the walled approach lane to the grange as running up the valley side from the east. It is feasible that these two could have been connected if the River Derwent was bridged or fordable in between. It appears, by analysing the 19th century Ordnance Survey map, that the River Derwent could have been as easily bridged in this vicinity as further north near Millbrook. The branch via Derwent hamlet crosses the watershed between the Derwent and Woodlands valleys and the River Derwent approximately 1.5km to the north of Crookhill, before joining Doctor's Gate which runs along the Woodlands Valley between Hope and Glossop. With Crookhill being the first, and possibly only, directly managed grange of Welbeck in the area the Abbey could have aligned the routeway on its grange. The place chosen to locate the bridge was as steep-sided and deep as elsewhere in the valley and would not have previously been a fording point. Because the Abbey decided to build a bridge on the branch of the route not oriented on Crookhill, it suggests that the Abbey wanted to gain access to the corn mill as well as to connect with the route to Welbeck Abbey via Beauchief.

Derwent hamlet during the medieval period comprised a small settlement, including a corn mill and a chapel, alongside a packhorse route at its crossing point over the River

Derwent. This was a focus for processing crops, for worship and for communication with southern Yorkshire and the area east of the Pennines. Such a strategic locale in the landscape then formed a centre for further expansion of settlement and the attraction of additional 'services' for travellers and the surrounding community, such as inns and blacksmiths which are recorded in the 16th and 17th centuries.

5.8 Chapels

The chapel at Derwent would have probably been built by the canons of Welbeck Abbey. Premonstratensians lived a monastic way of life but went outside of the Abbey's confines to spend time preaching to lay communities, and combined this pastoral role with a desire for isolation (Aston 2000). However, during its early years, the Order did not condone the building of chapels at its granges because of worries that this would dilute connections with the mother house of those canons commonly living at distant estates (Platt 1969). The Order was also concerned that tithes could be diverted away from the local parish church if the chapels were open to laymen. In 1246, the Order gained a general concession from the Pope to build chapels at granges for communion and confession and to avoid any unnecessary contact with the lay public (ibid). This would appear to somewhat contradict the Order's pastoral role, but it may be more of an indicator of the prescriptions of medieval life, the circumstances in which classes of people in social power believed it appropriate to mix with commoners. Presumably Welbeck considered it acceptable to have religious contact with laymen only when leading them in communion or taking their confession, and therefore in a position of ecclesiastical authority. But it was not proper for peasants to attend service alongside the brothers in anything seeming like equality. Therefore the Abbey built two chapels to serve its social ideals, the one at Derwent hamlet, where the canons conducted services for local laymen, and one at One Man's House for their own private use (Kirke 1925; Northend 1943). After the Dissolution, fabric from this second chapel was incorporated into later farm buildings, while its advowson, bells and lead were excepted from a sale of the farmstead (Kirke 1925). The inclusion of an advowson, the right of presentation to a church benefice, indicates that the Abbey had fulfilled a parochial role in the area.

Reputedly the Abbey built two further chapels in the region, one near to Birchinlee on the opposite side of the valley from One Man's House (Kirke 1925) and another on the line of the Hope to Glossop packhorse route where it crossed the ridge between the

Woodlands Valley and Edale (Byford 1981). The former is shown on Saxton's Derbyshire county map of 1577 (Saxton) and Ellis's county map of 1766 as 'New Chappel' (Ellis) and a nearby trackway was formerly known as 'Chapel Lane' (Ordnance Survey 1880). No earthworks have been identified at this location. The latter has not be securely identified, though the foundations of a square, dry-stone building do exist on the watershed near to the packhorse route (Dodd and Dodd 1980). Both chapels, in Derwent hamlet and on the Hope to Glossop packhorse route, if the latter was built by Welbeck Abbey, were apparently just outside the Abbey's estate, so demonstrating that the canons were willing to provide chapels for communities beyond their tenants and workers.

5.9 Enclosure

Dateable evidence for medieval enclosure within the area is scarce. Thirteenth-century documents refer to an assart at Crookhill and an enclosed meadow in the Derwent Valley called 'One Man's Field' (see section 5.5.2.2). These may represent the limit of enclosed land at the time of the land grants to Welbeck Abbey, but are more likely to be those which happened to be recorded and for which the documents survive. The 13th century colonisation of the area would have involved some contemporary enclosure. The extent of this is unknown, but would have included at least paddocks near to the farmsteads for corralling livestock during breeding or over-wintering, growing hay for animals and, as suggested by the presence of the corn mill, for producing arable. Colonisation was the beginning of a process of enclosure creation that was fundamentally linked to woodland clearance.

