

**THE NEOLITHIC OF THE PEAK DISTRICT:
A LEFEBVRIAN SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY APPROACH TO SPATIAL ANALYSIS**

by

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I construct, implement and evaluate a Lefebvrian model of space and society suitable for archaeology, using the Neolithic Peak District as my case study. Archaeologists have largely overlooked the work of French Marxist philosopher and social theorist Henri Lefebvre or come to it second-hand, meaning that his dialectical model of the production of space has never been used to understand prehistoric society. My thesis demonstrates the value to archaeology of such an approach by applying Lefebvre's three-part dialectical model of the production of space to the monuments and landscape of the Neolithic Peak. In doing so, it challenges simplistic binary readings of social space, replacing them with a Lefebvrian social geography approach to space. Not only does this reveal previously hidden facets of Neolithic society and architecture in the Peak, but my research also provides the first detailed study of this subject in some years. It highlights inter-regional connections between the Peak and other parts of the UK, and illustrates the sheer wealth and diversity of Neolithic monuments in the region, which until now have been sorely neglected. One of its central achievements is to introduce the 'cross-fertilisation' monument as a novel class of structure, with a particular architectural history and significance. Avoiding the erroneous pre-structuring of reality common to modern Western thought, and offering in its place a philosophy of internal relations, my thesis makes an important contribution to archaeology's ongoing rethinking of the relationships between space and society.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures	iv
List of Tables	viii

Chapter One: Archaeology, Space and Society

1.1	Rethinking Space and Society	1
1.1.1	<i>Henri Lefebvre: Life and Contribution</i>	2
1.1.2	<i>A Lefebvrian spatial model for archaeology?</i>	6
1.2	Archaeology, Geography and Space	9
1.2.1	<i>Shared Problems in Approaches to Space</i>	10
1.2.2	<i>Summary: Archaeology, Dichotomy and Spatial Analysis</i>	15
1.3	Research Design	17

Chapter Two: Developing a Spatial Dialectical Model of the Production of Space

2.1	Calibrating Space and Society	22
2.1.1	<i>The Social and Spatial Turns in the Social Sciences</i>	22
2.1.2	<i>The Social Construction of Space</i>	25
2.1.3	<i>Lefebvre and Thirdspace/ third-way perspectives</i>	28
2.1.4	<i>Summary</i>	30
2.2	Understanding Lefebvrian Spatial Dialectics	31
2.2.1	<i>'Production' in The Production of Space</i>	32
2.2.2	<i>Dialectical Philosophy and Method</i>	36
2.2.3	<i>Using Lefebvre's Spatial Dialectics</i>	40
2.2.4	<i>Summary: A Revised Model of Lefebvre's Spatial Theory</i>	44

Chapter Three: The Neolithic Peak District: An Introduction

3.1	Landscape: Physical Geography, Ecology and Society	47
3.2	Monuments: Classification, Chronology and Distribution	53
3.2.1	<i>Understanding the Neolithic Data Set</i>	53

3.2.2	<i>The Earlier Neolithic Period, c. 4000- c. 3000 cal. BC</i>	56
3.2.3	<i>The Later Neolithic Period, c. 3000- c. 2200 cal. BC</i>	78
3.3	Revised Chronological Framework	91
3.3.1	<i>The Earlier Neolithic Period, c. 4000- c. 3300 cal. BC</i>	91
3.3.2	<i>The Later Neolithic Period, c. 3300- c. 2400 cal. BC</i>	92
3.3.3	<i>Summary of Revised Chronology</i>	93

Chapter Four: Implementing the Model

4.1	Introduction: Theory and Data	95
4.2	Socio-Spatial Questions and Data	95
4.2.1	<i>Social-Spatial Practices and Everyday Practical Spaces</i>	97
4.2.2	<i>Representations of Space: Symbol, Culture, Cosmology</i>	104
4.2.3	<i>Spaces of Representation: the Socialising Role of Ritual and Ceremony</i>	114
4.3	Spatial Analysis and Interpretation: Key Themes and Issues	118

Chapter Five: The Earlier Neolithic Period, c. 4000- c. 3300 cal. BC

5.1	Social-Spatial Practice	122
5.1.1	<i>Social Cores and Monumental Spaces</i>	122
5.1.2	<i>Movement and Orientation</i>	135
5.1.3	<i>Summary</i>	152
5.2	Representations of Space	153
5.2.1	<i>Closed Chambered Cairns</i>	153
5.2.2	<i>Earthen Long Barrows</i>	158
5.2.3	<i>Cross-Fertilisation Period Monuments</i>	163
5.3	Spaces of Representation	167
5.3.1	<i>Special Places and Social Distance</i>	167
5.3.2	<i>Closed Chambered Cairns and Earthen Long Barrows</i>	172
5.3.3	<i>Funerary Rites and Ancestral Rites</i>	175
5.3.4	<i>Overview</i>	178

Chapter Six: The Later Neolithic Period, c. 3300- c. 2400 cal. BC

6.1	Social-Spatial Practice	182
6.1.1	<i>Social Cores and Monumental Spaces</i>	187
6.1.2	<i>Movement and Orientation</i>	192
6.1.3	<i>Summary</i>	202
6.2	Representations of Space	203
6.2.1	<i>The Enlargement of Chambered Mounds</i>	203
6.2.2	<i>The Henges</i>	209
6.3	Spaces of Representation	219
6.3.1	<i>Large Funerary Mounds and Henges</i>	219
6.3.2	<i>The Local and Regional</i>	223
6.3.3	<i>Overview</i>	229

Chapter Seven: Conclusions and New Directions

7.1	Neolithic Society in the Peak District	232
7.1.1	<i>Earlier Neolithic Society</i>	232
7.1.2	<i>Later Neolithic Society</i>	243
7.1.3	<i>Achievements of My Lefebvrian Approach</i>	250
7.2	Evaluation of My Lefebvrian Model	252
7.2.1	<i>Space and Society: A ‘Three Part’ Dialectic?</i>	252
7.2.2	<i>My Model of Lefebvrian “Production”</i>	254
7.2.3	<i>Going Beyond Post-Processual Approaches</i>	256
7.2.4	<i>Continuing to Think About Space and Society</i>	259

Bibliography	261
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FIGURES

Fig. 1.1	Two post-processual engagements with Cartesian rationalism.	10
Fig. 1.2	The dichotomies of space and place in structural-symbolic approaches.	12
Fig. 1.3	Distribution map of menhirs in Brittany.	16
Fig. 1.4	A symbolic-structuralist interpretation of the Late Neolithic to Bronze Age landscape around Stonehenge.	17
Fig. 2.1	Central Place Theory as deployed to Southern Germany.	24
Fig. 2.2	Illustration from <i>Harpers</i> magazine in 1876 documenting the contemporary ‘Vagrant Threat’.	27
Fig. 2.3	Soja’s Trilectics.	30
Fig. 2.4	Milgrom’s schematic of Lefebvre’s ‘conceptual triad’.	33
Fig. 2.5	Untitled sketch from <i>The Production of Space</i> .	34
Fig. 2.6	Representation of Table 2.3 as an intellectual process.	40
Fig. 2.7	Schematic depiction of my model of Lefebvre’s theory of the production of space.	46
Fig. 3.1	Location map of the Peak District in Britain.	48
Fig. 3.2	The physical geography of the Peak District with emphasis on areas suitable for settlement and cultivation.	49
Fig. 3.3	Elevation map of the Peak District, highlighting the local rivers and the limestone plateau.	50
Fig. 3.4	The two buildings and other features at Lismore Fields.	52
Fig. 3.5	The classification, chronology and distribution of Neolithic period sites and monuments in two recent syntheses.	54
Fig. 3.6	The Middle Neolithic period, based on Loveday and Barclay (2010) and my discussion in this section.	55
Fig. 3.7	The Earlier Neolithic period sites and monuments in the Peak District.	57
Fig. 3.8	The chambers of two Peak District closed chambered cairns.	61
Fig. 3.9	Four examples of simple passage grave-type chambered cairns.	63
Fig. 3.10	Sample of the Peak’s long barrow-forms.	67
Fig. 3.11	The orientations of the Peak District long barrows.	69
Fig. 3.12	Comparison between chambered long barrows from the Midlands and Cotswold-Severn region, emphasising shared chronology and features.	71
Fig. 3.13	Three Earlier Neolithic monuments from the Midlands with flat façades.	73
Fig. 3.14	The façade-like revetment wall and horned forecourt at Parc le Breos Cwm (Gower).	77
Fig. 3.15	The Later Neolithic period sites and monuments in the Peak District.	79
Fig. 3.16	Barnatt’s four ‘certain’ great barrows.	81
Fig. 3.17	Mortimer’s 1905 sketch of Duggleby Howe showing the correspondence between the inhumations and the modest primary mound.	82
Fig. 3.18	Location map of the henges of the British Isles.	87
Fig. 3.19	Four Classic henges.	89
Fig. 3.20	The Yorkshire henges, including Ferrybridge.	90
Fig. 4.1	The Monyash Basin TCZ viewed from Arbor Low henge.	98
Fig. 4.2	Lathkill Dale limestone gorge, Monyash.	98
Fig. 4.3	Map of the Peak District showing the distribution of monuments with respect to basic physical geography and other features discussed in the text.	100
Fig. 4.4	An aerial photograph of the central limestone plateau south of the Wye valley, looking southerly.	101
Fig. 4.5	The location of Ringham Low with respect to Lathkill Dale limestone gorge.	102
Fig. 4.6	The approximate location of the now destroyed monument at Harborough Rocks.	105
Fig. 4.7	Some of the many limestone outcrops near Five Wells.	107

Fig. 4.8	The view of Harborough Rocks from the stone settings of Green Low, looking south south-east.	107
Fig. 4.9	Map showing the locations of caves and rockshelters in which Neolithic artefacts and human remains have been found	109
Fig. 4.10	Rites of passage conceived as a total ritual process.	116
Fig. 4.11	The distribution and aggregation of the Peak District's Neolithic monuments.	117
Fig. 4.12	Graph comparing the distribution and settings of all Neolithic period sites to those of the Earlier Neolithic, Cross-fertilisation and Later Neolithic period sites.	121
Fig. 5.1	Map showing the Earlier Neolithic sites and monuments analysed in this chapter, and other sites referred to in the text.	123
Fig. 5.2	Graph comparing the distribution and settings of all 24 Earlier Neolithic sites to those of the Cross-fertilisation period.	126
Fig. 5.3	Graph comparing the distribution and settings of three classes of Earlier Neolithic funerary monument.	126
Fig. 5.4	The landscape settings of two long barrow-form monuments in the Peak District.	129
Fig. 5.5	Map of the Earlier Neolithic period monuments and landscapes at the north-west plateau-edge.	131
Fig. 5.6	The settings of two closed chambered cairns.	132
Fig. 5.7	Detail from a 1:50000 scale map of the Earlier Neolithic period monuments and landscapes around Minninglow Hill.	133
Fig. 5.8	Map recording patterns of monument relationships in the Earlier Neolithic period.	136
Fig. 5.9	Graph comparing patterns of monument relationships in the Earlier Neolithic period.	138
Fig. 5.10	The distinctive profile of Minninglow Hill looking southwest from a point half-way between it and Green Low.	140
Fig. 5.11	Map of the Early Neolithic monuments and other sites of the Astonfield Shelf and the south-western plateau.	141
Fig. 5.12	Map of the Lathkill Valley and surrounding area in the Earlier Neolithic period.	143
Fig. 5.13	Patterns of inter-visibility associated with Minninglow Hill and the southern plateau-edge.	147
Fig. 5.14	An aerial view of the sites of the Astonfield shelf.	148
Fig. 5.15	Pie chart of the twelve monuments that may have been sited in deliberate isolation from other monuments, identifying their specific type.	151
Fig. 5.16	The proposed core structuring principals of special places in the earliest Neolithic Peak District.	157
Fig. 5.17	Graph displaying the relative proportions in percentages and number of examples of earthen- and chambered-type long barrow-forms at each of the distributions and settings considered in Figure 5.3	160
Fig. 5.18	Pie chart comparing the landscape settings of the Peak District's nine earthen long barrows.	160
Fig. 5.19	Graph comparing the relative importance for the Cross-fertilisation phase monuments of selected patterns of distributions and settings, to those of east, south-east and southern terrain and architecture.	164
Fig. 5.20	In the foreground and top right are some of the distinctive terrace-like rock outcrops that encircle Minninglow Hill.	168
Fig. 5.21	Map of the Earlier Neolithic sites and landscape features around the southern plateau.	169
Fig. 5.22	Map of the Lathkill Valley and surrounding area in the Earlier Neolithic period interpreted with a potential processional route.	171

Fig. 5.23	Plan of the pre-cairn structures at Tideslow.	172
Fig. 5.24	The eastern stone settings at Five Wells viewed from the centre of the mound.	176
Fig. 5.25	Green Low simple passage grave-type cairn, showing features discussed in the text.	176
Fig. 6.1	Map showing the Later Neolithic period sites, and other sites referred to in the text, in relation to Barnatt's (1996b) ceremonial complexes.	183
Fig. 6.2	Graph comparing the distribution and settings of Later Neolithic period monuments to the chambered mounds of the Earlier Neolithic and Cross-fertilisation periods.	186
Fig. 6.3	Graph comparing the distribution and settings of the following Later Neolithic monuments: certain great barrows, other large mounds, all large funerary mounds, henges, and Liffs Low.	186
Fig. 6.4	Map of the Later Neolithic period landscapes and monuments at the north-west plateau-edge.	191
Fig. 6.5	Map recording patterns of monument relationships in the Later Neolithic Peak District with respect to monument clusters, landscape features and other sites.	194
Fig. 6.6	The landscape setting of Liffs Low.	195
Fig. 6.7	Map of the Neolithic monuments and other sites of the south-western plateau.	196
Fig. 6.8	Map of the Lathkill Valley and surrounding area in the Later Neolithic period with the processional route interpreted in Chapter 5 shown.	197
Fig. 6.9	Ordnance survey map with the 350-360m contours highlighted in green.	200
Fig. 6.10	Bull Ring looking towards the south causeway from mid-way between the henge and the satellite barrow.	200
Fig. 6.11	The internal space, ditch-edge, solstice stones, circle and cove at Arbor Low.	201
Fig. 6.12	An example of rock art at Newgrange passage grave, Boyne Valley, Ireland.	204
Fig. 6.13	An interpretation of the position of the carved stone found at the site of Pierowall passage grave.	204
Fig. 6.14	The rock art of the Peak District.	205
Fig. 6.15	Symmetry and asymmetry in the Peak District's henges.	211
Fig. 6.16	A reconstruction of the stones within the northern and southern causeways, viewed from inside the circle.	212
Fig. 6.17	The internal features at Arbor Low.	214
Fig. 6.18	A speculative reconstruction plan of the cove at Arbor Low with seven standing stones showing how the four solar alignments intersect at Stones 52 and 53.	214
Fig. 6.19	Ordnance survey map of the Arbor Low area.	216
Fig. 6.20	Arbor Low henge and the northern tilt of its landscape setting, seen from Gib Hill.	217
Fig. 6.21	The interior space of Arbor Low viewed from the western bank.	217
Fig. 6.22	The banks of Mayburgh henge, seen from the south.	221
Fig. 6.23	Views through Arbor Low henge from within the stone circle, looking south.	226
Fig. 6.24	One of the possible ritualised uses of space within Arbor Low henge.	226
Fig. 6.25	The two Midwinter solstices and south-eastern causeway at Arbor Low.	228
Fig. 7.1	Looking north-west from the entrance of Fox Hole Cave.	234
Fig. 7.2	Sunrise at Five Wells, seen through the portal stones of the east-facing setting.	238
Fig. 7.3	An ethnographic model of aboriginal peoples' 'ownership of places and location of estates' around Uluru .	241

TABLES

Table 1.1	A summary of the philosophical and spatial strands of Lefebvre's <i>The Production of Space</i> from a dialectical philosophical perspective.	5
Table 2.1	Exploring the links between society and space.	23
Table 2.2	The basic structure of Lefebvre's three-fold spatial dialectic.	32
Table 2.3	My working model of the basic structure and internal relations of Lefebvre's three-fold spatial dialectic.	35
Table 3.1	The Earlier Neolithic data set and basic monument classifications.	58-59
Table 3.2	The dimensions of the Peak District's chambered funerary monuments.	62
Table 3.3	The Peak District's long barrow-forms.	66
Table 3.4	Monuments interpreted as 'cross-fertilisation period' structures.	76
Table 3.5	The Later Neolithic data set and basic monument classifications, arranged alphabetically.	78
Table 3.6	The Peak District henges in national and regional context.	86
Table 4.1	The relationship between the terminology used in Chapter 3 and socio-spatial activities appropriate to the Neolithic Peak District.	96
Table 4.2	Caves and Rockshelters in which Neolithic artefacts and human remains have been found	110-112
Table 5.1	The distributions and settings of Earlier Neolithic sites in the Peak District.	124-125
Table 5.2	The approximate elevations above sea-level of the Peak District's Earlier Neolithic funerary monuments and great barrows.	127
Table 5.3	Table recording patterns of monument relationships in the Earlier Neolithic Peak District, identifying the individual class of monument and four specific relationships.	137
Table 5.4	Patterns of monument's inter-visibility and distance in the Peak District, with particular reference to Long Low, Minninglow Hill and Bostern.	144
Table 5.5	Table comparing the closed chambered cairns and pre-monument structures mentioned in the text against that period's potential core structuring principles.	156
Table 5.6	A summary of the landscape settings and compass orientations of the Peak District's earthen long barrows.	161
Table 5.7	Table comparing the Cross-fertilisation period sites to the distributions and settings of the closed chambered cairns proposed as core structuring principals in Section 5.2.1.	166
Table 6.1	The distribution and settings of Neolithic sites in four phases of monument building relevant to the Later Neolithic period.	184-185
Table 6.2	The approximate elevations above sea-level of the Peak District's Later Neolithic funerary and ceremonial monuments.	187
Table 6.3	The actual and estimated extents of the enlargements projects at seven Later Neolithic period mounds.	207

CHAPTER 1

ARCHAEOLOGY, SPACE AND SOCIETY

Once deciphered, a landscape or a monument refers us back to a creative capacity and to a signifying process ... [N]o individual or entity may be considered ultimately responsible for production itself: such responsibility may be attributed only to a social reality capable of investing a space

(Lefebvre [1974] 1991: 115).

1.1 RETHINKING SPACE AND SOCIETY

The above quote comes from *The Production of Space* by the French Marxist philosopher and social theorist Henri Lefebvre, whose theories are viewed with increasing interest by social scientists today (Blake 2004). Lefebvre's work urges us to rethink the traditionally conceived binary relationship between space as assemblages of passive, material objects with synchronous meanings and affordances, and 'society' as space's subject. The issue at the heart of Lefebvre's spatial thought is that, from this 'commonsense' conception, one side of the dichotomy is held to be 'ultimately responsible for production itself' (1991: 115). Either social subjects are defined by their relationships to their material environment (an object/subject dichotomy), or space is conceptualised as an outcome and index of society (a material/ideal dichotomy; see Lefebvre 1991: 1-7). Lefebvre's (1991: 38-9) answer to dichotomy is the introduction of a third term – 'the lived' or historically definite socio-cultural experience – which 'resolves the conflict between the previous two, without being reducible to either' (Elden 2004: 187). To all appearances, what Lefebvre proposes is a simple, practical three-fold methodology through which 'physical, mental and cultural aspects of spatial arrangements ... can be analysed one by one' (Singleton 2001: 104). However, as Singleton (*ibid.*) goes on to say, the components of Lefebvre's analysis 'ultimately work together in a three-part dialectic', which is a rather more complex intellectual arrangement than may at first be supposed.

In my thesis I explore the potential contribution of Lefebvre's spatial theory to archaeology through a close examination of Lefebvre's work and reputation with the aim of constructing, implementing and evaluating a Lefebvrian model of space and society suitable for archaeology. In this introductory section, I explain further why the relationship between space and society needs rethinking, how geographers have attempted to do this, and why I

regard Lefebvre's work as a positive contribution to this process and to archaeologists' interpretations of prehistoric societies.

1.1.1 Henri Lefebvre: Life and contribution

Henri Lefebvre (1901-91) was a major figure of the twentieth century European left, best known for his original works on dialectics, Marxism, Modernity, urbanism and everyday life (see Shields 1999 for a full biography, and Harvey 1991 for a shorter introduction). In his long life and career as a professor of philosophy (1930-41) and sociology (1961-73), and as a Marxist intellectual both inside and outside the French Communist Party (member of the *PCF* 1928-1958), Lefebvre critically engaged with existentialism and phenomenology (Merleau-Ponty, Sartre and Heidegger), and structuralism, post-structuralism and structural-Marxism (especially Lévi-Strauss, Foucault and Althusser). Lefebvre was the author of around seventy book-length studies of these movements and individuals.

These aspects of Lefebvre's career are significant for two reasons. Firstly, post-processual archaeologies are indebted to perspectives from these philosophies and individual thinkers, and so Lefebvre potentially has something to contribute towards our understanding of each. Secondly, Lefebvre did not merely dismiss approaches he found to be unsatisfactory; 'he always engages with them in order to appropriate and transform the insights to be gained from them in new and creative ways' (Harvey 1991: 431). A thinker who refused disciplinary boundaries (Elden 2004: 4), 'there are many, many "Lefebvres"' (Shields 1999: 1). These facets of Lefebvre's career make his thought particularly rich and lend *The Production of Space* a relevance that touches upon a wide range of current archaeological theory. For the purposes of this thesis I focus upon the Lefebvre who was concerned with social space, a three-part dialectical approach to the space-society relationship, and for whom 'production' was a key concept.

From space to social space

Lefebvre (1991: 115) recognises that space has a three-fold 'commonsense' significance in our everyday lives and in our academic reflections. I use Roman numerals deliberately to show these as points of departure in Lefebvre's thinking:

- I) In the perception of the physical and material world, for example, 'monuments' and 'landscapes'; i.e. the distribution of things, selves and others in space.
- II) In conceptual, intellectual and linguistic terms that signify and communicate

information about space; i.e. the exchange of knowledge about space (I), meaningful places, etc.

- III) In social relations in which groups and individuals make and re-make, share and struggle over the spaces they need and desire; that is, society as a creative capacity and context for (I) and (II).

In the opening passages of *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre (1991: 1-7) argues that the core dichotomies made by Cartesian philosophy (body/mind, material/ideal, object/subject) continue to dominate modern Western thought. It is here that Lefebvre's Marxist philosophy and spatial thought come to the fore when he calls into question both the adequacy and the politics of commonsense understandings of space. This stance is further evident in the following quotes:

The quasi-logical presupposition of an identity between mental space and real space creates an abyss between the mental sphere on one side and the physical and social spheres on the other

(Lefebvre 1991: 6);

[R]elations with two elements boil down to oppositions ... Such a system can have neither materiality nor loose ends: it is a 'perfect' system whose rationality is supposed, when subjected to mental scrutiny, to be self-evident ... Thus knowledge (*savoir*) ... puts itself in thrall to power

(*ibid.*: 39-40);

Production in the Marxist sense transcends the philosophical opposition between 'subject' and 'object', along with all the relationships constructed by the philosophers on the basis of that opposition

(*ibid.*: 71);

What we are concerned with here is not texts but texture

(*ibid.*: 222).

To Lefebvre, then, the commonsense view would seem to amount to something like a simple arithmetic of the significances of space and its production. In the everyday world there is the calculation: Material space + conceptual space = real social space; in the academic world, the methodology of social activity → people's ideas about space → the spaces that matter in people's everyday lives. Lefebvre's (1991: 26-7) argument is that this conception of society only as people and things in space removes from view the actual dynamic social

forces that move people and things around or fix them in place (Merrifield 1993: 523). In Lefebvre's work neither space nor knowledge are considered politically neutral or entirely objective – what space and knowledge are depends to some extent on how they are experienced and used, and by whom. At the same time, there are also material, conceptual and social bases upon which rest the common understandings and experiences of people, groups and cultures. He expresses this dual character of space and society thus: '*(social) space is a (social) product*' (Lefebvre 1991: 26, original emphasis and parentheses). This brings Lefebvre's thought into close alignment with geographers and archaeologists who approach space as a socially constructed field of analysis (see Blake 2004; Exon *et al.* 2000). How do these theoretical points translate into a spatial methodology?

Lefebvre's 'three-part dialectic' approach to space and society

As Shields (1999: 109) puts it 'The dialectic is the centripetal core of Lefebvre's many different interests', and Lefebvre understood the dual character of space from this Marxist dialectical perspective (see also Elden 2004). The philosophical background to this tradition of thought is Marx's and Engels' critique and re-combination of two key Enlightenment intellectual approaches, which can be crudely summarised as ahistorical materialism and historical idealism (Wolff 2002: 27; Table 1.1, column A). This vantage point allows us to locate Lefebvre's spatial thought within a general framework of Material-objective (row 1) and Ideal-subjective (row 2) outlooks, as a foretaste of my discussions to come. I want to make it clear that I do not suggest direct influences between columns or rows, and I am aware of the selective nature and retrospective perspective of this table. The emphasis is rather upon the relationship between Lefebvre's use of the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic (column A.3); that philosophy's relationship to Lefebvre's theory of spatial dialectics (column B.3); and an indication as to how these are conceived as differing from other traditions of philosophical and spatial thought (columns A and B, rows 1-2). This final point explains why in column B I have added a selection of 'spatial thinkers' appropriate to my readers (presumed to be archaeologists), rather than to those from Lefebvre's background. My purpose here is to stress that it is from these intellectual bases that Lefebvre approaches the space/society relationship, and that in *The Production of Space* Lefebvre takes the perspective of B.3 from the philosophical outlook of A.3.

A. PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY	B. SPATIAL EPISTEMOLOGY
1. MATERIALISM – approaches in which the environmental conditions of life are considered primary in perception and socially determinant. The philosophical roots to materialist approaches to knowledge are found in the ‘English empiricists’, Hobbes (1588-1679), Locke (1632-1704), Hume (1711-78), and their continental counterparts, the ‘naturalistic thinkers,’ such as Montesquieu (1689-1755) and Rousseau (1712-78).	1. OBJECTIVE SPACE – physiographic factors of the environment are considered primary in perception and socially determinant. This approach is represented in archaeology by culture-historical approaches by Fox (1882-1967) and Childe (1892-1957), in the structural-functionalist approaches of Christaller (1893-1969) and the Chicago School of Geography (1920s-30s).
2. IDEALISM – approaches in which conceptual categories or fundamental ‘human essences’ are conceived as primary in perception and socially determinant. Philosophical roots are to be found in the German idealist philosophers Kant (1724-1804) and Hegel (1770-1831).	2. SUBJECTIVE SPACE – conceptual social categories are considered primary in perception and socially determinant. Represented by the functional-processual and social-systemic approaches space of J. Clark (1907-95) and D. Clarke (1937-76), and the structural-symbolic approaches derived from Lévi-Strauss (1908-2009).
3. THE HEGELIAN-MARXIST DIALECTIC – materialism <i>and</i> idealism (Lefebvre 1991: 69-72; Marx and Engels 1977; Wolff 2002; Wood 2004).	3. LEFEBVRE’S SPATIAL DIALECTICS – combination of the product <i>and</i> production aspects of social space (Lefebvre 1991: 69-71; see also Schmid 2008).

Table 1.1. A summary of the philosophical and spatial strands of Lefebvre’s *The Production of Space* from a dialectical philosophical perspective.

Summary: ‘Production’ in social space and spatial dialectics

As seen in my brief textual analysis, Lefebvre seeks to challenge and enlarge upon commonsense approaches to space and he attempts to produce a wholly new theory and methodology for its analysis. Lefebvre demands from the outset that this theory must be sufficient to capture both the *significances* (the synchronic ‘product-ness’) and the *genesis* (the dynamic production and ‘creative capacities’) of social space (Lefebvre 1991: 39-40, 115, and 222):

‘Critical knowledge has to capture in thought the actual process of production of space. This is the upshot of Lefebvre’s message.’

(Merrifield 2006: 108).

This is why I have characterised Lefebvre’s work as focussed upon production as the

conceptual link between space and society; as asserting that space is *always* social space; and as essentially employing a spatialisation of the *dialectic* between dichotomies to achieve the necessary integration between the material and ideal, and object and subject parts of analysis. Shields (1999) has termed Lefebvre's spatial theory 'spatial dialectics', which I feel is an entirely appropriate short-hand for his thought. However, I think that it is worthwhile to emphasise his model as a 'spatial dialectical model of the production of space' (Schmid 2008: 42), because this reminds us of the importance attached to the central concept of production. Lefebvre's actual methodology and its relationship to current geographical thought will be described later on. For now I want to suggest the following as the three touchstones for our understanding of Lefebvre's work and its potential value to archaeologists:

1. A *critique* of the dichotomised 'Cartesian/Western logos' (Lefebvre 1991: 1-7). The philosophical perspective that Lefebvre employs is principally the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic (Elden 2004: 170; Schmid 2008: 31-33; see my Table 1.1). It is especially appropriate to use this critique as the key to unlocking Lefebvre's spatial thought because dichotomy has also been of concern to post-processual archaeologists in recent years (see Section 1.2).
2. A sustained *suspicion* of the epistemological, social and political origins of the traditional Cartesian/Western analytical categories (Harvey 1991; Stewart 1995): a critique of 'knowledge ... in thrall to power' (Lefebvre 1991: 40).
3. Lefebvre (1991: 38-9) introduces a reformulated *third term* to the commonsense dichotomy of (I) and (II): the material-objective and conceptual-subjective spaces (see also Table 1.1). He recasts the notion of society as the passive outcome or active progenitor of (I) and (II) by reformulating *social space* (III) as the domain of 'the lived'. 'The lived' is therefore to be analysed *on an equal basis* alongside the physical and conceptual aspects of space (Lefebvre 1991: 38-9; Schmid 2008: 42-3). This distinction cannot be over-emphasised because Lefebvre's break from the material/conceptual dichotomy is the point of continuity between his Marxist philosophy and the spatial epistemology of *The Production of Space* (see Table 1.1).

1.1.2 A Lefebvrian spatial model for archaeology?

In the 38 years since the original publication of *La Production de L'espace* there has been a burgeoning interest in the 'human scale' of geography (Matthews and Herbert 2008: 63-6),

and geographical thought has been re-orientated towards ‘the reciprocity between “the social” and “the spatial”’ (Massey 1999: 6). There are now social and humanist sub-disciplines of geography in which space is understood as socially constructed (Smith 2005). Importantly, Lefebvre has functioned not just as an intellectual ancestor and touchstone for these movements, but also as their critic (Massey 1999; Smith 2005). Soja (1996) was one of the earliest to publish in English on the critical dimensions of Lefebvre’s work for social geography, and his work has been designated a ‘third way’ social geography to distinguish it from the spatial sociology of the early twentieth-century and recent social constructionist approaches (Smith 2005; see my Chapter 2). Other major interpreters of Lefebvre’s work in the fields of geography, urbanism and cultural criticism are Elden (2004), Merrifield (1993, 2006), Schmid (2008), Shields (1999) and Stewart (1995) who, like Soja, all use Lefebvre as a counter-point to aspects of social constructionist approaches. Archaeologists too have recognised Lefebvre’s value as a thinker whose work provides not only a robust critique of binary approaches to social spaces, but also a potential alternative methodology that enlarges upon social constructionist perspectives (e.g. Exon *et al.* 2000; Robin 2002; Singleton 2001; Sturt 2005, 2006). The high regard accorded to Lefebvre by geographers has a direct relevance to archaeology because social constructionist outlooks can be attributed to a number of post-processual archaeologists’ approaches to landscape in which the new archaeology’s ‘abstract, neutral, and universal’ conception of space are criticised (Exon *et al.* 2000: 9).

However, there have been serious problems in archaeology’s contacts with the convergence of social geography and Lefebvrian spatial dialectics. First, there has been a distance between archaeology and geographical theory because post-processual writers have tended to equate spatialisation with a material or environmental determinism (Blake 2004: 230; Exon *et al.* 2000: 10). The result has been the relative absence of systematic spatial analysis in archaeological studies of landscapes which, it is argued, has often left an unbridgeable ‘verification gap’ between the interpretations made and the spatial data upon which they are said to rest (*ibids*). Indeed, there have been accusations of a regression into the very ‘either/or’ Cartesian binary methodology that post-processual archaeologists strove to expunge from processual models (Exon *et al.* 2000: 10), with writers ‘either focussing too heavily on social constructionism or social experience’ (Robin 2002: 249). This situation has worked to undermine possible bases for common understanding between archaeologists to the extent that when critics condemn the materialism, idealism or nature/culture prejudices that they see in each others’ works, it is difficult to judge where (and if) their approaches actually differ (see, for example, Ingold 2005). I suggest that Lefebvre’s model offers the opportunity to combine in a single methodology the desired integration of binary approaches to research

and a firm basis in spatial analysis of the contemporary physical environment (cf. Blake 2004; Exon *et al.* 2000).

There is a second potential problem with spatial theory in archaeology. Despite the great number of interpreters of Lefebvre's work that I identify above, Lefebvre's ideas have entered archaeological discourse with a heavy reliance upon a handful of accounts of his thought. Moreover, in the few cases in which Lefebvre's spatial thought has formed a basis for actual research (Singleton 2001; Sturt 2005, 2006) the Lefebvrian content has been rather superficial. For Exon *et al.* (2000), for example, it is Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) which forms the basis for their discussion of contemporary spatial theory, technology and archaeological data. Robin (2002: 248) also cites Lefebvre and Soja together in her review of space in the social sciences, before pursuing an archaeological study based on the work of de Certeau. Singleton's (2001) article takes Lefebvre's work as the point of departure for her study of the design and experience of the domestic spaces of Cuban coffee plantation slaves. Disappointingly, Singleton's engagement with Lefebvre remains brief; she only references Lefebvre once (as I have quoted above), alongside Shields' characterisation of Lefebvre's model (Shields 1999: 160-1 cited in Singleton 2001: 104), and then neglects both by focussing upon Foucault's 'panopticon' theory of disciplinary spaces. Sturt's work is therefore a relative high point in the actual deployment of 'lived space' perspectives (2005) and the 'spatial rhythms' (2006) of prehistoric landscapes. But he too makes no use of Lefebvre's terminology, pays no attention to the philosophical basis of Lefebvre's thought and does not even describe Lefebvre's spatial model. Instead Sturt also uses Soja's *Thirdspace* (1996) methodology in his research. Whilst they are informative and have their own intrinsic interest these contacts with Lefebvre's ideas can, I think, reasonably be questioned on the grounds that Lefebvre might not be the thinker actually represented.

This is further supported by criticisms of Shields' (1999) and Soja's (1996) presentations of Lefebvre's spatial model, which have been described as 'confused' by Elden (2004: 37 and 42) and Schmid (2008: 42; for other critical comments on the modelling of Lefebvre's thought see Kipfer *et al.* 2008: 9-10; Stewart 1995: 617). Soja, in fact, explicitly refers to his work as 'an alternative reading of *The Production of Space*' (Soja 1996: 8), effectively supporting the suggestion that his work is 'in the last analysis, fundamentally different from Lefebvre's theory of the production of space' (Schmid 2008: 42). As a consequence of the erroneous and limited range of interpretations of Lefebvre's spatial theory to which archaeologists have been exposed, there has been no independent account or unfiltered interpretation of Lefebvre's ideas in archaeology. Combined with my review of archaeologists' rather thin engagement with Lefebvre's work, I think it is fair to say that

there has consequently been no implementation of Lefebvre's own spatial model to archaeological landscapes. As a result a significant and influential part of current spatial theory has been neglected by archaeologists. I suggest that it is opportune to attempt to fill this lacuna. I propose to construct a Lefebvrian spatial model that is appropriate to archaeology from Lefebvre's own body of work and to evaluate that model's merits in an archaeological case study. This is the rationale and goal of my thesis.

Chapter outline

I began this chapter by reviewing Lefebvre's attitude to the concepts of space, the dialectic and production in *The Production of Space*. I focused in particular on the philosophical background to Lefebvre's spatial thought and suggested that it is only from this perspective that we can identify the way in which he defines and uses these concepts. I argued that the key to unlocking Lefebvre's insightful ideas is his disposition toward the Cartesian object/subject, material/ideal dichotomies, which he recasts as a space/society problematic (Lefebvre 1991: 1-7). In Section 1.2 I therefore discuss and give examples of the problems associated with object/subject, material/ideal approaches in contemporary geography and archaeology. This results in a general summary of some of the current difficulties and failings of archaeologies of landscapes, which will be a useful point of reference for later chapters. However, the main objective of Section 1.2 is to show that the relationship between space and society, to which Lefebvre's thought is critically attuned, is also of central importance to the way in which archaeologists study the past. Lefebvre's modelling of this relationship is therefore of great practical value to archaeologists. I also establish the space-society relationship as a firm basis for my review of current spatial thought in geography, which is necessary to locate Lefebvre's overall project within geographical thought and to begin constructing my model so as to be appropriate to archaeologists (Chapter 2). Section 1.3 summarises this chapter's rationale and sets out my methodology for the thesis as a whole.

1.2 ARCHAEOLOGY, GEOGRAPHY AND SPACE

Lefebvre's identification of Cartesian rationalism as a problem for understanding how objects stand in relation to subjects is not new. The social sciences have been engaged from their conception in the two-fold project of formulating general laws of history and of examining social and cultural entities themselves (Gosden 1999; Jones 2002). Post-processual archaeologists returned to these very bases of knowledge as part of their critique of processual approaches. For example, an essence/appearance-based distinction was outlined by Shanks

and Tilley (1992: 121) as part of what they termed the ‘disabling dualisms’ by which analysis is pre-structured by the presumed nature of the world; Hodder (1991: 6-18) identified the field of archaeological endeavour to be located between similar sets of dualisms (see Figure 1.1); and we are invited by Barrett (1994a: 35) and Thomas (1999: 4) to understand material culture and social being as *the media*, not merely the outcomes, of social processes and material conditions. As Parker Pearson and Richards (1994: 9) note, when archaeologists have considered the relationship between built spaces and society the basis for understanding has been a problematic ‘form follows function’ or ‘function follows form’ inference. Here either category ‘boils down to’ (Lefebvre 1991: 39) a simple product or outcome of the indomitable processes of the other (Jones 2002: 4). The perspectives of social geographers and archaeologists are close on this point.

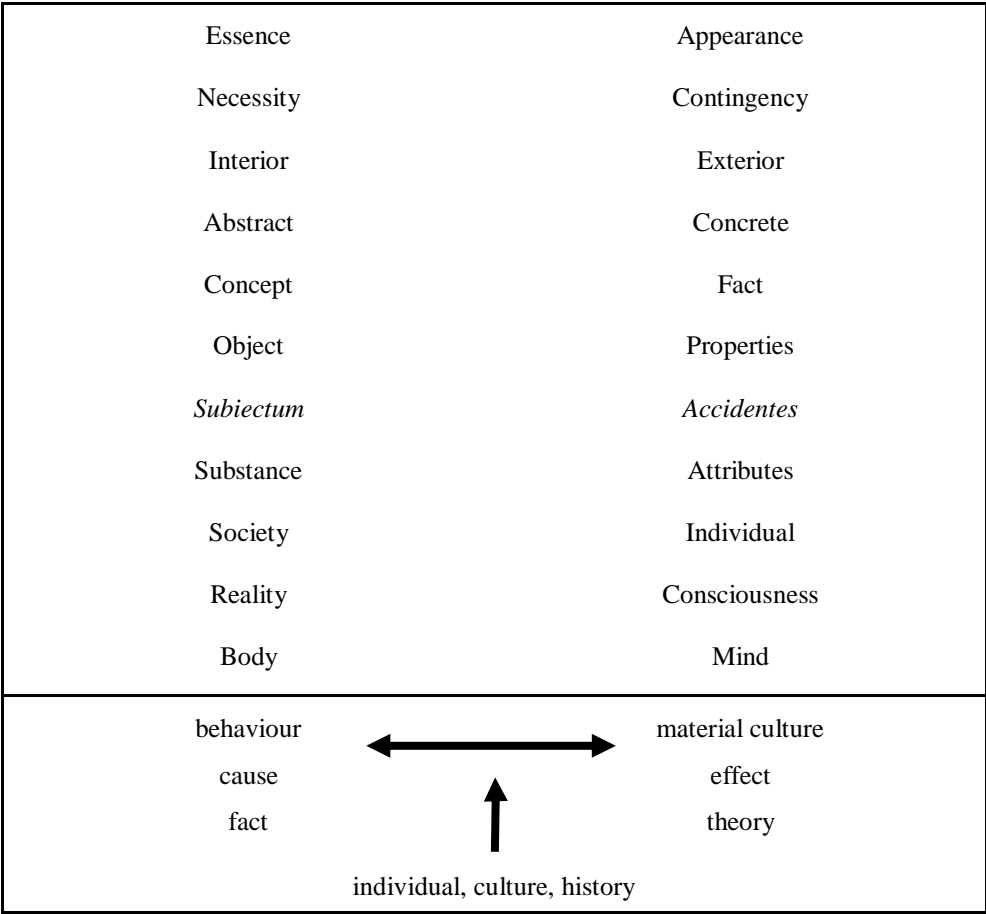


Figure 1.1. Two post-processual engagements with Cartesian rationalism. Top: Shanks and Tilley 1992: 120. Bottom: Hodder 1991: 12-18.