The baseline for interpreting the nature and extent of medieval enclosure within Ashop Valley and Derwent Valley west of the river is Senior's 1627 map of Hope Woodlands. This shows that most of the township's valley bottoms and sides were enclosed into small, irregular fields associated with each farmstead. This morphology of enclosure is typical of the remainder of the area lying east of the River Derwent. How far back into the medieval period the chronology of enclosure goes is unknown, but by its very nature it is unlikely to have been planned and created as a whole over a short period of time immediately preceding 1627. The small, irregular nature of the enclosed fields and the way that some appear to be 'tacked-on' to others, progressing outwards from the locations of farmsteads, suggests that the 1627 field pattern was the result of a long sequence of piecemeal enclosure. Such enclosure may have been undertaken by

agreement or contention between tenants, the monastic landlords and the officers of the Royal Forest. As the records of the Forest courts demonstrate (see section 5.4.1.2), enclosure was being undertaken in the Royal Forest in the 13th century and the court often responded to this by applying fines and rentals to the enclosed land, rather than demanding the destruction of boundaries. These records rarely mention the specific locality of such enclosures, but their presence in the Upper Derwent can be surmised by wall junction evidence at Hagg Farm showing pre-1627 boundary construction (Roberts 1996). This process of enclosure changed the nature of the Upper Derwent's landscape over time as woodland was cleared, subdivided into smaller blocks and replaced with pasture and arable fields subdivided by dry-stone walls. Part of this process could still be seen in 1627, where some groups of fields were divided from each other by swathes of woodland.

5.10 Woodlands

The woodlands of the Upper Derwent were not simply the background of difficult vegetation to clear before the land could be enclosed and farmed. Medieval woodlands were managed areas, usually directly owned by the lord of the manor. There were a number of ways to manage woodlands, including natural woodlands, wood-pasture and plantations of a single or restricted range of species (Aston 1985; Rackham 1976). Areas of natural growth (combining a mix of locally indigenous species growing both as timber and underwood) were usually utilised by methods which encouraged regeneration (Stamper 1988). Underwood was the smaller growth, which was either allowed to grow naturally or was coppiced, both of which required the exclusion of livestock from the woodland except at designated times of the year (Stamper 1988). Often underwood could be taken by tenants for fuel, fencing and leaf browse to feed livestock, while the timber was reserved by the owner. Wood-pastures were commons where tenants could graze their livestock amongst the trees. Underwood would not grow under such conditions and the mature trees were usually managed, by such means as pollarding, to enable both timber and pasture to flourish in the same place, by maintaining leaves above the reach of animals and enough open spaces between trees for grass.

Senior's survey shows that woodland cover in Hope Woodlands parish in 1627 was extensive, and comprised small woodlands surrounded by walled fields (see section 6.2.2. Illustration 6.1). Approximately half of the valley land was wooded in the early 17th

century. It is likely that the woodland cover was greater in the 13th century, and had been gradually reduced during the medieval period, as more land was enclosed for agriculture and timber was cut for building and industrial use.

The confirmation of the grant of land to Welbeck Abbey by King John in 1215, which lay within the Royal Forest of the Peak, reserves wood within the monastic estate to the King (Bagshaw 1869-70). Under Forest Law, the woodlands were managed to encourage plentiful supplies of deer and other wild game for royal banquets. Livestock were banned from the Royal Forest to reduce competition with the deer for browsing and grazing. As a result, wood-pasture would be an unlikely practice west of the River Derwent, where the tree browse was as important a grazing resource as grass. The confirmation does not state whether 'wood' refers to the whole of the tree, to timber (trunk and large pieces) or brushwood (branches and twigs). Pleas of the Royal Forest made in 1285 mention damage to the king's woods in Derwent and Ashop by the Abbots of Welbeck, dead and present, and by the occupants of Hope, Aston, Thornhill, Derwent and Ashop (Kerry 1893). The pleas go on to itemise wood of Derwent being wasted (removed) by sale as instructed by Edward I and the destruction of a further 20 oaks.

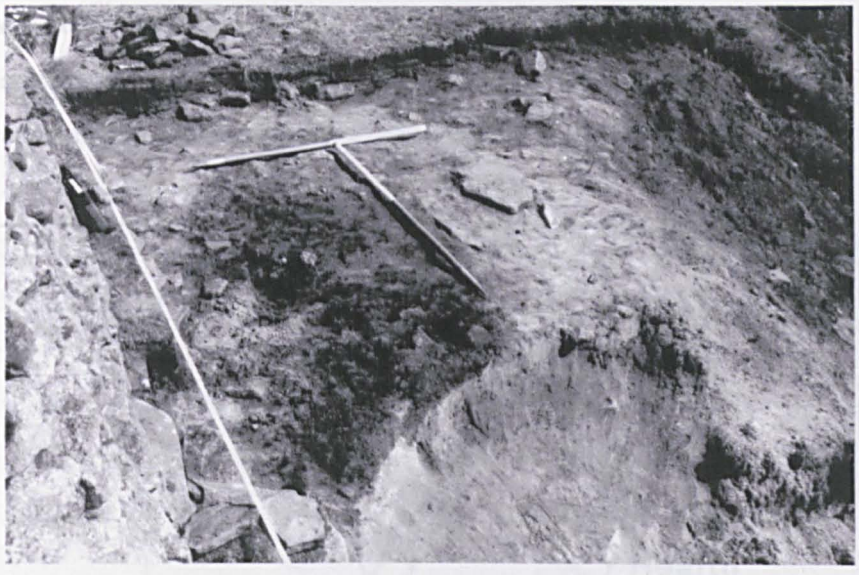
These documents highlight the difference in land-use between that which was official, the legally stipulated rules and laws of the written document made by the landowner, and that which was carried out in practice by tenants and local occupants. Inhabitants of the Upper Derwent, including the canons, were apparently removing wood from the king's woodlands for their own use, even though Forest Law and the terms of the grant to Welbeck Abbey forbade its removal. Such uses would have included wood for fuel, constructing and repairing buildings, and making hurdle fences. Trees were also being grubbed up to clear land for enclosure and its conversion to agricultural use. The Crown, or at least its local representatives in the form of the Forest officers, would want to reserve the wood for itself for two practical reasons: as browse and shelter for deer and as a source of materials/income. Acts of woodland destruction may also be seen as direct threats to royal authority. The woodlands, therefore, became a point of contention in the landscape between one level of land ownership, the Royal Forest, and various occupants of the valleys, who wanted access to the woods.

5.11 Lead Working

One of the uses of woodland in the Upper Derwent, beyond domestic fuel, fodder and building materials, was for fuelling industrial hearths (Illustration 5.2). At a 13th century lead-*melting* site in Howden Clough, wood had most likely been gathered from the surrounding clough (Appendix 10). Species present comprised predominantly oak, with birch and small amounts of hazel, hawthorn/rowan and wild/bird cherry typical of a semi-natural clough-side woodland. Slow tree-ring growth rates in the samples suggest that naturally occurring trees were used, rather than coppice stools or pollards, and the presence of bark indicates that it was used as raw fuel rather than as charcoal fuel. Oak may be over-represented as a preferred fuel. The hearth was located on a natural platform-like landslip, and was used either to produce useable objects from lead pigs or to recycle broken/unwanted objects (Photographs 5.5, 5.6).

Photograph 5.5. Landslip in Howden Clough used for lead working

The fire was set on the landslip surface within a simple stone hearth, and lead was melted either directly in the fire or within a container such as a crucible. The unstratified burnt deposit represents a single lead-working event and is the sole hearth identified on the landslip through excavation. Parts of two 13th century pottery vessels, lead waste and burnt gritstones were discovered within deposits consisting of charcoal fragments, ash and sands. One of the vessels is a Coal Measures ware and is typical of pottery found along the reservoir edges, while the other was of a previously unidentified fabric and potentially made within the valley (Beswick 1996).



Photograph 5.6. Howden Clough 13th century lead-working hearth

At Linch Clough, a hearth was constructed on a gently sloping shelf within the steep-sided clough in the mid-15th century (Photograph 5.7).

Photograph 5.7. Location of lead-working hearth in Linch Clough

Compared to Howden Clough, the lead-working site at Linch Clough is a much bigger operation (Illustration 5.6). The Linch Clough hearth was a simple sub-rectangular shallow scoop in the sloping clough-side measuring approximately 3.5m by 3.8m (Photograph 5.8). There was evidence for at least two operations and a narrow channel running below. Within the hearth were burnt stones, charcoal deposits, black and dark blue/green glassy slags, yellow-green lead 'glaze' attached to stones, lead and limestone. It was associated with dumps of industrial waste material, a sub-circular pit set on a

platform situated downslope and at least one other platform adjacent to the north. Archaeomagnetic dating of in situ stones from the base of the hearth showed that it was last used between AD 1430 and 1470 (Appendix 8).