1.2.1 Shared problems in approaches to space

In the opinions of social geographers, *materialist* approaches to research have treated physical spaces as if they are the determining factors of social categories, identities and historical

processes (Massey 2005: 9-12; Smith 2005: 18). For archaeologists, in materialist approaches society is the passive element and analysis dwells overlong on questions of how, for example, the material environment determines social organisation or ethno-cultural specificity (Tilley 1994: 7). This can be seen in the culture-history paradigm's constructions of stereotypical ethno-cultural 'homelands', and in the way that central ideas like cultural diffusion and migration were based upon access to geographically proximal spaces that facilitated or excluded contact between cultural 'blocks' (Gosden 1999: 86-7). Social geographers identify *idealism* in studies that treat spatial arrangements as the straightforward reflections or outcomes of abstract models of social behaviour (Massey 2005: 9-12; Smith 2005: 18-22). This is seen in the core methodologies of ecological theory (palaeoecology) and cultural evolution, which 'depend upon the notion of stasis' (Jones 2002: 16). These approaches tend to presume that social systems (groups of people) and sub-systems (activities) were distinct from one another and stable, that ecological relationships to the environment always attained and maintained homeostasis, and that cultural formations such as bands, tribes and chiefdoms were stable, bounded and essentially the same cross-culturally and trans-historically (Jones 2002: 16). In this sense archaeologists criticise idealist approaches to the space-society relationship for the way in which uniform social and cultural identities and practices are said to act upon an ahistoric spatial canvas (Exon *et al.* 2000: 9-11; Thomas 1999: 13-4). I examine social geographers' critique of materialist and idealist approaches in Chapter 2, but it is clear from this review that there is a methodological problem that is shared by archaeologists and geographers.

Verification and interpretation in landscape archaeology

As I mentioned earlier, prominent among recent criticism of post-processual archaeologies has been that scientific and verifiable analysis of the spatial environment is often neglected due to the stress placed upon personal accounts of *experiences* that can be had of archaeological spaces. It is felt that collective approaches, and some individual works, simply push the post-processual 'creative envelope' too far into this under-determined realm to retain validity. Of course this envelope may have subjectively defined limits of acceptability, but the following examples will serve to illustrate the range of contemporary comments and their relevance to my argument that the conception of space is a current problem in archaeology.

Critics have argued that post-processual archaeologies of landscapes 'introduce surrogate discourses' to interpretation (Layton and Ucko 1999: 12), and tend to 'universalize ... [individual] experience' (Blake 2004: 236). In the case of the first criticism, Layton and Ucko highlight that ideas such as specific gender roles or the presumed importance of

ancestor worship are unquestioningly imposed on the data from the assumptions that the analyst makes about the social categories and values of past societies (Layton and Ucko 1999: 12, citing Thomas [1991] 1999). Barrett (e.g. 1994a) has also pointed to archaeologists' tendency to impose the binary idealist oppositions of modern Western categories on the past. In particular, he identifies structuralism's world-as-readable-text as limiting analyses to allegedly universal categories such as nature/culture, wild/domestic, male/female, life/death, wood/stone (Barrett 1994b, citing Hodder 1990). This reductive approach to the world's true 'texture' and complexity was precisely Lefebvre's (1991: 222) criticism of structuralism, post-structuralism and structural-Marxism (Shields 1999). In archaeology it is noticeable that these problems have equal validity for archaeologists' symbolic-structural, phenomenology and practice-led approaches to landscapes and monuments, and I want to examine each in turn.

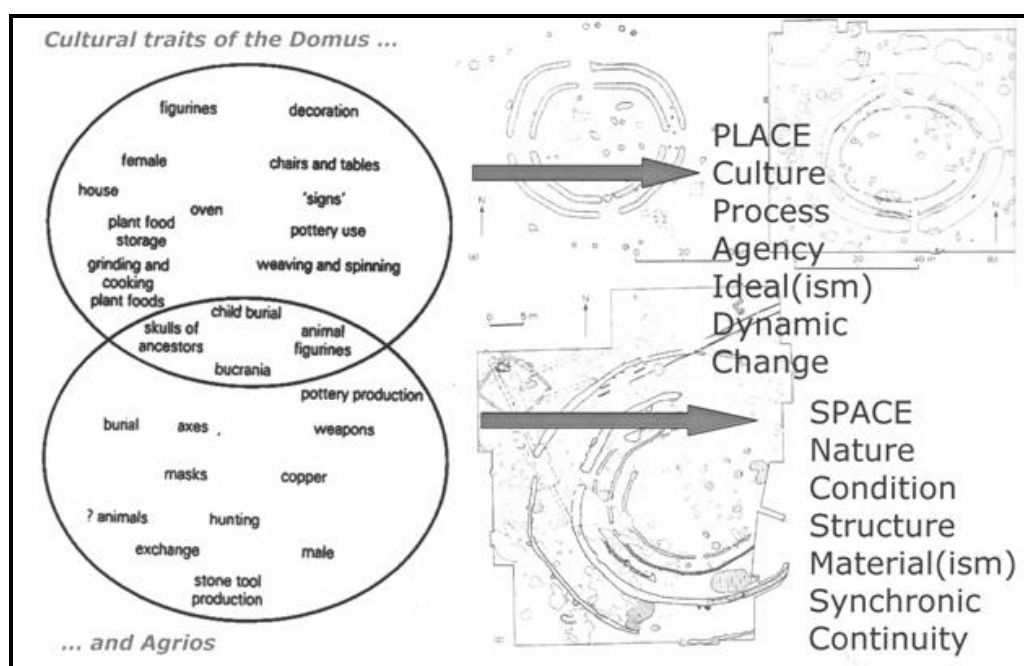


Figure 1.2. The dichotomies of space and place in structural-symbolic approaches. Sources: Hodder 1990; Figures. 3.5 and 5.5, and additions from the text of *The Domestication of Europe*.

A good example of binary idealist oppositions is Hodder's basic domus/agrios concept (Figure 1.2), which derives from a direct model of the agrios world as a natural and synchronic 'space', which is essentially awaiting human agency, culture, or 'place-making' activity. Here, the agrios side of the model is a passive background, a condition or material structure, upon which the dynamic processes of domus work. In discussing Neolithic enclosures, for example, he states that '[e]nclosures help to define the wider community ... that is, a community based on the principles of "culturing" nature, controlling space and restricting entrances' (Hodder 1990: 260). My impression is that Hodder views the spatial

patterning of material culture as having organisational value for Neolithic social categorisation (e.g. domestic:wilds::women:men), from which past social identities (gender roles) and long-term historical processes ('domestication', 'culturing', 'the Neolithic') can then be extrapolated by the archaeologist. Parker Pearson and Richards (1994: 5) adopt a similar idealist attitude when they say that 'People actively give their physical environments meaning, and then act upon those meanings' – effectively mapping cultural place onto a passive natural space. These approaches are reductive in the way in which they apply cross-cultural, trans-historical and broad-brush models to the past. This is epitomised by Parker Pearson's use of this method to map the social categories of entire Neolithic societies onto 'symbolic landscapes' in examples as widely distributed as Stonehenge, Avebury and Orkney (Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998; Parker Pearson 2000). As with the gender roles in Hodder's model, the resultant social categories and identities are synchronic, normative and continuous across enormous time-space scales. In the case of structuralism, the multiplicity and changeability of individuals' and groups' different interests and beliefs are lost: '[t]o use a theatrical analogy, their parts have been written in advance' (Last 1995: 148).

Phenomenology and practice theory-led perspectives are critical of this conceptual pre-ordering of social space. These start with the assumption that the world is 'always already meaningful' (Thomas 1996: 45), rather than attached to thought in an ensuing objectification (Barrett 1994b: 90), and that 'place acts dialectically so as to create the people who are that place' (Tilley 1994: 23). It seems to me that these perspectives have a greater likelihood of identifying points at which social and symbolic systems emerge and develop because their focus is upon the constitutive role of agency (analogous to Lefebvre's 'production') as an active component of both individual and society. Here it is the analysts' appreciation of spatial patterns in the 'sensual environment' (e.g. monuments, landscapes and bodily movement) that explains the significance and structure of the cultural world and the range of categories and identities therein.

However, this sensual world can just as easily be treated as the outcome of monolithic, long-term structures and processes beyond people's control because the physical data archaeologists encounter is already the cumulative residue of innumerable acts and processes (Barrett and Ko 2009). The social meaning and impact of some very large, long-lasting monuments, for example, may have been highly context specific and there is the danger that only the final structure informs archaeologists' interpretations (Bender 1992; Edmonds 1999). One recent example of this possible compression of meaning is the discovery that the primary mortuary use of the chambers of some long barrows was only two or three generations long (Whittle *et al.* 2007). Despite this, opportunities are sometimes lost to treat monuments as

processes and to examine on-site changes through time. Cummings (2009), for example, does not consider the distinct phases of architecture that occurred at a site level at the barrows in south-west Scotland when she compares their distribution at a regional-scale. Some of these sites formerly had substantial timber mortuary structures but the opportunity was not taken to look for possible changes in the distribution and affinities to local topography of the monuments, despite their differing architectural histories; only the symbolic values of the final phase monuments were examined in this way by Cummings. Similarly, Davies (2009) compares the respective elevations of the Peak District's Neolithic 'funerary barrows' and the long houses at Lismore Fields, but treats the funerary sites as a single unit of analysis when in fact more than one monument class is represented in his data set (*cf.* Barnatt 1996b).

It is here that critics point to the potential *materialism* (spatial determinism) of phenomenology and practice-led approaches (Blake 2004: 236; Hodder 1999: 121). I do not think that all of these comments are valid: I think that Hodder (1999: 133), for example, profoundly misunderstands Barrett's (1994a: 71) statement that 'monumentality originated in neither the idea nor the plan but rather in the practice and in the project' when he characterises this as an unfeasible lack of conceptual activity on the part of the designers of architecture. Yet Hodder's (1999: 121-34) concern that people's reasons for reproducing the long-term structures of meaning in their lives sometimes seem intangible in 'experiential' approaches is a real one. At the same time, we cannot in any case 'justifiably trace back from the reality given by the existence of the tomb to a motivation in its construction: time's arrow is not reversible' (Barrett and Ko 2009: 288; *cf.* Lefebvre 1991: 115). Similarly critical of the 'experiential' mode of analysis of the archaeological data is Fleming (1999, 2006), who has been scathing about approaches that he feels are inattentive to the survival and distribution biases of monuments, but enthusiastic about the aesthetic properties of landscapes.

Whilst phenomenology especially seems to imply that a trans-historical and cross-cultural value can be placed upon the analyst's own bodily interpretations of a given spatial field (*cf.* Insoll 2007a: 47; Lefebvre 1991: 122), similar accusations can be made of structuralism's imposition of 'surrogate discourses' (Layton and Ucko 1999: 12). Arguably, the recent post-modern character of archaeology has heightened particular problems in the interpretation of past societies because of its turn away from 'meta-narrative' towards the personal and subjective. The individual agent's apparent freedom to challenge the constraints of their social reality is, in my view correctly, cited by archaeologists as a debilitating *idealism* (Insoll 2007a: 47-8, McGuire 2008: 63). Conformity and deference to authority, for example, have attained a measure of negativity in modern Western states, but often in rather abstract and theoretical terms which are not widely reflected in anthropological accounts

(Insoll *ibid*). Archaeologists have focused heavily on individual identity politics in recent years, but much less upon politically-motivated *group* identities. A recent reader entitled *The Archaeology of Identities* (Insoll 2007b), for example, contains seventeen papers arranged into such topics as ethnicity, gender, age, and sexuality. However, only one paper in the volume focuses on social class (Andrews and Fenton [2001] 2007), which seems to me to be a disproportionately small reflection of that topic's importance for understanding social relations and social change. Indeed, studies suggest that people's perception and expression of their personal identities frequently varies according to their socio-economic class position and their perception of that position (McGuire 2008).

This possible over-emphasis on personal identity may be attributable to an often politically disengaged but 'socially aware' middle-class culture and to a degree of academic wishful thinking (Insoll 2007c: 13). At the same time, the pendulum may be swinging back towards meta-narrative. Political authority-figures such as 'chieftains and religious leaders' and normative gender roles have recently been reasserted in models of prehistory. For example, speaking about the social functions of causewalled enclosures, Bayliss has recently expressed the opinion that 'It is clear that the man who ran these celebrations would have been very powerful' (cited in McKie 2012). It seems to me that 'top-down' gendered models of authority are only one possible explanation for the social and political organisation of groups of people, and such uncritical models are again abstract-idealist 'surrogate discourses'. Treading the fine line between the poles of 'normative' and 'marginal' social categories, identities and processes is obviously very challenging and has a powerful effect on the interpretation of prehistoric society and historical processes. All models of norm/difference run 'the danger of denying or masking the power of the powerful' (McGuire 2008: 63); but an uncritical deference to 'multivocality' shares this danger since 'some voices are pernicious' (*ibid.*; cf. Lefebvre 1991: 39-40). There are no easy answers to these issues. However, I suggest that a dialectical perspective, such as Lefebvre offers, may contribute in a positive way towards understanding the relationships between binary oppositions, whilst also providing a practical and laudable methodology for research.

1.2.2 Summary: archaeology, dichotomy and spatial analysis

The discussion and critique above has attempted to point out some of the areas in which particular dissatisfaction and frustration are expressed by archaeologists. I have not sought to

condemn individual archaeologists or entire philosophies. Instead, I highlight areas where social geography and in particular Lefebvre's work might have positive impacts, and I return to some of the models mentioned above in my concluding chapters. It is my impression that Lefebvre's project is of equal value to geographers and archaeologists. In the next section I detail my response to Lefebvre, which is to explore a Lefebvrian social geography for archaeology. I summarise the main points of my critical review of archaeologists' approaches to space as follows:

1. The poor use or absence of systematic spatial analysis (Exon *et al.* 2000), represented by over reliance on 'impressionistic' recording (e.g. Figure 1.3), language and images (Fleming 1999).

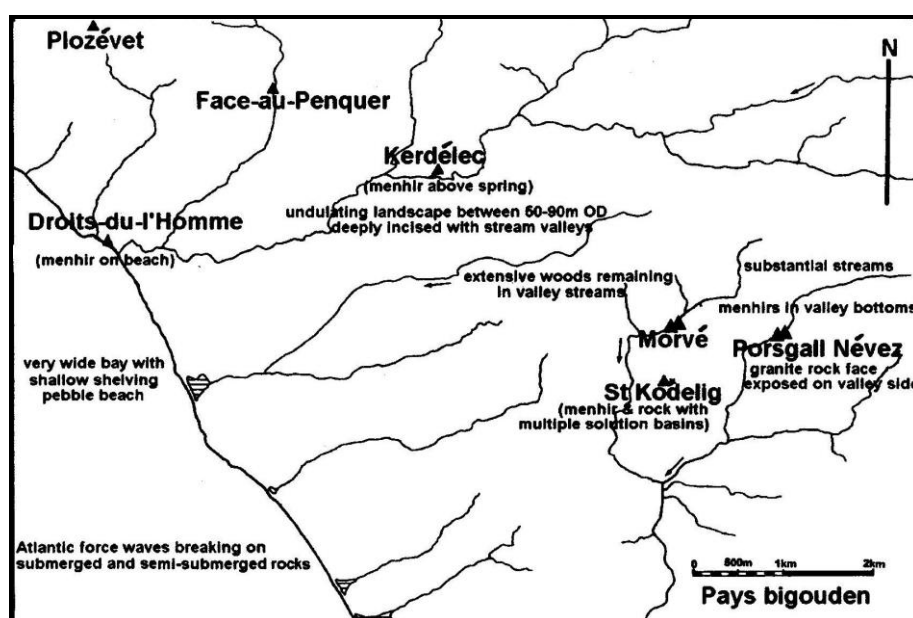


Figure 1.3. Distribution map of menhirs in Brittany, in which the author emphasises his impressions about the aesthetic properties of the landscape. Source: Tilley 2004: Figure 2.24.

2. Archaeological data are often abstractly and narrowly conceived. Tilley (1994, 2004) and Cummings and Whittle (2004), for example, focus upon topographic features that can be perceived from Neolithic monuments. The results are landscapes that are wholly tied to *symbolic* valuations of the immediate environment, which are portrayed as if entirely separated from other spheres of life.
3. This in turn leads to rather empty-sounding statements about the 'importance of landscapes' for the selection of the locations of monuments, and to circular argumentation. Views of the sea and mountains from monument groups such as those in southern Wales (Cummings and Whittle 2004), for example, may actually have had little significance for the location of funerary sites in regions where the proximity of

these topographies to monuments can hardly be avoided (Fleming 2006).

4. Whilst archaeologists have occasionally explored aural and olfactory sense data in practical everyday landscapes (e.g. Hamilton and Waterhouse 2006; Robin 2002), the visual sense is frequently dominant. This is potentially another modern Western value-concept, along with those surrounding presumed clearly defined authority-figures, invariant gender roles, ancestors and other identities (Insoll 2007a).

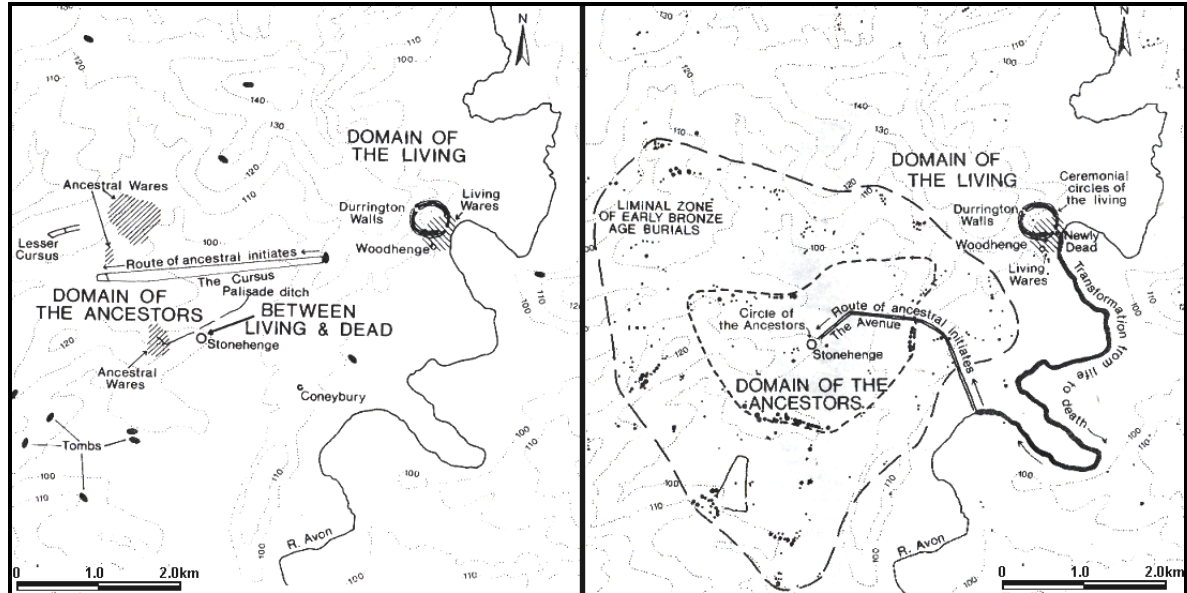


Figure 1.4. A symbolic-structuralist interpretation of the Late Neolithic to Bronze Age landscape around Stonehenge. Source: Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998: Figure 7.

5. Despite emphases on movement, paths and so on (Tilley 1994), places in the landscape are frequently examined as if static, with spatial changes modelled at the level of the completed monuments (Cummings 2009) rather than on a human scale, and through the unfolding of singular processes across time and space (e.g. Hodder 1990; Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998; *cf.* Figures 1.2 and 1.4).
6. Finally, I take exception to Tilley's (2004: 219) assertion that his approach to the megalithic landscapes of Brittany, Malta and Sweden leave them 'radically open' for interpretation by others. His statement that 'anyone can visit these stones' (*ibid.*) forgets that 'access' to space involves *real* financial, political and power relations, which are *not* distributed equally in society.

1.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

In this chapter I have drawn attention to the movements in geography and archaeology that have proposed that the relationship between space and society must be rethought. The

relationship captures much that is problematic and unsatisfying about modern Western modes of thought generally, and current archaeological practices more specifically. In these senses, considering what is meant by spatiality and how spatial analysis should be conducted has already been a useful exercise. However, Section 1.1 identified problems with archaeology's engagement with these issues: on the one hand, the post-processual turn has meant that archaeologists have often neglected spatial analyses; on the other, whilst Lefebvre's work is very significant for current spatial theory and practice in the social sciences, his own work is only minimally referred to by archaeologists. There have been no sustained accounts of his work in archaeology that are independent of those of geographers (principally Soja 1996). Hence, there has been no true implementation of Lefebvre's own spatial model in archaeology. This is a rather surprising omission.

From my brief review of his work it is clear that the concepts Lefebvre uses and the way that he assembles them in his model of the production of space are direct responses to questions of spatiality and spatial analysis. Moreover, in Section 1.2 it was possible to show through citations from *The Production of Space* that Lefebvre's work addresses the concerns and frustrations that most beset archaeological approaches to landscapes and monuments today. My reasoning in this chapter can therefore be summarised thus: 1) post-processual approaches to past societies have not satisfactorily overcome the 'form/function' conception of space and society and have tended to neglect spatial analysis; 2) recent geographical theory and Lefebvre's work articulate these issues, but have themselves been overlooked or superficially applied by archaeologists, and; 3) Lefebvre's answer to the space/society problematic is a potential solution to (1) and contribution to resolving (2). Therefore, 4) a critical exploration of (3) is an appropriate perspective with which to contribute positively to archaeology's general theoretical problems and use of spatial analysis. I shall explore Lefebvre's work in this thesis by taking three steps: construction, implementation and evaluation.

1. Construction: Chapters 2-4

In the first step I build a Lefebvrian social geography model of space from a study of recent geographical theory, Lefebvre's own work, and by responding to the criticisms of recent archaeological studies of landscapes. This necessitates that I first locate Lefebvre's work within recent spatial thought and show in what respects his thought is distinct from the social constructionist perspectives common amongst geographers and archaeologists (Section 2.1). It will also be necessary to describe more comprehensively Lefebvre's 'spatial dialectical

model of the production of space', how this has been described and modelled by geographers, and how these accounts can contribute towards my Lefebvrian social geography model for archaeology (Section 2.2).

This first step also includes a critical review of current approaches to the landscape and monuments of my case study, the Neolithic Peak District, and the collection and interpretation of data from extant archaeological sites (Chapter 3). I work with data gathered from a wide-ranging literature review and field visits to each monument, which produced a Level 1 field survey record (as defined by English Heritage's good practice guide; English Heritage 2007: 23). This forms the basis for Chapter 3, an extensive re-evaluation of the classification, chronological sequences and time periods of the Neolithic data set. It introduces new classifications (e.g. 'long barrow-form'), a tri-partite scale of confidence in the interpretations made (certain, possible and arguable), and involves the rejection of some sites from the study as unsuitable for my analysis (e.g. Wigber Low, Gardom's Edge). The data will be presented in tabular format, emphasising the physical form, period of construction and use, and chronological sequence(s) of monuments, as well as the sites' locations, reference numbers, and so on. Two principle scale maps will be used – a regional scale map of the Peak District and 1:50,000 scale maps of monument groups. Both incorporate the chronological sequences at multi-period sites. Finally, from the critical awareness that is developed in Chapters 2 and 3 I shall combine theory and data in a model appropriate to the spatial analysis of archaeological data (Chapter 4).

2. Implementation: Chapters 5-6

The second step is to deploy my spatial model to my chosen archaeological case study. The Derbyshire Peak District is an appropriate subject for at least two reasons. The first is that the current syntheses of this region in early prehistory are now more than ten years old (Barnatt 1996a; Barnatt and Smith [1992] 2004; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001), and recent national dating programmes for the Neolithic, such as *Gathering Time* (Whittle *et al.* 2011), have largely bypassed the Peak. At the same time, the Peak District has fallen under renewed scrutiny as part of the National Regional Framework for Heritage Management (Oliver 1996). This has resulted in the publication of two collections of up-to-date syntheses structured at regional- and county-scales of analysis (see East Midlands Archaeological Research Framework 2000 and Cooper 2006). Furthermore, a draft research agenda has been produced outlining priorities and highlighting gaps in knowledge (Knight *et al.* 2010). An original approach to this information is likely to generate new knowledge.

The second reason why the Peak is an appropriate case study is that the region has frequently been interpreted by opposing binary analytical categories. On the one hand, there is Fox's (1933) physiographic model of social continuity and change (i.e. an upland/lowland, continuity/change distinction), and the tendency towards Wessex-led (e.g. Renfrew 1981) models of social-spatial evolution, which has effectively created Wessex/other distinctions (as recognised by Barnatt 1996b: 63). On the other hand, there are features of the Peak District which particularly lend themselves to binary categorisation. Foremost has been the limestone/gritstone, core/periphery opposition, largely based on the distribution of Neolithic monuments with the Peak's limestone 'heart' (Barnatt 1996a: 52). It is also evident that the locales within the Peak that Barnatt (1996b: Figure 1.17.4) calls Traditional Cultivation Zones (TCZs) also take on a predominantly domestic role in his study, which leads him on the one hand to categorise the wider limestone plateau as a ritual space and, on the other, to identify the Neolithic Peak District as being comprised of settled communities dependent upon agro-pastoralism (*ibid.*: 63-7). Given the lack of good evidence for sustained subsistence cultivation in the Neolithic period of the Peak (Monckton 2006: 265), Barnatt's model must be rethought. A Lefebvrian model will enable us to reassess these analytical categories and contribute to wider debates about the social models used by archaeologists, whilst also placing spatial analysis at the centre of my study. Chapters 5 and 6 will, respectively, analyse and interpret Peak District society in the Earlier Neolithic (c. 4000-3300 cal. BC) and Later Neolithic (c. 3300-2400 cal. BC; the rationale for these categories will be discussed in Chapter 3).

3. Evaluation: Chapter 7

The third and final step will be to reflect upon and evaluate stage two, both in terms of the interpretations of Neolithic society in the Peak District that I make using my model, and of the methodology itself. Section 7.1 will summarise what has been learned about social space in the Peak District in particular, and in Neolithic society more generally, with comparisons to regional studies of the Neolithic period. The evaluation of the methodology in Section 7.2 will make specific reference to Section 1.2 in order judge the positive impacts of Lefebvre's ideas, but will also consider potential flaws in my model and suggest emendations where appropriate.

It is my intention that this combination of Lefebvre's essentially untried spatial theories and existing archaeological approaches to landscapes, monuments and society will contribute to current debate in a productive way. This desire is encapsulated by the following quote from

Marxist geographer and pioneer of Lefebvrian geography in the English language, David Harvey (2000: 9):

Marx ... spoke of the way we can rub different conceptual blocks together to make intellectual fires. ... Lefebvre may have some great ideas ... but you don't give up on everything you've got on your side – you try to rub the blocks together and ask: is there something that can come out of this which is a new form of knowing?

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPING A SPATIAL DIALECTICAL MODEL

OF THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE

2.1 CALIBRATING SPACE AND SOCIETY

In this chapter, I locate Lefebvre's work within recent spatial thought and show areas where his methodology is distinct from the recent social constructionist perspectives of what in geography has been called the 'cultural turn' (Matthews and Herbert 2008) and for archaeologists is the 'spatial turn' (Blake 2004). In this first section, I review these two discipline's attempts to calibrate space and society since these developments, highlighting two areas in particular – place and identity, and power and space – and I indicate Lefebvre's contribution and departure from these. In Section 2.2, I describe Lefebvre's central concepts and begin to construct a methodology appropriate for use by archaeologists.

2.1.1 The social and spatial turns in the social sciences

Table 2.1 is an attempt to index the meanings of space for students of contemporary human geography, in which an intellectual development from column 1 through to 3 appears to be central (Smith 2005: 2.1). Although I present the text from Smith's table in its entirety, I have placed a dividing double line between column 1 and columns 2 and 3. This is to emphasise the differences I want to draw between the approaches termed 'From Society to Space' and those broadly social constructionist and *Thirdspace* perspectives that are my main focus. At the same time, this division expresses the similarities between the perspectives in columns 2 and 3. In this section I will illustrate why the broadly post-processual approach corresponds to columns 2 and 3, and why even such necessarily imprecise definitions enable us to draw conclusions about the character of the cross-disciplinary approaches, and thereby locate Lefebvre's work among them. From the outset it is important to note that Lefebvre's work has been particularly identified with the most recent *Thirdspace* or third way perspectives, but has much in common with the developments described in column 2 (Massey 1999; Smith 2005; Soja 1996).

It is also important to recognise that the distinctions made here are, by necessity, largely generalisations of spatial thought (*cf.* Table 1.1 and my discussion in Section 1.2). The social

and political tolerance expressed in columns 2 and 3 undoubtedly reflects something of the typically modern Western academic and cultural concerns with power, plurality, and social justice. Equally, the notion of intellectual and moral progress within any set of ideas is a beguiling conceit which also has strong political overtones (Shanks and Tilley 1992). I am therefore aware that the definitions in Table 1.2 break-up the intellectual dynamics of sociological thought in a necessarily simplistic way, and that there is a similar fracture between the ‘modern interpreter’s horizon’ (Insoll 2007c: 14) and ‘space and society’ as a topic of research which necessitates the use of clear heuristic devices. Indeed, the briefest examination of the way in which the principal elements in Table 2.1 have been conceptualised makes it clear that each shift in perspective (from column 1 to 3) has had a real effect upon space as a conceptual category (Massey 1999; Smith 2005). The point I want to underscore here is that the framework I use in this section is not offered as a neutral or unproblematic statement of affairs, but rather as both a product and a process of thinking about space from a widely acknowledged point of departure (i.e. column 1).

1. FROM SOCIETY TO SPACE	2. THE SPATIAL CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIETY	3. <i>THIRDS</i>SPACE OR THIRD WAY APPROACHES
SPACES are scientific and geometric, filled with an accumulation of social facts, providing an accurate but simplified representation of a more complex ‘real’ world.	SPACES have a material reality and a symbolic significance and can take on a life of their own. Spatial patterns express but also shape social relations.	SPACES which those marginalized by racism, patriarchy, capitalism, colonialism and other oppressions choose as a speaking position.
GEOGRAPHIES that are concrete, quantifiable and mappable.	GEOGRAPHIES that are negotiated and struggled over.	GEOGRAPHIES that were made for one purpose are appropriate for another, redefined and occupied as strategic (real or symbolic) locations.
AN EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK which regards spatial patterns as an index and an outcome of social and political processes.	AN EXPLANATORY FRAMEWORK which regards spatial patterns as informing and interacting with socio-economic processes.	THIS IS ABOUT BEING RATHER THAN EXPLAINING – an approach which is emancipatory rather than predictive or interpretive.
SOCIAL CATEGORIES and social identities are given. The social distances between groups are expressed in spatial separation; social interaction is signalled by spatial integration.	SOCIAL CATEGORIES and identities are constructed through spatially discriminatory material practices (markets, institutions) and cultural politics (struggles to control images).	SOCIAL CATEGORIES are resisted by those they are imposed on. Spaces on the margin provide a position from which to build open and flexible identities. Here commonalities are emphasised and differences tolerated.

Table 2.1. Exploring the links between society and space. Text and layout: Smith 2005: 2.1, with additions.

“From society to space”

Column 1 of Table 2.1 describes the contemporaneous ideas of the spatial sociologists of the Chicago School of Geography (Smith 2005), and central place models of behaviour (Matthews and Herbert 2008: 54). These approaches reasoned that ‘social distances ... are expressed in spatial separation; social interaction is signalled by spatial interaction’ (Smith 2005: 21). On the face of it the logic of this perspective seems unanswerable. However, as Smith (*ibid.*) and Matthews and Herbert (2008: 55-6) relate, there are a number of errors and limiting factors inherent in such a reductive approach. At its base is the tendency to mistakenly consider the categories used as ‘real’ rather than heuristic. This means that, in the case of the Chicago School’s study of racial segregation in Chicago, for example, individual and group social identities tend to be treated as if singular and unchanging units (Smith 2005: 21-2); an approach to space that has been heavily criticised, as I highlighted in Chapter 1. Central place theory too, seems to go no further than what were assumed to be the basis for the economically motivated behaviour studied: in this case, that of people’s *consumer identity*. Indeed, Christaller’s use of the model tended to assume that choices took place upon a ‘uniform [spatial] plain ... with equal accessibility from all directions’ (Matthews and Herbert 2008: 54). Consequently, the only aspect of space’s physicality under consideration was distance considered purely in practical terms (Figure 2.1).

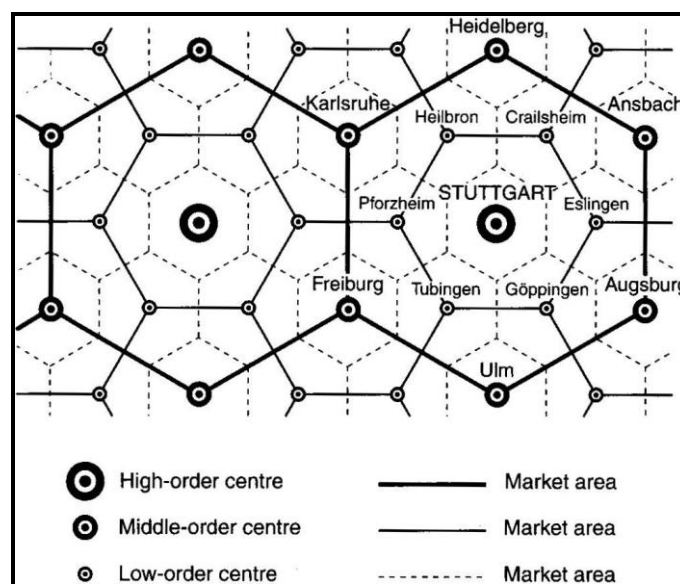


Figure 2.1. Christaller’s Central Place Theory as deployed to southern Germany. Source: Matthews and Herbert 2008: Fig. 11.

I have argued that such views of material space and idealistic conceptions of behaviour capture little of the dynamic and changeable sides of human social behaviour or space’s own role in the production of social relations (*cf.* Insoll 2007c: 9-10; Lefebvre 1991:

33-9; Massey 2005: 38-9). In Section 1.2 I pointed out that such abstract and geometric conceptions of space were characteristic of the new archaeology: for example, Renfrew (1981) compared ethnographic models of ‘life space and death space’ to the distributions of Neolithic tombs and agricultural land on Arran. With the advent of post-modernism the social sciences have increasingly understood the constitution of society and its value systems to be spatial-temporal problems. This marks the emergence of new perspectives in human geography, like post-processualism in archaeology’s critique, emphasising the social construction of space/place through social identities and power relations in human affairs – phenomena that are *inherently* dynamic (Blake 2004: 233-4).

2.1.2 The social construction of space

In Table 2.1 I emphasise this shift, for heuristic reasons, with the double line. From this perspective social categories and space have both material and symbolic value for the active construction of social categories and identities which are conceived as corresponding to the multiple aspects and social realities of individuals and groups (see column 2). Social geography, post-processual archaeology and Lefebvre’s work share this emphasis on the agency-structure poles of people’s relationships to social practices and time-space context which may be sometimes stable, sometimes changeable (Blake 2004; Smith 2005). In this section I review two of the dynamics geographers and archaeologists have explored, building upon previous approaches to space: identity and place, and power and space. This will reveal common themes, concerns, and directions across the two disciplines, and point to the areas where Lefebvre’s influence has been felt and expressed by some as ‘third way’ approaches.

1. Identity and place

Returning to racial identity, social geographers have argued that although the spaces of segregation may be observable in modern cities, this does not tell the whole story of the inequality, exclusion and marginality by which such spaces and identities are constituted (Cresswell 2004; Smith 2005). This is because existing socio-spatial realities also construct or ‘act back’ upon social categories. Indeed, social categories such as race are often inseparable from those of class and poverty because of the way each are related to wider society in the forms of differential access to education, social mobility, health, and so on (Smith 2005: 26-8). In geographical accounts the term ‘place’ is used to account for the particularity of the encounters with existing situations.

‘[S]pace is more general while place is more particular ... Space is background, a container, but when transformed into a certain place, it is not neutral to the pulse of power’

(Short 2001: 14).

Places are constituted when socially-sanctioned or unsanctioned behaviour occurs at particular social spaces, such as popular leisure resorts (e.g. nineteenth-century Brighton; Shields 1991), and marginalized political demonstrations (e.g. early 1980s Greenham Common; Cresswell 2004: 107-8), and one can instantly see here the connections place-making has to inequities of power. Similarly, post-processual archaeologists describe landscapes as ‘platial’ (Tilley 2004: 35), being composed of ‘nested’ locations indelibly linked to other real or imaged spaces (Bender 1998). For example, a number have pointed to monumental architecture’s function in the ordering of human bodies and the negotiation of social roles in ritual settings (e.g. Barrett 1994a; Hodder 1990; Thomas 1999). Here ‘place-making’ is understood as instrumental in the ongoing *generation* of social categories and the *experiences* of those categories, not just as products of specific social realities (although they are these too). From this perspective space and society are brought into being *together* within a particular space-time context (i.e. a place), an intellectual position comparable to that of Lefebvre’s (1991: 31), for whom ‘every society ... produces a space, its own space’. The relevance of power to these practices is another shared interest of geographers and archaeologists.

2. Power and Space

The social sciences have moved away from simplistic ‘power over’ relationships that prevailed in previous traditions of thought. This is for two reasons. First, because the apparent fixity of social categories and identities of hierarchy, status and race can be understood not just as constructed in discriminatory practices and politics, but also in terms of the power to self-identify and even disassociate from and contest normative social categories, identities and places (Cresswell 2004). Once again, a more complex relationship between commonsense opposed terms (in this case power over/power to) is posited, this time because social categories and identities are never entirely passive (just social products) but are active in the creation and recreation of social relations (Barrett 1994a; Smith 2005). The second reason why the re-conceptualisation of power is an important development, is because power is not equally distributed in society – some have more power to speak and be heard (Insoll 2007c; McGuire 2008).



Figure 2.2. Illustration from *Harpers* magazine in 1876 documenting the contemporary 'Vagrant Threat'. Source: Cresswell 2004: Figure 4.7.

A good example is Cresswell's (2004: 114-5) discussion of what happens when perceived norms and 'anachorisms' (his term for things in the wrong place) collide. The image shown in Figure 2.2 was published following the U.S. economic collapse of 1873 which lead to a wave of social problems, including homelessness and poverty. However, this image was not designed to promote sympathy for the vagrant. Instead what is writ large are modern Western attitudes to propriety (and also property) when a 'social outsider' (possible categories include tramp, undomesticated, 'undeserving poor', outcast) 'invades the home' of a householder (categories of woman and child, domesticity, vulnerability; *ibid.*). As Cresswell (2004: 122-3) and Smith (2005: 22) point out, such attitudes are hard to overcome and make objective analyses of society difficult to achieve because they somewhat insidiously appeal to the perceived 'natural' and unquestioned basis of 'normal' social relations. This is another way of saying that we mistake commonsense approaches for objective routes to knowledge (Lefebvre 1991: 39-40). If we feel the 'threat' in Figure 2.2 as acutely as intended by this publication it is because our common sense view of place values a perception of roots, order and 'being-in-place' and 'leads us to think of mobile people as disruptive and morally suspicious' (Cresswell 2004: 121).

Indeed, the very language of research conditions analysis (Smith 2005: 22). For example, in the examination of power (power to/power over), location (margin/centre), or identity (white/black, male/female, heterosexual/homosexual, young/old) particular normative-idealist social categories and values (e.g. whiteness, order, masculinity; Cresswell, *ibid.*) tend to be the positions from which the analyst speaks of 'the Other'. In Chapter 1, I

described similar critical observations by archaeologists (e.g. Blake 2004; Layton and Ucko 1999). How then can analysts work outside of such binary concepts and frameworks ‘whose potency they wish to challenge’ (Smith 2005: 22)? *Thirdspace* or third way perspectives are not alone in focussing on this question with respect to the issues of identity and place, and power and space, but there is an apparent shift towards marginal standpoints and emancipatory politics that is rather distinctive in such works (see Table 2.1, columns 2-3).

2.1.3. Lefebvre and *Thirdspace*/third way perspectives

In recognising the dualist quandary described above, it is germane to note that within the formation of social constructionist approaches there has been a long standing trend for subject-focussed sociological perspectives, indicating a constant creative tension within social constructionist ideas (Massey 1999). I acknowledged this in Table 2.1 by choosing not to divide columns 2 and 3. There are in fact no grounds for suggesting that *Thirdspace* and third way approaches are wholly new directions that are disconnected from earlier thought; the products of an ever-more ‘true’ progress in ideas (Smith 2005: 22). Indeed, as I shall touch on below, the third way too is the focus of ongoing debate (e.g. Soja 1996; Elden 2004; Schmid 2008). Therefore, rather than attempt to identify ‘boundaries’ between social constructionist approaches and third way perspectives I intend to do no more than characterise some of the latter’s distinguishing features. Significantly, Lefebvre’s work is prominent in both approaches but especially so in those of the third way.