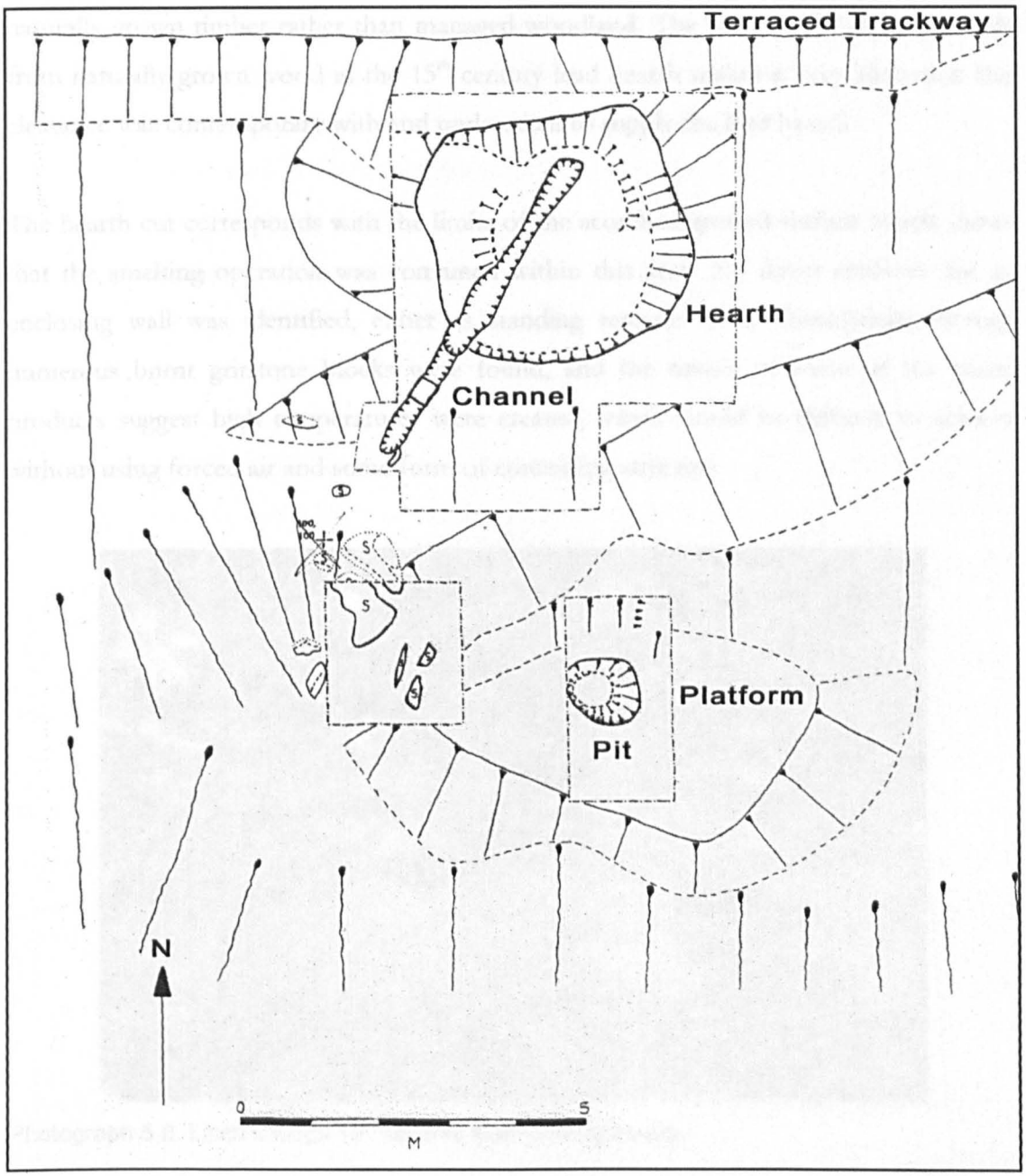


Illustration 5.6. Linch Clough Medieval lead-working hearth (excavated features overlain survey plan)

Again, oak dominated with small amounts of hazel and birch There were a number of large pieces of oak, mainly heartwood, gathered from naturally grown trees, rather than coppice stools or pollards. An absence of bark in the samples suggests that it was most likely used as charcoal fuel. It is likely that the charcoal was produced in Linch Clough

itself. There are several charcoal burning platforms on the north-facing side of Linch Clough. Senior's survey of 1627 and later maps show light scrub, then no woodland cover in the clough (Potter 1808; Ordnance Survey 1880). This suggests that charcoaling of woodland occurred before the early 17th century, and was made from clear-felling naturally grown timber rather than managed woodland. The presence of charcoal made from naturally grown wood in the 15th century lead hearth makes it very likely that this clearance was contemporary with and undertaken to supply the lead hearth.

The hearth cut corresponds with the limits of the scorched ground surface which shows that the smelting operation was contained within this area. No direct evidence for an enclosing wall was identified, either as standing remains or as foundations, though numerous burnt gritstone blocks were found, and the nature of some of the waste products suggest high temperatures were created, which would be difficult to achieve without using forced air and some form of containing structure.

Photograph 5.8. Linch Clough 15th century lead working hearth

Where the channel ran under the hearth, it was either an open cut when in operation or had a simple stone covering which has since been dispersed. The lack of scorching and industrial debris in the areas of the channel outside of the hearth, its obvious south-western terminal and slight rise in height shows that the channel was not for tapping smelted lead, as seen in lead hearths on Totley Bole Hill (Kiernan and van de Noort 1992). It may have been a flue designed to get air into and underneath the charge. The

deliberate continuation of the channel beyond both sides of the hearth would appear unnecessary to achieve this. It does appear as if the north-eastern end was not open to the air, quickly being buried under a significant depth of the rapidly rising northern clough-side. The semi-circular arrangement of stone, covering stone slab and eroded sections of channel immediately to the south-west of the hearth, suggests that this was a specific location for activity associated with the hearth. This may have been where there was a foot bellows. Though the nearby watercourse would imply the use of water-power, the water level only becomes higher than the hearth approximately 200m upstream, and around a bend. The stream would have been a good source of water for washing slags if this was a slag hearth.

Excavation found no evidence for a brick-built structure or anything to suggest that the process was an intentional slagging one. The traditional bole smelting technique utilized in Derbyshire is often criticised as inefficient, however, it seems the persistent use of this technique was not solely down to an inability to innovate. Salzman (1913) refers to a report of the Wexford mines in 1557, where a discussion of the best smelting technique is made. The report condemns Derbyshire boles as costly and unpredictable; however, concludes that a closed furnace requires that stamping and washing need more attention, labour costs are higher, due to the pain of the extreme heat, and fuel is a greater concern (ibid). Boles and furnaces reflect local working methods and the organisation of labour, rather than representing a simple evolutionary trajectory. Salzman (ibid) suggests that boles were replaced at an early date by forced draught furnaces using bellows, often driven by water mills such as that in Devon in 1295, whilst in Durham the foot pump was used in dry seasons (Page 1907, 349). The Linch Clough site probably represents a bole which used forced blast, rather than natural updraught.

Another one or two lead-working sites may have been in use during the medieval period, or the late 16th century at the latest (Illustration 5.2). A bole hearth is located on Lead Hill, overlooking the confluence of the Derwent and Ashop Rivers. While no earthworks of a furnace survive, slag and furnace material from lead smelting are visible within a discrete area of erosion. The location of the furnace on such an exposed place above a valley side is typical of bole hearths, which exploited the natural updraft to produce temperatures high enough for smelting to occur (Barnatt 1996b). Boles were used from at least the 12th century, and possibly earlier, until the late 16th century, when they were

replaced by ore hearths, using water or foot-powered bellows. The bole was also located within the monastic estate. The complex earthworks of a working site situated in the valley survive at Cold Side Oaks, and it is the largest of surviving sites identified to date. It includes three platforms, a lynchet, a leat, a quarry pit, a large area of heavy metal contaminated ground, and two patches of bare ground containing slag and charcoal fragments. The slag is visually identical to that found at Linch Clough. The site is situated at a break of slope on the valley side, with two of the platforms on steeper ground upslope of the remainder of the site. It could be medieval or post-medieval in date. Small concentrations of lead slag are also found within the draw-down zones of the reservoirs which suggest the locations for further lead-working sites. A recent fieldwalking discovery of iron bloomery slag near to the site of Abbey Farm may be yet another monastic industrial hearth (Peet 2002).

The four definite sites share in common locations set apart from settlements. This may have been for pragmatic reasons, related to keeping noxious fumes away from houses, proximity to fuel sources, and in the case of Lead Hill, to utilise the natural updraught of the south-west facing hill. This would also create a spatial and social distance from settlement for those operating the hearths, which would have been reinforced by the perception of danger involved in lead smelting. Beyond this, they are different in nature. The small hearth in Howden Clough was used only once to melt down existing objects, and may have been an opportunist use of local clough-side scrub while tending livestock. The numerous dumps of waste material at Linch Clough and the extensive structures built to operate hearths, both here and at Cold Side Oaks, indicate larger-scale operations where smelting was conducted a number of times. These three sites are atypical of known medieval lead smelting elsewhere in the region, which is characterised by the use of boles, as at Lead Hill, which were usually returned to every year (Barnatt 1996b).

Both of the excavated hearths date from the period when Welbeck Abbey had its large estate in the valley, and are located within the estate. Monasteries were greatly involved in industrial production due to the demands for resources at the monasteries themselves and on their granges. The locations of the Upper Derwent hearths at a distance from Crookhill grange and the preference of the Premonstratensian Order to let out land, rather than manage it directly, would suggest that lead was produced by tenants under the Abbey's auspices, rather than by its own labour force. The Abbey had large demands for

lead, to furnish the roof, cisterns and water pipes at Welbeck itself, and at its chapels in the locality. Its Upper Derwent estates could provide the fuel needed to work lead through the extensive woodlands on its estate, even if this meant taking wood from within the Royal Forest, as at Linch Clough, which was not rightly its to use. The lead ore had to come from elsewhere and Welbeck did not have any estates on the lead ore field of the limestone plateau. Another Premonstratensian Abbey, Dale of Stanley Park in eastern Derbyshire, did have a grange in the south-eastern part of the orefield (Barnatt and Smith 1997). The two abbeys were part of the Order's middle England circary, which was administered from Welbeck, so it is likely that at least some of the ore used in the Linch Clough hearth came from this other Premonstratensian grange. Other sources of ore would have required its purchase from other mine operators who, at this time, were often miner-farmers working small-scale operations (Barnatt 1996b).

5.12 Commons

Commons were open lands beyond the enclosed and cultivated land, over which tenants had various rights such as pasturing livestock, cutting peat (turbary), quarrying stone and collecting plants such as bracken, cranberries and brushwood. They were a typical component of medieval land-use, and extensive tracts of the upland moors of England were commons (Rackham 1986).

Rights to cut peat and pasture livestock on commons within the Royal Forest date to at least the 13th century (Cox 1905). In Derwent, Welbeck Abbey had been granted rights for common pasture of 80 cattle, but then gave up these rights in the mid-13th century in return for a valley meadow (Kirke 1925). Not all upland pasture was common. Pastures in Ashop were also recorded as part of the confirmation of the grant to Welbeck Abbey of land in Hope Woodlands, and at least one of these was used solely by Crookhill grange (Bagshaw 1869-70). As farmsteads were settled from the 13th century onwards some mechanism for using the upland pastures would have been created, at least when numbers of farms increased to a level where competition developed for the same upland pastures. The differing patterns of common or upland pasture use seen in the post-medieval periods would have originated in the medieval period. West of the River Derwent a specific, delimited, pasture was associated with each farmstead (Senior 1627). East of the river, Howden had access to the Bradfield commons, while the occupants of Derwent shared its pastures as common land, and also had access to Bradfield's

commons. A late 16th century dispute between Bradfield and Derwent states that the inhabitants of Derwent paid a yearly sum for entering the commons of Hallamshire (anon. 1574).