As I noted in Chapter 1, *The Production of Space* has found wide influence in geography as a critique of the ‘Cartesian/Western logos’ model of analysis. Stewart (1995), for example, has highlighted that Lefebvre’s text has sometimes paralleled, sometimes directly encouraged geographers’ and other cultural theorists’ engagements with the historicity of their models of knowledge. For example, she compares the use of the phrase ‘the eye of the legitimate construction’ (used by critics to identify the points of departure of Surrealist art) to Lefebvre’s ‘the fallacy of the cartographic illusion’ (used by Lefebvre to rethink commonsense approaches to space; both cited in Stewart 1995: 616). Feminist writers too, have considered how class-bounded and largely masculine-led representation of social-spatial norms have, in Stewart’s words (1995: 616) ‘shaped social constructions of women and delineated the spatiality (and hence socially) “appropriate” spheres in which women can move’. Shields (1991: 73-5) and Merrifield (1993: 523) have also used Lefebvre’s conception of space/place to examine the politics of analysis. The former to consider nineteenth-century Brighton as an authorised ‘other’, where transgressive behaviour could be expressed and

managed at a distance from ‘normative’ London society; the latter in the operation of trans-national capitalism which has ‘out-sourced’ much of the financial and political burdens represented by its wage-labourers to spaces beyond the countries of the capitalist core. What these themes have in common with social constructionism is recognition of the interlaced methodological and social-political (i.e. symbolic and representational) characteristics of ‘ways of seeing’.

Current debate

The most explicitly Lefebvrian approaches to methodology are evident in the work of Soja (1996): *Thirdspace* is Soja’s term and relates directly to his (1996: 8) alternative reading of *The Production of Space*. Soja (1996: fl. 60-75) explicitly identifies Lefebvre’s critique of space as being ideological, noting that approaches such as structuralism obscure or repress social difference, even whilst claiming to be universal, objective and democratic. Soja (1996: 60-1) characterises current approaches to space in the social sciences as *Secondspace* perspectives (i.e. social constructionist approaches) and presses for an integration of *Secondspace* and *Firstspace* (i.e. empirical objective approaches, such as described in Table 2.1, column 1) into *Thirdspace*. Exon *et al.* (2000: 10-11) and Sturt (2005: 70-1) recognise in this an attempt to get beyond the object/subject dichotomy towards a both-and-other approach. *Thirdspace* is a category that opens up the neatness of *Firstspace/Secondspace* to inequalities and differences in identity and power by adopting the perspective of marginalised voices (Soja 1996: 87; see also Table 2.1, column 3). The combination of three terms, rather than two, and the emphasis on struggles for social justice by problematising ‘the commonsense’, clearly parallels Lefebvre’s approach (see Chapter 1).

However, Schmid (2008) points to a problem with Soja’s model, which relates to the position of the third term in Lefebvre’s and Soja’s respective methods. As I stated in Section 1.1.2, the *third term* should be examined alongside the other two; it is only in this way that we can avoid the commonsense ‘arithmetic’ of space and capture the *production* of space as a *process* (Merrifield 2006: 108). This is a methodological point, the challenges of which I shall engage with in the next section. However, we need to be aware of Schmid’s critique of Soja here because of the possibility that models of Lefebvre’s three conceptual categories of space divide real space into ‘autonomous’ (physical, conceptual and social) *categories* of space (Schmid 2008: 42), as is the accusation in this case. This would be a kind of pre-structuring of the data from a given field of enquiry akin to structuralism’s method of seeking binary oppositions. To an extent this can be glimpsed in Soja’s *Thirdspace* idea (1996) where successive studies are devoted to each category of space at different spatial scales. Soja also

represents his analytical categories schematically in threes, without clear reference to their interrelations (see Figure 2.3).

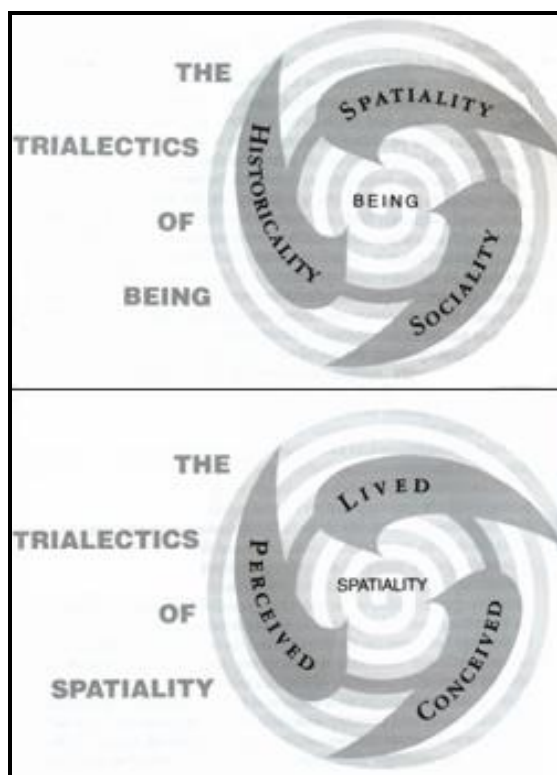


Figure 2.3. Soja's Trialectics: Top. 'The Trialectics of Being: Spatiality-Sociality-Historicity'. Bottom. 'The Trialectics of Spatiality: Lived-Perceived-Conceived spaces'. Source: Soja 1996: 2a and 2b.

Rather than pronounce for or against Soja's model, my point here is that in *Thirdspace* and third way approaches overemphasis upon the synchronic *categories*, rather than their *connections*, is counter productive because it threatens to reproduce the commonsense-dichotomised 'arithmetic of space' (see Section 1.1). I feel that in Soja's work the third term – *Thirdspace* – sometimes looks like the methodological outcome of the previous two (see comments by Kipfer *et al.* 2008: 9-10; Schmid 2008: 42). Whilst a simple definition of spatial dialectics is that 'various levels of space: physical, mental and cultural ... [are] analysed one by one' (Singleton 2001: 104), my discussion so far demonstrates that the space/society relationship is far more complex. So if we wish 'to capture in thought the actual process of production of space' (Merrifield 2006: 108) then it is necessary to focus upon the *connections* between categories, as well as those categories. On this basis, I agree with Schmid (2008: 42) that Soja's spatial theory is different from Lefebvre's.

2.1.4 Summary

In this section I have shown that social and conceptual categories are increasingly understood

across the social sciences as located and reproduced in *spatiality* (Exon *et al.* 2000: 11; Smith 2005: 26). Lefebvre's influence can sometimes be traced explicitly within these accounts of identity and power and in *Thirdspace* and third way perspectives. These latter are probably best understood as an outgrowth of some aspects of contemporary social constructionist ideas. The parity of Lefebvre's ideas with those of social geographers and some archaeologists is particularly evident in their concern with 'commonsense dichotomies', 'surrogate discourses' and the politics of space. The work of Shields (1991), Merrifield (1993, 2006) and Soja (1996) are especially associated with Lefebvre, but there is diversity and disagreement among them. My discussion here raised two further important points: First, there is a breadth of contemporary opinion in spatial theory in which I have shown that Lefebvre's work has value; second, it is also possible to critically assess the deployment of Lefebvre's ideas against his basic concepts (i.e. as outlined in Chapter 1). This latter point will be of great consequence as I construct my own methodology.

2.2 UNDERSTANDING LEFEBVRIAN SPATIAL DIALECTICS

I now begin to construct a Lefebvrian methodology appropriate for use by archaeologists. In order to do this I must explain Lefebvre's theory of the production of space, his terminology and methodology in more detail. First, I return to the significance of the term 'production' in Lefebvre's thought, reviewing the overall character of his spatial dialectics and exploring the basic structure of Lefebvre's spatial dialectical method. Second, I present an exposition of Marxist dialectical philosophy, which is acknowledged as the 'centripetal core' of Lefebvre's intellectual life (Shields 1999: 109), and the way this underlies the basic structure's function in practice (Schmid 2008). Third, I offer a critical summary of the ways in which Lefebvre's model can be understood and, with reference to archaeological approaches to prehistoric landscapes, I develop my own model of Lefebvrian spatial dialectics. During this process, I shall critically discuss and remodel a series of schematic representations and depictions of Lefebvre's theory which appear in the primary and secondary literature. None of these previous attempts to represent spatial dialectics are objectively 'wrong', in fact they will prove to be very useful, but they are all in some degree inadequate as models that can be used to analyse archaeological space. Section 2.2.4 will summarise the key points of the model that I take forward in subsequent chapters.

2.2.1 ‘Production’ in *The Production of Space*

Production: noun. 1. The action or process of producing or being produced.
Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2002.

Understanding the word production in Lefebvre’s work is vitally important because the word is used by him in the sense of the ‘process of producing’, rather than only the ‘action’ of inducing production (See Section 1.1.2). Lefebvre’s first step is to reject Cartesian rationalism’s dichotomy as a framework for spatial analysis because of the way in which it takes the ‘product-ness’ of space as its object of study; viewing spaces as the origin or outcome of a simple productive act or acts (Lefebvre 1991: 1-7). Earlier, I demonstrated that this corresponds to the critique of approaches to space as only the outcome and index of society in the social sciences (Smith 2005). Instead, ‘for Lefebvre, the process of producing space (process) and the product (thing) ... present themselves as two inseparable aspects, not as two separable ideas’ (Merrifield 1993: 523).

<i>A. METHOD OF ABSTRACTION OR “MOMENT” IN THE PRODUCTION OF SPACE</i>	<i>B. SPATIAL ANALYTIC CATEGORY</i>
Perceived; Physical; Material; Sensual	Social-Spatial Practice ¹
Conceived; Mental; Cultural; Symbolic	Representations of Space
‘The Lived’; Social	Spaces of Representation ²

Table 2.2. The basic structure of Lefebvre’s three-fold spatial dialectic. Source: Lefebvre 1991: 32-9.

In order to capture this ontological unity of space-and-space-in-production, Lefebvre *abstracts* ‘three “moments” in the production of space, which serve as his conceptual tools’ (Stewart 1995: 610). Each moment of production therefore corresponds to one of three analytical categories (i.e. the tools). These are the basic framework of Lefebvre’s spatial

¹ In the English translation of *The Production of Space* (1991: 38) the term ‘Social Practice’ is used, a term I feel is better served by ‘Social-Spatial Practice’ in this thesis. My thanks go to Paul Garwood for this suggestion.

² Also in this translation *Espaces de la représentation* is rendered as ‘Representational Spaces’. I agree with Stewart (1995: 610) and Shields (1999: 161, 164-5) that this is unsatisfactory because it causes confusion with ‘Representations of Space’ (*Représentations de l’espace*). Consequently, I have used ‘Spaces of Representation’ throughout.

theory, and seem to give each category a certain character and particular focus. Table 2.2 shows this basic structure, which Lefebvre calls his ‘three-fold spatial dialectic’ (Lefebvre 1991: 33-4) or ‘spatial triad’ (*ibid.*: 39).

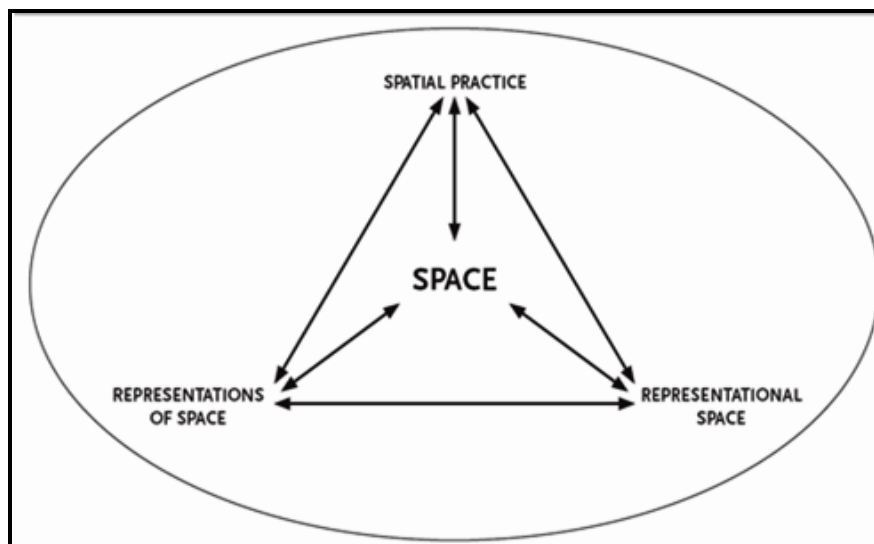


Figure 2.4. Milgrom's schematic of Lefebvre's 'conceptual triad'. Source: Milgrom 2008: Figure 16.1.

Milgrom (2008) clearly shows the multiple inter-connections between Lefebvre's three categories of analysis (see Figure 2.4). I suggest that Milgrom's diagram improves on Soja's representation (Figure 2.3) because there is a clearer sense of a relationship between categories and the 'connections' between them. In Figure 2.4 each category connects (via the arrows) to the other two categories *and* to 'space', whose central position intimates that it is the primary subject of analysis. Indeed, each category connects to the other two categories *through* 'space', and these are all encircled to demonstrate the integrity of the categories, relationships and 'space' as a conceptual whole of inter-related parts. This last point suggests that there is no necessary point of entry into the concept, nor a prescribed intellectual process within it (although this will be to some extent limited by the category with which one starts because of the nature of the connecting arrows). On the debit side, the relationships and moments represented by the arrows are not defined in this image, which gives little sense of what these details are or are expected to be.

Figure 2.5 helps us in this regard and reiterates the importance of 'wholes' and 'parts' for Lefebvre's model. Lefebvre also stresses that the three moments of production of space are 'relational from the outset' (1991: 155). The sketch is used to illustrate the relationships Lefebvre suggests pertain to global (G), intermediate (M), and public (P) spaces in the modern urban environment, and it shows the character of the relationship between the three terms (it is Lefebvre's only schematic representation of his theory and the only image in *The*

Production of Space). I suggest that the use of the lower case letters indicate how we should conceive of the relationship between the categories of analysis (Table 2.2, column B) and the abstracted moments (column A) in Lefebvre's overall scheme. Specifically, Figure 2.5 shows a degree of internal relationship between the three terms: that is, each category (e.g. G) is an analytical *whole*, which is comprised of *parts* (g, m and p) of the other categories (M and P). This increases our knowledge of what in Figure 2.4 were depicted merely as arrows. However, once again it is difficult to see an intellectual process in this image; how do we avoid studying categories in isolation from each other, as Soja's model does?

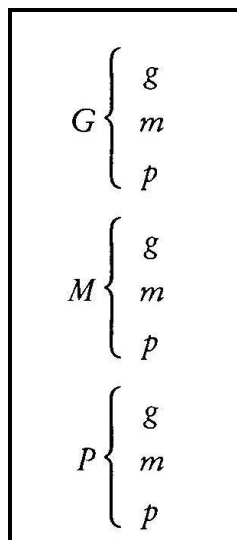


Figure 2.5. Untitled sketch from *The Production of Space*. Source: Lefebvre 1991: 155.

From a commonsense to a dialectical perspective

This discussion has enlarged our appreciation of Lefebvre's spatial theory beyond the basic framework to show that, in pursuing the production of space as space-and-space-in-production, he formulates a complicated matrix from the basic three-fold (see Table 2.2). This is another way of saying that Lefebvre's theory shifts us from a commonsense approach to a dialectical or relational perspective (Lefebvre 1991: 71, 155). Figure 2.4 encapsulates the complexity of this spatial field particularly well and viewed alongside Figure 2.5 it is clear that relationships *between* categories are of importance. However, no clear intellectual process has yet emerged, and the relationships are rather thinly outlined so far.

Nevertheless, I suggest that there are three conclusions to draw from this critical review: 1) a range of possible moments of the production of space comprise each of the analytical categories, and these were abstracted in a speculative fashion; 2) Lefebvre sees the categories as internally related (Figure 2.5), which is a key aspect of Marx's dialectical

method (Ollman 2003; Wood 2004), and; 3) Table 2.2 should, as a result, be remodelled to reflect that each spatial analytic category (column B) is composed of parts, or elements, of all three “moments” (see Figure 2.5). Moreover, in order to retain the original connection of each analytical category to a *particular* “moment” (as seen in Table 2.2), I think it follows that each category has to have a ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ focus. Table 2.3, column B is my attempt to represent the three-fold character of each analytical category and is divided into two to reflect the primary and secondary foci that this entails.

<i>A. SPATIAL ANALYTIC CATEGORY</i>	<i>B. INTERNAL RELATIONS</i>	
	<i>I. PRIMARY FOCUS</i>	<i>II. SECONDARY FOCI</i>
1. Social-Spatial Practice	Physicality of space	Conceptual & Social space
2. Representations of Space	Conceptual space	Physicality & sociality of space
3. Spaces of Representation	Sociality of space	Conceptual & physical space

Table 2.3. My working model of the basic structure and internal relations of Lefebvre’s three-fold spatial dialectic.

One final point helps us determine where the intellectual process starts. Lefebvre (1991: 38), like Marx and Engels (1977), conceived of reality as first encountered through human being’s situated socio-cultural engagement with the world’s physicality. Lefebvre says for example: ‘Nature is presupposed in the birth and appearance of subject and object’ (1968: 115), because in his Marxist relational conception of reality ‘nature’ itself already has cultural value. Nature is never only either ‘subject’ or ‘object’ of social relations, but is always immersed within them, despite being a *condition* of social relations and indeed human life. In fact, one can see that ‘space’ is similarly conceived by Lefebvre as a precondition of society but, once again, that this is not a state of affairs which we can ever experience as such; that is, we can never know space from outside of society (or vice versa). In consequence, it is appropriate that the analytical category which has the physical-material-sensual qualities of space as its primary focus – i.e. social-spatial practices – is the point of entry into the model’s elementary sequence (see Table 2.3, columns A and B.I).

2.2.2 *Dialectical philosophy and Lefebvre's method*

‘[Marx’s] Dialectical materialism rescues the human mind from falling back into confusion and one-sidedness.’

(Lefebvre 1968: 108).

Chapter 1 described how Lefebvre’s spatial epistemology was informed by his Marxist philosophy, and how this is widely acknowledged in the secondary literature (Elden 2004; Schmid 2008; Shields 1999). In Sections 1.2 and 2.1 I argued that a relational model of space and society that avoids ‘one-sidedness’ (Lefebvre 1968: 108) is a desirable perspective to adopt, and that for Lefebvre (1991: 71) re-conceptualising production was the key to implementing this. Additionally, we have already discovered that Marx’s mode of abstraction (in Lefebvre: ‘moments’) and the internal character of the relations between categories (see Figure 2.5) are integral to spatial dialectic’s basic framework. But how is one-sidedness to be avoided in practice, and how does the dialectic affect the working model depicted in Table 2.3? In this section, I describe further Marx’s dialectical philosophy and consider how Lefebvre intends that this should contribute to spatial dialectics and hence my model.

The entry point into Marx’s dialectical theory is the contrast that can be made between it and conventional materialist and idealist approaches. Ollman (2003) has termed the ‘commonsense’ approach the theory of *external relations*; as distinguished from Marx’s theory of *internal relations*. The central issue is the way in which categories are isolated from each other and assigned either whole or part statuses:

‘Our commonsense conception of “whole” and “part” ... are derived from a view of the world in which the whole (any whole) is the sum of its parts, themselves separate and distinct units that have simply been added together.’

(Ollman 2003: 55).

Lefebvre’s (1968) own work on dialectics echoes this standpoint by asserting that it is from the perspective afforded by formal logic that we can trace how these whole/part phenomena have been defined. Simply put, in the philosophy of external relations identity-categories are defined (i.e. bounded or given ‘limits’) and populated (that is, assigned their content) when these values of categories are considered significantly dissimilar from other phenomena (see Lefebvre 1968: 21-7; McGuire 1992: 95; Ollman 2003: 40-1). If no dissimilarities are

detected ‘sameness’ is logically said to prevail. In formal logic this is expressed as:

$A = A$ (sameness).

Difference exists when:

$A = \text{‘not } A\text{’}$ (dissimilarity).

It is therefore by the following methods that the philosophy of external relations defines and determines categories, wholes and parts: 1) the existence/non-existence of dissimilarity, and 2) the categories’ relative positions within the formula as a whole (Ollman 2003: 56).

However, Lefebvre (1968) and Ollman (*ibid.*) point out that this commonsense, atomistic, view of the world actually contains within it an overlooked *internal relationship*. There is an almost hidden movement within the definition of any set of related categories (Lefebvre 1968: 21-7; Ollman 2003: 51-5). Indeed, we can see this in point 2, above – ‘not A’ comes after A, so that A, in consequence, is a *condition* of our understanding of ‘not A’. Since ‘not A’ is in this way defined by the presupposition ‘A’, which necessarily precedes it, a difference is generated internally to both A and ‘not A’. This involves an intimate relationship and dynamic *between both categories* which cannot be perceived when viewed externally (*ibid.*)³.

The classic example is the opposition drawn in Hegel’s master and slave dialectic, in which these two social categories are defined both by their dissimilarity *and* in their (internal) relations to the other – ‘you can have masters only if there are slaves and vice versa ... That is, *they are the observable manifestations of a single underlying relation of slavery*’ (McGuire 1992: 96, my emphasis). The lesson here is that in order to understand how social categories are dialectically related it is not enough to consider how categories function synchronically, because this is not the lived historical context of their *production* (Lefebvre 1991: 71). There is no sense of the context of social relationships when we observe, for example, master = master (sameness); it is necessary to find the correct relationship by which phenomena are related in a way that is revealing about the generation of each categories, i.e. master = slave (dissimilarity).

³ By extension ‘Culture’ can be said to have the role of ‘not-A’ where ‘Nature’ plays the part of A, as Lefebvre has argued (1968: 38; and see my page 35, above).

‘Production’ as spatial dialectic

My use of the word ‘production’ above was deliberate and drew on Section 2.2.1, which highlighted the *spatialisation* of (internal) dialectical social relationships. I offer two examples of how this spatialisation of the dialectic relates to social spaces. The first example derives from consideration of the social roles of categories within historical contexts, rather than only in logic. In the case of marriage and divorce in modern society, divorce in civil law and practice (McGuire 1992: 121-2) is a recognised process whereby people related by marriage cease to be accurately described by that social relationship (thereby leaving the categories of husbands, wives, partners, etc.), and simultaneously achieve new relationship statuses and identities. In this sense divorce is a transformative social process in the context of marriage relations. It is not a romantic proposition, but, because divorce has no meaning without its connection to marriage, divorce is in this sense *internal* to the overall marriage relationship. That is to say, divorce and marriage are ‘the observable manifestations of a single underlying relation’ (McGuire 1992: 96). The categories ‘divorce’ and ‘marriage’ are in this context internally related because they describe, in the one instance, the dissolution of marriage relations (divorce as change), and in the other, the maintenance (marriage as continuity) of social categories. They only make sense when viewed as a whole relation composed of related parts, some of which are parts of other relations (i.e. other social relationships). The legal and practical relationship of marriage is, in its turn, also a part of other social contemporary relationships: for example, ‘single’ and other inter-personal unions such as common-law marriage or civil partnership.

Significantly, for our spatialisation of such relationships, divorce involves *places* (such as court appearances), *events* (signing of documents) and *processes* (such as trial separation, etc.) which attest to divorce as a *social process*. At the same time, marriage is not merely the absence of divorce; marriage requires reproduction of marriage relations, which is to say that continuity itself involves activity, not its absence or the absence of change (Lefebvre 1968: 120). The theory of external relations and commonsense approaches to social spaces show themselves as problematic because the method is fundamentally synchronic (e.g. space/society) and the inference one-directional (space → society or society → space). This is why change from one state to another necessitates that ‘surrogate discourses’ (Layton and Ucko 1999) be introduced to explain those static states of being (effects) as arising from external *causes* acting upon them. Here, some kind of animating (that is, *external*) impetus has to be suggested to explain change, ‘domestication’ and ‘ancestors’ (Hodder 1990; Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998; see Section 1.2), are two examples. These kinds of

approaches are anti-dialectical (McGuire 1992: 142-3).

The second point I have already mentioned: the manner in which a dialectical approach samples ‘parts’ from ‘wholes’; that is, categories (e.g. marriage and divorce) and underlying relations (marriage relations). Abstraction in this sense is Marx’s answer to Heraclitus’s problem with understanding change in a way more sophisticated than just comparing (externally) two or more synchronic states of affairs at two or more different times (Ollman 2003: 64). For example, stepping into a river twice (Heraclitus), or studying political thinking by comparing how people voted in general elections during a single decade, are traditional approaches to understanding change (Ollman 2003: 64-5). Viewed through the theory of external relations, the wholes here are the river and the ‘political climate’, and the parts are the abstracted data. This too is anti-dialectical in its treatment of time. Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina (1998) seem to me to display this flawed approach to social space in the way that social change is limited to the *differences* in their two maps of the Stonehenge landscape (see Figure 1.4), which as a consequence write into existence several hundred years of *absolute continuity* in-between.

Summary: categories as social relations

In this section I have shown that the dialectic approach used by Lefebvre (1968, 1991) effectively views ‘categories as social relations’ (Ollman 2003: 61), and I have indicated how the spatialisation of these relations evokes dynamic events, identities and places, rather than synchronic and bounded spaces. This has major implications for the refinement of the model in Table 2.3 because it implies that we need to think of analytical categories, such as social-spatial practice, as comprising internally related phenomena that link them to phenomena that are parts of other categories. This is in fact already consistent with Table 2.3 because, as we have seen, each analytical category contains aspects of all three moments of production (see also Figure 2.5). The physicality of social-spatial practice, for example, connects to that aspect of the other two categories. Two tasks now remain in my construction of my model, which are really aspects of the same issue. I need to consider in depth the kinds of study that Lefebvre intended be performed using each analytical category, and indicate how archaeologists can access these categories. This in turn will bring us to a clearer understanding of how internally related phenomena, like the physicality of space, connect with the categories of analysis in the relational sense Lefebvre’s theory demands.

2.2.3 Using Lefebvre's spatial dialectics

In this section, I describe what kinds of spaces are represented by the terms social-spatial practice, representations of space and spaces of representation and how they 'interact' in analysis. My point of departure is Table 2.3 which so far indicates the following:

1. The three analytical categories form an internally related conceptual whole (Figure 2.6). Social space is examined by using each category in turn to discover patterns in the relationships between space and society (Table 2.3, column A.1-3).
2. Each analytical category is also internally composed of three moments of the production of space – perception, conception, and social (Table 2.3, column B) – each of which has a primary and secondary affinity with an analytical category (see rows 1-3).
3. There is a two-fold ordering of spatial analysis in the model as it stands: a) the analytical categories are examined in a sequence (column A.1-A.3), usually with social-spatial practices analysed first, and; b) the movement between the primary and secondary foci (column B. I and II) of each analytical category provides information with which to access the next relevant category.

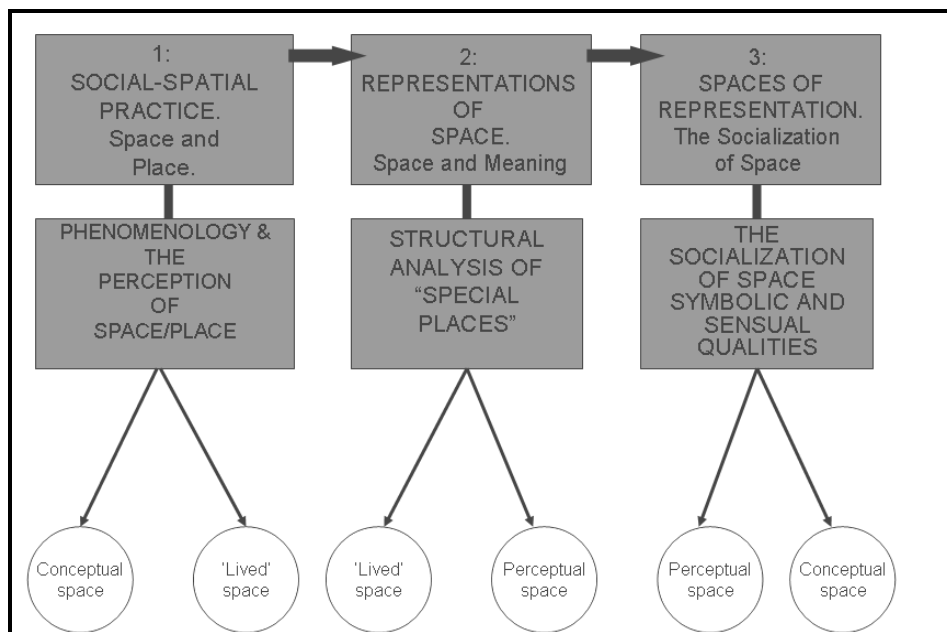


Figure 2.6. Representation of Table 2.3 as an intellectual process. The squares describe the primary foci using terminology associated with geographical (top row) and archaeological (lower row) approaches. Secondary foci are represented by the circles.

On this basis, we can now perceive that the intellectual process for a model of Lefebvre's production of space is already contained within Table 2.3 in an elementary form.

The full intellectual sequence being: **A.1** → B.I → B.II → **A.2** → B.I → B.II → **A.3** → B.I → B.II. Before proceeding to look more closely at the categories and connections I want to raise the following auto-critical point: the model so far only runs between row 1 and row 3; that is to say, at present the connection between row 3 and row 1 is not represented. In the following three sub-sections I examine the nature of each of Lefebvre's analytical categories in turn (i.e. rows 1-3, columns A and B.I), drawing particular attention to the *connections* between categories (column B.II). This comprises the final step in my construction of my model. I also provide information about each category's archaeological application in Figure 2.6, which is intended as a parallel representation of Table 2.3, rather than its replacement.

1. Social-Spatial Practices

As I have already outlined in Table 2.3 (row 1, column B.I):

‘[Social-]Spatial practices ... have close affinities with *perceived* space, to people's perceptions of the world, of their world. Thus [Social-]spatial practices structure lived reality, include routes and networks, patterns and interactions that connect places and people, image with reality, work with leisure.’

(Merrifield 2006: 110, original emphasis).

As Merrifield notes, the close relationship between perceived space, physical sensation and the appearance and perception of ‘the world, of their world’ implies also connections to already existing socio-spatial patterns (i.e. places, as well as spaces; Figure 2.6). This makes it abundantly clear that social-spatial practices are already internally connected to spaces of representation (i.e. row 3). There is a necessary theoretical circularity here which, whilst it must remain *conceptually* unbroken (to preserve the internal relationship between categories), needs to be argued for during analysis and interpretation and not allowed to pre-structure those interpretations. Exon *et al.* describe this dual quality of perception and existing pattern, and indicate to us an appropriate archaeological method of analysis:

‘[Social-Spatial Practice] tends to equate with a concern with concrete materiality and subjects which are prone to empirical mapping. Not surprisingly this correlates with a concern with pattern recognition, spatial recognition and positivism, but also may be associated with more “acceptable” phenomenological or behavioural analyses.’

(Exon *et al.* 2000: 9).

A phenomenological or practice theory approach is appropriate because, as Thomas reminds

us, ‘we can measure the distance across a valley because we can first of all recognise the difference between its near and far sides’ (Thomas 1996: 85; see also comments in Lefebvre 1991: 34). In this example the physicality of the valley is encountered in social activity and through that process is represented by an appropriate unit of measurement, device or phrase (see Figure 2.6). As I have described above, the subsequent ‘moment’ of production (the conceptualisation of social space) forms the entry point into the category ‘representations of space’.

2. Representations of Space

Lefebvre conceived of representations of space as a domain of social practice with language use, categorisation and practical knowledge at their centre (see Elden 2004: 189; Schmid 2008: 37). In this analytical category, Lefebvre’s spatial dialectics is especially concerned with how both these different aspects of knowledge combine and ‘interpenetrate’ (Merrifield 2006: 108) each other in the social world (see Lefebvre 1991: 38). In this sense

‘Représentations de l’espace are the logic and forms of knowledge, and the ideological content of codes, theories, and the conceptual depictions of space linked to production relations.’

(Shields 1999: 163; my emphasis).

For Lefebvre the synchronic and dynamic aspects of society (in this case practical/formal knowledge) *intersect* at, and *occur* within, ‘lived’ social space. The role of representations of space in Lefebvre’s spatial analytic then, is at once general and specific. Representations of space must consider both the overall logic (discourse, history, social practice, agency, etc.) and the particular forms (manifestations, signs, images, categories) of society’s knowledge-base.

Bender’s (1998) and Thomas’s (2004) use of the concept of the Neolithic ‘architectural repertoire’ is a useful way to understand this relationship (see Figure 2.6). Here a repertoire has been defined as an acknowledged set of technologies, skills and styles (or architectural devices) that are articulated within a specific community and are sensitive to existing cultural spaces (i.e. topography, architecture, social environment; Bender 1998: 48; Thomas 2004: 98). Thomas (*ibid.*) suggests that ‘extracted from these traditions ... [cultural repertoire] could be deployed and combined in new ways ... drawn upon, within a given topographical setting, in order to create certain effects’. He goes on to say that

[T]he configuration that emerged was generally unique, and specific to local circumstances, but the key point is that it was the outcome of a series of explicit choices concerning the way in which a particular space was to be organised

(Thomas 2004: 98).

Therefore, representations of space focus on the meanings specific to the places that stand out by examining social-spatial practices with the intension of discovering ‘the logic *and* forms’ (Shields 1999: 163) of the ‘explicit choices’ by which places, people and things were organised (Thomas 2004).

3. Spaces of Representation

Spaces of representation ‘are the directly lived spaces, the space of everyday experience’ (Merrifield 2006: 109); or, in other words, the ongoing socialisation of space’s symbolic and sensual qualities (see Figure 2.6). As Shields reminds us, this is ‘the third term or “other” in Lefebvre’s three-part dialectic’ (1999: 161); the ‘thirthing-as-othering’ or *Thirdspace* of Soja’s work (1996: 80). Analysis of spaces of representation involves a crucial interpretation of *history* since the specific responses to such spaces have a historical and contextual flavour. Lefebvre mentions ‘ego, bed, bedroom, dwelling, house; or church, square, graveyard’ (1991: 42) as having connotations that are spaces of representation for people. These are obviously modern Western examples but they indicate the importance of context because these are not just *locations* but places that are deeply affecting in everyday life. Lefebvre (1991: 61-5) goes on to describe certain ‘immersive and complex’ locations as the key for understanding particular societies, and his discussion of modern gardens provides an example of what he means by this.

For Lefebvre (1991: 366) gardens are especially immersive and complex locales because of the way in which they stimulate dialogue about conceptual categories such as nature and culture, wild and domestic (*cf.* Hodder 1990). He describes modern gardens as ‘dialectical media’ for inter-category engagement (Lefebvre 1991: 366). Superficially such a space would seem to represent the ordering of nature by cultural means (*cf.* Parker Pearson and Richards 1994), which may be true, but at the same time a garden’s ambiguous status conceivably encourages ‘convergence and synthesis between the heterogeneous, antipathetic, or just plain unexpected’ (Von Stackelberg 2009: 51). From Lefebvre’s dialectical perspective (1991: 61-5) the ‘immersive and complex’ character of modern gardens enfold human experiences by offering also opportunities for a *dis*-ordering of basic social categories. It is in

this sense that ‘This dimension of the production of space refers to the process of signification that links itself to a material symbol’ (Schmid 2008: 37).

Consequently, analysis of spaces of representation must be attuned to the socio-dynamic qualities of space, which are central to the construction and maintenance of categories, identities and social power. As I pointed out in my discussion of social-spatial practices, extant social relations are internally related to people’s basic perception of their environment-world. To examine spaces of representation archaeologically, the first step is to identify spaces that, like modern gardens, are ‘immersive and complex’ places where the established order of social categories (natural-world symbols and metaphor, origin myths and legend) is explored, challenged and reworked, and new configurations initiated in ongoing social processes. ‘Monuments’ and particular topographic spaces would seem to provide us with such spaces, and therefore reconnect society’s spaces of representation to its social-spatial practices. I am in particular thinking about monuments and topographies in the platial sense, described above, in which their meanings are not all to be found in the spaces in question. Rather, Lefebvre has in mind the social and historical processes of which particular arrangements of locations, people and things are the outwards manifestations of underlying relations. As Merrifield (2006: 108) so incisively puts it: ‘Theory must render intelligible qualities of space that are both perceptible and imperceptible to the senses’.

2.2.4 Summary: a revised model of Lefebvre’s spatial theory

In this chapter I have explored Lefebvre’s spatial dialectic in three steps. First, I focussed on the term ‘production’ in his theory of space and I emphasised that in his work this term was conceived as a unity of space’s product and process aspects. The complex character of this formulation lead me to consider Lefebvre’s manner of abstracting from reality ‘moments’ in the production process, and I critically reviewed a selection of diagrammatic representations of Lefebvre’s ideas (Figures 2.3-2.5). These were contrasted with the basic framework of Lefebvre’s analytical categories (Table 2.2) and it was found that a more complex organisation of his terminology was required: hence I created another working model (Table 2.3). From this review it was concluded that Lefebvre’s thought involved a shift from a commonsense to a relational or dialectical perspective and that this has important implications for the organisation of a Lefebvrian model of the production of space. Questions remained about the nature of these relationships and about the overall intellectual process.

My second step examined how Lefebvre's dialectical philosophy affected his spatial methodology. Lefebvre's Marxist philosophy was consistent with his call for a relational view of categories such as the material and the ideal, and the spatial and the social. A discussion of the philosophy of internal relations illustrated how categories are conceived of as simultaneously relations and parts of other relations. I also made it clear that Lefebvre's concept of 'production' allowed us to appreciate the spatial qualities of the interaction of social relations (e.g. marriage relations), which involve places, events and processes in the real social world, not just in thought. I feel that these contrast strongly with the results of anti-dialectical approaches, such as Parker Pearson's and Ramilisonina's (1998) interpretation of the Stonehenge landscape.

My third and final step summarised how the discussion has affected my working model of Lefebvre's theory and discovered that it is now possible to appreciate within Table 2.3 how Lefebvre's internally related categories and connections were organised into a conceptual whole and an intellectual process. I subsequently enlarged upon Lefebvre's analytic categories and observed once again how fundamental to his thinking are the connections between categories. Section 2.2.3 also indicated how archaeologists should understand Lefebvre's terminology and Figure 2.6 was used to support these observations. Figure 2.7 is my own model of Lefebvre's spatial dialectical theory of the production of space and identified five key points about Lefebvre's work, which have been discovered in this chapter.

These points are:

1. Lefebvre's approach embodies an intellectual process, led by clearly defined analytical categories (Figure 2.7, 1-3).
2. The model's categories (circles; see also Table 2.3, columns A.1-3 and column B.I) and connections between categories (overlaps of two circles) are distinguished. The points of overlap are the 'moments' of the production of space (see Table 2.3, column B).
3. Connections are internally related to more than one category (cf. Figure 2.4 and 2.5), but have primary and secondary foci through which relationships can be studied (i.e. Table 2.3, column B).
4. Categories are internally related to the system as a whole (as represented by the interlocking spheres), and to social space as both an object and subject of research (the point in the centre of Figure 2.7 where all three circles intersect).
5. The system as a whole is conceived as an ongoing and open-ended study; which is to

say that one might decide to enter or leave the system at any point that is appropriate for the study in question, and the scope and character of the information/data under analysis. I suggest that archaeologists will wish to start research with social-spatial practices, which focus on spatial data. It is to the spatial data of my case study that I now turn.

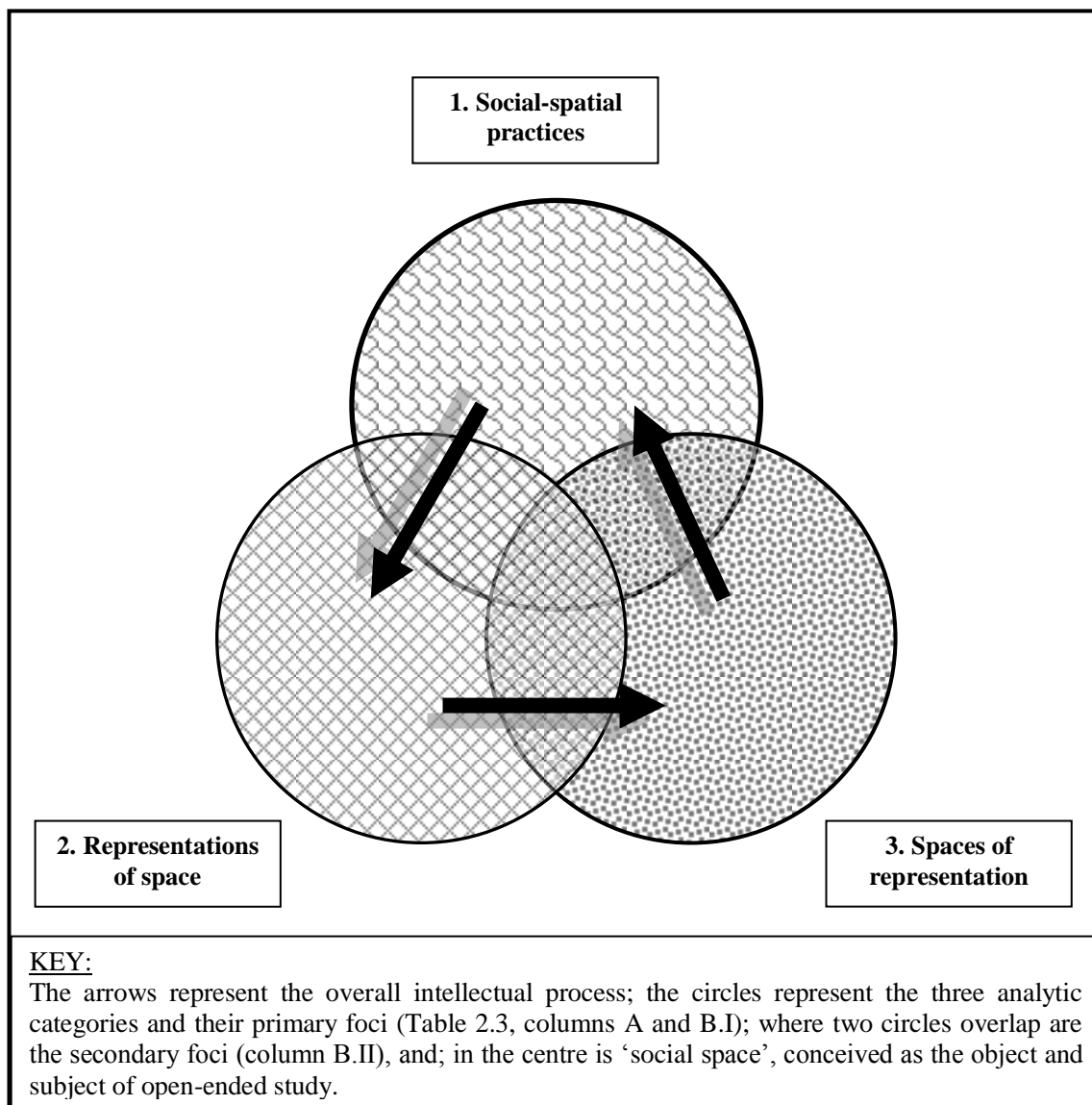


Figure 2.7. Schematic depiction of my model of Lefebvre's theory of the production of space.

CHAPTER 3

THE NEOLITHIC PEAK DISTRICT:

AN INTRODUCTION

3.1 LANDSCAPE: PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, ECOLOGY AND SOCIETY

The Peak District is located centrally on the British mainland (Figure 3.1), which places it within a potentially complicated matrix of early prehistoric socio-cultural connections. The Peak comprises the southern extremes of the Pennine Hills at a point where the country's Highland and Lowland Zones meet and is roughly halfway between the Irish Sea and North Sea. The Peak's physical geography is dominated by three elements (Figure 3.2 and 3.3): 1) a central limestone plateau, called the White Peak; 2) the surrounding gritstone zones, comprising the Staffordshire Moorlands in the west and south-west, the Eastern Moors, and the High or Dark Peak in the north, and; 3) the Southern Valleys on the remaining fringe of the region, through which most of the plateau's water passes into the Middle Trent Valley. At the interface of these geologies is softer shale represented by the broad valleys of the River Derwent and its tributaries and the sections of the rivers Manifold and Dove that do not pass through the limestone zone. These interfaces are important to note because they account for the Peak's many localized topographic and ecological conditions and moderate the oversimplified contrast between plateau-zone, moors and valleys.

At the same time, these basic contrasts help to illustrate some of the ways in which dissimilar physical conditions and affordances might have been perceptible in prehistory. The limestone plateau was laid down in the Carboniferous Age in massive horizontal folds, and this is reflected in the east/west orientation of much of the plateau's topography and rivers (Barnatt 2000). The majority of this plateau lies between the Rivers Derwent and Dove and varies in altitude between 210 and 450m OD (Figure 3.3). Here, long broad ridges and rolling hills are broken up by river valleys and upland basins. Today, the limestone geology is often exposed by shallow soils, especially on hilltops and along the river valleys and gorges, and there are frequent natural tors and precipitous scarp-edges. The plateau's rivers drain wide upland shelves, first into shallow limestone dales and then into deep valleys that quickly become narrow-bottomed gorges, flanked by limestone cliffs and fractured by caves and fissures. By contrast, the gritstone layers were formed by erosion along vertical, north-

south lines (*ibid.*), and these have formed linear shelves that rise in broad, flat steps that are particularly noticeable on the Eastern Moors. In the far north of the region the topography differs again. High rocky crags rise from rugged moor and heather and peat bogs that were formed in the later Mesolithic and Neolithic periods (Barnatt 2000: 8). Despite the inhospitable feel to these landscapes the gritstone zones are frequently dissected by river valleys (e.g. the Noe), which create lushly pastured and wooded dales which often reach high onto the moor as upland shelves and sheltered upland basins.

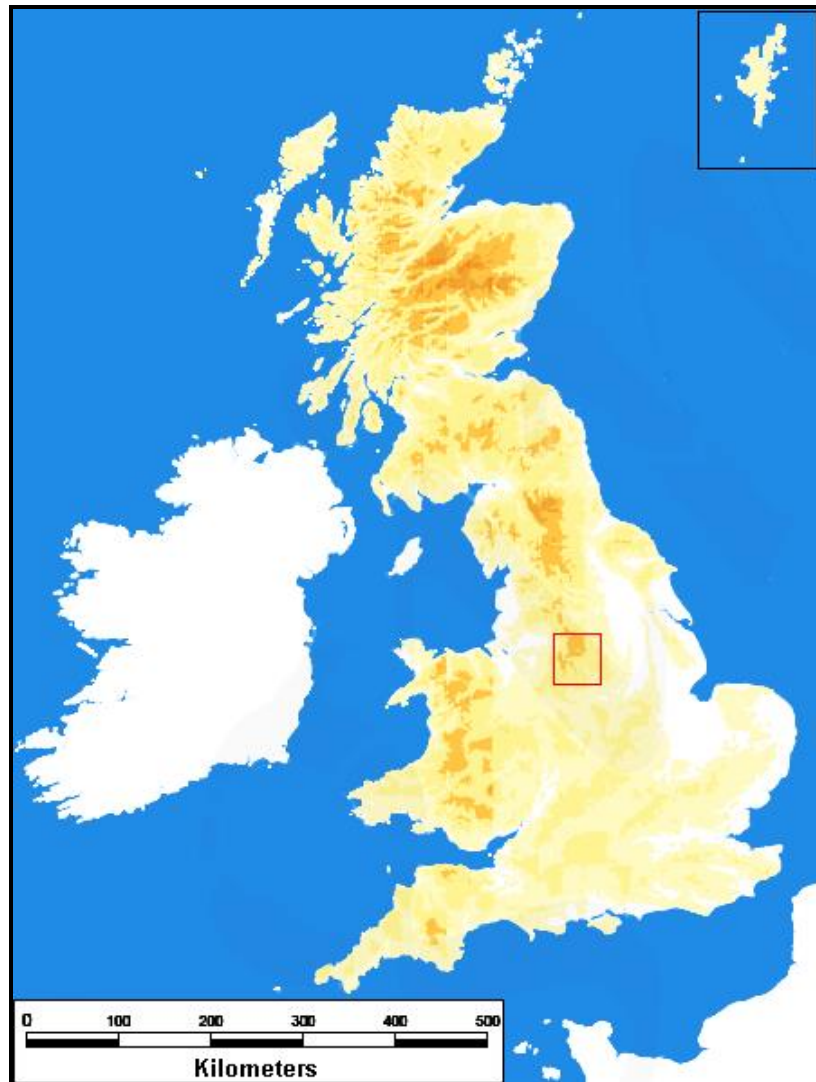


Figure 3.1. Location map of the Peak District in Britain. Land above 68.0m OD is shaded. Base map source: Edina digimap.

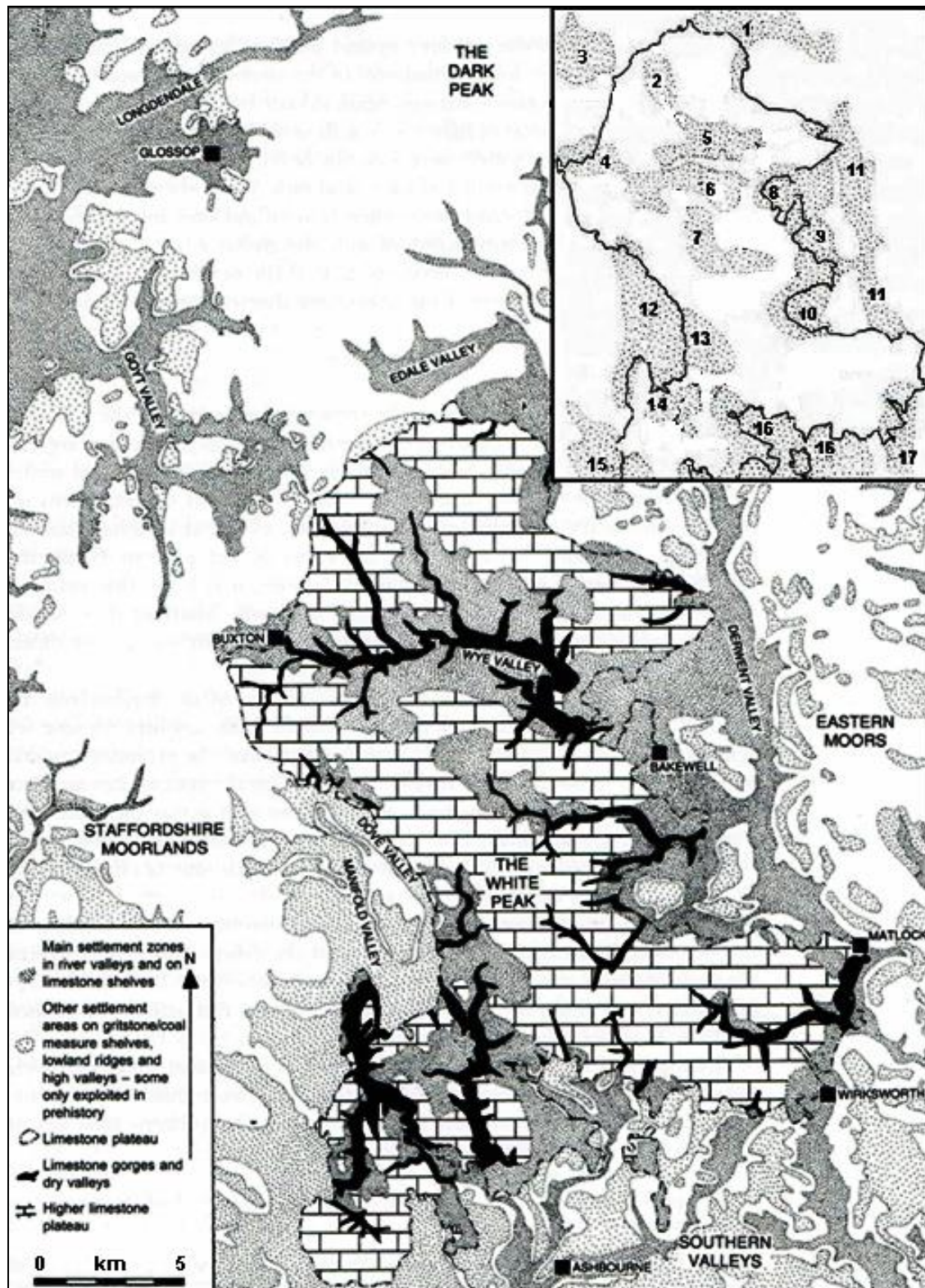


Figure 3.2. The physical geography of the Peak District with emphasis on areas suitable for settlement and cultivation (Main map), and Barnatt's 'traditional cultivation zones' (insert). Sources: Barnatt and Smith 2004: 3; Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.17.4.

Ecologically, the Peak's plateau and valleys contrast with much of the central Pennines to the north because they offer a greater variety of favourable environments and resources (Barnatt 1996a). However, as Monckton (2006: 265-8) highlights, there are

significant gaps, ambiguities and biases in the data that inhibit a clear understanding of the Neolithic environment. This has led to somewhat different interpretations of the Peak's conditions, which are inevitably influenced by the writers' portrayal of the overall character of Neolithic society. Taking a subsistence-based viewpoint, Barnatt and Smith depict the Peak District of around 4000 BC as a wooded limestone plateau dominated by ash and punctuated by 'broad sweeps of open pasture' (2004: 4). They portray the gritstone zone as a landscape of oak and birch with natural clearings. In both zones such clearings are 'in part enlarged by farmers' (*ibid.*: 5). They argue that the deep light soils, freshwater springs and physical shelter of the limestone-zone's river valleys, shelves and upland basins would have been particularly valued, while those off-plateau have heavier soils and probably had denser foliage (*ibid.*). This interpretative sketch differs somewhat from that of Edmonds and Seaborne (2001: 41), who describe 'only limited woodland clearance' at this time. Instead, they picture 'a good measure of variation of cover' on the limestone plateau, and an 'equally diverse' Eastern Moor (*ibid.*).

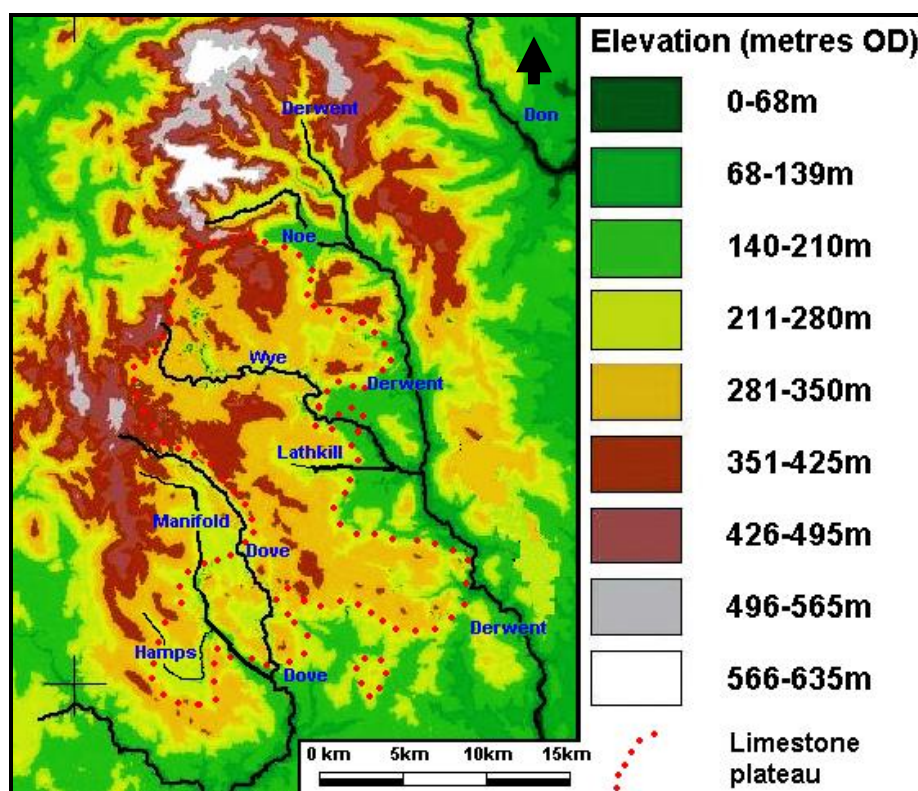


Figure 3.3. Elevation map of the Peak District, highlighting the local rivers and the limestone plateau. Base map: Edina digimap.

However, it is generally agreed that the Peak District furnished Neolithic communities with a 'natural wealth' and a diversity of resources: fresh water, fruit, nuts and other plants, timber, and stone (including chert but not flint; see Hind 1998); habitats for game animals,

fish and wildfowl; and the means to support domesticates such as cattle, sheep and pig (Barnatt and Smith 2004: 5-6; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 49-50). Barnatt (1996b: 63-7) speculates that the Peak District's valleys, basins and upland shelves would have been particularly valued as the 'home bases' of mobile Mesolithic-Neolithic peoples and as the traditional cultivation zones (hereafter TCZs) of mobile or tethered-mobile Neolithic populations (see Figure 3.2 and insert). He suggests 17 TCZs as potential social cores⁴ and, since cleared areas on the plateau lack evidence for cereal pollen (see also Monckton 2006: 265), casts the areas between TCZ cores in the roles of livestock-grazing land and destinations for hunting and gathering excursions (Barnatt 1996b: 63). It is largely on these ecological bases that Barnatt highlights the significance of the plateau-zone in Neolithic social geographies. Indeed, he suggests that the plateau would have been the principle point of contact between different TCZ-based communities and people from other regions, and that monuments functioned as territorial markers and places for the resolution of inter-group conflicts, especially in the Earlier Neolithic period (*ibid.*). Barnatt's explanation for the cumulative clustering of Neolithic monuments on the plateau over time into Later Neolithic 'ceremonial complexes' is that these reflected the coalescence of larger socio-political units from these earlier territorial units (*ibid.*: 65-7).

This primacy of the plateau is in part supported by the distribution of dated flints, which appear to demonstrate a marked continuity between Later Mesolithic and Earlier Neolithic social geographies (Bradley and Hart 1983), and a clear preference for activity in the limestone zone until at least the Later Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Barnatt 1996a: 50-1). Moreover, Lismore Fields, Buxton (Figure 3.4), is located within one of Barnatt's TCZs (the Buxton Basin; see TCZ4, Figure 3.2, insert), although the site is also at the interface of limestone and gritstone zones (Garton 1991: 13). At this nationally important site two Neolithic 'long-house' style timber-post structures were found to be associated with domesticated grain and flax, and in the vicinity of pits and other features containing Earlier Neolithic bowl pottery shards, a Group VI polished stone axe and an axe fragment. Emmer wheat, flax and charcoal from post-holes in Building I (see Figure 3.4) produced a range of dates between 3975-3550 cal. BC (flax; OxA 2436 at 68% probability) and 3785-3380 cal.

⁴ Barnatt names these as follows (see Figure 3.2, insert): 1. Hope valley; 2. Peak Forest basin; 3. Chapel en le Frith valley; 4. Buxton basin; 5. Wye valley shelves (north); 6. Wye valley shelves (south); 7. Monyash basin; 8. Longstone basin; 9. Lower Wye valley and Bakewell shelf; 10. Bradford valley and Harthill Moor; 11. Derwent valley; 12. Upper Dove and Manifold valleys; 13. Biggin basin; 14. Alstonefield shelf; 15. Upper Hamps valley; 16. Southern fringes; and 17. Wirksworth valley.

BC (charcoal; OxA 2437 at 68%). A single date on charcoal from a post-hole of Building II dated to 3685-3135 cal. BC (OxA 2435 at 68% probability). The flax date for Building I is the most convincing evidence for the site's role in the earliest Neolithic presence in the Peak District, and may therefore correspond to Whittle *et al.*'s (2011) description of a primary or inception Neolithic occurring in the Midlands around the 38th-37th centuries BC at the earliest. However, the Lismore Fields excavation is as yet unpublished, with the results of additional dating techniques still awaited, and the interim report was unable to confirm the dates of many features on the site and their relationships to Building I (Garton 1991: 13). In consequence, the significance of Lismore Fields to the Neolithic in the region is hard to judge: Buildings I and II may date from anywhere within the fourth millennium cal. BC, or to separate episodes of activity within that time frame.

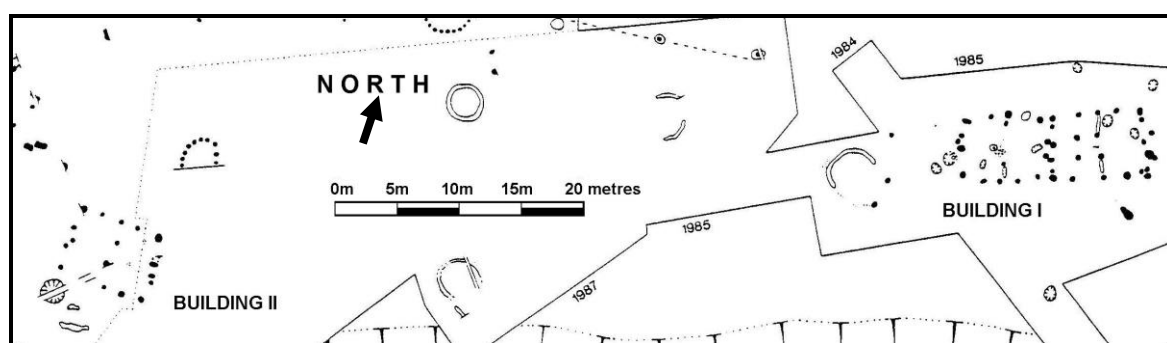


Figure 3.4. The two buildings and other features at Lismore Fields. Source: detail from Garton 1991: Figure 1.2.

Summary

Barnatt's TCZ-based model of space is appealing for the much needed social and historical structure it gives to the region. Nevertheless, it is necessary to take a critical stance because Barnatt's overall thesis is that the TCZs are *defined* by their role within a plateau-focussed agro-pastoralist economy, itself viewed as the basic component of the Neolithic Peak District. Yet recent flint scatter analysis has suggested that there is little difference in the frequency and range of worked Neolithic flints in plateau, valley or Moorland zones (Knight *et al.* 2010: 5), which may undermine the significance of plateau-based activity. Indeed, it cannot be said for certain in what phase of the Earlier Neolithic period Lismore Fields was in use, whether the site is typical of Peak communities' reliance on agricultural products, how sustained or widespread such a life style was, or if the buildings and their contents had instead some kind of 'special' or symbolic role (see Thomas 2008: 67-74). The animal bones found in the Peak in this period also largely come from special contexts – i.e. funerary monuments. In consequence, there is at present little to indicate whether the earliest Neolithic in the Peak was essentially 'performed', predominantly in symbolic form, or created in social practices (*ibid.*),

if this involved the indigenous populations, whether the Peak was appropriated by Neolithic colonists and ideas (Whittle *et al.* 2011), or whether we are dealing with some combination of the two.

An attempt at a less subsistence-focused socio-cultural model for the Peak is made by Edmonds and Seaborne (2001), who consider what variety in cultural practices might say about different social identities and group traditions. This is a pleasing counterpoint to Barnatt's model but the absence of actual spatial analysis (and very poor maps and plans; see below) leaves them unable to consider the social structures and traditions under which communities lived and where activities took place. They do not, for example, systematically examine the composition, distribution or long-term architectural changes of the 'monument clusters' that they identify. In Chapter 4, I develop a model which combines the either/or, structure/agency perspectives of Barnatt's and Edmonds and Seaborne's syntheses by addressing the dialectic between the two approaches.

3.2 MONUMENTS: CLASSIFICATION, CHRONOLOGY AND DISTRIBUTION

3.2.1 Understanding the Neolithic data set

The Derbyshire Peak District features a diverse but poorly dated and understood range of Neolithic funerary and ceremonial monuments (Knight *et al.* 2010: 3). The resulting lack of an agreed basis for classification and chronology is illustrated by Figure 3.5, which compares two attempts to represent visually the distribution and development of the Peak District's monuments. In Barnatt's map monuments are defined as belonging to one of five classifications (A-F) in a manner that inevitably disregards phases of development. Long Low, for example, is defined (correctly) as a bank barrow (C), but this categorisation does not capture the fact that it was actually constructed by joining together two closed chambered cairns with a stone-spine some c. 210m in length (see below). Edmonds and Seaborne represent this by placing a 'long barrow' symbol between two 'chambered cairns', which addresses this change in monument form. However, elsewhere Edmonds and Seaborne do not define the different characters of chambered cairns: for example, they identify neither great barrows (B, in Barnatt's map) nor passage graves, and they do not include henges in the map (A), despite their likely contemporaneity with some of the chambered cairns.

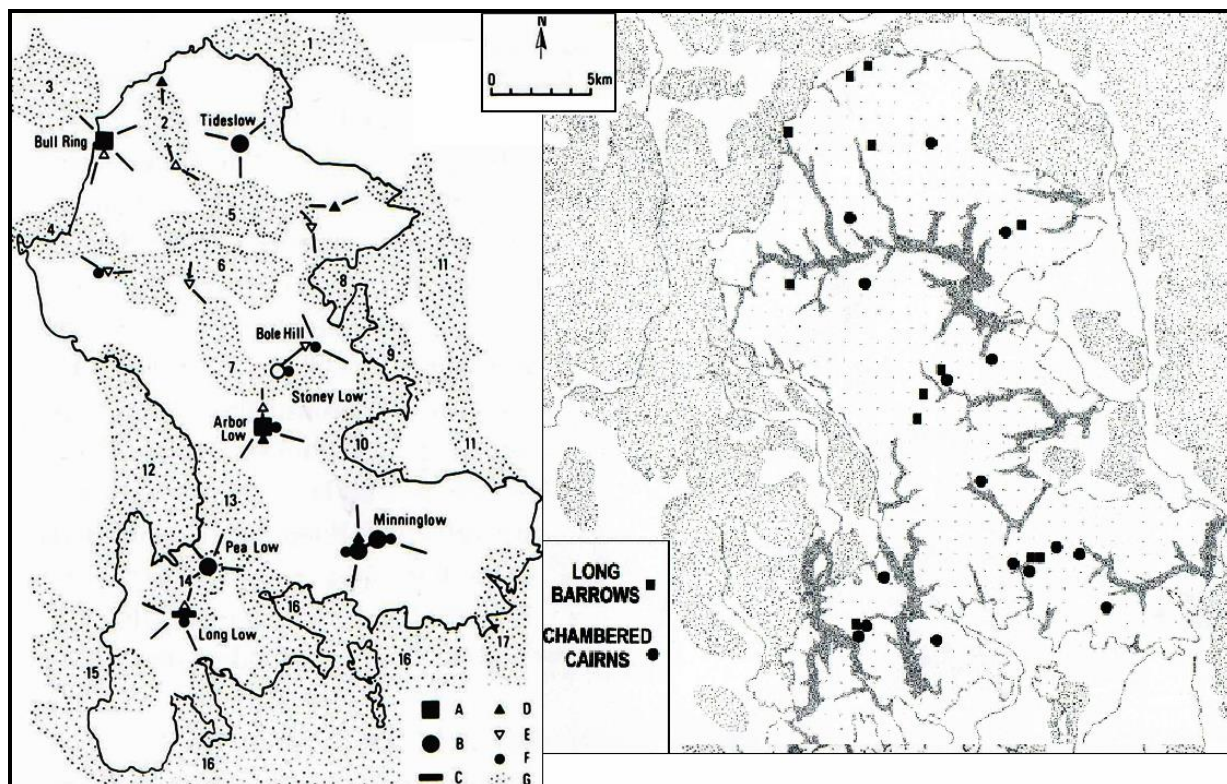


Figure 3.5. The classification, chronology and distribution of Neolithic period sites and monuments in two recent syntheses. Sources: Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.17.4 (left; for key, see text) and Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 216 (right).

Barnatt approaches the variety seen at site level by the use of many more symbols than Edmonds and Seaborne, and he provides separate maps that show that long barrows, chambered cairns and ‘Late Neolithic monuments’ sometimes existed at the same sites (see Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.17). However, the advantage that is gained by this specificity is lost in the confused impression of the basic form, classification and chronology of most sites and monuments in any given phase or period. Symbols D and E, for example, identify ‘long barrows with superimposed round barrows’ and ‘other chambered and long barrows’, respectively (see Figure 3.5). The issue here is that some of the chambered monuments indicated are simple passage graves in circular cairns, whilst others are chambered *long* barrows (a distinction that is not made explicit, even in his other maps). Additionally, ‘F’ stands for ‘round barrows’, a very broad term that also obscures diversity and individual monument sequences. Chambered long barrows are in turn fundamentally different to earthen long barrows, a dissimilarity that is not properly brought to the fore in either map (although Barnatt does do this in his Figure 1.17.1). Marsden’s (1982) excavation of the site of Minninglow (see Barnatt’s map) shows the site as falling into at least three of the definitions given above, implying both fourth and third millennium BC classifications (see below), yet the importance of this sequence is poorly served by both syntheses.

In this chapter I commence with two basic archaeological sequences, the Earlier Neolithic period (c. 4000-3000 cal. BC) and the Later Neolithic period (c. 3000-2200 cal. BC; Pollard 2008), which I critically review against the Peak District evidence below. I distinguish from the very start between *sites*, that is, places in the landscape where different architectural spaces were created, and *monument classes*, which define the character of that space at different points through time (see Tables 3.1 and 3.5). This allows me to adopt a programme of classification and chronology in which continuity/change and similarity/dissimilarity are incorporated, and from which further distinctions within the Peak's Neolithic monument classifications and sequences, and patterns of distribution, can be identified. I am specifically interested in those to do with the now nationally recognised Middle Neolithic period monuments and material culture (c. 3500 cal. BC-2900/2800 cal. BC; see Figure 3.6). Section 3.3 will present a revised chronology for the Peak District which will form the actual basis of my thesis.

<i>THE MIDDLE NEOLITHIC PERIOD</i>	
<i>Earlier Phase, c.3500-3300 cal. BC</i>	<i>Later Phase, c.3300-29/2800 cal. BC</i>
<i>Late southern earthen barrows; abandonment of causewayed enclosures; cursuses at their height of use; beginning of individual burials in modest round and oval barrows.</i>	<i>Individual burials in round and oval barrows; the radiocarbon dates of the principal inhumation graves at Duggleby Howe and inhumation at Liff's Low; the construction of great barrows; formative henges, ring ditches and palisade enclosures.</i>
<i>Impressed/Peterborough Wares</i>	<i>Grooved Ware</i>

Figure 3.6. The Middle Neolithic period, based on Loveday and Barclay (2010) and my discussion in this section.

Since the data set is imperfectly known, it is necessary that I employ three terms when classifying monuments: certain, possible and arguable. A *certain* example of a monument classification is one in which my interpretation is based upon material evidence relating to an important or defining feature of the class, or a convincing reference from Barnatt's corpus (1996d) supporting that classification. I use the term *possible* where the material evidence can be interpreted in another way or does not have unqualified support. Nevertheless, in some cases individual phases that are inadequately known or based only upon antiquarian accounts may be followed or preceded by phases that are better understood. In this way, each phase can contribute something to our understanding of chronological sequences, which can then be tentatively extended to similar but less well-recorded sites (although this runs some risk of

homogenising what may be dissimilar structures if relied upon too much). *Arguable* examples are yet more open to contrasting interpretations. For example, interpretation may rest solely upon antiquarian accounts that invite more than one reading (e.g. Stanshope; see site 23, Table 3.1, column B-C), and where classification can only be argued on the basis of a retrospective understanding of its chronological sequence (e.g. Pea Low, site 18). Arguable sites and monuments are normally excluded from my calculations, but are discussed in the text.

I make two further changes to the syntheses of Barnatt, and of Edmonds and Seaborne. I have corrected two errors: 1) Ringham Low is incorrectly labelled as ‘Stoney Low’ in Barnatt’s map (and repeated in Edmonds and Seaborne 2001); Stoney Low is in fact located close to Minninglow Hill (see Tables 3.1 for national grid references: *cf.* Barnatt 1996b: 65, where this error is not made); and, 2) Edmonds and Seaborne incorrectly position The Tong (site 25; *cf.* Figures 3.5 and 3.7). I also include other sites and monuments of interest omitted by the other works, foremost of which is Stanshope (site 23). Site names are those used by Barnatt (1996b and 1996d): hence I use Minninglow rather than Minning Low (e.g. Marsden 1982).

3.2.2 The Earlier Neolithic Period, c. 4000 – c. 3000 cal. BC

Barnatt (1996b: 21-5) identifies three basic categories of Earlier Neolithic funerary monument in the Peak District – closed chambered cairns, long barrows, passage graves – although exact parallels between the Peak data and the national picture may be impossible to draw. Table 3.1 demonstrates that classification of the monuments of this period is extremely complex. I attempt to capture the mutability of the data by classifying 24 sites as Earlier Neolithic (see column B), eight of which include architectural features and phases that fall into a later fourth millennium BC category suggested by Manby (1965), which I critically discuss at the end of this section. I review the evidence for great barrows in Section 3.2.3, which appear in this section to provide the full architectural sequences of certain multi-phase/cross-period sites. The current section is divided into three parts, which discuss: 1) closed- and passage grave-type chambered cairns; 2) Long barrow-forms, and; 3) the possibility of a distinct ‘cross-fertilisation’ period in the later fourth millennium BC (*ibid.*).

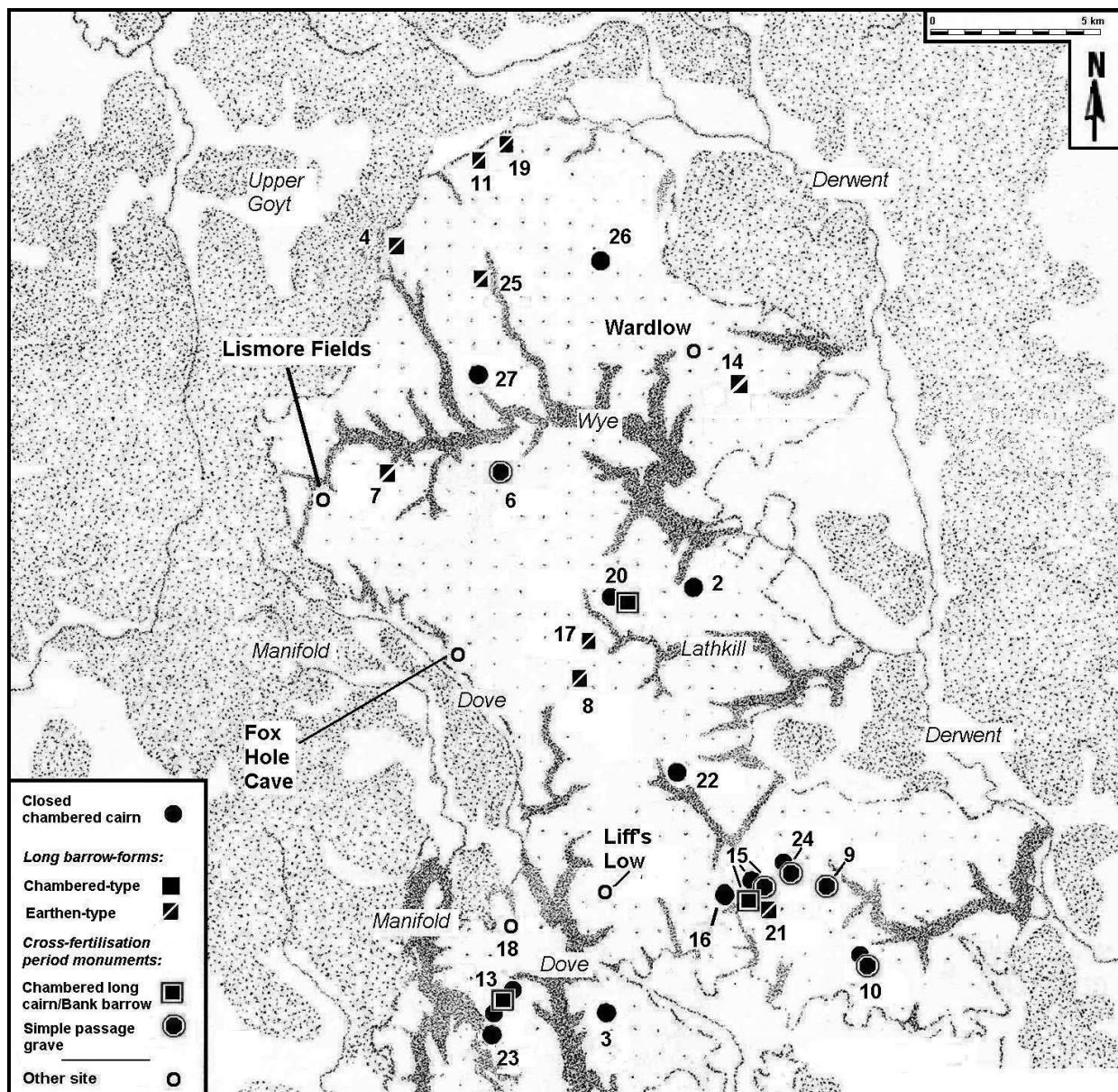


Figure 3.7. The Earlier Neolithic period sites and monuments in the Peak District. Only the sites numbered are judged as suitable for the analysis of this period (see Table 3.1). The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001.

A. SITE DETAILS:			B. PERIOD:		C. MONUMENT CLASS:			
Site	Location:				Closed Chamber Cairn	Long Barrow-form	Passage Grave-type Cairn	Great Barrow
	Parish Reference/Barnatt's Corpus No. (see 1996d)	National Grid. Reference	Earlier Neolithic period, c.4000-c.3000 cal. BC	Earlier Middle Neolithic period, c.3500-c. 3300 cal. BC				
2. Bole Hill	Bakewell 1/6:9	SK184.676.	•		•			o
3. Bostern	Newton Grange 10/ 9:14	SK15145338	•		•			
4. Bull Ring	Chapel en le Frith 3/1:7	SK67867818	•			o		
6. Five Wells	Taddington 1/5:6	SK12377105	•	•			•	
7. Gospel Hillocks	King Sterndale 1/5:2	SK08637148	•			o		
8. Gib Hill*	Middleton & Smerrill 3/8:7	SK15826332	•			•		
9. Green Low	Aldwark 11/ 10:12	SK23165805	•	•			•	
10.Harborough Rocks	Brassington 1/ 10:21	SK24275534	•	•	o		•	o
11.Harrod Low	Peak Forest 1/ 1:6	SK09848058	•			•		
13.Long Low*	Wetton 1 & 2/11:11 & 11:12	SK12165399/ SK12105383	••/•	•	••	•		
14. Longstone Moor	Stoney Middleton 1/ 4:8	SK19797476	•			•		
15. Minninglow A #	Ballidon 1/ 10:5	SK20955728	•	•	o	•	•	•
16. Minninglow B	Ballidon 2/ 10:6	SK20925730	•		•			

Table 3.1. The Earlier Neolithic data set and basic monument classifications arranged alphabetically and continued over leaf. Certain and possible types are distinguished by closed (●) and open (o) circles, respectively; a cross (x) denotes arguable examples. Only certain and possible numbered sites are used in analysis. Sites that featured 'pre-monumental' structures are marked with appropriate numbers of asterisks (*), and hash (#) is used for sites where an orthostat was found.

Table 3.1 continued

1. SITE DETAILS:			2. PERIOD:		3. MONUMENT CLASS:			
Site	Location:				Closed Chambered Cairn	Long Barrow-form	Passage Grave-type Cairn	Great Barrow
	Parish Reference No./Barnatt's Corpus Reference (see 1996d)	National Reference Grid.	Earlier Neolithic period, c.4000-c.3000 cal. BC	Earlier Middle Neolithic period, c.3500-c. 3300 cal. BC				
17. One Ash	Middleton & Smerrill/ 8:40	SK16176457	•			o		
18. Pea Low	Alstonefield 6/11:10	SK13075646	•		x			•
19. Perryfoot	Peak Forest 2/1:4	SK10928119	•			•		
20. Ringham Low	Over Haddon 1/8:2	SK16956642	•	o	•	o	x	o
21. Rockhurst	Aldwark 3/10:7	SK21415736	•			•		
22. Smerrill Moor	Middleton & Smerrill 16/8:23	SK18666080	•		•			
23. Stanshope	Wetton 3/11:50	SK13855369	•	o	o		x	
24. Stoney Low	Aldwark 12/10:9	SK21855783	•	o	•		o	•
25. The Tong	Wormhill 6/2:8	SK11697698	•			o		
26.Tideslow**#	Tideswell 1/1:10	SK15007795	•		•			•
27. Wind Low	Wormhill 1/2:3	SK11457517	•		•			
Wardlow	Wardlow 2/4:20	SK18..75..	x		x			
TOTALS:			24 sites	8 sites	13	12	5	7

1. Closed- and Passage Grave-type Chambered Cairns

Architectural forms

Barnatt (1996b: 22-4, 87-92) lists between eight and 16 chambered cairns, between four and 12 of which he believes are sites with closed chambers, and four or five passage grave types. In the first category are circular or near-circular mounds with between one and seven rectangular, square or occasionally irregularly-shaped 'boxes' near or slightly off-set from centre. These are frequently described by antiquarians as built of massive limestone slabs set on their edges, and sometimes surmounted by substantial cap-stones or the remains thereof (*ibid.*: 22). Bostern and Stoney Low, for example, are described by Bateman (1848 and 1843, cited by Barnatt 1996b: 87) as having a 'very large' square setting of limestone slabs at their centre, and at least three 'large cists' or 'vaults', respectively. Bateman's descriptions indicate at least one convincing capstone at each site (*ibid.*). Bateman also records an 'unusually large cist' at the centre of Wind Low and his sketch of Ringham Low's seven 'exceptionally large' stone settings indicate that individual slabs were up to 3.0m in length (quotes are from Bateman, *ibid.*; for Bateman's sketch see the next part of this section). On the basis of these accounts it is probably better to employ the term *chamber*, instead of 'cist', for these substantial stone settings. Modern fieldwork at three sites supports this: at Minninglow A (Figure 3.8) the setting is 2.4m long, c. 1.8m wide and 2.3m deep (Marsden 1982), with around 10.0m cubic capacity; Barnatt's (1996b: 91) survey of the feature at Minninglow B (which Bateman also calls a cist) records its dimensions as 1.6m by 1.6m and at least 0.8m deep; and the smaller of the two slab-built structures at Tideslow (Figure 3.8) was 2.25m by c. 1.25m and had a single massive capstone (Plant and Radley 1971).