5.13 Communication Routes

Trackways were essential to the movement of people, livestock and goods between settlements in the two valleys and to fields, woodlands, commons and the world beyond. Many local routes connect farmsteads with the different parts of their farms, and these will be discussed in chapter 6. Packhorse routes were long-distance highways, which had developed over a long period of time and were used by right, in effect as common land (Hey 1980). Where they passed through enclosed land they were bounded lanes, their lines tightly demarcated on the ground to prevent trespassing onto private land and trampling of crops by livestock. On open commons, the routes often spread out as wide bands of eroded hollow-ways, created by the repetitive use, over generations, of the same approximate line. They often follow the most suitable topography between places in common communication. Such set routes would aid travellers to navigate across the relatively featureless moors, and avoid potential hazards such as bogs and cliffs. Manorial landowners became responsible for the maintenance of highways after the passing of the Statute of Winchester in 1285 (ibid). If a route became impassable, the landowner had to replace it with another beside it, and in return could charge tolls on those from outside their manor wanting to transport goods.

I have already discussed the relationship between the Derwent to Sheffield packhorse route and Derwent hamlet (see section 5.7). It is one of three long-distance packhorse routes crossing the Upper Derwent that have medieval origins (Illustration 5.2). The 'common way which leads from Sheffield to Derwent' was later recorded as the 'hyghewaye leadynge frome Stanyngton to Darwen' in 1581 (Ward 1922. Photograph 5.9).

Photograph 5.9. The line of the Derwent to Sheffield commonway as it approaches Derwent Edge across Derwent Moor from the east

Most of its route can be traced on the ground as braided hollow-ways or raised causeways, especially on Derwent Moors, and as a ford of stone blocks laid within Highshaw Clough. As well as the hollow-ways that define its three separate branches descending into the Derwent Valley, via Millbrook, Grindle Clough and Ladybower Gorge, parts of its route on moorland are evident as embanked causeways, stone paving and further hollow-ways. The Millbrook route passed through Derwent hamlet to cross the River Derwent via a bridge built, or rebuilt, in the 13th century by Welbeck Abbey (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It then crossed the watershed between the Derwent and Woodlands valleys to join with Doctor's Gate. The Ladybower Gorge route may have crossed the River Derwent via Yorkshire Bridge to continue towards Hope, as well as leading south along the east side of the river towards Bamford.

Doctor's Gate is first recorded in 1627 as 'Docto Talbotes Gate' (Cameron 1959; Hey 1980). Doctor Talbot was an illegitimate son of the Earl of Shrewsbury (who had a castle at Sheffield) and vicar of Glossop between 1491 and 1550; he was responsible for the family landholdings in the Glossop area, acquired after the Dissolution of the monasteries (Byford 1981; Dodd and Dodd 1980). He regularly travelled between Glossop and Sheffield, and presumably his name was attached to the route because he undertook its maintenance as a major communication route connecting family lands. It

connected Hope and Glossop via the Woodlands Valley by, reputedly, following the line of a Roman road thought to connect the forts at Brough and Melandra (see section 4.6.3). The route is clearly defined as a series of braided hollow-ways and metalled terraced trackways along the Woodlands Valley and as a paved route on Alport Moor. From the Hope Valley, it crosses over into the valley from the south via Crookstone Hill, and takes a diagonal line across the valley side to cross the River Ashop near to the confluence of the Ashop and the River Alport. It then gradually climbs the other side of the valley to follow an approximate contour between 350 and 380m O.D. before crossing over Alport Moor and into Glossop.

The third route is known as Cut Gate or Cart Gate, and the earliest record of it dates to 1571 (Dodd and Dodd 1980). It connects the Upper Derwent with Penisale, near Penistone, where there was a market that was given a charter in 1290 (Ward 1927b). The name may imply the use of carts along the route but the topography it crosses makes the use of wheeled-vehicles highly unlikely. Sleds with runners may have been used, as well as packhorses, and 'cart' could actually be a derivation of 'cartage' - to carry. They are recorded as being used in other upland areas such as Cumbria (Bevan et al 1990), and were used locally for bringing peat and probably stone down to farmsteads from the moors (anon. 1679). The trackway ascends the moorland from the north-west via Margery Hill, then descends into Derwent Valley as a zig-zag braided hollow-way via Cranberry Clough, before crossing the River Derwent via a ford at Slippery Stones.

These packhorse routes were the networks along which inhabitants of the Upper Derwent communicated with the wider world. The locations and destinations of the packhorse routes structured the ways these wider connections were made. Access to markets and communication with the manorial centres would have been two of the most important aspects of the use and orientation of the long-distance routes across the landscape. They all ran to nearby towns with market charters dating to the 13th and 14th centuries; Sheffield - 1296, Penisale (near Penistone) - 1290, Wortley (near Stocksbridge) - 1307 and Glossop - 1290. The packhorse route to Hope also gave access to markets in the neighbouring towns of Tideswell - 1251 and Castleton - 1223. The routes enabled movement of agricultural produce for sale and access to other goods sold at the markets, such as pottery vessels. These routes also connected the area with the centres of the three manors that include the Upper Derwent: Hallamshire, Hathersage and Hope. The dead

would have been carried to the parish churches at Bradfield, Hathersage and Hope prior to the dedication of a graveyard at Derwent hamlet in the 19th century.

A branch of the Sheffield route was located in relation to Derwent hamlet, where the area's corn mill was located. It would have been used by Welbeck Abbey's canons to travel to and from their Upper Derwent estate, approximately 40km distant, via Beauchief Abbey. Along the routeway came the Abbey's reaves to check on the running of the estate, while produce, rents and possibly lead were taken away. The route to Hope also enabled communication between the other granges of the Premonstratensians, which were located on the limestone plateau, and it is most likely along this route that lead ore was brought for smelting. News would have also been brought into the area by people, many likely to be strangers, coming to the valleys, or passing through from one distant destination to another.

5.14 Medieval Endings

5.14.1 Disafforestation

Within the Royal Forest of the Peak, the conflict between the interests of maintaining the deer herd and pasturing livestock reached a head in 1526. In this year a Royal Commission was set up to investigate the matter, including the dangers to deer of the overgrazing of grass by cattle and sheep (Cox 1905). Witnesses reported to the commission that there were five herds of cattle numbering 903 beasts and 4,000 sheep, which were increases on the past. During the following years tenants within the Forest made depositions to the Crown that officers of the Forest were stealing sheep. The same officers were variously accused of damaging the king's woods, murder, releasing prisoners for bribes and stealing furniture from Peveril Castle (ibid).

During the reign of Elizabeth I disputes over the respective rights of deer and livestock intensified. Encroachment throughout the Forest led to its reduction in size to an area of land equivalent to that of the present Peak Forest parish (anon. 1639). A wall was built in 1579 to demarcate and attempt preservation of this last remnant of the Royal Forest with the exclusion of livestock for deer (Anderson and Shimwell 1981). The remainder of the Forest, including Hope Woodlands, was still officially under Forest Law where deer were allowed to compete with livestock. This untenable position was resolved in 1674 when the Forest was finally disafforested (ibid). This meant taking the land out of Forest Law

on the orders of the Crown, so officially abolishing the Royal Forest of the Peak and removing protection of the deer and their habitats.

5.14.2 Dissolution of the Monasteries

The 16th century was also a time of major change for Welbeck Abbey. Crookhill grange had already been let out to a tenant and the other farmsteads continued in rental. When Henry VIII broke with Rome in 1533 as a result of his argument with the Pope over his divorce of Catherine, he set in train a series of events which would lead to the Reformation, Dissolution of the monasteries and the reorganisation of land ownership in the Upper Derwent. Thomas Cromwell, the king's chief minister, acted quickly to claim monastic wealth and prevent Catholicism from returning by dissolving all the monasteries and abbeys of England between 1536 and 1540. Their land was first controlled by the Crown before being turned over to secular ownership in a complex rush of land claims and intermarriages (Aston 2000).

5.15 Discussion

During the medieval period we see the emergence of a framework for the physical organisation of the landscape until the inundation of the valley by the Derwent Valley Water Board in the early 20th century – the dispersed farmsteads, irregular walled enclosures, valley-side woodlands, open moorlands, communication routes and Derwent hamlet. This landscape developed in relation to the manorial system that characterised later medieval England, as well as in relation to two specific forms of landholding: the Crown-owned Royal Forest and the monastic estate. Both of these latter two landowning structures are commonly found in the uplands and in other areas geographically distant from major population and manorial centres.

Villages and associated common fields were absent from medieval Upper Derwent. These were present in much of the rest of the Peak District and dominated most of the limestone plateau to the near complete exclusion of isolated farmsteads. Instead, the area fits into a broad pattern of dispersed settlement which dominated the north, west and south-east of England in the medieval period; while villages with open fields were prevalent in much of the East, the Midlands and part of the south coast (Rackham 1986). However, open fields were extensive in many parts of the geographical regions dominated by dispersed settlement, even in upland valleys such as those of the Lake

District (Bevan et al 1990; Williamson 2003). Williamson has pointed out that there was not a simple division of England into open-field and non-open-field landscapes, and that there was a great deal of variability of settlement and field patterns within the basic dichotomy between dispersed and nucleated. If nucleation with open fields and dispersal with enclosed fields lie at the opposite ends of a settlement pattern spectrum, then the Upper Derwent fully lies at the dispersal end. Finds of 15th-century ceramic tablewares at a number of farmsteads, indicates that some inhabitants of the Upper Derwent were engaging with geographically widespread changes in social aspirations associated with the materiality of dining. Local variability, as identified by the absence or presence of tablewares at farmsteads, suggests that even a small, remote upland landscape such as the Upper Derwent was neither a backwater without engagement with wider social trends, or that there was a simple one-way relationship where the 'broader' was passively accepted by the 'local'.