The closed chambered cairns at Wind Low, Stanshope and Tideslow were encircled by stone-defined kerbs; in the latter two cases these were found deep within the mound material, indicating that substantial enlargements took place in subsequent periods (see Barnatt 1996b: 87-92). However, the original cairns were already of impressive dimensions. In Table 3.2, I assemble all the known measurements of the Peak's chambered sites and calculate the average size in square metres based on six closed chambered cairns, three simple passage grave-type cairns and five great barrows. Closed chambered cairns measured between c. 260.0 and 400.0m², with two examples between c. 660.0-700.0m², and an overall average of 432.7m². Passage graves are noticeably smaller, averaging only 263.9m², with Five Wells measuring less than 200.0m² in this phase. Whilst I focus on great barrows in the next section, the size

difference between these two monument classes and the final dimensions which some of them came to have as great barrows is striking (see Table 3.1 and 3.2, for details).

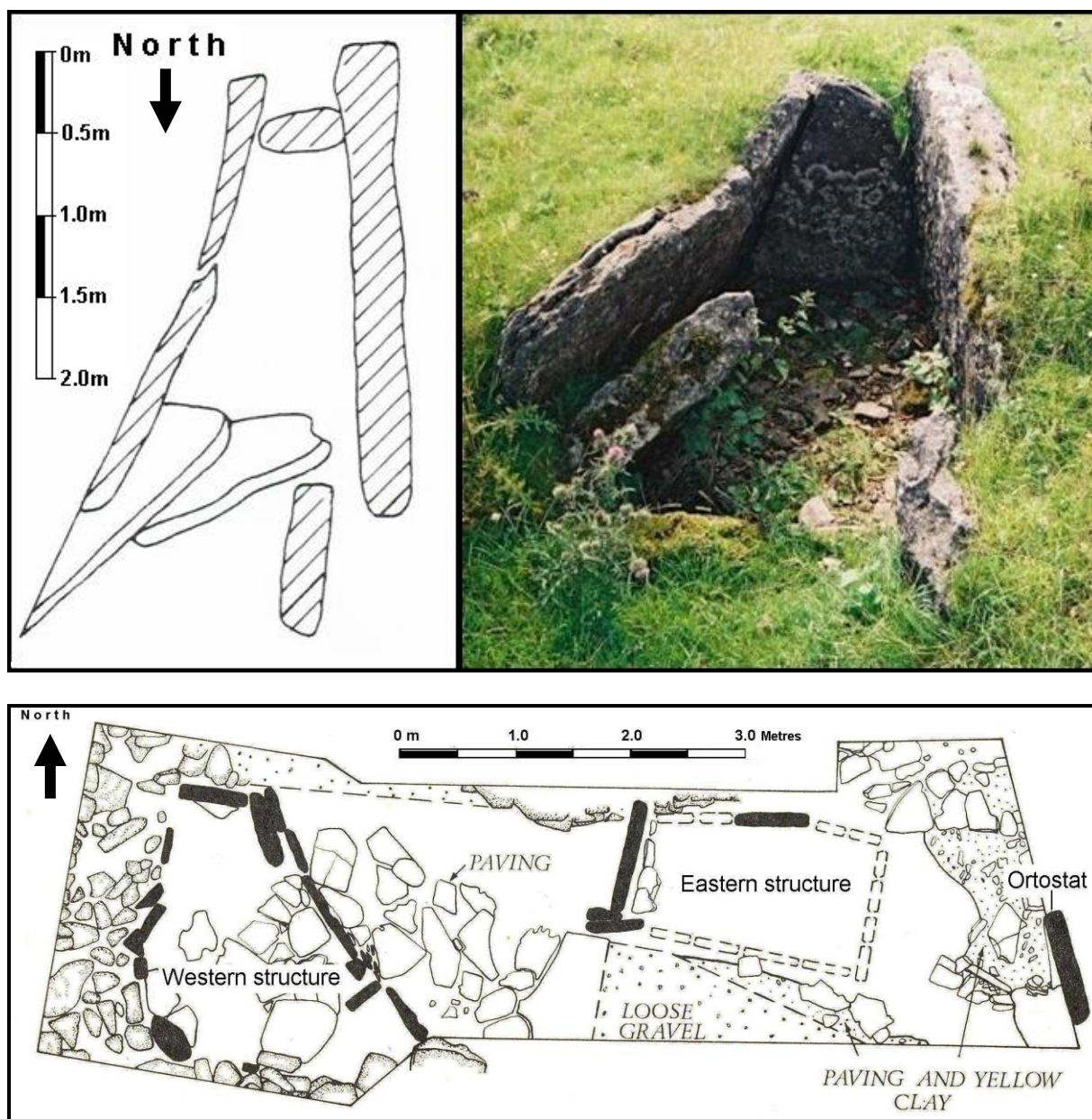


Figure 3.8. The chambers of two Peak District closed chambered cairns. Top: 'Chamber 3' at Minninglow A; Bottom: the structures at Tideslow. Sources: sketch modified from Marsden 1982: Fig. 5; photograph RBW, June 2007, and; Plant and Radley 1971, with additions (in lower case text).

A. SITE:	B. SIZE (Metres, approximate)	C. TOTAL AREA (Metres squared)
3. Bostern	23.5 x 19.0m	350.7m ² *
6. Five Wells, 1 st Phase 2 nd Phase (see Section 3.2.3)	16.0 x 14.5m 22.0 x 23.0m	182.2m ² # 397.5m ²
9. Green Low	22.5 x 19.0m	335.8m ² #
10. Harboro' Rocks	20.5 x 17.0m	273.8m ² #
12. Liffs Low	20.0 x 16.0m	320.0m ²
13. Long Low, NNE cairn SSW cairn	28.0 x 32.0m 19.0 x 21.0m	703.8m ² * 313.4m ² *
15. Minninglow A: i) Long barrow-form ii) Great barrow	See Table 3.3	
	45.0 x 38.0m	1710.0m ² Σ
16. Minninglow B	23.5 x 16.5m	304.6m ² *
18. Pea Low	45.5 x 38.0m	1355.0m ² Σ
20. Ringham Low: Bateman 1847 Bateman 1855 Hart survey (1986, see Barnatt 1996b)	46.5 x 27.5m 49.5 x 32.0m 56.0 x 34.0m	1004.5m ² 1244.2m ² 1495.6m ²
	AVERAGE: 1248.1m ² Σ	
24. Stoney Low	48.0 x 35.0m	1319.6m ² Σ
26. Tideslow	38.0 x 33.5m	999.9m ² Σ
27. Wind Low: Barnatt survey (1996b) Bateman 1848	16.0 x 12.0m 18.3m (diameter)	150. 8m ² 263.1m ² *
Wardlow (destroyed) Evatt 1763	c. 29.0m (diameter)	c. 660.6m ² *
AVERAGES (symbols denote the measurements used): Closed chambered cairns (6 examples *) Simple Passage graves (3 examples #) Great barrows (5 examples Σ)		432.7m ² 263.9m ² 1326.5m ²

Table 3.2. The dimensions of the Peak District's chambered funerary monuments. Source: Barnatt 1996b.

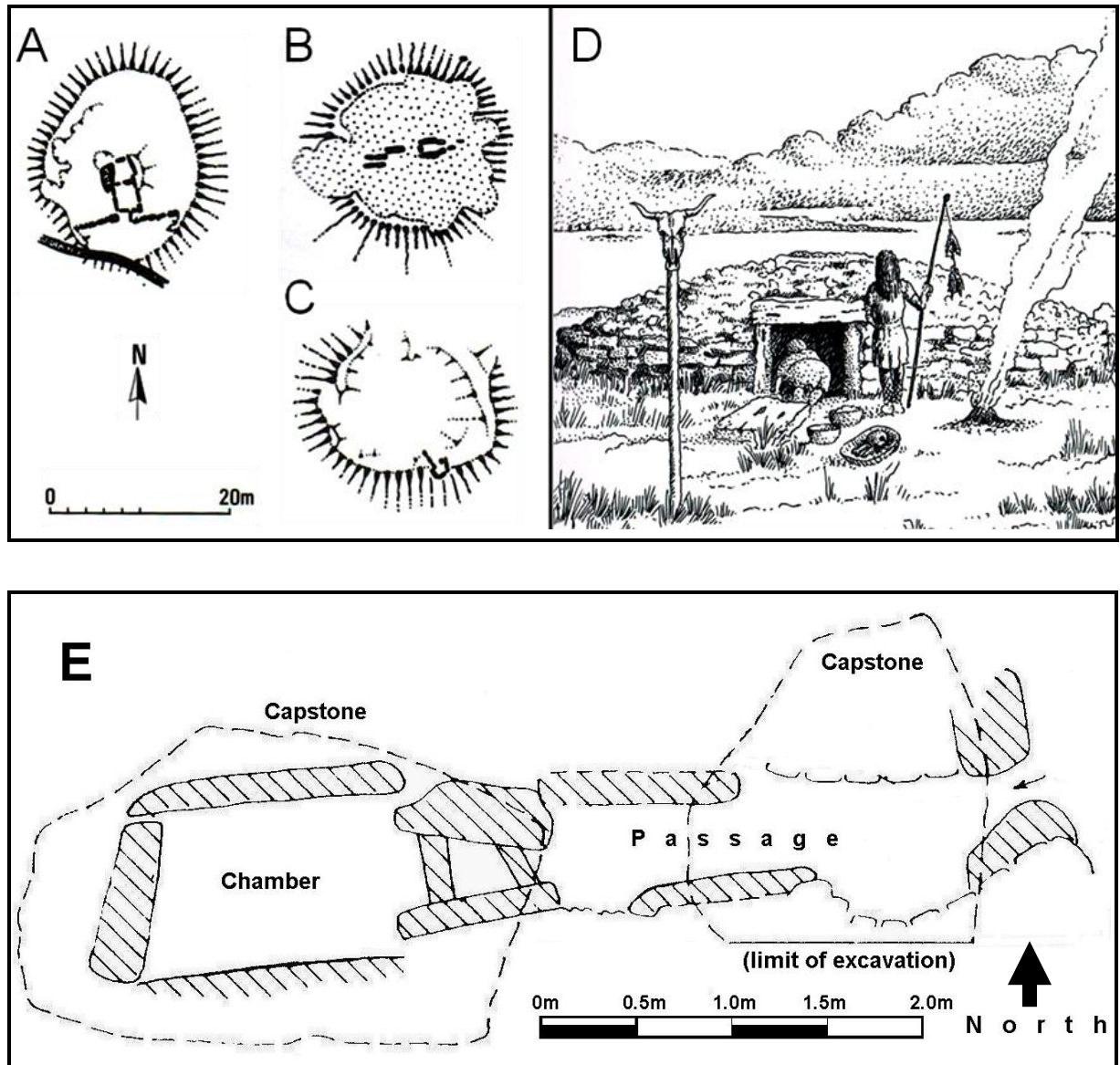


Figure 3.9. Four examples of simple passage grave-type chambered cairns. A: Green Low, B: Five Wells, C: Harborough Rocks, D: An artist's impression of Five Wells during its primary use phase, and E: Minninglow A, 'Chamber 1'. Sources: A-C, detail from Barnatt 1996b, Figure 1.10; D. Barnatt and Smith 2004: Figure 10; E. modified from Marsden 1982: Fig. 2.

The passage grave-type chambered monuments fall into two main kinds. First, there are at least four circular or near-circular passage grave-type cairns, which may form their own distinct architectural tradition as 'simple passage graves' (See Figure 3.9). Green Low differs very noticeably from other examples in its greater overall size (Table 3.2), larger and more regular stone settings and its well-defined flat 'horned' forecourt, which creates a D-shaped plan. Five Wells is also of a different form, with its passages arranged 'back-to-back', but the passages themselves seem to share a common structural organisation with 'Chamber 1' of Minninglow A and Harborough Rocks (Figure 3.9.A and E). The second type of passage grave is represented by at least two long barrow-form monuments that feature potential

passages (Minninglow A and Ringham Low), which I designate as chambered-type long barrows. At Minninglow A these are of a *later* phase than that depicted in Figures 3.8 (top) and 3.9.E (which are the first two phases of the site); Minninglow's long barrow-form is the site's *third* Earlier Neolithic period phase (Marsden 1982). Once again the two passages at Five Wells and that sketched for Harborough Rocks, appear to be similar in form and dimensions to the passages of the chambered long barrows, increasing the impression that Green Low is a distinctive site in some way. I return to the chambered long barrows and Green Low below.

Material culture, mortuary deposits and dating evidence

The contents of closed- and passage grave-type chambers are on the whole badly recorded and correspondingly poorly understood. Only one chamber, namely that within Long Low's north north-east cairn, was not disturbed prior to excavation. This contained a mixture of animal bones and the remains of 13 articulated or partially-articulated inhumations, and three leaf-shaped arrow heads (Barnatt 1996b: 89-90). Leaf-shaped arrow heads were also discovered in the chambers of Five Wells (one example), Harborough Rocks (four), Ringham Low (five, found in two chambers), and Stoney Low (one example). Polished stone axe fragments were found within and beneath the cairn material at Green Low, and plain bowl sherds within the chamber and beneath the forecourt, whilst both areas also contained fragments of human and animal bones (Manby 1965). Sherds of Peterborough ware and plain bowl were found in chambers at Five Wells (Barnatt 1996b: 87).

Disarticulated human bones were found within the bank barrow material and in the disturbed south south-west chamber of Long Low (*ibid.*), and the chambers at other sites also featured both articulated and disarticulated, and disturbed human bones (Bole Hill, Bostern, Green Low, Harborough Rocks, Tideslow, Ringham Low, Stoney Low, Wind Low) in disturbed contexts. At Stoney Low 161 human teeth were recovered, whilst the teeth of dogs, and horse and the teeth and bones of sheep/goat and cattle are recorded for Ringham Low. This emphasis on teeth is curious: the jaws of two foxes or dogs were found at Smerrill Moor, and a perforated boar tusk was found at Tideslow (as were other bones from all these animals). At Smerrill Moor and Ringham Low sub-divided 'double' chambers made it possible to keep articulated human inhumations distinct from disarticulated bones (Barnatt 1996b: 37-8). This suggests that some stone chambers were used in the preparation and organisation of human remains as well as for their curation and final interment.

Summary

Table 3.1 shows great complexity in monumental sequences and also between different passage graves, especially Green Low. I identify 10 certain Earlier Neolithic closed chambered monuments on the basis of convincing stone chambers, cairn size and material culture. Harborough Rocks, Minninglow A, and Stanshope are categorised as possible examples, making 13 overall. Pea Low is commonly designated as a great barrow but there are no details for either closed chambers or passages as seen at Minninglow (Barnatt 1996b). Whilst these may be inferred on the basis of analogy with other sites, I choose to take a more sceptical line and identify Pea Low as an ‘arguable’ closed chambered site.

There are five certain examples of passage grave-type cairns, one of which (Minninglow A) had these features in two of its architectural phases. Rooke’s eighteenth-century description of Stoney Low suggests some form of passage grave architecture (Barnatt 1996b: 89), although since it is not known which of the two kinds, I designate this as a possible example. Ringham Low and Stanshope are categorised as arguable examples of passage graves because neither site shows clear evidence of passages, although both have additional features (a forecourt at Ringham Low; a paved area and inner kerb indicative of a later enlargement at Stanshope; see Barnatt 1996b). These may indicate later architectural elaborations associated with other fourth millennium BC sites such as Five Wells and Green Low, which Manby (1965) suggests are part of a local ‘cross-fertilisation’ architectural trend. I examine this idea below.

2. Long Barrow-forms

Architectural forms and orientation

In Table 3.1, I follow Barnatt by considering between six and 11 monuments as ‘long barrows’, appending Long Low to this number, to make up to 12 likely examples. There is wide acceptance that some common elongated barrow designs existed in Central England from the 38th century BC (Barnatt 1996b; Clay 2006). At the same time, I feel that the term ‘long barrow’ homogenises much complexity. As can be seen in Table 3.3, the Peak District sites fall into two categories, earthen-types and chambered long barrow-forms, but these categories also disguise variety in size, structure, outward form and orientation (see also Figure 3.10). This is why my preferred term for this class of monuments is ‘long barrow-form’.

A. SITE	B. INTERPRETATION		C. DIMENSIONS		D. ORIENTATION
	Earthen-type	Chambered -type	Measurements (Metres, approx.)	Area (Metres squared, approx.)	
4. Bull Ring	o		Incomplete		East/West
7. Gospel Hillocks	o		18.0m X 32.0m	576.0m²	East/West
8. Gib Hill	•		20.0-25.0 m X 45.0m	900.0-1125.0m²	East north-east/ West south-west
11. Harrod Low	•		15.0m X 40.0m	600.0m²	East/West
13. Long Low		•	Trapezoid: 28.0-32.0m X 210.0m X 19.0-21.0m	55860.0-70560.0m²	North east/north-east/ South south-west
14.Longstone Moor	•		9.0 X 40.0m	360.0m²	East/West
15. Minninglow A		•	35.0-40.0 X 15.0-20.0m	525.0-800.0m²	East north-east/ West south-west
			Average: 662.5m²		
17. One Ash	o		Incomplete		East north-east/ West south-west
19. Perryfoot	•		Trapezoid: 18.0 X 50.0m X 20.0m	900.0m²	East north-east/ West south-west
20.Ringham Low		o	46.0-56.0m X 27.5-34.0m	1004.5-1495.6m²	North-west/South-east
21. Rockhurst	•		12.0 X 33.0m	396.0m²	East north-east/ West south-west
22. The Tong	o		Incomplete		North-west/ South-east
TOTALS:	9 examples	3 examples	9 measurable examples		For summary of orientations see Figure 3.11
AVERAGES:	Earthen-type (sample of 6)			622.0-660m²	
	Chambered-types (excluding Long Low)			765.0-1148.0 m²	
	All types (excluding Long Low)			658.0-782.0m²	

Table. 3.3. The Peak District's long barrow-forms. Details from Barnatt 1996b.

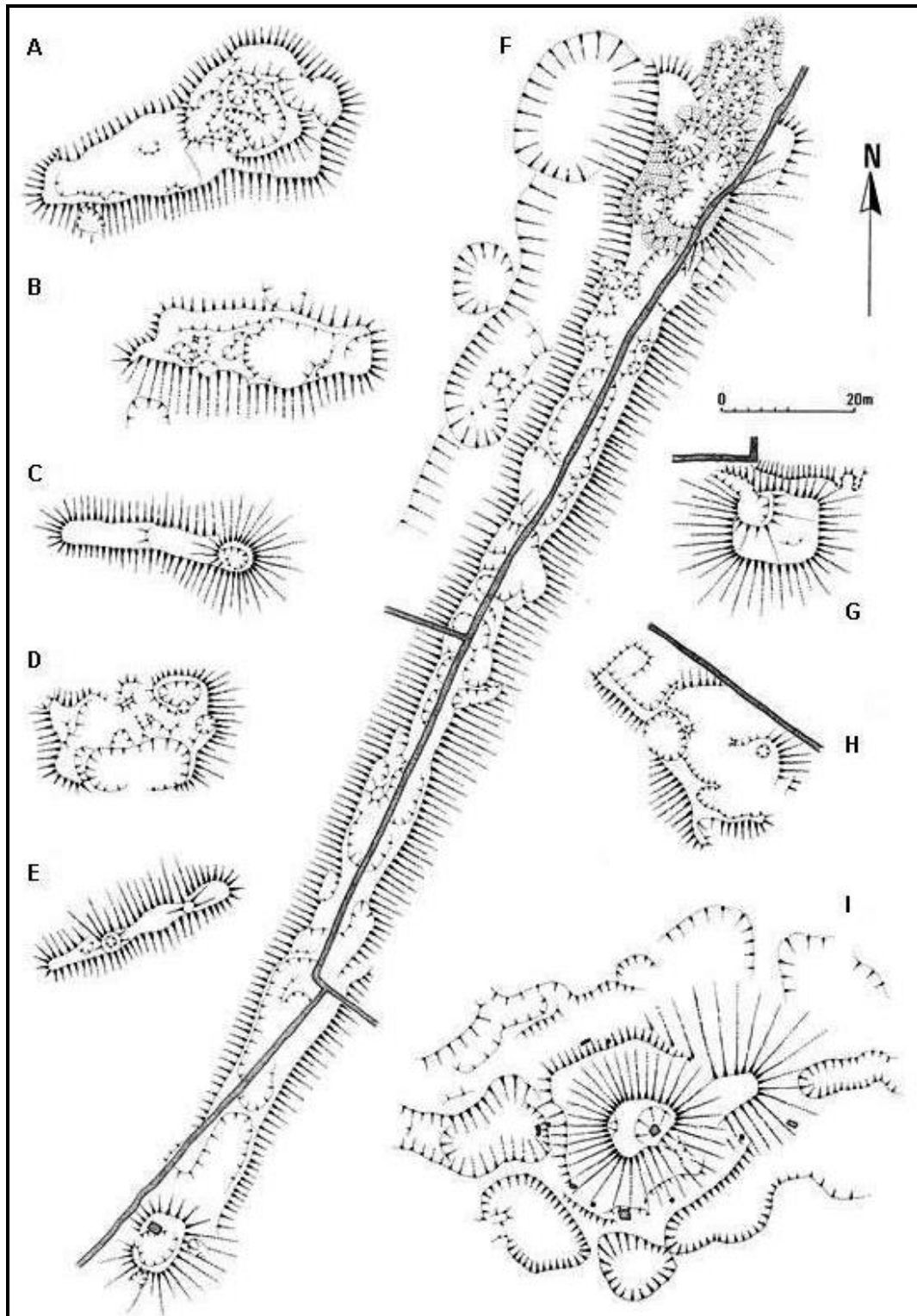


Figure 3.10. Sample of the Peak's long barrow-forms. A. Perryfoot (with superimposed round barrow, east-end), B. Harrod Low, C. Longstone Moor (with superimposed round barrow, east-end), D. Gospel Hillocks, E. Rockhurst, F. Long Low, bank barrow, G. Bull Ring (with superimposed round barrow), H. The Tong, I. Minninglow A (in Later Neolithic period, great barrow phase). Source: Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.8.

Not all sites are suitable for measuring and there is the possibility that some damaged earthen sites once had chambers, either of stone or timber. Despite this, the basic features of all 12 examples can be discerned. Barnatt (1996b: 21) notes that seven sites have dimensions falling between 32.0-50.0m long and 9.0-22.5m wide, which is typical of long barrows nationally. Exceptions include Long Low, Ringham Low, a mound so damaged as to also suggest the remains of a round cairn (see my analysis below), and the third chambered site, Minninglow (see below). Most mounds have parallel long-sides but two are apparently trapezoid. One is of earthen-type and of typical dimensions (Perryfoot), the other is chambered and massive (Long Low; see Table 3.3, column C and *cf.* Figures 3.10.A and 3.10.F). Only Gib Hill has signs of an outer ditch, which is very shallow and may give the false impression that the barrow is oval (Barnatt 1996b), though the possibility that the site is distinct from other earthen-types has not been followed up with a modern survey or excavation. Overall, earthen sites are a fairly consistent size, being on average between 622.0-660.0m², but the range for chambered sites is much greater, further emphasising their dissimilarity from the earthen-types. There is a clear preference for an approximate East/West orientation in the long barrow-forms (see Figures 3.10-11), which involves both types and is also recognisable in national trends (Darvill 2010a).

Material culture and mortuary deposits and dating evidence

Only a small number of sites have produced material culture, knowledge of which mostly derives from antiquarian accounts. In these the mound materials of earthen sites are associated with disarticulated human bones (a large number at Perryfoot and an unspecified number at Harrod Low), contracted inhumations (two at Perryfoot), and animal bones (cow, sheep/goat, pig, horse, deer and dog at Perryfoot), and ‘many’ disarticulated oxen bones, unidentified burnt bones and a polished stone axe at Gib Hill (Barnatt 1996b: 85). The long barrow passages and chambers at Minninglow had been largely emptied of prehistoric material, with only small human bone fragments and Roman artefacts surviving within them (Marsden 1982). The stone spine at Long Low featured fragments of human bones in at least two places along its length (Barnatt 1996b: 90). Despite the complete lack of radiocarbon dates for these sites the similarity of their architectural forms, orientation and deposits to better known examples nationally mean that early Neolithic dates of construction and primary use for these monuments have never seriously been doubted.

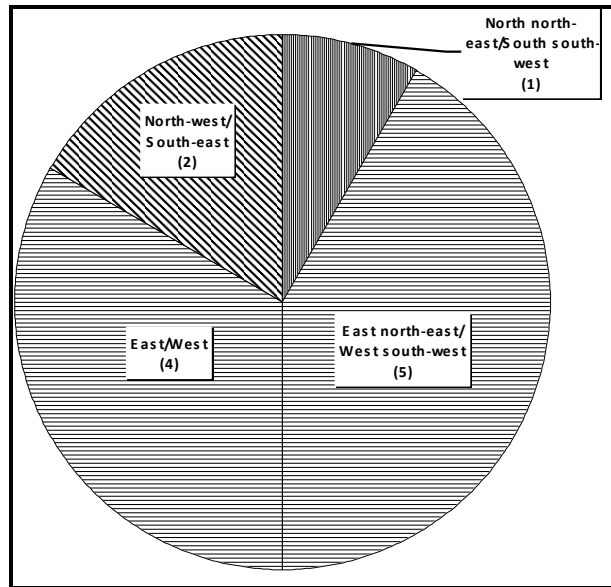


Figure 3.11. The orientations of the Peak District long barrows (see Table 3.3, column D).

Chambered Long barrow-forms and the later fourth millennium BC

There are three examples of chambered long barrows, each of which has a known or suspected earlier architectural phase or phases. Marsden (1982: 15-6), surveyed four stone settings at Minninglow A, termed ‘Chambers’ 1-4 (see Figure 3.12.A; these actually comprise the complete internal structures, not just the chambers). In chronological sequence the Earlier Neolithic features are: 1) a closed chambered cairn (‘Chamber 3’; Figure 3.8, top); 2) a contemporary or near contemporary simple passage grave (‘Chamber 1’; see Figure 3.9.E); and, 3) the chambered long barrow (‘Chambers’ 2 and 4). The obvious points of comparison for this are the Cotswold-Severn long barrows (see Barnatt 1996b and Darvill 2004), and with Whitwell just to the east of the Peak (see Figure 3.12.C and E). A number of sites in south-west Britain feature round cairns and circular passage grave-type cairns being encompassed by elongated barrows (see Figure 3.12.E). At Whitwell, an oval cairn was incorporated into an elongated cairn with a single laterally arranged passage/chamber, with the long cairn estimated to be of comparable size to Peak examples, at 32.0-50.0m in length (Vyner and Wall 2011: 111). Two high quality radiocarbon dates on human bone suggest that: 1) the monument fits a relatively rapid sequence of round or oval cairn-to-long or trapezoidal barrow also seen in some of the Cotswold-Severn examples and; 2) this architectural change probably

occurred in the first half of the 37th century cal. BC, with the long cairn's mortuary use extending to between 3630 and 3530 cal. BC⁵ (Vyner and Wall 2011: 26).

What is particularly interesting is that Cotswold-Severn sites often display additional architectural features, such as forecourt areas defined by 'horns', which are also seen in the Peak District. The Clyde cairns of south-west Scotland also feature architectural transformation of round cairns into more 'public' monuments with the provision of passages, forecourts and horns (e.g. Mid Gleniron I and Achnacreebeag; Noble 2005: 26-31). At Minninglow, Marsden (1982) thought that a section of revetment wall to the north-east of the site may have flanked a forecourt associated with the long barrow phase (Figure 3.12.A). Although the existence of a forecourt here is speculative, because it is not clear to which phase the wall relates, in other respects the site chronology is a match for Sale's Lot and Ty Isaf (Figure 3.12.E). I propose that the evidence at Ringham Low and Long Low can also be compared in this way. Ringham Low has similar dimensions to Minninglow (Table 3.3); may have comparable laterally-arranged stone features and a possible forecourt (Figure 3.12.B); and because, as I argued earlier, these involve at least one convincing closed chamber and arguably passages too.

Whilst Long Low would seem to be a monument of a very different tradition, there are three reasons why the analogy is still convincing. First, in this phase a bank linked two closed chambered cairns giving the appearance of a chambered long barrow-form, somewhat similar to Sale's Lot (see Figure 3.12.E, top). Second, Barnatt notes (1996b) that this bank had a 'stone-spine' and was compartmentalised in a manner that is reminiscent of a number of British earthen (e.g. Giants Hills 1; Field 2006) and chambered long barrows (e.g. Hazelton North; Darvill 2004). Whilst open and uncovered, the stone-built 'bays' at Long Low may have resembled laterally-arranged chambers, such as those still observable when entering the long-sides of Minninglow, Ringham Low and Whitwell (see Figures 3.12.A-C). Third, Long Low's North north-eastern end has two possible horn-like features which seem to mark out a forecourt, like those of Cotswold-Severn monuments (*cf.* Figures 3.12.D and 3.12.E).

⁵ Oval cairn, stages 1 and 2 were constructed after an inhumation dating 3760-3650 cal. BC (95% probability) or 3710-3660 cal. BC (68%); the trapezoidal cairn and passage were constructed, demolished and re-established subsequently, with the return to mortuary use commencing around 3720-3650 cal. BC (95%) or 3700-3660 cal. BC (68%) (Vyner and Wall 2011:29-30).

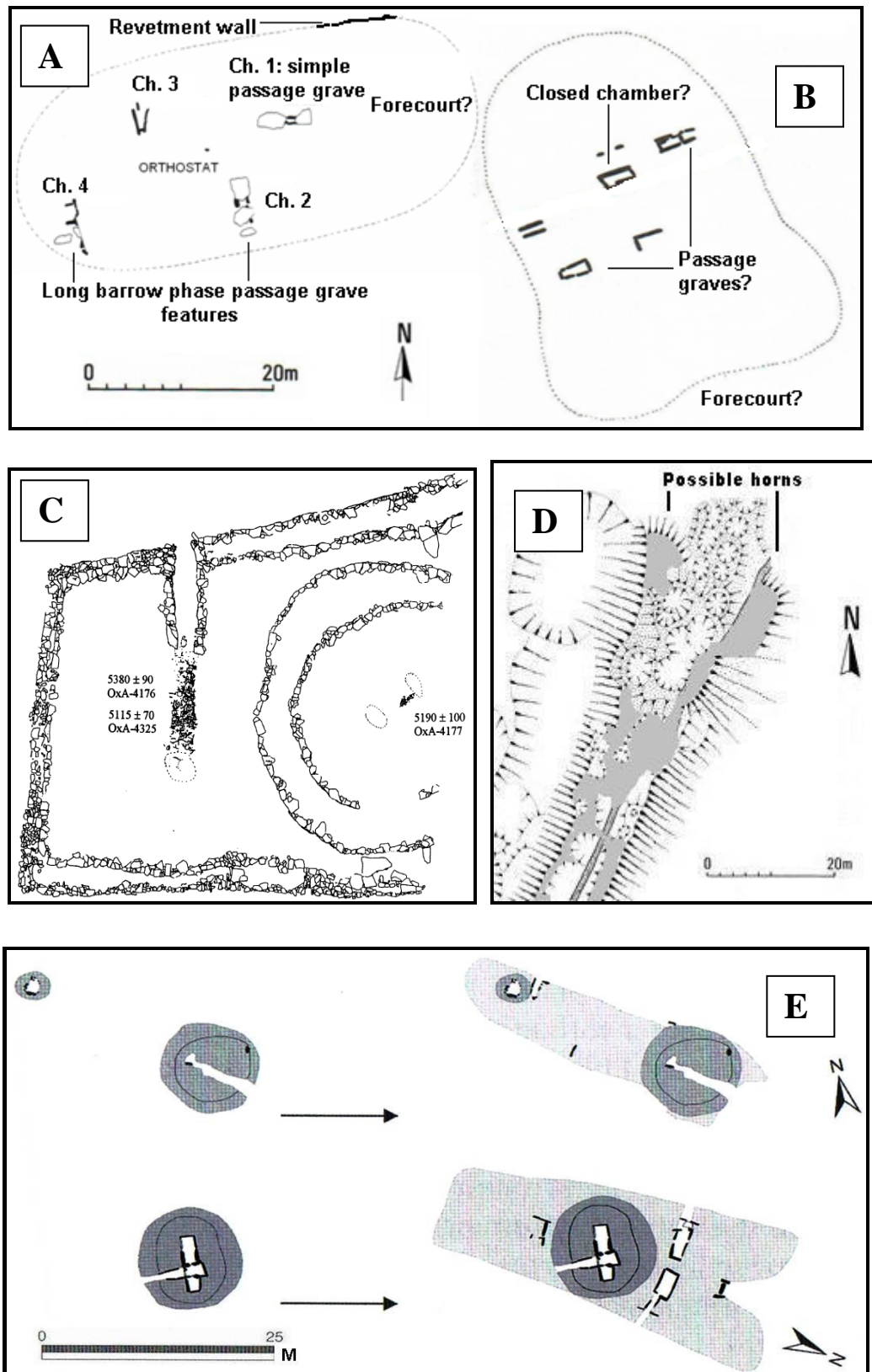


Figure 3.12. Comparison between chambered long barrows from the Midlands (A-D) and Cotswold-Severn region (E), emphasising shared chronology and features. A: Minninglow A, and B: Ringham Low. C: Whitwell long cairn (Derbyshire), D: The possible horned forecourt at Long Low. E: The architectural sequences at Sale's Lot (top) and Ty Isf (bottom). Sources: A. Marsden 1982: Fig. 7; B. Bateman, in Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.10; C. Schulting 2000: Figure 3, no scale provided; D. Barnatt 1996b, Detail from Figure 3.6.F; and E. Darvill 2004: Figure 26: B & C.

Summary

I categorise twelve sites as having long barrow-form architecture, with seven certain and five possible examples. Sites designated possible examples fall into two categories. First, there are the presumed long barrow structures that are too badly damaged to be able to identify with certainty (Gospel Hillocks, One Ash, The Tong). Second, there are two mounds (Bull Ring and Ringham Low) which suggest ruined examples of other architectural forms such as circular mounds, but I follow others (Barnatt 1996b: 21-22; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 215) in considering both as possible long barrow-forms. Like Minninglow A (see Figure 3.10.I), the very large mounds today at Stoney Low, Tideslow and Pea Low all have ovoid appearances which may have encompassed, at one time, a long cairn or oval mound (Barnatt 1996b: 24). Indeed, according to Barnatt's calculations (*ibid.*) any of these mounds could fit within them a long barrow oriented roughly East/West. However, the evidence is too uncertain to accept this proposal and I do not identify any arguable long barrow-forms. I have also proposed three chambered long barrow-form sites and emphasised points of agreement between them and Cotswold-Severn long barrows in particular. At the same time, these sites also feature architecture that is familiar from our discussion of passage grave-type cairns, namely, forecourts, horns and passages. In the next section, I summarise the Earlier Neolithic period sequence and draw together these and other regional connections.

3. “*Cross-fertilisation*” in the Peak District

The cultural origins of the Peak District data set are superficially a simple matter: megalithic monuments are common along the western seaboard of mainland Britain and the Irish Sea zone, whereas earthen long barrows are especially numerous in the south, east and north east of England (Darvill 2010a). The wide currency of megalithic closed chambered cairns in the Peak suggest that there were connections to western, north-western and south-western regions of Britain, with circular chambered cairns, rotunda and simple passage graves being common to these areas. However, in the previous sections I identified a number of points of similarity between architectural features in chambered monuments and earthen long barrows that imply that a subsequent connection can be suggested within the mid to late fourth millennium BC. How can we understand this breadth of possible influences?

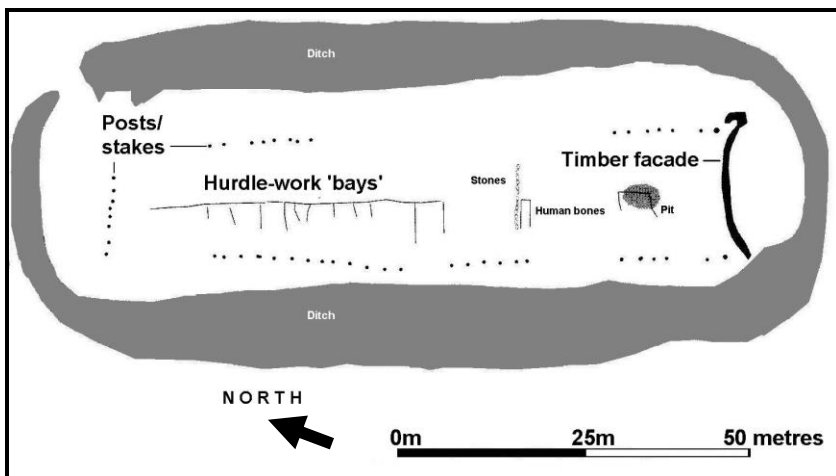
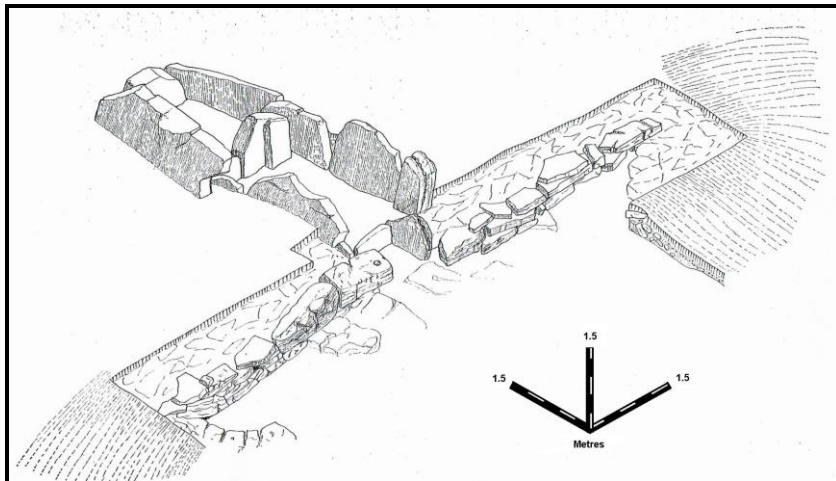


Figure 3.13. Three Earlier Neolithic monuments from the Midlands with flat façades. Top: The Bridestones long cairn (west Staffordshire). Middle: Green Low, a D-shaped simple passage grave-type cairn. Bottom: Giants Hills 1 earthen long barrow (Lincolnshire) Sources: photograph, RBW, July 2010; Manby 1965: Figure 4, with modified scale bar; and Field 2006: Figure 37, with additions.

Reviewing the radiocarbon dates of the chambered long barrows of the Cotswolds, Darvill (2010b) leads us to a further possible analogy for the Peak District's Earlier Neolithic sequence: namely, that 'the overall tradition of building round barrows ... is much longer than the fashion for constructing and using long barrows' (*ibid.*: 136). He goes on to say that whilst long barrows like Sale's Lot (Figure 3.12.E)

'must now be seen as compressed within the four centuries following 3800 BC ... *round barrows* must be seen as variously either earlier than, contemporary with, and later than ... long barrows'

(Darvill 2010b: 136, my emphasis).

The implications for the circular and sub-circular closed- and passage grave-type chambered cairns and instances of their incorporation into long barrow-forms is that 1) there may have been a similarly short period of long barrow construction and use in the Peak District, and 2) circular megalithic architecture may have persisted throughout the whole Earlier Neolithic period, and not been simply superseded by long barrow-forms as the sequence at Minninglow A suggests. Indeed, the clear differences between the architecture at Green Low and that of the other passage grave-type cairns supports the view that we should not automatically conflate into a single traditions or historical phases any of the region's round cairns, nor expect that simplistic linear developments of closed chamber → passage grave → long barrow-form → great barrow characterised the Neolithic in the Peak.

What is clear, however, is that there are potential cultural connections which merit our critical attention to possible chronologies of monumental form. For example, Manby (1965: 17-8) points to the presence of façade architecture in the Peak, which can be seen at passage grave and chambered long barrow sites in the Peak District and elsewhere, and at excavated earthen long barrow sites in the UK. The Bridestones just outside the Peak, for example, has a very similar passage and chamber arrangement and flat façade to Green Low (see Figure 3.13). The façade is also seen in earthen long barrows in the east Midlands, where the 'bays' discussed earlier in connection with Long Low are also seen (e.g. Giants' Hills 1; see Figure 3.13) and in south-west Scotland where some Clyde monuments have earlier timber phases (Cummings 2009) and others feature round-to-long cairn chronologies that incorporate façades, passages and horns (Noble 2005). Hence, of a number of regions of Neolithic Britain it can be argued that changes in monumental form incorporated façades, passages and horns cut across traditional, normative monument classifications. Of the Peak, Manby (1965: 18) suggests that 'the meeting of Neolithic groups from the east and the west' may have led to the

‘merging of traditions ... where megalithic and long barrow builders met’ forming a *local tradition*. This seems to me to provide the basis for an understanding of the architectural diversity in the Peak’s monument classes where similar architectural features are identifiable in chambered long barrows and simple passage grave-type cairns, despite the problems of dating chronological changes and of understanding some monuments’ physical forms.

I want to follow Manby’s suggestion and extend it to identify more clearly the sites that we can refer to as from a speculative ‘cross-fertilisation period’. This will enable me to contrast this possible tradition or trend to the architectural repertoire of closed chambered cairns and earthen long barrows, upon which such a tradition may have drawn (I use the term architectural repertoire in the manner described by Thomas (2004), see also Section 2.2.3). I accept the interpretations by Darvill (2010a) and others (e.g. Whittle *et al.* 2007) that long barrows (earthen and chambered) were probably built and used in Britain c. 3800-3400 cal. BC, and I am mindful of the differences between Green Low and the other circular passage grave-type cairns. However, I suggest that it will be productive to consider the similarities in simple passage graves and chambered long barrow-forms that cut across the basic architectural chronologies that Darvill describes (2010b: 136). Indeed, this approach represents a speculative probing of the normative monument classifications (long/circular form) and assumed cultural origins of the Peak’s monuments (eastern/western Britain) that is in line with the thesis’s overall objectives.

Defining the Cross-fertilisation period and its monuments

As we have seen, horned forecourts and façade architecture are evident in the Peak at Five Wells, Green Low, Long Low, Ringham Low and perhaps also Minninglow A (*cf.* Figures 3.9.D, 3.12.A-B & D, and 3.13). In terms of monumental sequences, these sites can be understood as belonging to a period in which building projects created two related archetypes. First, we have seen that three new simple passage grave-type cairns were constructed (Green Low, Five Wells and Minninglow A, Chamber 1, and possibly Chamber 3 too), and a number of probably very similar structures may have been remodelled from existing closed chamber structures (perhaps Chamber 3 at Minninglow but probably Harborough Rocks, Stoney Low and, arguably, Stanshope; see Table 3.4, column C.II). During the same period, circular or near-circular chambered cairns at Long Low, Minninglow A and Ringham Low were remodelled as long barrow-form architecture (column C.III). Minninglow A had perhaps already undergone transformation from a closed chambered-type (Chamber 3) to a simple passage grave-type cairn (Chamber 1), before being remodelled as a passage grave-type long

cairn (see Figure 3.12.A). In a still later sequence, discussed below, at least six of these monuments had their passage ways blocked and their cairns encompassed by yet larger mounds (see column C.IV).

A. SITE	B. CROSS- FERTILISATI ON MONUMENT	C. MONUMENT TYPE:				D. ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES		
		I. Closed Chambered Cairn	II. Passage Grave-type Cairn	III. Long Barrow-form	IV. Great Barrows & enlarged mounds (E)	I. Passages	II. Façade	III. Forecourt
6. Five Wells	•		•		• E	•	O	
9. Green Low	•		•		• E	•	•	•
10. Harborough Rocks	•	O	•		O	O		
13. Long Low	•	••		•	X			O
15. Minninglow A	•	O	•	•	•	•	O	X
20. Ringham Low	O	•	O	O	O	X		O
23. Stanshope	O	O	X		• E	X	O	O
24. Stoney Low	O	•	O		•	O		
TOTALS:	8	7	6	3	7	5	4	4

Table 3.4. Monuments interpreted as ‘cross-fertilisation’ structures. The table distinguishes eight sites and draws attention to shared sequences (column C) and features (D). The columns identify certain (•), possible (o) and arguable (x) examples but only certain and possible examples are totaled.

The second defining characteristic of these monuments is that they can also be linked together by the following three architectural features (Table 3.4, column D). 1) Passages that allowed access to an interior chamber or chambers of the monument (5-7 examples), but which are lower than the chamber heights in three examples, from both archetypes: Five Wells and Green Low (both simple passage grave-types), and Minninglow A. 2) Façades of standing stones or courses of dry-stone walling (3 examples). Both Five Wells and Green Low are interpreted by Barnatt (1996b) as having façade architecture at their entrances (see Chapter 3) and, as we have seen, Marsden considered the section of one metre high course of dry-stone wall at Minninglow A (Figure 3.12.A) as ‘represent[ing] part of an encircling structure’ (Marsden 1982: 19). I suggest that this stonework and the possible horns at Long Low compare well to the outer horns of Cotswold-Severn style forecourts, perhaps like that

seen at Parc le Breos Cwm (Figure 3.14). Finally, 3) The presence of a forecourt area (4-5 examples), that would have allowed the gathering of onlookers and participants. As we have seen, there is a shallow horned forecourt area at Green Low (Figure 3.13), similar features can be identified at Ringham Low and Stanshope via observations recorded by Bateman, and Long Low too appears to have two horn-like features (Figure 3.12.D). At Ringham Low, Bateman's sketch suggests a forecourt space (see Figure 3.12.B) and at Stanshope a paved area was mentioned that might have similarly served the purpose of preparing a place for people to gather before the monument (Barnatt 1996b: 90-2).



Figure 3.14. The façade-like revetment wall and horned forecourt at Parc le Breos Cwm (Gower). Photograph: RBW, May 2011.

With the exception of Long Low, all these sites were enlarged in the Later Neolithic period, some of them considerably (Table 3.4, column C.IV). These developments are discussed in Section 3.2.3 and, in principal, can be interpreted as bringing this tradition and the Earlier Neolithic period to a close. However, on the basis of the patterns of monumental forms, shared sequences and architectural features summarised in Table 3.4, I submit that a distinctive architectural tradition can indeed be suggested for the latter part of the fourth millennium cal. BC in the Peak.

3.2.3 The Later Neolithic Period, c. 3000 BC–2200 cal. BC

A. SITE DETAILS:			B. PERIODS:		C. MONUMENT TYPE:		
Site	Location:		Earlier Middle Neolithic period, c. 3500-3300 cal. BC	Later Neolithic period, c. 3000 -c.2200 cal. BC	Passage grave-type Chambered Cairn	Great Barrows and other enlarged mounds (E)	Henge
	(Parish Reference/Barnatt Corpus No.)	National Grid Reference					
1. Arbor Low	Middleton & Smerrill	SK16106355		•			•
Arbor Low II	Middleton & Smerrill	SK15786335		X			X
2. Bole Hill	Bakewell 1/ 6:9	SK184.676.		•		o	
5. Bull Ring	Chapel en le Frith	SK07857812		•			•
6. Five Wells	Chapel en le Frith 3/5:6	SK12377105		•	•	•	• E
9. Green Low	Taddington 1/10:12	SK23165805		•	•	•	• E
10. Harborough Rocks	Brassington 1/10:21	SK24275534/ SK23895490		o	•	•	o
12. Liffs Low	Hartington Nether 1/9:2	SK15315766			•		
13.Long Low (Bank barrow)	Wetton 1 & 2/11:11 & 11:12	SK12165399- SK12105383		•	X		X
15. Minninglow A	Ballidon 1/ 10:5	SK20955728		•	•	•	•
18. Pea Low	Alstonefield 6/11:20	SK13075646			•		•
20. Ringham Low	Over Haddon/8:2	SK16956642		•	•	X	o
Standen	Standen	SK06937211			X		X
23. Stanshope	Wetton 3/11:50	SK13855369		o	o	X	o E
24. Stoney Low	Aldwark 12/10:9	SK21855783		•	•	o	•
26. Tideslow	Tideswell 1/1:10	SK15007795			•		•
OTHER SITES							
Gardom's Edge (Enclosure)	Baslow & Bubnell	SK27207290		X			
Longstone Edge (Platform/paving)	Great Longstone	SK20887341		X			
c. 27 Stone circles and ring cairns	Confined to gritstone areas: Stanton Moor, Harthill Moor, Eastern Moor, Dark Peak and Staffordshire Moors			X			
Wigber Low (excarnation platform/cairn)	Kniveton 1/ 15:2	SK20425143		X			
TOTALS			8	13	5	10	2

Table 3.5. The Later Neolithic data set and basic monument classifications, arranged alphabetically. Certain and possible types are distinguished by closed (•) and open circles (o), respectively; a cross (x) denotes arguable examples. Only certain and possible numbered sites are used in analysis.

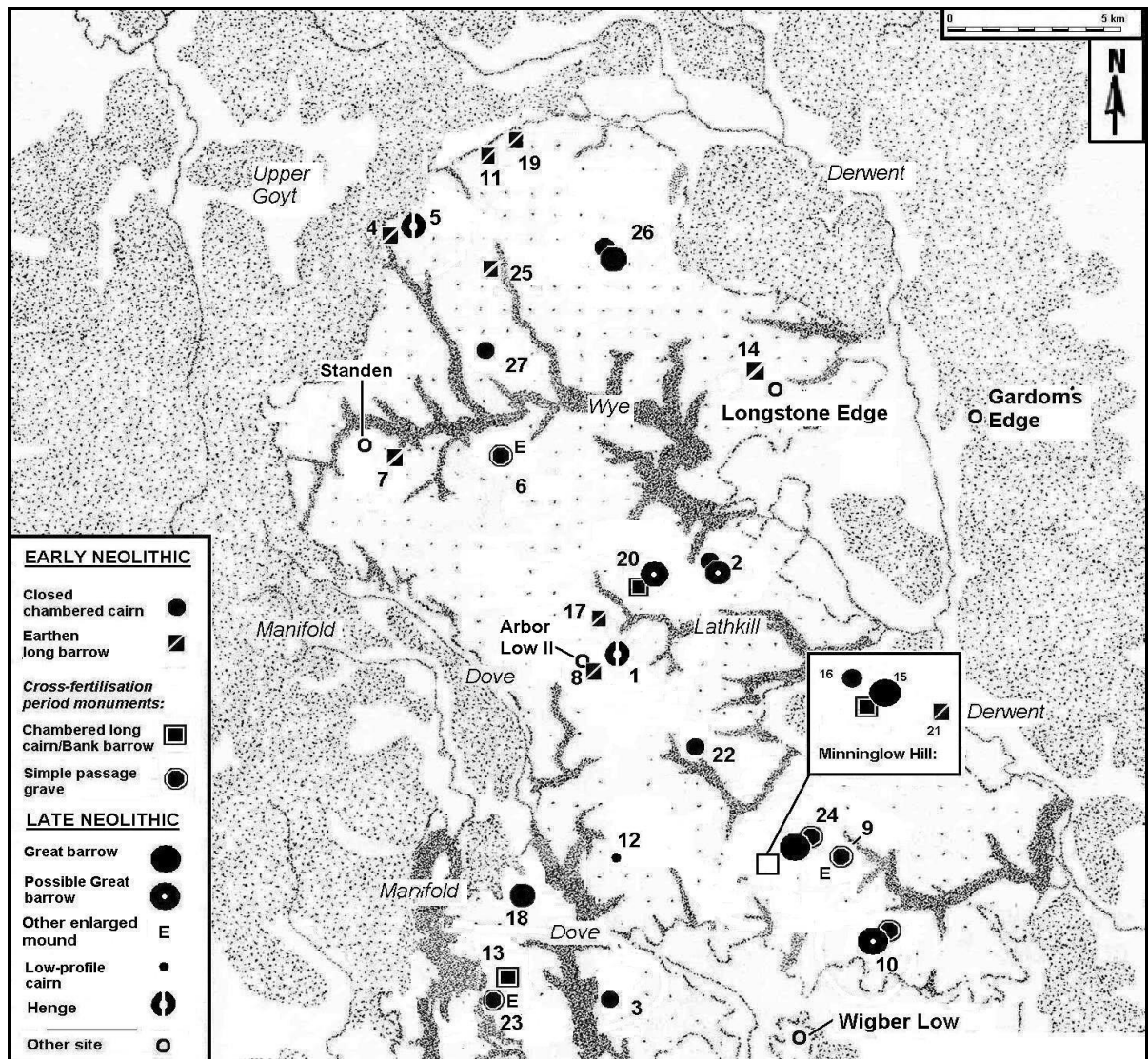


Figure 3.15. The Later Neolithic period sites and monuments in the Peak District (see Table 3.5). The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; the insert is not to scale.

Later Neolithic period monuments comprise two main forms: 1) funerary barrows, which comprise a low-profile mortuary mound, Liffs Low, and a number of enlarged mounds that include likely great barrows; and 2) up to four potential henges (see Figure 3.15 and Table 3.5). In addition are a number of sites which are conceivably Later Neolithic, but do not form part of my analysis here: 1) two sites that are superficially similar to Liffs Low, Longstone Moor and Wigber Low; 2) approximately 27 small stone circles and ring cairns (comprising c. 15 stone circles and c. 12 ring cairns or cairn circles), and 3) the stone-built escarpment enclosure of Gardom's Edge. I discuss these excluded sites first.

Excluded from analysis

First, whilst Longstone Edge (Myres 2000) and Wigber Low (Barnatt 1996b) may indeed be Later Neolithic structures, the first site is currently unpublished and is associated with a Bronze Age round barrow, and the second offers no immediate prospect for the dating of its cairn. Second, the unstable number of convincing circles and ring cairns are largely undated, have a poor history of investigation and can be challenged as a coherent class on architectural grounds. Some may arguably be compared to henges on the basis of their circular form, banks, entrances, and standing stones exist at 15 sites (five of these sites are free-standing circles, in the manner of Arbor Low, but 10 are embanked, with the stones positioned upright within the dry-stone wall ‘banks’; Barnatt 1996e). However, the standing stones in question are often inconsistent in height, distribution around the sites and they are rarely more than 1.0m tall (in total, one stone at Barbrook I and all four at the incomplete Nine Stones Close are this height or taller). Finally, the distribution of these structures and their close spatial relationships to field systems and small un-chambered cairns, and the frequent occurrence of funerary urn accompanied cremation deposits suggest very different affinities to henges (*ibid.*). Similar in this respect is the third excluded site, Gardom’s Edge. This scarp-edge enclosure is arguably Later Neolithic (Barnatt *et al.* 2001) but, in the absence of dating evidence, has never gained acceptance as such (see Oswald *et al.* 2001). Like the stone circles and ring cairns the site is positioned among Bronze Age field systems and cairns which, in the case of the former, can only suggest a *terminus ante quem* date for parts of the bank (Barnatt *et al.* 2001).

Included in analysis:

1. “Great barrows”, other enlarged mounds and Liffs Low

As can be seen in Table 3.5, I categorise ten mounds from this period as ‘great barrows and other enlarged mounds’. Of these sites up to seven have their origins in Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments; seven have cross-fertilisation period aspects; and five have passage grave architecture. Barnatt suggests that four of these were ‘certain’ examples of great barrows (see Figure 3.16) and adds a varying number of possible great barrows. I accept three of Barnatt’s suggestions as possible great barrows: Harborough Rocks, Ringham Low and Bole Hill, and; three other enlarged sites, Five Wells, Green Low and Stanshope (see also Figure 3.15). I prefer to use the term ‘enlarged mounds’ in this respect because the increases in dimensions at these sites, though substantial, do not create mounds comparable in size to

the great barrows (*cf.* Five Wells, 2nd phase and great barrow average; Table 3.2). Although no Later Neolithic period modifications or activity can be found at Long Low, I consider this site's great size, prominence in the landscape and proximity to Stanshope barrow as sufficient reasons to highlight it in this period. In this section I critically examine the so-called great barrow phenomenon, distinguish them from the three other enlarged mounds and from Liffs Low, and consider their likely dates.

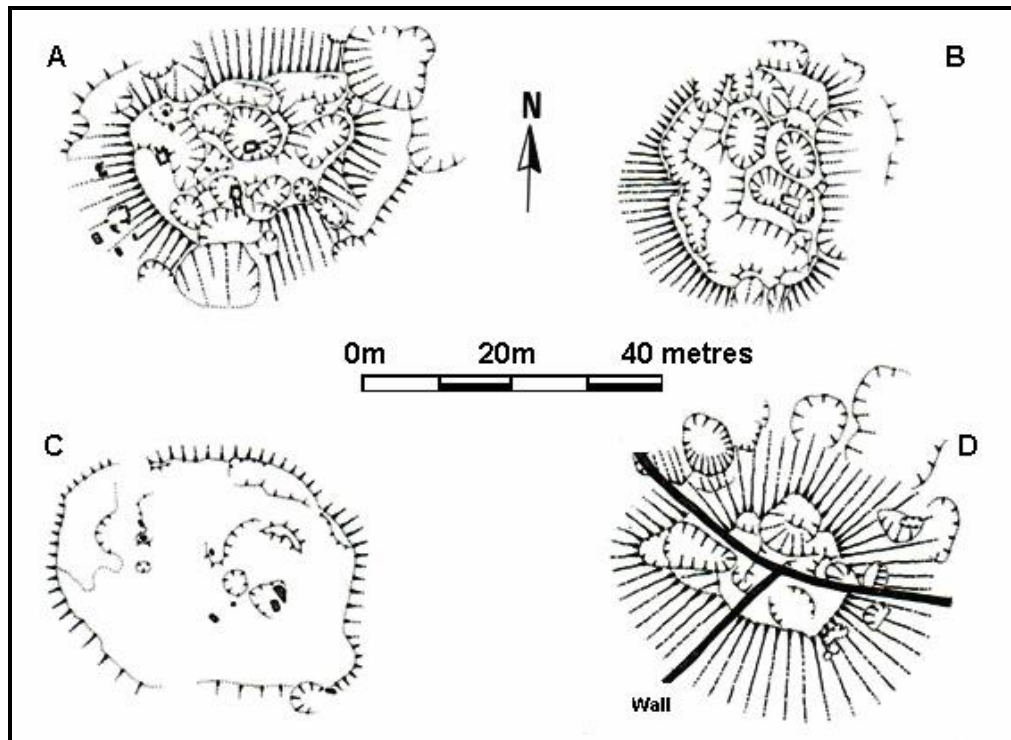


Figure 3.16. Barnatt's four 'certain' great barrows: A. Minninglow A; B. Tideslow; C. Stoney Low; and D. Pea Low. Source: detail from Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.10, with new scale bar.

The key points in establishing a great barrow tradition in the Peak District are the size and form of the surviving mound and a likely late fourth-to-early third millennium BC chronology. Additionally, radiocarbon-dated sites elsewhere suggest that some great barrows had their origins in Earlier Neolithic period mortuary practices (see below). Three examples of likely great barrows are known from the Wessex region (Great Barrow, Conquer Barrow and Hatfield; Barber *et al.* 2010), and three from Yorkshire (Duggleby Howe, Wold Newton and Willy Howe; Gibson and Bayliss 2010). The Wessex examples are undated (a Later Neolithic period radiocarbon date for the ditch at Conquer barrow exists but it is debatable whether this dates the barrow; Barber *et al.* 2010: 159-160). Great Barrow, Knowlton (Dorset), is circular, measures c. 41.0m in diameter and is c. 6.4m high; Conquer Barrow (Dorset) survives as a 30.0m diameter mound, 8.0m high; and the Hatfield Barrow cropmarks at Marden (Wiltshire) suggest a feature that was between c. 47.0m and 77.0m in diameter, and

was estimated at 12.0-15.0m tall in eighteenth-century antiquarian accounts (Barber *et al.* 2010: 155, 157, 167). The heights of the Peak District examples were not recorded before post-prehistoric reduction in their heights (Minninglow and Tideslow survive to c. 2.0m high) but the mounds' diameters compare well. Minninglow is 45.0-38.0m in diameter, Pea Low is 45.5-38.0m, Stoney Low is 48.0-35.0m and Tideslow 38.0-33.5m (Barnatt 1996b).

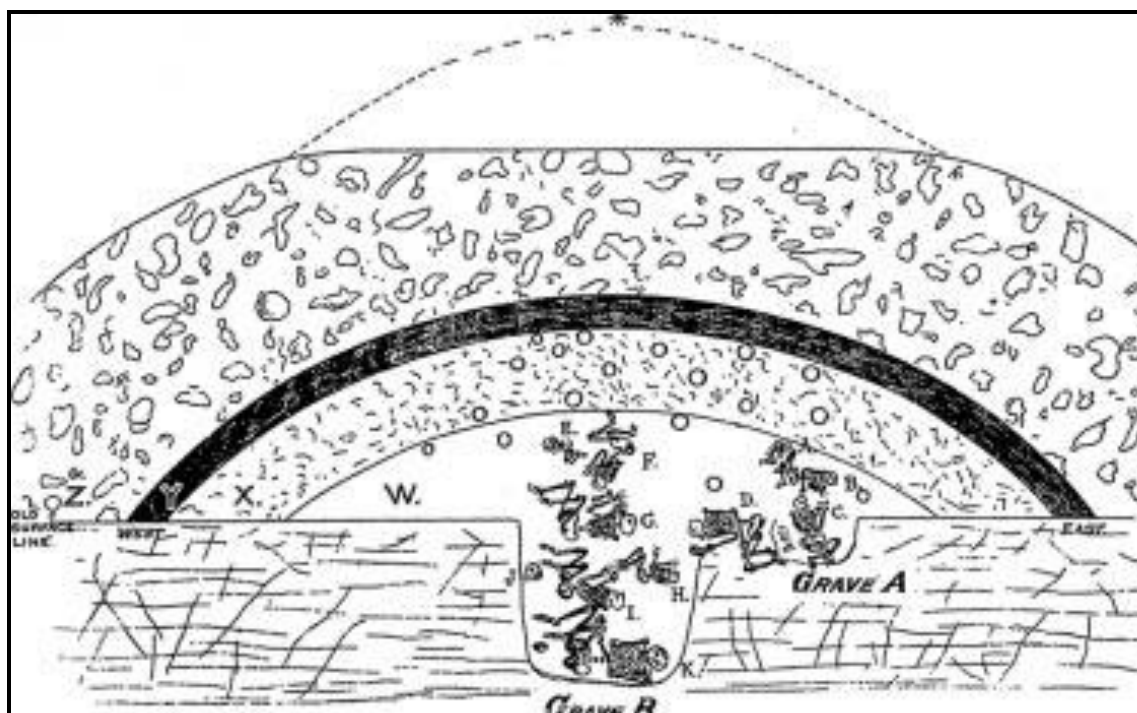


Figure 3.17. Mortimer's 1905 sketch of Duggleby Howe showing the correspondence between the inhumations and the modest primary mound (W). Source: Loveday 2002: Figure 1.

The Yorkshire sites confirm that the Peak examples are appropriate sizes for great barrows but provide further information about mound chronology and origins. Duggleby Howe is c. 40.0m in diameter and 6.5m tall (Loveday and Barclay 2010); Wold Newton is 32.0-40.0m in diameter; and Willy Howe is 45.0-47.0m in diameter. Significantly, Wold Newton contained a disarticulated group inhumation dating to the 38th century cal. BC, indicating Earlier Neolithic origins for the site, with a later burial associated with a leaf-shaped arrowhead (burial 7) that dates to 3645-3520 cal. BC (Gibson and Bayliss 2010). The fact that an antler mace head from Duggleby Howe dated to 3500-3120 cal. BC (Loveday *et al.* 2007), and that the final inhumation before the construction of the primary mound (grave D, see Figure 3.17) dated after that (Gibson 2008) strengthen this impression of early fourth millennium BC mortuary activities succeeded by inhumation, grave good deposits and mound enlargement just before, or just after, the turn of the third millennium BC.

Indeed, Gibson and Bayliss (2010: 101) suggest that an end to the great barrow tradition can be located around the final three centuries of the fourth millennium BC, based on their analyses (3660-3115 cal. BC at 95% probability and 3355-3265 cal. BC at 68%), although the Duggleby grave D inhumation (Gibson 2008; 2925-2890 cal. BC) suggest events there occurred slightly later. As Loveday and Barclay point out (2010: 124), the great bulk of mound material at Duggleby Howe (layers X-Z in Figure 3.17) actually dates after the mortuary deposits which were located within a mound initially only 1.67m high. This might push the date range for great barrows still further into the third millennium BC, but is still in the same range as the inhumation at Liffs Low and the dated antler macehead from the Trent valley (see below). Loveday and Barclay (2010: 128) compare the dimensions of phase W of Duggleby Howe to the Liffs Low cairn (which was around 1.5m high when completed), another possible parallel that I examine below. There are no dates for the following parts of the sequence at Duggleby Howe, but it is at least probable that these monuments were enlarged before classic henges were built. The point to make here is that great barrows in the Peak District have two things in common with the Yorkshire examples: 1) an origin in Earlier Neolithic period mortuary structures and activity, followed by 2) a likely enlargement phase at the end of the fourth millennium cal. BC or the beginning of the third.

The other enlarged mounds

In addition to the great barrows, there are three other sites which were augmented in similar ways to one another. Two are simple passage graves (Five Wells and Green Low), and one a now destroyed cairn that featured possible Cross-fertilisation architectural features (Stanshope). The former two are also associated with single inhumations, which may indicate affinity of these enlargements with the period when the great barrows were raised. At Five Wells, a second phase involved the original structure being encompassed within a very large secondary mound, sealing-up the chambers (Barnatt 1996b: 87). Barnatt records the size of the final mound as 22.0-23.0m in diameter, indicating a mound almost 400m² in area, an overall increase in area of c. 215.3m² in this phase (see Table 3.2). Two features were associated with the new mound material: a stone cist built against the original encircling façade containing a crouched inhumation, and a later inhumation within a pit dug 'high' into the top of the finished mound (Barnatt 1996b: 87).

This enlargement is comparable to those at Green Low and Stanshope in terms of its character, if not its scale, since at Green Low the monument was enlarged in the direction of its forecourt area, changing its shape. According to Manby (1965: 6-7) this was only 27.5 x

8.0 feet (that is, 20.2 m²) but the enlargement blocked up the passage and forecourt, masking their original form, and a more circular barrow was created from the original D-shaped mound. A similar process can be identified at Stanshope. Here, the original cairn and its substantial outer dry-stone revetment were encompassed by an earth and stone mound. Again, any external feature, for example those associated with the stone paved area that suggest a cross-fertilisation period aspect (see Section 3.2.2) would have been obscured by this material, leading Barnatt (1996b: 92) to describe this modification as being ‘in all these respects paralleled at Five Wells’.

Summary: Liffs Low and “later” Middle Neolithic traditions’ in the Peak

Liffs Low would seem to be a very different structure to these three enlarged mounds and the great barrows. In terms of its modest size and form it would seem to compare better to the descriptions of Longstone Edge (Myres 2000) and Wigber Low (Barnatt 1996b). However, Liffs Low’s affinities appear to be with late fourth millennium BC inhumations and with Peterborough wares, which may place the site’s affinities closer to the Yorkshire great barrows. Of primary importance is the recent high quality radiocarbon determination for the inhumation at Liffs Low’s: 3350-3100 cal. BC (95.4% probability; Jay *et al.* 2010: 128). The date of this grave, which included an antler mace head, matches the age range for the mace head from Duggleby Howe (see above) and that of a similar example from the Trent valley (Attenborough, 3350-2920 cal. BC; 95% confidence; see Loveday *et al.* 2007). This indicates that the cairn at Liffs Low and the grave are contemporary with the primary mounds and inhumations of Neolithic round barrows such as Duggleby Howe. Liffs Low is therefore also potentially connected to the great barrows of the Peak District.

Moreover, Peterborough ware users appear to have had a preference for round barrows in the final centuries of the fourth millennium BC (Darvill 2010b: 132). At Duggleby Howe, Peterborough ware is associated with inhumations early in the grave sequence of mound W (Gibson 2008). Loveday and Barclay (2010) suggest that the Peterborough ware affinities of the ceramic ‘flask’ found in the grave at Liffs Low form an additional link to inhumation burials and to a range of other high status grave goods with a northern Midlands region distribution. Accordingly, they (*ibid.*: 129) place Liffs Low within what they term a recognisable set of ‘later’ Middle Neolithic traditions of monuments, artefacts and practices, contemporary with the great barrows of northern England, including those of the Peak District (see Figure 3.6). I find this model convincing and useful for understanding the relationships between the large Neolithic round barrows in the northern Midlands, including Liffs Low.

Indeed, the Peterborough ware sherds found at Five Wells further support the hypothesis that the three ‘enlarged mounds’ should also be categorised as the post-3300 cal. BC contemporaries of Liffs Low and of the seven great barrows of the Peak District.

2. The Henges

The Peak has two convincing examples of class II henges, namely Arbor Low and Bull Ring (Barnatt 1989). Two further enclosures – Arbor Low II and Standen – are generally regarded as unconvincing as henges, but have not been investigated (Harding and Lee 1987). Arbor Low and Bull Ring have been the subjects of limited and peripheral excavations (Gray 1903; Alcock 1950; Barnatt 1988), and of a geophysical survey described as ‘disappointing’ (Martin 2000), and there are no radiocarbon dates. Despite this, their status as ‘classic henges’ has never seriously been doubted (Harding and Lee 1987), and I do not intend to question it here. The two sites’ near-circular form, inner ditches and encircling banks, and opposed causeways with well-defined terminals support this classification, and small finds from lower ditch silts indicate Neolithic dates. However, the designation ‘classic henge’ is an architecturally broad and geographically widely distributed one, encompassing sites as diverse as Avebury henge enclosure and the Ring of Brodgar, to name but two (*ibid.*). I therefore intend to analyse the Peak sites from two further perspectives in order to draw out what is significant about their locations and architecture. First, I consider the Peak henges in relation to Burl’s ‘circle henge’ sub-type, which incorporates stone circles; second, I contrast the Peak sites to henges in neighbouring regions, which requires a particular focus on the Yorkshire sites (see Table 3.6 and Figure 3.18).

The Peak District henges in national and regional context

In comparison to both Burl’s circle henges and the regional sites, Peak District examples are rather smaller, particularly so in the case of Arbor Low II and Standen (see Table 3.6, column C). These ‘unlikely’ sites contrast with the Peak henges and other sites in almost all of their particulars (i.e. dimensions, earthworks, orientation of causeways), whereas Arbor Low and Bull Ring show clear points of agreement. Arbor Low’s combination of stone circle and cove is especially striking. Coves are very rare nationally, there being only one other occurrence at a henge (Avebury) and a similar setting near the Stanton Drew stone circles (see Figure 3.18). There are some doubts as to whether Arbor Low’s stones ever stood, although one leaning example and seven stumps set in the ground suggest that they did (Barnatt 1989: 364). I find the assertion that the stones are sufficiently broad at the bottom to stand in relatively shallow

A. SITE	B. INTERPRETATION	C. SITE PARTICULARS				
		Dimensions: (diameter; metres)		Earthworks	Stone settings	Orientation of causeways
		Internal	External			
THE PEAK DISTRICT SITES						
Arbor Low	Classic henge; Class 2; later superimposed barrow	46.0- 52.0m	85.0- 90.0m	Sub-circular bank and ditch; two opposed causeways	Egg- shaped circle and cove	NNW/SSE
Arbor Low II	Unlikely henge	c. 25.5- 27.0m	c. 43.0- 55.0m	Incomplete ditch	None apparent	Incomplete
Bull Ring	Classic henge; Class 2	43.0- 46.0m	82.0- 85.0m	Sub-circular bank and ditch; two opposed causeways; berm	None apparent	North/South
Standen	Unlikely henge	c. 41.5- 46.0m	53.0- 58.0m	Sub-oval; irregularly positioned causeways	None apparent	?NNW/SE
SITES IN FIGURE 3.18						
CIRCLE HENGES (10 examples in the British Isles identified by Burl).		External diameters: Eight 61.0-152.0m Two <152.0m.		Circular & sub-circular; 1-4 opposed causeways	Circles common; 2 examples of coves in circle henges.	‘an interest in north- south lines’ (Burl 1976: 274).
YORKSHIRE HENGES (seven class 2 examples, excludes Ferrybridge).		c. 100.0m	c. 200.0m	Circular & sub-circular; 2 opposed causeways.	None apparent.	Largely North/South and NW/SE
OTHER SITES						
Round Hill	Possible class 2 henge & central barrow	67.0-77.0m estimated from cropmark ditch; no bank known.		Sub- circular; 2 causeways	None apparent	WNW/ ESE
Ferrybridge	Classic henge; Class 2	c. 90.0- 102m	c. 202.0- 212.0m	Sub-circular	None apparent	WSW/ENE
Cairnpapple	Classic henge; Class 2; later central cairn	38.1- 44.2m	c. 63.0- 67.0m	Sub-circular	Circle and cove	North/SSE

Table 3.6. The Peak District henges in national and regional context. A comparison of the architecture of the Peak District sites to Burl's 'Circle Henges' and henges from neighbouring regions. Details are from Burl 1976: Fig. 3 and Harding and Lee 1987.

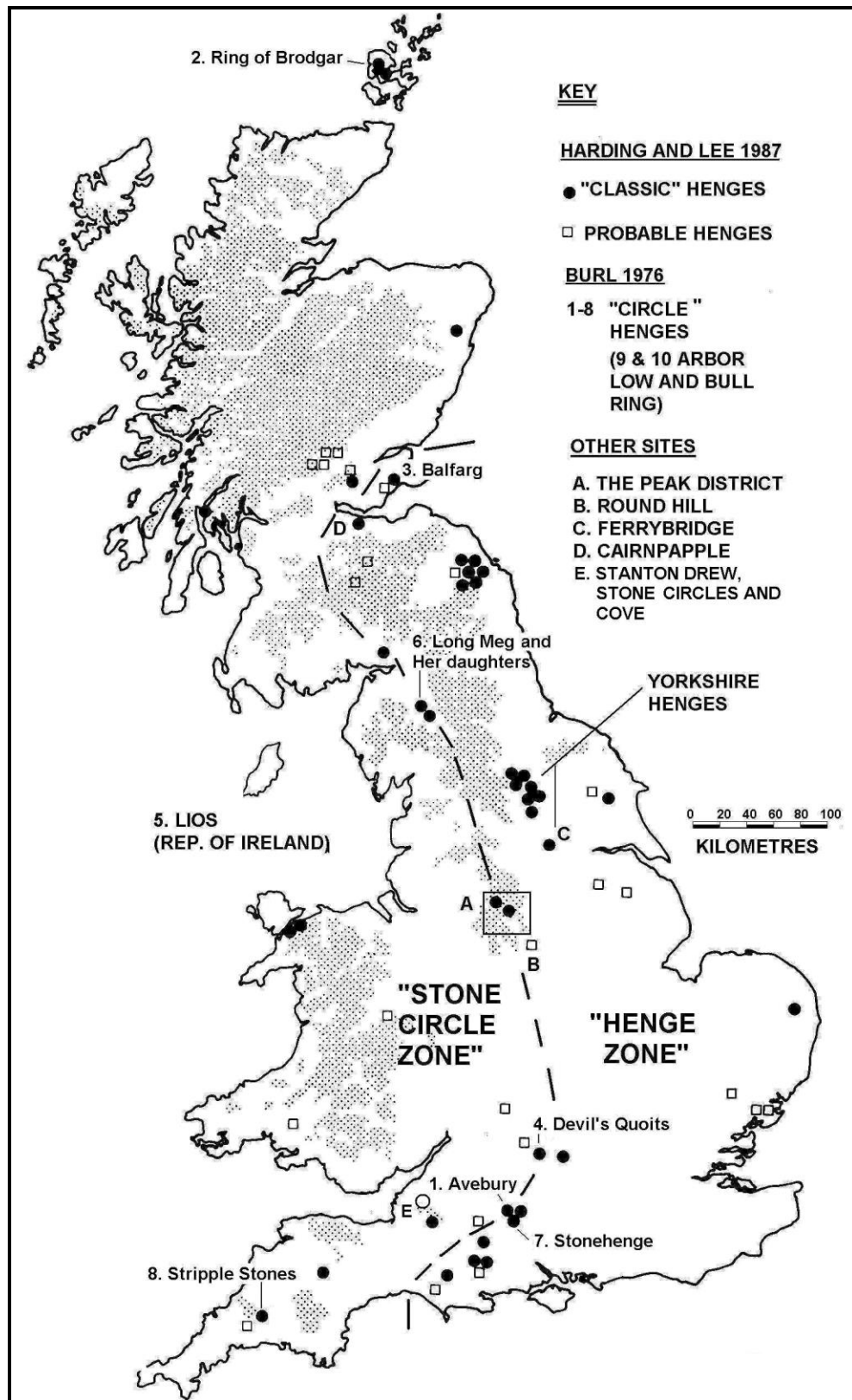


Figure 3.18. Location map of the henges of the British Isles. Sources: Map adapted from Harding and Lee (1987: Fig. 23) with additions from Burl 1976: Fig. 3.

holes or on compacted earth to be convincing (*ibid.*). Anecdotal evidence of standing stones at both sites is frequently treated sympathetically (Burl 1976), although in the case of Bull Ring

this seems tenuous, since probing by Alcock (1950) and a geophysical survey (Martin 2000) have failed to find clear sign of stones or stone holes.

Characterisation of the Peak sites as ‘circle henges’ presents something of a dilemma. On the one hand, Burl (1976) highlights the fact that standing stones within henges are widespread in the British Isles (Figure 3.18), and suggests that they reflect shared beliefs and practices, particularly of an astronomical variety. On the other hand, Barnatt’s (1989: 35-6) claim that we must be cautious in ascribing points of origin or shared meanings from what are very widely distributed sites, with different designs and poor dating, is valid – but must be balanced against the parallels that do exist. Cairnpapple in West Lothian, for example, features a cove and a stone circle within an enclosure strikingly similar to Arbor Low (Figure 3.19). They also share a later mortuary aspect, which Bradley (1998: 139-40) has recognised as common for henges nationally. At Cairnpapple the central space became increasingly dominated by burial cairns (*ibid.*); at Arbor Low a round barrow was superimposed on its bank, and on a nearby long barrow (Gib Hill). Bull Ring’s possible satellite long barrow has a similar additional mound (Barnatt 1996b). Moreover, Burl (1976: 279-82) compares formal and topographic similarities between Cairnpapple and Arbor Low (see Figure 3.19), finding that together with Bull Ring they also share rather elevated topographic settings (Arbor Low: 370m OD; Bull Ring: 340m OD; Cairnpapple: 300m OD; according to Harding and Lee 1987).

These points of similarity over wide areas and classifications are very curious. However, we need not look far for architectural parallels to Peak henges. Round Hill, a site immediately to the south of the region also has a very similar layout to Arbor Low and Bull Ring (Figure 3.19). Moreover, the site’s internal diameter probably approached that common to the Yorkshire sites. If Round Hill originally had an encircling bank, it would also have closely resembled the Yorkshire henges in dimensions and layout (*cf.* Figure 3.20). This comparison with the Yorkshire sites is especially compelling for the following reasons: 1) they share obvious formal similarities with Arbor Low, Bull Ring and Round Hill, despite the differences in scale (i.e. overall shape, opposed causeways, the berm seen along the southern perimeter of Bull Ring; *cf.* Figures 3.19 and 3.20); 2) they are rather nearer to the Peak District than any comparable henges (Ferrybridge, for example, is only 60.0km from Bull Ring); and 3) Yorkshire sites such as the Thornoborough henges are associated with concentrations of polished stone axes, in this case Group VI (sourced from Great Langdale; Harding 2003), which are also known in the Peak (Barnatt 1996b). The vicinity of Arbor Low has also produced polished stone axes, with more than 20 Group XX examples (probably

sourced from Charnwood, Leicestershire; Loveday 2004), suggesting inter-regional, perhaps overlapping, connections in the socio-spatial spheres in which these artefacts circulated.