Agriculture gave a geographic and temporal pattern to the occupation of the landscape. The year was structured by the seasonal demands of birth and sowing in the spring, pasturing and growing over summer, harvesting and culling in autumn and overwintering and dormancy in winter. Other activities were worked around these, such as the provision of winter fodder by collecting hay or browse from trees. Woodlands, reserved for the king in what was one of many Royal Forests in England, dominated the valleys, and were diminished as enclosure encroached upon them. There is no evidence for the development of wood pasture, and it seems that livestock were meant to be excluded from the woodlands of the Royal Forest. The higher ground was peat moorland, designated as commons, over which tenants had rights such as pasturing livestock and cutting peat. These three major elements of the landscape not only provided resources for landowners and tenants but also were important in the formation of social identities through their everyday use and claims to access. This is a point I will return to discuss more fully in the following chapters, where the evidence is more comprehensive.

This landscape was to some extent broadly typical of the High Peak area north of the Hope Valley. The other major High Peak valleys, Edale and Longdendale, also consist of dispersed settlement associated with irregular enclosures and moorland common. Within this dispersed settlement zone there is variety, with different areas having distinct medieval histories. Taking Edale as an example, settlement was in existence by the late

11th century and was listed in Domesday as a berewick or outlying farm of the manor of Hope (Morgan 1978). Between 1199 and 1216, at least five vaccaries, known as Booths, were established by the Crown (Barnatt 1993). Comparable to granges, these were specialist cattle farms. They were located along Edale's south-facing slopes but also held the land on the north-facing slopes, where it is thought the development of individual farmsteads and the enclosure of fields did not occur until the post-medieval period (ibid). The Edale settlement and field pattern is similar to that of the Upper Derwent, comprising dispersed farmsteads situated in the Royal Forest, with new settlements created in the 12th century. However, there are also a number of differences. It was all within the Royal Forest, there was 11th century occupation, and the vaccaries were created directly by the Crown rather than merely allowed to happen. The wider expanse of valley-bottom land in Edale comprised a greater amount of heavy, water-retaining soil suitable for pasture, and was originally enclosed with hedges rather than walls; there appears not to have been extensive woodland (ibid). Above this were mostly open cow pastures, which were enclosed only in the post-medieval period (ibid).

The inclusion of land west of the River Derwent within the Royal Forest of the Peak from the 11th century, and Welbeck Abbey's ownership of all or most of the area from the 13th century, greatly influenced the land-use of the area, and structured how the landscape developed during the medieval period. These set the official framework for settlement and how land could be used. The interactions between these structures of land ownership and inhabitation through land-tenanting created patterns of land-use that have structured the occupation and perception of the Upper Derwent landscape until the 20th century. Landowners and tenants both wanted something from the landscape. The place of woodlands in the medieval Forest is a good example. The Crown, through the officers of the Royal Forest, wanted to maintain woodland to provide cover and food for deer and other wild game to be served at royal banquets or bestowed as gifts. The Crown also harvested timber for building work. Preserving the Forest was ultimately bound up with the Crown authority and maintenance of its social position. However, the Crown also enabled settlement in the Forest. First the royal family granted land to Welbeck Abbey and then the Forest officers allowed the buildings and enclosures of settlers to remain upon payment of a rent, hidden under the nomenclature of a 'fine'. In such a Forest landscape, dispersed settlement made the least impact, and so was preferred by settlers, and by the Forest officers. Those trying to sustain livelihoods by farming in the Forest

then regularly and progressively damaged the Forest woodland by clearing it to make way for fields, allowing livestock to compete with game and taking wood for fuel and buildings. This resulted in a pattern of isolated farmsteads associated with small, enclosed fields, which were intermingled with woodland blocks that can be seen in Senior's 1627 survey of Hope Woodlands township.

Between the 13th and early 17th centuries the landscape had changed dramatically. In the 13th century there appears to be some moorland pasture and an enclosed meadow, both of which were probably used by people from villages elsewhere in the large manors that incorporated parts of the Upper Derwent within their bounds, such as Bamford, Hope and Hathersage. Aside from those, the valleys were dominated by woodland. The granting of land to Welbeck Abbey was coincidental or the spur for wider colonisation of the area. Alongside the Abbey's two granges at Crookhill and One Man's House, at least nine other farmsteads were settled in the 13th century. This began a sequence of settlement, enclosure, land improvement and woodland clearance, which continued into the post-medieval period. The Abbey began by running its grange at Crookhill directly, but by the early 15th century had let it out to a tenant whose family remained there until the 19th century. Derwent developed as a hamlet during this time, though its origins possibly lie in the 10th century or before. It became an important locale in the Upper Derwent for milling corn, worship and communicating with the wider world. In the 16th century, the new landowners inherited a land which had been closely managed and given its administrative shape over the preceding three centuries. As well as farms, improved land in the valleys, managed woodlands and extensive moorland commons, they acquired a small hamlet, at least two chapels, a bridge across the River Derwent and a mill.