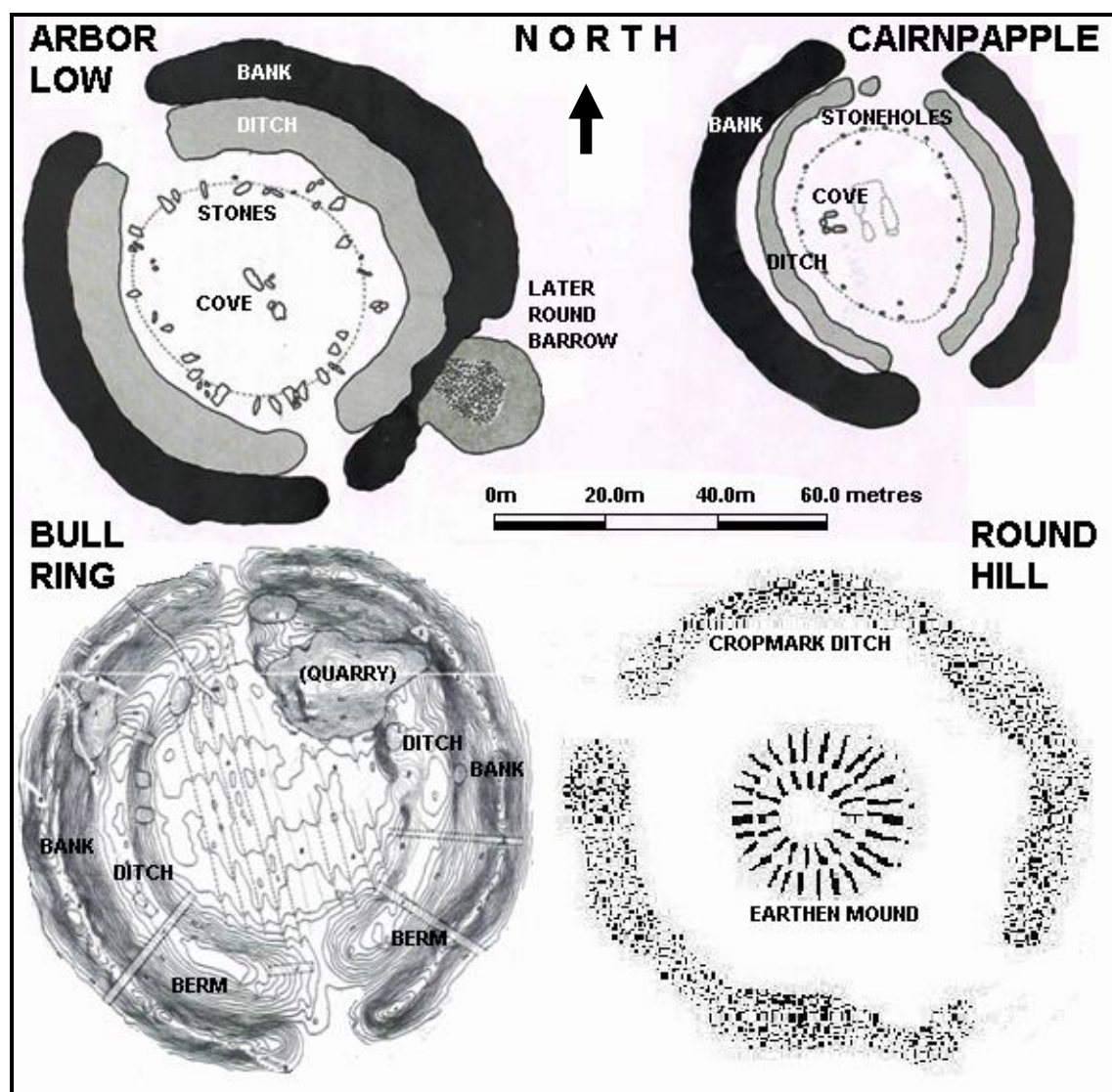


Figure 3.19. Four Classic henges discussed in the text. Sources: Arbor Low and Cairnpapple, Burl 1976: Fig. 47; Bull Ring, detail from Barnatt 1988: Fig. 2; Round Hill, detail from Harding and Lee 1987: 042; all with text added.

The key features at Arbor Low and Bull Ring are therefore their dimensions, the similar organisations of space made by their banks, ditches and causeways, and the stone settings at Arbor Low. Superficially, the opposed entrances at Arbor Low and Bull Ring appear to be of differing widths (Figure 3.19) but this impression is thought to be due to later damage: to be precise, to the robbing and spread of the east bank's southern terminal at Arbor Low, and to the narrowing of the northern causeway at Bull Ring due to quarrying (see Burl 1976: 274 and Alcock 1950: 85, respectively). Alcock (1950: 85) estimated Bull Ring's banks to have been six feet tall (c. 1.8m) with the material sourced from the ditch, which was

probably originally 1.2-2.1m deep. The bank at Arbor Low was probably around three metres tall (Barnatt 1989: 364), but both enclosures would have clearly defined a circular space and obscured most views within and without.

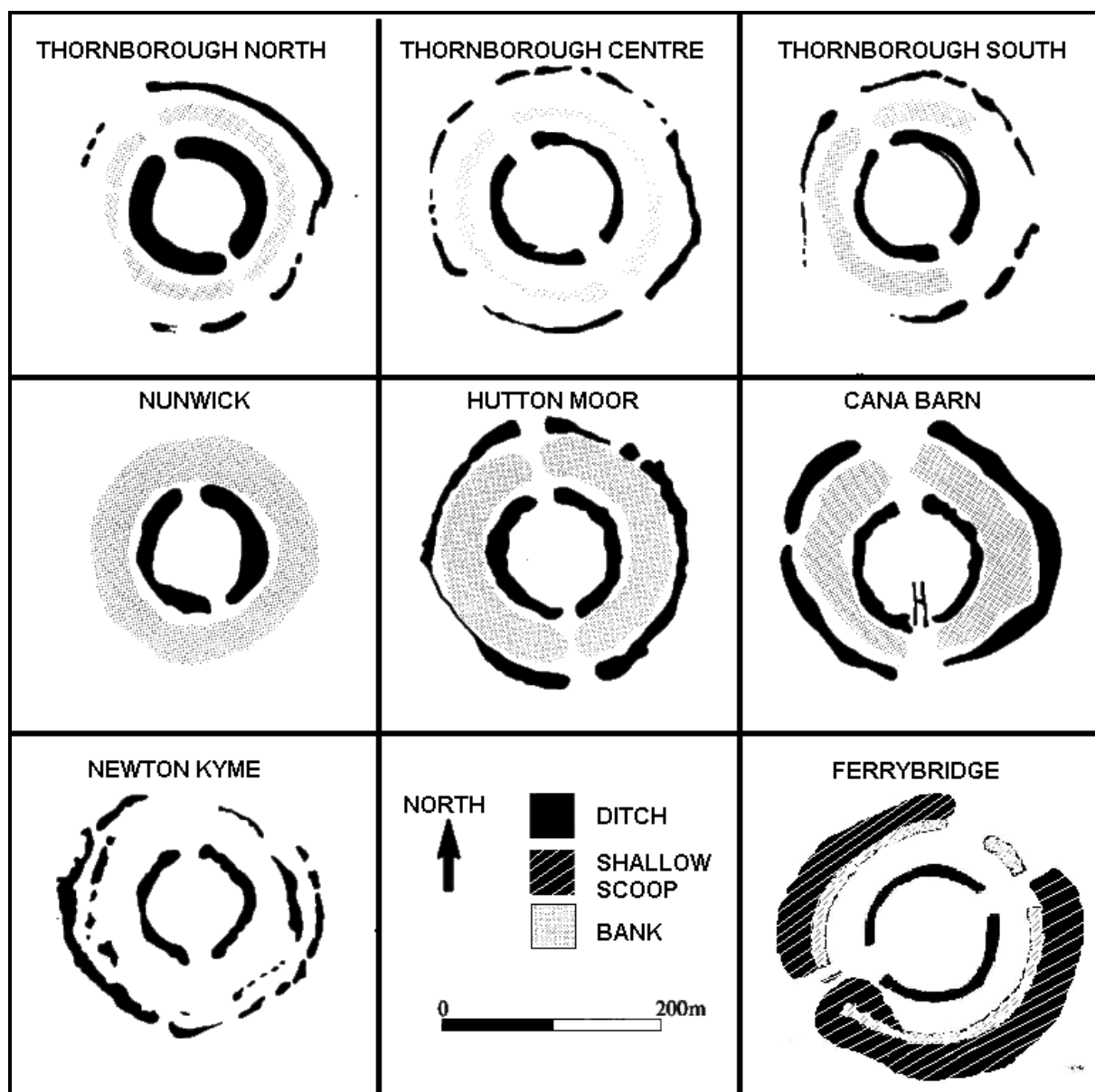


Figure 3.20. The Yorkshire henges, including Ferrybridge. Sources: Harding 2003: Fig. 71; Ferrybridge added and modified from Roberts 2005: Fig. 8.

The stone circle at Arbor Low may have increased this sense of separation, since the stones around the entrances were the tallest and among the broadest (*ibid.*). Today up to 55 stones survive, with at least five stones comprising the sub-rectangular cove which is c. 3.0-4.0m wide (*ibid.*). This was defined by two very tall stones to the north and south, and a line of three smaller stone stumps to the west, but despite the existence of stone fragments the whole eastern side is in question, and it may even have been left open (Barnatt 1989: 364).

The circle was probably egg-shaped with its apex at stone 1 within the northern causeway. The origin of the stones is not known, but they need not have been sourced wholly or even partly from the ditch, as were the banks (*ibid.*: 364-5). The cove and the stone circle are assumed to have been constructed subsequent to the earthworks and I adhere to this line of thinking, although there is no way to rule out the possibility that they were the first structures on the site (Watson 2000: 340). Likewise, one can only state that the earthen ‘avenue’ at Arbor Low post-dates the bank (Gray 1903), hence I do not consider this feature in my study.

Summary

I propose that Arbor Low and Bull Ring should be analysed as class 2 henges of the ‘classic henge’ type (Harding and Lee 1987), but that Arbor Low II and Standen should be set aside. These sites do not match the definitions of henges nor do they resemble formative henges (Burrow 2010). I accept Barnatt’s opinion that the stones and cove at Arbor Low stood erect during the henge’s period of use, but take a sceptical view on the existence of standing stones at Bull Ring. On this basis, the two henges compare particularly well with other sites in neighbouring regions – the Yorkshire henges, Ferrybridge and Round Hill – and may be part of a related tradition. At the same time, the stone settings at Arbor Low link the Peak District to much wider and less well-understood trends, perhaps with their origins in the far north of the British Isles.

3.3 REVISED CHRONOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.3.1 Earlier Neolithic period: c. 4000-3300 cal. BC

Gathering Time (Whittle *et al.* 2011) suggests that Neolithic material culture and practices probably arrived in the Midlands in the 38th-37th centuries BC at the earliest. Because no absolute dates exist for the Peak District’s funerary monuments and it is not yet possible to place the Lismore Fields with confidence within these centuries of the fourth millennium cal. BC, it is not clear if the probably early 37th millennium cal. BC dated sequence at Whitwell quarry were the instruments for, or secondary products of, this primary Neolithic. However, my review demonstrates that clear differences within the Neolithic funerary monuments can be identified by which the provisional fourth millennium cal. BC range, with which I began my review, can be improved upon.

First, on the basis of comparisons with regional types and southern forms, the Peak District's long barrow-forms probably appeared in the one or two centuries after 3800 cal. BC and were not built after c. 3400 cal. BC. Second, closed chambered cairns may have been built before, during and after this period (Darvill 2010b), but Whitwell long cairn suggests that where round or oval cairns were incorporated into long barrows the process was rapid, as in southern England (Vyner and Wall 2011; Whittle *et al.* 2007). Third, the site chronology at Minninglow A, which showed that closed chambered cairns and simple passage graves were incorporated into a chambered long barrow with laterally arranged passages, suggests a way to build on the first two observations. My comparisons of architectural aspects such as façades, forecourts and horns at Minninglow A, Long Low and Ringham Low, to two typical Cotswold-Severn cairns, and the simple passage grave-type cairns (Five Wells and Green Low) indicates that the selective remodelling of some circular cairns into elongated forms was probably closely related in time and social significance to the development of passages from closed chambered cairns. I adopted Manby's term 'cross-fertilisation' to refer to eight sites that shared these features and sequences (see Table 3.4), but I also acknowledge the ambiguity that exists in both the physical form and chronology of these monuments, and indeed in all the Peak's Neolithic mortuary monuments.

I suggest that this is a productive way in which to think about the relationships between closed chambered cairns, long barrow-forms and passage grave-type cairns. On the basis of the anticipated rapid round cairn-to-long cairn sequence, I have assigned a likely date for this 'cross-fertilisation' of between c.3500-3300 cal. BC. I have therefore modified the conventions of the Earlier Neolithic period slightly to c. 4000-3300 cal. BC in order to give emphasis to: 1) the 'earlier' Middle Neolithic period sequence outlined in Figure 3.6 and represented in the Peak by the very distinct Cross-fertilisation architecture (as discussed in part 3 of Section 3.2.2 and Table 3.4), and; 2) the fundamental transformations of the Later Neolithic period.

3.3.2 Later Neolithic period: c. 3300-2400 cal. BC

The one confident high quality Later Neolithic radiocarbon date for a monument in the Peak District derives from the individual buried at Liffs Low, who probably died in the last 2-3 centuries of the fourth millennium cal. BC. I have followed Gibson and Bayliss (2010) and Loveday and Barclay (2010) in considering the date of this grave and cairn to correspond to the sequence of single burial inhumations in modest round barrows in the north of England

immediately preceding their enlargement into great barrows. That the cairn at Liffs Low was not enlarged as was mound W at Duggleby Howe is very curious. However, in the Peak District the monuments which were enlarged had a particular character – all were of Earlier Neolithic period chambered-types, and at least five were the very distinct Cross-fertilisation sites. I propose that the fundamental differences between the funerary practices at the Earlier Neolithic sites and those seen at the Peak's great barrows and enlarged mounds, and at Liffs Low and the Yorkshire great barrows, justify following Loveday and Barclay in assigning Liffs Low and the Peak's large funerary barrows to a period they refer to as the 'later' Middle Neolithic period (see Figure 3.6).

The Peak District's henges are undated but are of obvious classic form and can be assigned a traditional third millennium BC date. Moreover, Arbor Low and Bull Ring lack affinities to formative henges or other enclosures and so probably date later than the great barrows. In the Later Neolithic period monument spaces may have come to define greater aggregates of the cultural landscape, as reflected by the proposed ceremonial complexes based on 'clusters' of monuments (Barnatt 1996b; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). A typical date for the stone settings at Arbor Low would be no later than c. 2500 cal. BC and since I do not have the space to consider beakers, barrow cemeteries or superimposed round barrows (which are probably food vessel using period mounds; Barnatt 1996b), I bring the close of my revised Later Neolithic period to 2400 cal. BC.

3.3.3 SUMMARY OF REVISED CHRONOLOGY

On the basis of this review, I propose that the 27 numbered sites appearing in Tables 3.1 and 3.5, and on the two maps comprising Figures 3.7 and 3.15, form the foundation of my spatial analysis of the Neolithic Peak District, with the following basic chronology:

EARLIER NEOLITHIC PERIOD, c. 4000-3300 cal. BC.

- 1. The Earlier Neolithic period as a whole:** A sequential, near-contemporary or parallel relationship exists between up to 13 closed chambered cairns and up to three chambered long barrows, which may have particular affinities with monuments in the West and South-west of Britain, and nine earthen long barrows (perhaps built c.3800-3400 cal. BC) similar to eastern England examples (i.e. Lincolnshire and North Yorkshire Wolds regions; Darvill 2010a).

2. **The ‘earlier’ Middle Neolithic period, c. 3500 – c. 3300 cal. BC:** In the Peak District, a period in which aspects of the two basic architectural forms above fused into simple passage graves and chambered long barrow-forms. I refer to these structures as Cross-fertilisation monuments.

LATER NEOLITHIC PERIOD, c. 3300-2400 cal. BC

3. **The ‘later’ Middle Neolithic period, c. 3300 – 29/2800 cal. BC:** up to seven Great barrows and a further three enlarged mounds are created at a range of Earlier Neolithic chambered sites. The Liffs Low inhumation and grave goods also date to this period. It is probable that these monuments were built before the Peak’s henges.
4. **The Later Neolithic period, c. 2900 – 2400 cal. BC:** Two henge monuments, one with a stone circle and ‘cove’, are built among the Peak District’s ‘monument clusters’. The period ends before the appearance of beakers in the British Isles.

CHAPTER 4

IMPLEMENTING THE MODEL

4.1 INTRODUCTION: THEORY AND DATA

This chapter concludes the first step in my thesis: the construction of a model of the production of space based on the work of Lefebvre that is appropriate to its subject, the Neolithic Peak District. The previous two chapters assembled the two main components of the thesis, which form its conceptual framework: 1) my Lefebvrian model, summarised in Section 2.2.4, and; 2) the Neolithic monuments of the Peak District, which are summarised in Section 3.3. The purpose of this chapter is to integrate these components into a single project for the spatial analysis and interpretation that is central to my case study (Chapters 5-6). It is clear from my discussions in Chapter 2 that my Lefebvrian analytical categories focus on particular areas of the space-society relationship and its development over time. Chapter 3 identified clear patterns in the Neolithic data set that are appropriate for an analysis of the space-society relationship: chronological changes and continuities in monumental forms were distinguishable at many of the Peak's sites. In Section 4.2 I focus upon each of the three analytical categories of my model and consider initial observations and questions arising from a Lefebvrian analysis of the Peak District evidence. From this discussion I shall identify spatial data by which the relationship between space and society during the Neolithic period will be explored in Chapters 5 and 6. In Section 4.3 I summarise the questions and issues that have been raised in the first section and demonstrate how theory and data are integrated in my method. I do this by offering, as a précis of Chapter 5 and 6, a graph that shows the patterns of distribution and settings of the Neolithic dataset as a whole, and by explaining its contribution towards the questions and themes raised.

4.2 SOCIO-SPATIAL QUESTIONS AND DATA

The first component of my conceptual framework is Lefebvre's three-fold model of social space. In Chapter 2, Lefebvre's spatial theory was described as a three-dimensional dialectic based upon three internally-related constituents of the space-society relationship. My model examines space via three analytical categories, which I have termed social-spatial practice, representations of space, and spaces of representation, respectively (Table 2.3, column A).

Each of these consists of one primary (column B.I) and two secondary (column B.II) foci of space and ‘moments’ in the production of space. Figure 2.7 shows how these analytical categories are organised and how the intellectual process requires us to analyse spatial data with respect to primary and secondary questions. It is clear from the outset that Lefebvre’s original categories need to be used alongside terminology more appropriate to prehistoric activities and archaeological concerns. Table 4.1 summarises the particular character of the terminology I shall use in my analysis. I suggest, for example, that the phrase ‘everyday practical spaces’ better captures the character of Lefebvre’s social-spatial practices in a manner appropriate to the study of the Neolithic Peak District. In the next three sections I consider the distribution and settings of the different Neolithic monuments and discuss in turn the kinds of spatial questions that relate to social-spatial practices, representations of space and spaces of representations. I bring to bear a particular focus on the connection between primary and secondary analysis because, as stated in Chapter 2, these provide information for the next analytical category in the model (see Figure 2.7). Section 4.3 lists ten aspects of spatial data which recur during this discussion, and which are used in the spatial analyses in Chapters 5 and 6.

<i>A. SPATIAL ANALYTIC CATEGORIES</i>	<i>B. ARCHAEOLOGICAL FOCUS</i>
1. Social-Spatial Practice – socially <i>perceived</i> spaces	The spaces of everyday practical activity, movement and orientation
2. Representations of Space – socially <i>conceived</i> spaces	Ritual, symbolic and cosmological valuations of cultural landscapes and monuments
3. Spaces of Representation – ‘lived’ <i>social</i> spaces	The socialising roles of ritual and ceremonial monuments, landscapes and practices.

Table 4.1. The relationship between the terminology used in Chapter 3 and socio-spatial activities appropriate to the Neolithic Peak District.

4.2.1 Social-spatial practices and everyday practical spaces

‘[Social-]Spatial practices ... have close affinities with ... people’s perceptions of the world, of their world.’

(Merrifield 2006: 110).

As outlined in Chapter 3, the Neolithic Peak District offered a great number of practical resources through which communities drew the means to sustain life. Each resource and its associated activity would have contributed towards defining the spatial extents of the everyday practical world for families, communities and groups of different sizes and forms. One particular space where all these resources figure prominently is the limestone plateau-zone. It has therefore been suggested that this area formed a potential ‘core’ exploitation area (or collection of areas) within the Peak District as a whole (Bradley and Hart 1983; Hawke-Smith 1979; Myres 2006). As we have seen, Barnatt (1996b: 63-7) gives a social and historical texture to this proposed resource-space by highlighting the Peak District’s valleys, basins and upland shelves as attractive for the ‘home bases’ of mobile Mesolithic-Neolithic peoples and as the traditional cultivation zones (or TCZs) of the Neolithic periods.

I do not share Barnatt’s confidence that an agro-pastoralist economy was the basic socio-spatial component of the Neolithic Peak District (see Section 3.1). However, I think that notwithstanding the abbreviation itself, Barnatt’s TCZs make good sense if they are defined in broader socio-cultural terms. I want to suggest that the significances of these parts of the Peak’s plateau and surrounding areas were important places for the practical everyday activities, socio-cultural rhythms and cosmologies *already extant* in society’s perception of space (see also Chapters 1 and 2). This necessitates that we not only highlight the TCZs as places which had particular material, social or cultural values or combinations of these values, but indicate why the TCZs might have been so valued. Barnatt makes it clear that the TCZs should not be considered as environmentally homogenous. Indeed, if we take a single example of one of Barnatt’s TCZs, that of the Monyash basin, a great variety of localized environments can be identified within this area under present-day conditions (see photograph, Figure 4.1). These include shallow, bowl-like dales (for example, Cales Dale, centre left of the image), deep limestone gorges and valleys (for example, Lathkill Dale, centre of the image; see also Figure 4.2), and the hilltops and ridges that lie between them (in this case, the elevated terrain between the Lathkill and Wye valleys, silhouetted on the horizon in Figure 4.1). It is clear that we cannot simply ‘map’ activities and values directly onto such diversity, but if we appreciate the different affordances of the terrain and the distribution of monuments

in relationship to them, patterns do emerge. At a very basic level of inference, the valleys, basins and upland shelves which define Barnatt's TCZs can be meaningfully collectively contrasted with hilltops and ridges when considering the requirements and likely distribution of residences and domestic production, for example, or the distribution of monuments, which are largely outside the TCZs.

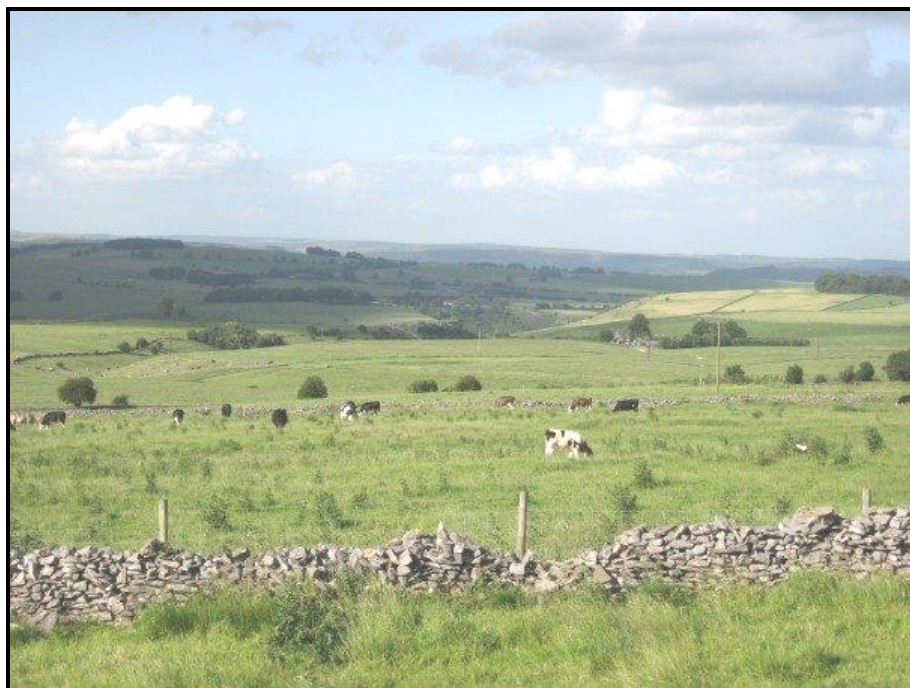


Figure 4.1. The Monyash basin TCZ viewed from Arbor Low henge. Photograph RBW, July 2008.



Figure 4.2. Lathkill Dale limestone gorge, Monyash. Photograph RBW, July 2010.

Consequently, I begin by viewing TCZs as *potential* socio-cultural ‘cores’ rather than places where it is certain that a limited range of activities (i.e. narrowly defined domestic production, residence, cultivation, etc.) were undertaken at all times throughout the Neolithic period. I want to avoid automatically considering the upland basins, valleys and shelves of Barnatt’s TCZs as *opposable* to hilltops, ridges or off-plateau parts of the Peak in an either/or (that is, ‘core’/‘periphery’, domestic/other) fashion. Rather it is the dialectic between the potential ‘cores’ and other places in the landscape which I choose to explore. Having made these distinctions clear, I will drop the inverted commas around words such as core and periphery from this point on. In shifting the focus of my analysis in this direction it becomes possible to contemplate with critical sympathy the idea that the Peak District featured socio-cultural cores. Indeed, it is necessary to do so because of the enormous and sustained cultural investment in the plateau-zone during the Neolithic period (see Chapter 3). It is therefore appropriate that I reconceptualise my terminology. Instead of beginning with abstractions my focus falls upon the *range of possible socio-cultural perceptions* of categories of physical-material space (Lefebvre 1991: 38; see Table 2.3, row 1).

For this reason, I direct my attention towards the connections between monuments and these encultured landscapes, of which the monuments’ plateau-confined distribution is the most outstanding pattern (Barnatt 1996b). The particular physical properties of sites and monuments within the Peak, (orientations, and immediate topographic settings, etc) are factors likely to have affected the socio-cultural perception of peoples’ use of social space. Later in this section, I speculate on how the everyday practical sphere of life can be connected to the symbolic and cosmological aspects of social spaces (that is, representations of space) and the spaces of ritual and ceremonial practice (spaces of representation). The remainder of this discussion further develops my ideas about what kinds of archaeological and topographic features in the landscape might have contributed towards the spaces of everyday practical life in the Neolithic Peak.

Primary focus: Movement, topography and monuments

Barnatt and Smith (2004: 4-5) suggest that the limestone gorges and valleys may have been some of the most densely wooded, and perhaps impassable parts of the plateau-zone (cf. Edmonds and Seaborne 2001, for a slightly different interpretation). Nevertheless, they could still have been practicable social spaces in a variety of ways. They may have formed seasonal routes of passage across the plateau, for example, with the prevailing weather and foliage

conditions either encouraging or preventing their use in movement within and across the Peak. Indeed, their value as sources of fresh water and places that attracted distinct food resources (fish, waterfowl and watering animals) might have made them destinations as well as routes. In a region where naturally occurring water supplies are sparse, water courses and natural springs would have had an important practical value, and their locations may have loomed large in everyday life. Moreover, the Peak's valleys and gorges would also have offered shelter, both in the general sense of being more protected from the elements than the plateau and surrounding gritstone moorland, and in the form of caves and rock shelters.

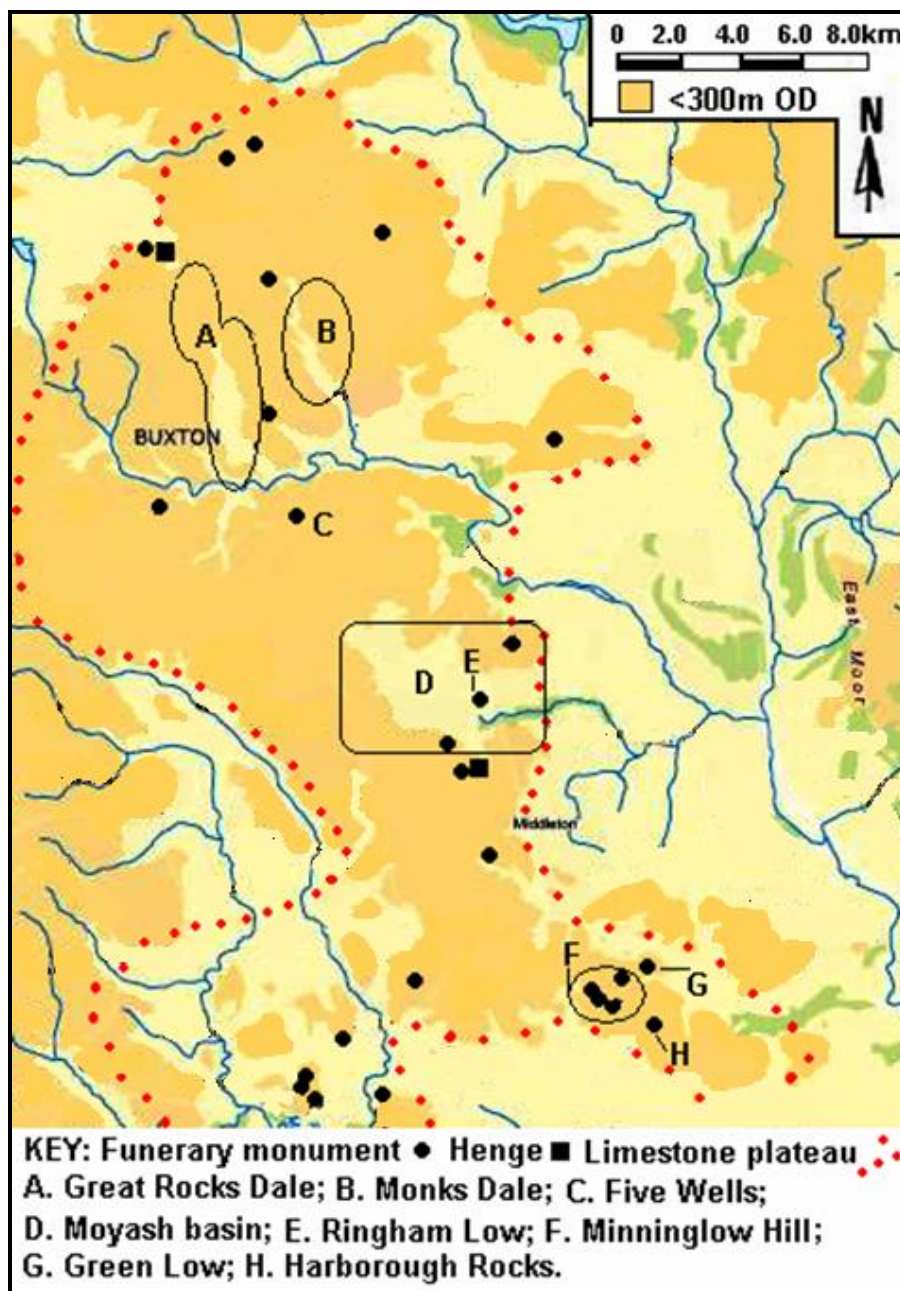


Figure 4.3. Map of the Peak District showing the distributions of monuments with respect to basic physical geography and other features discussed in the text. Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam), with additions.

With regards to movement around the Peak District, I would like to draw attention to the north/south and north north-west/south south-east character of much of the prevailing upland terrain in the Peak (see Figures 4.3 and 4.4). The East Moor and Staffordshire Moorland are, of course, identically oriented north/south from the perspective of the central plateau (see Figure 3.3) and appear to flank the plateau when viewed “looking outwards”. The plateau uplands between the Wye at Buxton (in the west central plateau in Figure 4.3) and Wirksworth (far south-east) consists of continuous raised terrain between the low, broad valleys of the Dove and Manifold (in the west) and the Derwent and its tributaries (Lathkill and Wye valleys in the east, *cf.* Figure 4.4). The cluster of Neolithic sites on and around Minninglow Hills (Figure 4.3.F) is at the southern end of this topographic feature (see also Fig. 4.4), at the southern plateau edge. The three main rivers mentioned (Dove, Manifold and Derwent) are also oriented north/south or almost exactly so, whereas the smaller gorges and valleys (the Lathkill and parts of the Wye) have an east/west character that links them to the River Derwent. North of the Wye valley two major limestone gorges, Great Rocks Dale (A) and Monks Dale/Dam Dale (B), are located between Buxton and the parish of Tideswell and are north/south oriented (Figure 4.3). These gorges cut deeply into the upland massif north of the Wye. In a similar fashion to the larger rivers, these gorges appear to leave north/south oriented elevated terrain to either side.

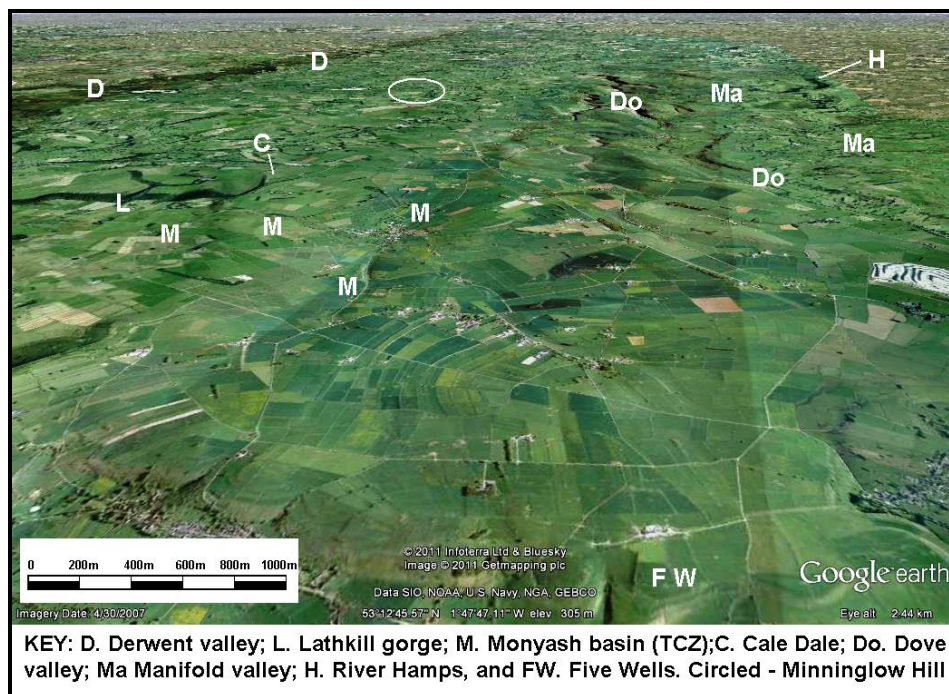


Figure 4.4. An aerial photograph of the central limestone plateau south of the Wye valley, looking southerly. Source: Google Earth satellite image, 2.44km above the Wye Valley, SK12007200; with additions.

In principle, these basic physiographic affordances might have made some of the valleys and gorges, ridges and other elevated places just mentioned more effective for journeys in northerly and southerly directions (e.g. the Dove Valley, the uplands between the Wye and Minninglow Hill, and Great Rocks Dale), and some valleys and gorges (e.g. the Lathkill and Wye) more appropriate to those on an east/west axis. Moreover, they might easily have been fundamental parts of human navigation and orientation in the Peak District. Again, we can hypothesise that certain routes or directions might have attained auspicious status and perhaps formed symbolic components to ritual and ceremonial practices, therefore ‘acting back’ upon the social-spatial routines of everyday life.



Figure 4.5. The location of Ringham Low (behind trees) with respect to Lathkill Dale limestone gorge. Photograph: RBW July 2010.

Closely related to these topographic factors is the orientation and proximal topographic features of the contemporary monuments, which may have provided visual aids for movement around the plateau. Looking at Figure 4.3 it seems that sites are frequently located on the raised upland terrain just mentioned. However, whilst they tend to be built somewhat in proximity to the valleys and gorges they are only rarely located *within* lowland areas (light orange on the map). Ringham Low is a case in point (Figure 4.5), since the site's landscape setting situates it at a relatively low elevation and within the Monyash basin TCZ (Figure 4.3.E). Certain architectural forms may also be connected to particular land forms or topographic features in their immediate vicinity; an example being the long axes of long barrow-forms, which are predominantly oriented east/west (see Figure 3.11). A roughly

defined ‘sunny quarter of the sky’ (i.e. the angle between the north-east and southwards directions in which the sun rises during the summer months) is one possible cosmological factor that can be inferred from the orientation of the axes of long barrows nationally (Ruggles 1999: 126-7). These kinds of connection may be underscored if the architectural features of monuments also referenced local terrain or landscape features. This raises the question of whether such a connection is typical of sites like Ringham Low, which falls into more than one monument class, and whether connections to cosmology are especially prominent in some classes of monument (for example, passage graves) or periods.

Secondary foci: Ritual and symbolic connections

Observations at such general scales of analysis need to be qualified and will be investigated in subsequent chapters. However, it can be posited that the relationships between ritual monuments, natural landscape features and celestial phenomena might have had roles in everyday practical life, as well as in more formal activity. This might particularly be the case when structures are prominently situated or have an outward appearance by which a point of reference or basic direction might have been evident to the viewer. In the first case the Peak District’s Neolithic monuments are comprised of substantial limestone and earth-built mounds and enclosures, and their general distribution on hilltops and ridges is well known (Barnatt 1996b). At the same time, many monuments are distinctly elongated in form and/or have conspicuous forecourts and façades or, in the case of the henges, opposed entrance/exits (see Chapter 3), by which such points of reference may indeed have been taken. The physical and material properties of monuments and the landscape mean that, in principal, we can examine the roles that funerary and ceremonial monuments played in wider social perception and look at longer-term cultural narratives. For example, another aspect of space’s symbolic dimension is that funerary and ceremonial monuments may have at times been inauspicious or taboo places, avoided in everyday life (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994b). At the same time, monumental architecture may have been deliberately ‘keyed into’ topographic and celestial features so as to draw constant or periodic attention to their cultural importance and presence (that is, an *axis mundi*; *ibid.*).

I return to these points below, but it is important to point out the strong connection between the material-physical and conceptual-symbolic aspects of social-spatial practices. Looking at the distribution of Neolithic monuments in the Peak District (see Figure 4.3), there are also a number of apparent clusters and pairings where contemporary structures and those built in subsequent periods and phases may have had some form of visual or distributional

relationship. Other monuments are distant from such clusters. Indeed, if monuments are neither proximal in terms of their physical distance, nor involved in patterns of inter-visibility it may be reasonable to suggest that they were located so as to be secluded or isolated from other monuments in some deliberate way. Which classes of monuments were particularly associated with clusters? Which were inter-visible, and which isolated? These questions may prove to be revealing, especially if our answers correspond to particular periods or phases of architectural construction and use. Monuments' proximity, inter-visibility, alignment and 'isolation' in respect of their cultural environment are therefore criteria by which we can build narratives about the choices made in siting new monuments with respect to earlier structures and possible traditions of topographic and cosmological significance.

4.2.2 Representations of space: symbol, culture, cosmology

'Représentations de l'espace are the logic and forms of knowledge ... and the conceptual depictions of space.'

(Shields 1999: 163).

As I concluded above, we can reasonably expect that particular socialised physical settings and spatial scales (topographic, architectural, regional/inter-regional) played especially potent roles in the production and reproduction of past society's conceptual systems of past societies (cf. Lefebvre 1991: 191). We must therefore consider which settings are candidates for such a role in the Neolithic Peak District, and what material symbols formed the basis of symbolic and cosmological schemes. For the reasons mentioned above, I suggest that the obvious focus of analysis should be the central limestone plateau. If we accept the points mentioned in the previous section, that monuments were deliberately keyed into the cultural landscape, then the plateau zone (where all the Neolithic monuments are located) and the topographic features particular to it (including, but not limited to, the TCZs), become somewhat privileged fields of analysis. At the same time, we must not lose sight of the monuments themselves as the spatial *representations* of society's ritual and ceremonial practices. I deal with the cultural landscape first.

The probability of a leading role for the plateau's landscape makes it worth considering how particular spaces and features within this area might have orientated people's attention in specific ways. Archaeologists and anthropologists have recently come to appreciate and emphasise the 'patial' qualities of particular natural forms in the landscape (e.g. Carmichael *et al.* 1994; Layton and Ucko 1999; Tilley 1994). These often include

prominent natural features or pre-existing and contemporary monuments as places with the potential to inspire patterns in cultural memory and myth, and to contribute towards and reflect society's existing symbolic and cosmological systems. On the basis of the previous section it seems likely that the plateau zone's hilltops and ridges may have been special places in the Neolithic period, whether or not they were chosen as locations for monuments. Bradley has suggested that elevated topographical settings might form potent symbols of otherworldliness by appearing to be located 'between the earth and sky' (Bradley 2000: 40). This is to suggest that some locales may have been conceived of as being located in a potentially liminal space that may have been the subject of ritual practices focussed upon rites of passage between social categories (e.g. life/death, youth/adult, neophyte/initiate; Van Genneep 1960: 65: *cf.* Garwood 2011).

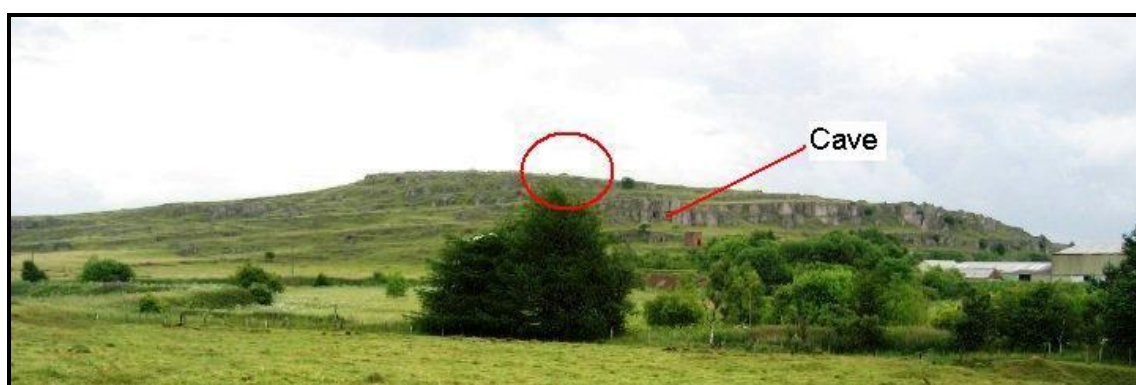


Figure 4.6. The approximate location (circled) of the now destroyed monument at Harborough Rocks and Harborough Cave. Photograph: RBW, July 2010.

On this account, the monument that once occupied Harborough Rocks is a convincing example of a social space created deliberately to draw upon a wide range of 'platial' features (Figure 4.6). The site is located prominently upon a rocky north/south oriented hilltop, c. 2.75km from the nearest TCZ; it is also positioned above a cave from which undated disarticulated human bones, a leaf-shaped arrowhead and Peterborough ware sherds were excavated (Chamberlain and Williams 2001). Moreover, the hilltop is visually linked with a contemporary Neolithic passage grave (Green Low; see below for more about this). Such an elevated and distinctive setting may have been chosen because it was physically isolated from the everyday social cores more typical of the low-lying TCZs, because it was useful in navigation and movement as routes across the plateau, as a vantage point prominent when viewed from afar (see above), or any combination of these. Hilltop and ridge top spaces might thus, at times, have been the places in the landscape where special practices could be located away from, but perhaps positioned so as to overlook, everyday domestic spaces. In this interpretation the simplistic either/or distinction between TCZ/hilltop and special/norm can be

recast as a dialectic in which the two are inextricably linked as the outward representations (parts) of a meaningful social process (whole; McGuire 1992; Ollman 2003). Consequently, Neolithic monument chronology, form and the uses to which monument classes were put are the crucial factors in addressing any two analytical categories (e.g. TCZ-norm and hilltop-special).

Primary focus: architecture and sacred geography

A cursory look at the chronology for the Neolithic period monuments reveals that there may indeed be a historical dimension to the relationship between monument spaces and social practices. In the Earlier Neolithic, for example, there is evidence of change from a landscape dominated by closed-type chambered monuments and presumed un-chambered earthen long barrows, to one featuring structures with accessible passages, chambers and forecourts (see Chapter 3). Such a change in architectural form, identified elsewhere in the British Neolithic, may represent both social and symbolic shifts: Bradley (1998), for example, has described such a shift as involving a change in the focus of ritual activity from funerary rites (cairns) to ancestor rites (passage graves), in which the latter's form enabled the inner chambers of the monument to be accessed. Similarly fundamental changes in Neolithic architecture also attended the shift from passage grave-type cairns to the fully sealed-up mounds and great barrows of the Later Neolithic period, and between those enormous circular earthen mounds and the equally large and circular henges.

The ethnographic literature also indicates that rock outcrops, natural springs and watercourses are potential components of sacred geographies (e.g. Carmichael *et al.* 1994; Layton and Ucko 1999). These topographic features frequently occur in the Peak District landscape (Chapter 3), and are sometimes found in combination with, and in close proximity to monuments. One example is Five Wells, which is situated in the limestone-zone (Figure 4.3.C). Prominent rock outcrops are located near the site, which is close to a number of natural springs and watercourses (see Figures 4.4 and 4.7). This general area also commands extensive views over the middle Wye valley (Figure 4.7, left background). Moreover, the hillside terrain is distinctly east-west oriented, with the site itself being positioned high above the similarly oriented Wye valley and the monument's passages are oriented east and west, in parallel to the hillside and the valley.



Figure 4.7. Some of the many limestone outcrops near Five Wells. Photograph RBW; July 2010.

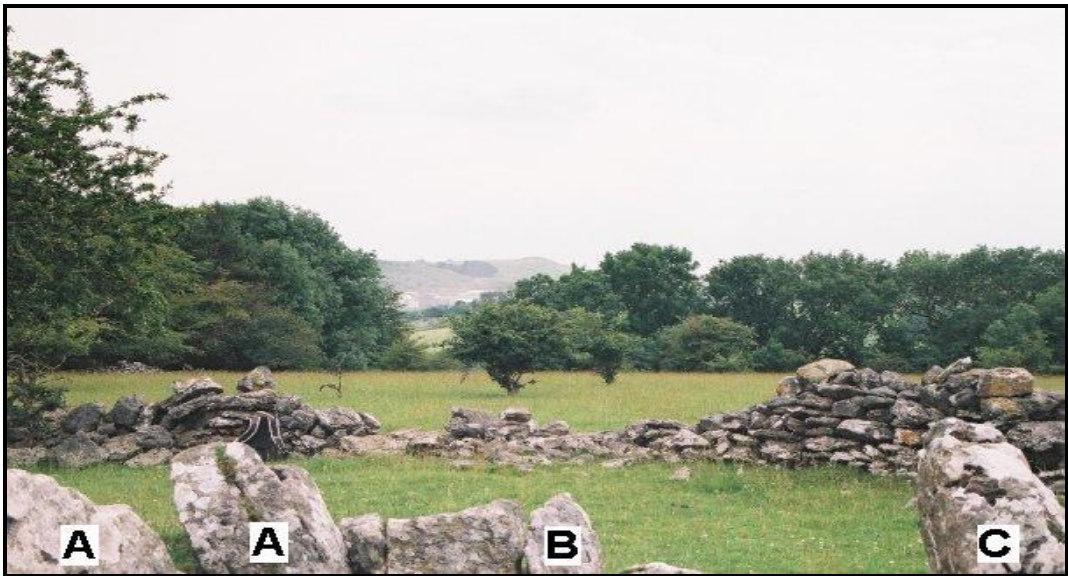


Figure 4.8. The view of Harborough Rocks from the stone settings of Green Low, looking south south-east. Photograph RBW; July 2008.

Another example of a Neolithic monument that is apparently linked to patterns of topography, archaeology and likely cosmologies is Green Low (Figure 4.3.G), also a simple passage grave. As previously mentioned, Harborough Rocks is inter-visible with this site, seen on the horizon in Figure 4.8. What is interesting here is that it is the space that comprises the width of Green Low's passage and chamber, also the mid-point of the forecourt area immediately beyond (see Figure 4.8, A-C), that captures this view, rather than only its narrow

off-set entrance (B-C). In this way the whole inner stone setting is aligned southwards towards the distant hilltop, not just the aperture used by the living. It may also be significant that the passage and chamber at Harborough Rocks appear to be oriented in the direction of Green Low (i.e. north-east; see Figure 3.8.C). The inner stone settings and forecourts of the two monuments may, therefore, have opened-out towards one another.

Secondary foci: Connections to the ritual and ceremonial use of social space

The two examples here are both from the Cross-fertilisation period, but connections might be found in the distributions and settings of other Neolithic monuments. It may be the case that the frequency with which a period's monuments, or different classes of monument, were associated with these landscape features rose or diminished over time. This may provide the crucial historical dimension to our understanding of particular landscape features and architecture and their importance in Neolithic period representations of space. This in turn will enable me to explore likely symbolic valuations of the local environment (for example, nearby rock outcrops, natural springs etc.) in terms of their value for the ritual and ceremonial use of landscapes and places (see below). I therefore propose that, alongside patterns of proximity (clustering), inter-visibility, and isolation from other sites, the model should also include an examination of the following kinds of alignment with respect to topographic features, other monuments and astronomical observations. In terms of landscape features, rock outcrops, water courses and springs, and limestone valleys, and the south, south-east and eastern orientation of terrain will also be explored in order to provide the material symbols that link social-spatial practices to representations of space (this section) and hence their connection to spaces of representation.

Caves and rockshelters in which Neolithic period finds have been recovered also invite these kinds of speculations. Figure 4.9 and Table 4.2 identify twenty such sites in the Peak District. Four Neolithic radiocarbon dates exist for human bone (three of which are Earlier Neolithic), and a number of sites feature pottery (including one example of Grimstone ware and eight sites with Peterborough wares). Polished stone axes (six examples, at five sites), leaf-shaped arrowheads (five at four sites) and flint, worked bone and chert artefacts consistent with Neolithic period activity have also been recovered. Significantly, these are artefacts that are also associated with funerary monuments, as are human bones. In the case of Fox Hole Cave and Ossum's (Crag) Cave, moreover, disarticulated human bones were excavated from secure stratified layers and were radiocarbon dated between the 37th and 41st centuries Cal. BC (Table 4.2). At Carsington Pasture the artefact assemblage was

accompanied by human bones upon which cut marks were identified and from which a 23rd-26th century Cal. BC date was produced. The possible similarities in the ways caves, rockshelters and monuments of the Peak District were used in the Neolithic period are therefore of great interest to this study.

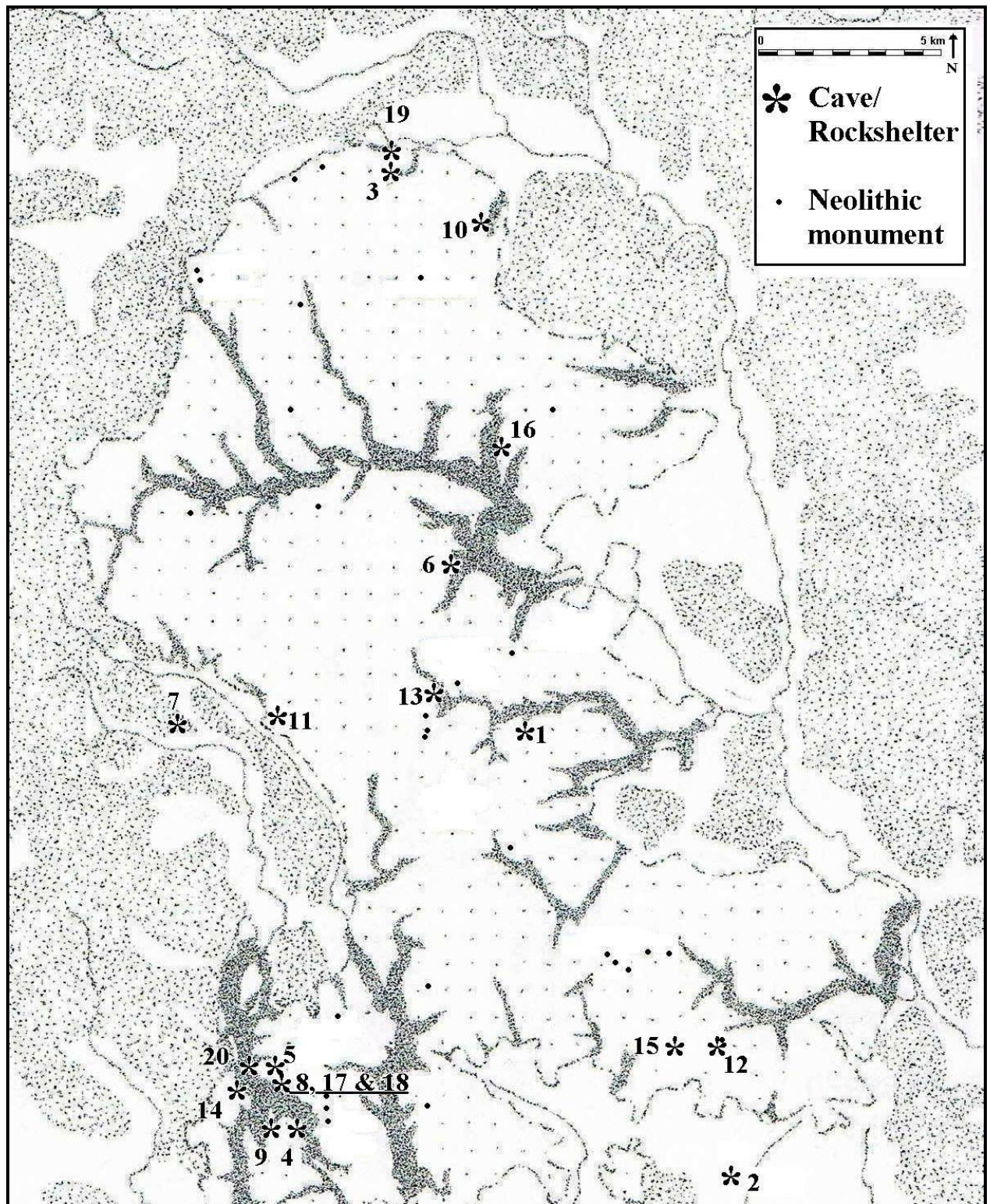


Figure 4.9. Map showing the locations of caves and rockshelters in which Neolithic artefacts and human remains have been found (see also Table 4.2). The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001.

A. SITE	B. LOCATION			C. ARCHAEOLOGY		
	Parish	National Grid Reference	Elevation, Metres OD (to nearest 5.0m.)	Details	Approximate date of the human remains	Radiocarbon Date(s)
1. Calling Low Dale (formerly Church Dale)	Monyash, Lathkill Valley gorge	SK18376541	290m OD	Remains of 8+ adults & 7 children. Peterborough ware vessels and sherds, flint and chert blades and flakes, petit-tranched arrowhead	Neolithic	
2. Carsington Pasture	Carsington	SK24155368	285m OD	Animal bones, Flint, bone pin, worked antler, cut marked human bones	Later Neolithic	Aurochs bone = 4250-3700 Cal. BC; Cut marked human bone = 2700-2250 cal. BC (95%) (Chamberlain 2001a).
3. Cave Dale Cave	Castleton, Cave Dale gorge	SK14998262	275m OD	Pottery, flint, worked bone and antler, animals bones	Neolithic, Bronze Age or Iron Age	
4. Cheshire Wood Cave	Waterhouses, Manifold Valley gorge	SK11325330	205m OD	Bones of 2 adults and 2 children, antler tine, Grimstone ware pottery, animal bones	Earlier Neolithic	
5. Darfur Ridge Cave	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09805587	225m OD	1 leaf-shaped arrowhead, microlith, thumb scaper, animal bones	Later Neolithic	
6. Deamons Dale Cave	Taddington, Wye Valley Gorge	SK16897045	210m OD	Remains of 4+ people, flint dagger, chert artefacts	Later Neolithic or Early Bronze Age	
7. Dowel Cave (Dowel Hall Cave)	Earl Sterndale, Upper Manifold Valley	SK07566759	325m OD	Remains of 6 adults & 5 children, flint flakes, Peterborough ware & beaker sherds, bone point, animal bones, antler	Later Neolithic	

8. Elder Bush	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09785488	285m OD	Neolithic flints, Neolithic pottery and animal bones	Neolithic	
9. Falcon Low Cave (Old Park Hill Cave)	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK104532	295m OD	Remains of 2 adults & 4 children, flint flakes, Neolithic and Bronze Age pottery, deer antler, animal bones	Neolithic or Bronze Age	
10. Fissure Cave (Lower Hartle Dale Cave)	Bradwell	SK16438033	300m OD	Remains of 1 adult & 2 children, flint flakes, Peterborough ware, a polished stone axe, flint artefacts and animal bones	Later Neolithic	
11. Fox Hole Cave	Earl Sterndale, High Wheeldon Hill	SK09976618	400m OD	2 disarticulated human bones in secure, separate stratified layers. Peterborough ware, beaker and grooved ware sherds, a Group VI polished stone axe, flint artefacts and worked animal bones and teeth. Two human mandibles were found in disturbed contexts.	Earlier Neolithic	Human bone 1 = 4230-3800 Cal. BC; Human bone 2 = 4500-4050 Cal. BC (Chamberlain 2001b). Probably, 3800 Cal. BC and 4050 Cal. BC, respectively (Chamberlain 2001a).
12. Harborough Cave	Brassington, Harborough Rocks	SK24225523	350m OD	Human bones, Peterborough ware pottery, leaf-shaped arrowheads, flint and chert artefacts, animal bones	Later Neolithic or Bronze Age	
13. One Ash Shelter	Monyash, Lathkill Valley gorge	SK17266559	235m OD	Remains of 1 person, discoidal knife, leaf-shaped arrowhead, flint flakes	Later Neolithic	
14. Ossum's (Crag) Cave (Yellersby Tor Cave)	Grindon, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09585576	210m OD	Human bone, prehistoric pottery, flints	Earlier Neolithic	Human bone = 3654-3639 Cal. BC

15. Rains Cave (Longcliffe Fissure)	Longcliffe, Longcliffe Dale	SK22585535	375m OD	6 human bones, Peterborough ware, undated flint and animal bones	Neolithic	
16. Ravenscliffe Cave	Cressbrook, Cressbrook Dale gorge	Sk17397356	325m OD	Twenty + human bones, 2 polished stone axes, flint flakes and scrapers, Peterborough ware and a leaf-shaped arrowhead	Later Neolithic	
17. Severnways Cave	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09825490	275m OD	1 human bone, 2 leaf-shaped arrowheads, Peterborough ware	Neolithic	
18. Thor's Cave (Thyrsis' Cavern)	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09865496	275m OD	1 human bone, a polished stone axe, worked antler, amber	Neolithic	
Thor's Fissure Cavern	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09855496	275m OD	Undated remains of 4 adults and 2 children, a polished stone axe, Late Neolithic pottery, amber beads, animal bones	Undated/not known	
19. Teak Cliff Sepulchral Cave	Castleton	SK13578299	300m OD	Remains of 3+ people, a Group VI polished stone axe, antler pick, flint pebble, animal bone	Later Neolithic	
20. Wetton Mill Rockshelter (Nan Tor)	Wetton, Manifold Valley gorge	SK09525619	205m OD	Remains of 1 adult and 3 children, Neolithic and Bronze Age flint and bone tools, Neolithic pottery	Neolithic or Bronze Age	

Table 4.2 Caves and Rockshelters in which Neolithic artefacts and human remains have been found. The details for the undated Thor's Fissure Cavern are also listed. The information is from Chamberlain and Williams 2001, with the exception of the sites' elevations, and the individually referenced radiocarbon dates.

My interest in these sites is two-fold. First, these caves and rockshelters are significant as special locales for ritualised mortuary activity within definitive topographic locations in the

social landscape. Second, the basic architectural form of caves and rockshelters as confined places encourages us to think about why such a space should be selected for mortuary activity in the first place. As mentioned above, Harborough Rocks is positioned in close proximity to a cave which has produced undated human remains and Neolithic artefacts, and the monuments of One Ash and Ringham Low, and Long Low and Stanshope are similarly close to caves and rockshelters in which Neolithic material has been found in association with mortuary remains. However, the positioning of 22 out of the 27 Neolithic monuments under consideration seems to bear no obvious physical relationship to the location of these sites (see Figure 4.9). Yet some parallels can be seen in their topographic particulars. Caves and rockshelters with Neolithic remains are frequently in prominent, elevated (all greater than 200m OD), and highly visual landscape settings. Indeed, most are difficult and dangerous to approach, with their entrances located on the faces of especially precipitous limestone gorges (e.g. Cheshire Cave, Darfur Ridge Cave, Elder Bush), within steep rocky dales (Cave Dale Cave, Rains Cave, Ravencliffe Cave) or high up on hillsides (e.g. Carsington Pasture, Dowel Cave, Fox Hole Cave). Holderness *et al.* (2006: 107), who consider all prehistoric and early historic caves in the Peak District and Yorkshire Dales, note ‘an apparent increase in the likelihood of finding archaeological evidence in east and west-facing caves’, but no connection between these caves and water.

Architecturally, caves in particular present similar opportunities to monuments for difficulty of access, minimising the size of gatherings. There consequently appears to be a tension between the prominence and elevation of the locations of many of the entrances to caves and rockshelters, and their intimate, confined and secluded interiors. Barnatt and Edmonds (2002) are no doubt correct in identifying them as ‘places apart’, transitional points between earth and sky, the world and the underworld and other social categories, identities and processes. Whilst a landscape study of the Peak District’s Neolithic caves and rockshelters is beyond the remit of this thesis, caves and rockshelters in which Neolithic mortuary activity may have occurred are significant for the way in which they extend our understanding of the use of space in the Neolithic Peak, beyond the monuments themselves.

4.2.3 Spaces of representation: the socialising role of ritual and ceremony

‘This dimension of the production of space refers to the process of signification that links itself to a material symbol.’

(Schmid 2008: 37).

As discussed in Chapter 2, spaces of representation is an analytical category which focuses upon space’s socialising role and ideological character, rather than (erroneously, according to Lefebvre) its passive physical, conceptual or social ‘point of origin’ or determining ‘content’ (cf. Lefebvre 1991: 38-9; Merrifield 2006). In constructing my own model I reject approaches that consider this third field of analysis to be a culmination of the first two. Instead I have argued that spaces of representation, comprising the dialectic between the material symbols discovered by examining representations of space, which must be linked to ‘process[es] of signification’, and the ‘norms, values and experiences’ of social groups (Schmid 2008: 37). In a sense, therefore, this third part of my model is the place where certain interpretations and lines of enquiry reach fruition, and where they must link up with at least some of the potential social-spatial practices with which the methodological cycle began. However, since in Lefebvre’s conception the process by which space is produced in society is always open-ended, my analysis does not end with this third analytical category (Figure 2.7).

Lefebvre, in fact, also states that spaces of representation are not only the spaces where dominant ‘norms, values and experiences’ are located *but also* the places where normative explanations fail, where they fall short of excluding all other possibilities and explanations, and where they are sometimes actively challenged (Merrifield 2006: 109; Stewart 1995). Lefebvre believed that these ‘spaces of difference’ are identifiable in time and space, no less than society’s dominant and normative spaces. He felt that some of these ‘textures’ of difference could be discovered and historical thresholds identified in the course of study (1991: 222). How do we model these facets of representations of space in the context of the Neolithic Peak District?

In this light it seems appropriate to direct my analysis towards the ritual and ceremonial practices that are characteristic of Neolithic society in general, especially those mortuary rites, symbolic-cosmological references to the landscape, and astronomical phenomena. In particular, the concept of rites of passage is one way in which the socialisation of space can be linked both to the material symbols interpreted in my analysis and to the

distribution and landscape position of Neolithic material culture and monument forms. Since rites of passage occur within landscapes, between topographic locations and at and within monuments (see below), we also need to consider how the sites, monuments and landscapes changed through time. As we have seen, the principle way in which this change is interpreted in the Peak District is in the emergence of ceremonial complexes or monument clusters, also discussed further below.

Primary focus: Rites of passage, landscapes and monuments

Archaeologists have frequently conceived of aspects of Neolithic life in terms of their part in a larger process, or processes, involving complex, perhaps sustained ritual practices, of which we are seeing only stages or moments. Barrett (1994a: 80) and Edmonds (1999: 60-1), for example, have pointed to the processual character of the break-up of Neolithic human remains (from articulated inhumations, through partially-disarticulated body parts, to totally disarticulated/fragmentary bones), and have highlighted the processes between life and death (dying, death and burial) that are at the heart of the human experience of mortality. Barrett and Edmonds both draw upon Van Gennep's (1960) and Turner's (1974: 81-2) claims that societies control transitions through certain 'life crisis' events (such as puberty, marriage and death) to new socially-sanctioned identities (for example, adult, head of household, and ancestor, respectively). This process begins by identifying individuals and groups as 'liminal', and then continues by structuring their *passage between categories* with appropriate stages and points of transition within and between stages. As Garwood observes (2011: 277), these ideas are appealing because

'Passages through the ritual process clearly have intrinsic materiality ... Rites of passage may thus be manifested in specific kinds of material culture, spatially patterned placement of artefacts, and distinctive architectural forms designed to guide and facilitate repeat performances.'

However, archaeologists appear to have misunderstood the importance of grasping rites of passage as a total process which requires the contextualisation of the supposed thresholds and stages within the whole. 'Most discussions ... are selective and partial, focussing on specific features of ritualised *passages* such as thresholds, or on particular *stages* ... such as liminality' (Garwood 2011: 277, my emphasis). To counter this tendency, Garwood offers a schematic diagram of rites of passage which emphasises both the stages and points of transition into and within the ritual process. I want to make use of this conception of rites of

passage, as a total ritual process and as involving points of transition within as well as between each stage of the basic ritual process, in my own analysis (see Figure 4.10).

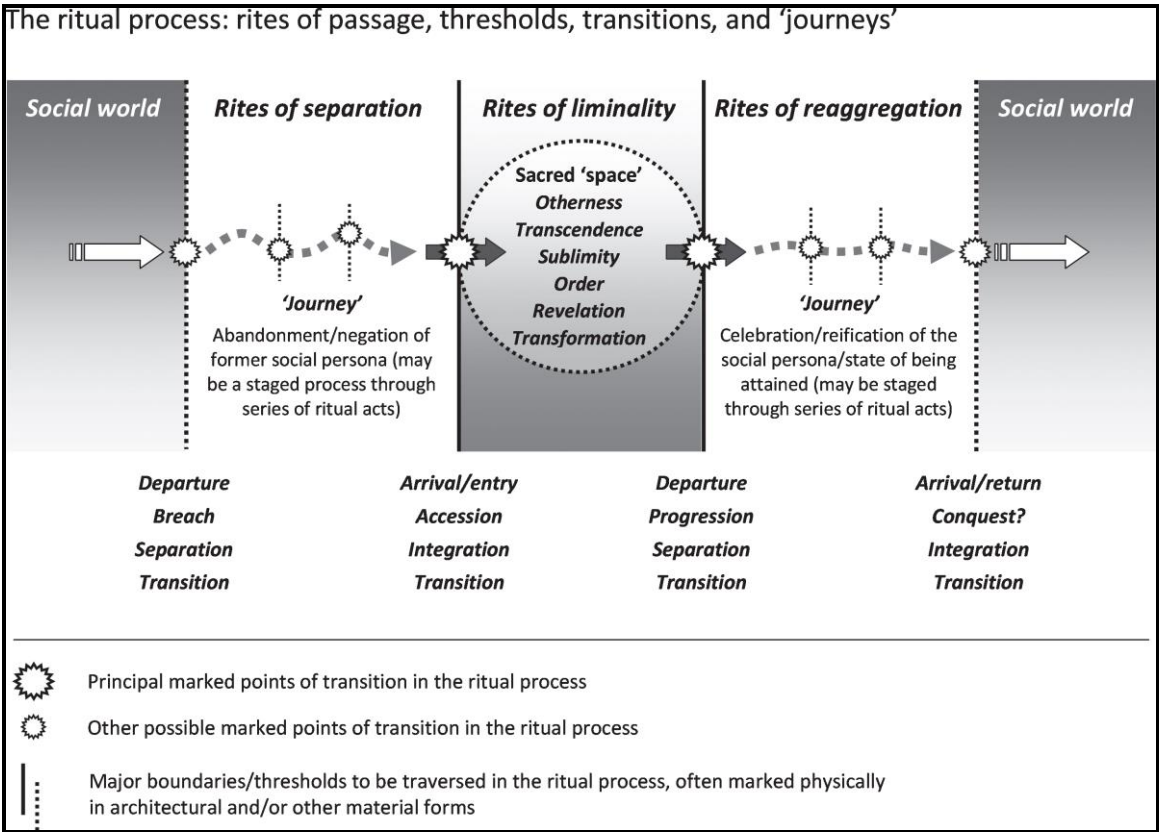


Figure 4.10. Rites of passage conceived as a total ritual process. Source: Garwood 2011: Figure 18.3.

As Chapter 3 made clear, what is significant about the Peak District is that some sites were returned to and modified over the very long-term (e.g. Minninglow A, Ringham Low,) whilst the earthen long barrows were apparently ignored for many centuries before having henges built in close proximity. At examples like Minninglow A and Five Wells it seems as if the modifications and spatial reorganisations of the sites happened with particular architectural developments in mind, such as the addition of passages (Minninglow) and the blocking-off and enlargement of the existing cairns (Minninglow and Five Wells). The aggregation of different monument classes over time suggests that definable social processes were at work, not only at a site scale, but also in different parts of the region (see Figure 4.11). In my analysis, patterns will be sought in the use of monuments, their local landscapes and in rites of passages, and in how these changed with the construction of newly-built monuments or the development of existing sites.

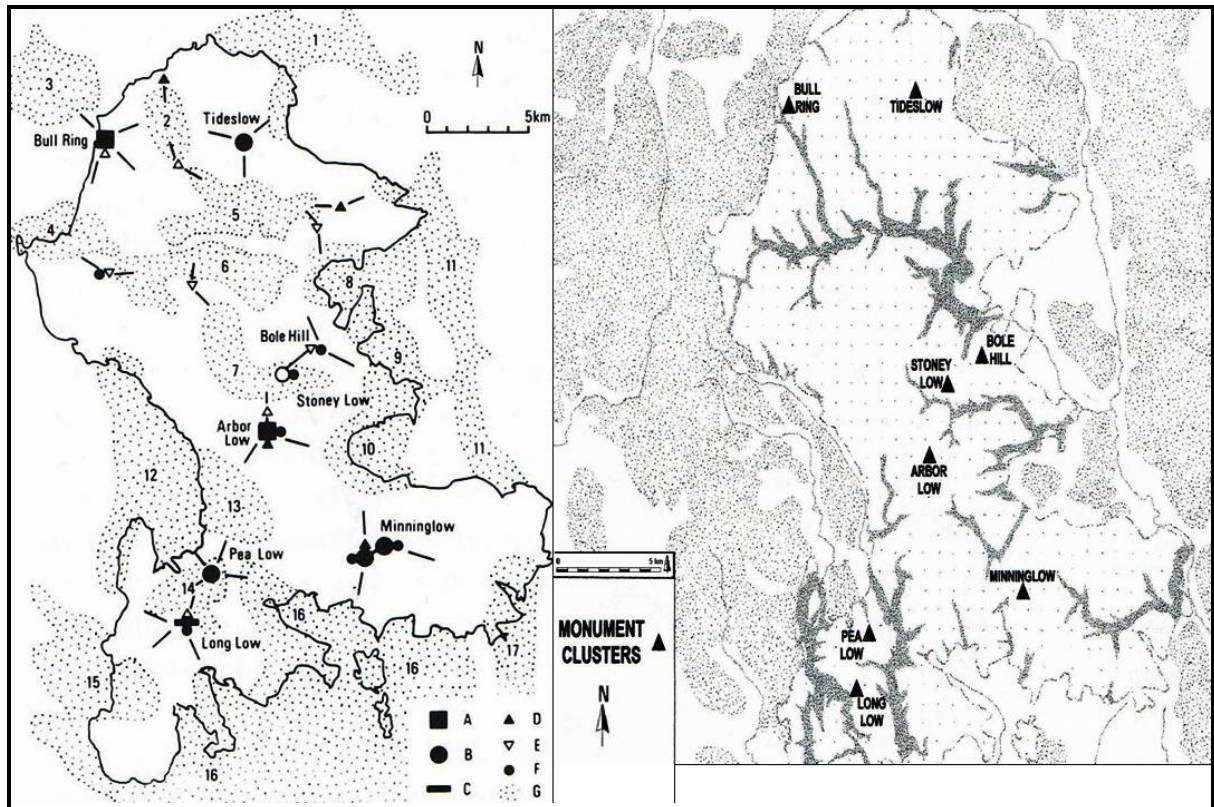


Figure 4.11. The distribution and aggregation of the Peak District's Neolithic monuments. Sources: Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.17.4 and Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 216, with additions; see also Section 3.2.1.

Secondary foci: ritual and ceremonial monuments, landscapes and practices through time

The discussions in this chapter so far show clear potential for the investigation of spatial patterning of monuments in the cultural landscape, and I have been able to suggest that different designs of monument forms and changes to sites may have skilfully guided movement and organised encounters. Indeed, the distribution and settings of many monuments may also be understood as having prescribed or organised movement, and to have affected the appropriate locations of wider cultural activity. It is also evident that social power and authority are central parts of ritual practices, something that chimes well with Lefebvre's demand that spaces of representation consider space's contested character. We are now in a position to realise Lefebvre's definitions of spaces of representation in a workable methodology. The key factors investigated by this analytical category in the present case study are therefore:

1. The relationships between the material symbols (supplied by analysis of the social-spatial practices and representations of space) and practices of socialisation appropriate to the Neolithic Peak District (spaces of representation), which are explored by studying rites of passage, and the historical development of the Peak

District's sites and monuments through the spatial analysis of changing landscape distribution and setting, physical form and symbolic significances of monuments.

2. The distinctiveness of both the monumental data set generally (with regards national classifications; see Barnatt 1996b: 7), and the way in which, in the Peak District, the monuments sometimes display common themes in their physical development. For example, sites and monuments appear to have been the subjects of complex mortuary and other practices, focused initially on the remains of the dead and their accessibility, and upon increasingly large public gatherings. In the Later Neolithic period monument spaces may have come to define greater aggregates of the cultural landscape, as reflected by the proposed ceremonial complexes based on 'clusters' of monuments (see Figure 4.11).

I therefore suggest that some of the key questions guiding my research into this third and final part of Lefebvre's model will be the following: Were monuments separated from everyday places in the Neolithic period? Where were the dominant ritual and ceremonial places in Peak society, and how did they compare to the spaces of difference and to less acutely ritualised practices? What role did architecture play in ordering space and controlling movement? According to what principles did Neolithic communities organise their ritual-ceremonial lives? How did these patterns change and how were they reproduced over time and across space?

4.3 SPATIAL ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION: KEY THEMES AND ISSUES

Listed below are ten aspects of spatial data that recur in the above discussions, which I want to propose as especially appropriate spatial data for answering the questions outlined above. I suggest that the categories fall into at least two kinds of spatial patterns, which must be distinguished for the purposes of critical reflection. These are: A) cultural landscape spatial distributions; and, B) landscape settings and topography, although I refer to these more conveniently as the *distributions and settings* of sites and monuments.

A. CULTURAL LANDSCAPE SPATIAL DISTRIBUTIONAL CRITERIA

1. Location within the Peak region: this refers to the position of the site relative to the larger social core area of the Limestone Plateau zone.

2. Monuments distributed more than one kilometre from the nearest postulated social core (TCZs; see Barnatt 1996b: Figure 1.18). This pattern is to be contrasted with (3):
3. Monuments distributed within TCZs or in radius of less than one kilometre from these areas. I mark TCZs on my maps in green upper-case text.
4. Monument relationships: refers to the sites' physical relationship with the cultural environment and includes both contemporary and pre-existing monuments. In the interpretive chapters I detail the precise nature of this relationship and enlarge upon this category by considering the following:
 - i) Proximity – specifically proximity to another monument or significant topographic feature (i.e. within a distance of one kilometre).
 - ii) Inter-visibility – involving a basic visual relationship towards another monument or significant topographic feature.
 - iii) Alignment – this category identifies those monuments whose long axes, chambers, passageways and forecourts align upon another structure, significant topographic feature or cosmological observation (for example, the 'sunny quarter' of the sky).
 - iv) Isolation – monuments physically or visually displaced *from other* monuments and/or those natural features deemed to be significant.

B. LOCAL LANDSCAPE SETTING AND TOPOGRAPHY CRITERIA

5. Hilltop or ridge top setting: refers to a distinct topographic feature elevated at least 250m OD. Such a designation will be supported with maps and photographs.
6. Positioning on the slope of a hill.
7. Aspect: this designation refers specifically to the prevailing orientation of the terrain immediately surrounding the monument. I am particularly interested in terrain which is oriented towards the east, south-east and southern directions, which seems to be a recurring pattern in Neolithic architecture; for example, in long barrow orientations (see Figure 3.11), and passage grave alignments (e.g. Green Low, early phase of Minninglow A).

8. Proximity to natural water source: this category identifies those sites which are within a distance of 1 kilometre from water. Where appropriate I further distinguish between, natural springs and minor watercourses, and major watercourses (rivers).
9. Proximity to limestone valley or gorge: proximity is defined as above. Valley and/or gorge refer to the especially deep and narrow landscape features, which are coloured black/dark grey in the Peak District maps (see, for example, Figure 4.11: right map).
10. Proximity to rock outcrops: this category refers only to exposed surface rocks and tors (e.g. Figures 4.6 and 4.7), *not* the edges of limestone valleys/gorges or subsurface limestone and modern quarries.

In order to demonstrate how these spatial data are used in my analysis and interpretation in combination with monument sites and the above discussion, see Figure 4.12. This graph considers the Neolithic data set against the spatial data listed above at different points during the period as a whole. The four rows on the left of the graph's table denote time, the x-axis records space and the y-axis integrates these as time-space, comprising of patterns in each period's social-spatial practices. It is a fundamental premise that my analyses distinguish between sites and monuments, so that sites can be understood as consisting of different arrangements of monumental space through time, and can be calibrated to similar phenomena elsewhere in the region. It is with this integration that I shall approach the kinds of questions, observations and issues discussed above.

A number of interesting patterns already stand out. The fact that two-thirds of Neolithic period sites that are more than one kilometre beyond their nearest TCZ (column 2), and the great difference in the percentages of sites located on hilltops/ridges and hill slopes (columns 5 and 6), are especially interesting in the light of the questions raised about the locations of monuments and caves in Section 4.2. Moreover, there are distinct changes over time in these and other patterns. By the time cross-fertilisation and Later Neolithic monuments are built, for example, the distributions of sites in respect of the TCZs become less well-pronounced (columns 2-3). Over the same period the sites are more often located in elevated settings, and their proximity to water courses and rock outcrops increases, particularly in the cross-fertilisation Middle Neolithic Period (see columns 5, 8 and 10). In subsequent chapters I shall compare different monument classes and appropriate aggregates of sites and monuments against the same range of criteria, which will allow me to examine particular historical processes and to focus upon particular themes.

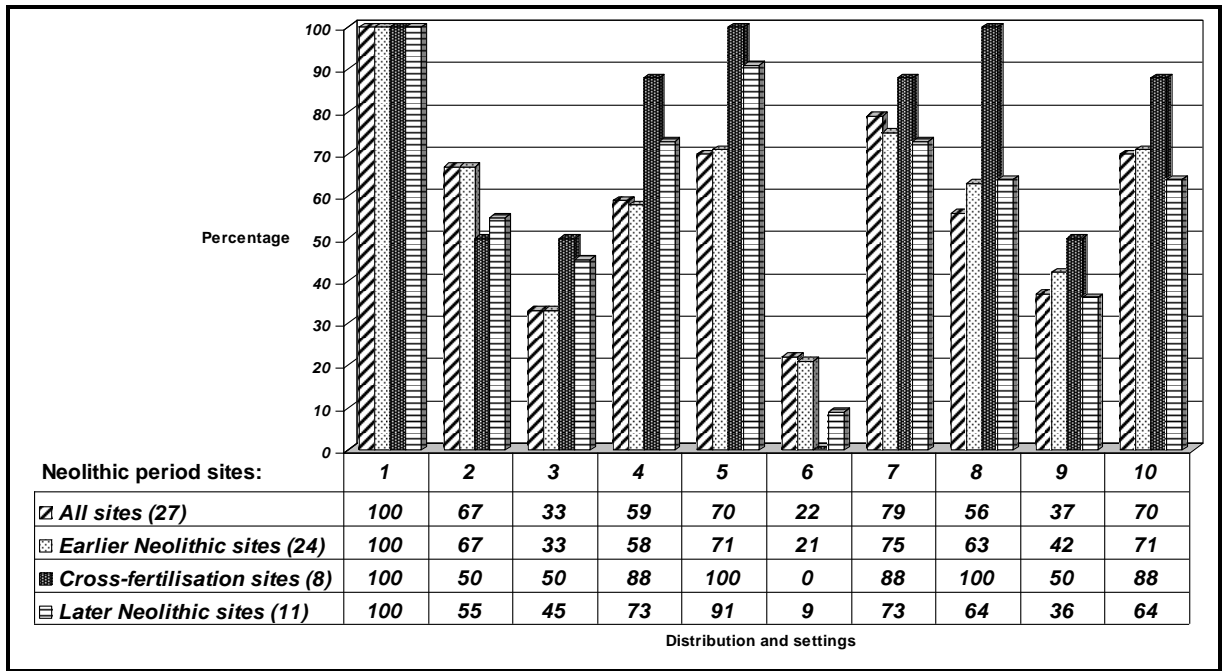


Figure 4.12. Graph comparing the distribution and settings of all Neolithic period sites to those of the Earlier Neolithic, Cross-fertilisation, and Later Neolithic period sites (see Tables 5.1 and 6.1, for details).

CHAPTER 5

THE EARLIER NEOLITHIC PERIOD,

c. 4000 – c. 3300 cal. BC

5.1 SOCIAL-SPATIAL PRACTICE

In this section, I examine the distribution and settings of Earlier Neolithic monuments from the two perspectives outlined in Section 4.2.1: firstly, the relationships of monuments to the TCZs, and to the activities that are assumed to have been especially concentrated at these locales; and secondly, their spatial relationships to other monuments and phenomena (topographic features, etc.) in their potential role as points of orientation for people's movements through the landscape. I compare the distribution and settings of the three different classes of Earlier Neolithic funerary monument – closed chambered cairns, long barrow-forms and passage grave-type cairns – with respect to these relationships, during two periods of the fourth millennium BC (see Figure 5.1 and Table 5.1). These are 1) the Earlier Neolithic period as a whole, and 2) the cross-fertilisation monuments of the earlier Middle Neolithic. The first incorporates all 24 sites that are listed in Table 5.1, column A. In the second, only those sites reasoned to have been newly-built or remodelled in the period after c. 3500 cal. BC (Barnatt 1996b) are considered. Seven Later Neolithic great barrows are also included in Tables 5.1 and 5.2 for comparison, but are the subjects of analysis in Chapter 6.

5.1.1 Social cores and monumental spaces

One of the most striking patterns identified in Figure 5.2 is that two-thirds of Earlier Neolithic monuments are positioned more than one kilometre *beyond* the places that I have postulated as potential socio-cultural cores (columns 2-3). This raises the possibility that the domestic spheres of life and funerary structures might have been deliberately kept separate, as indeed Barnatt (1996: 63-7), controversially, proposes. Following my critique of simple binary readings of social space in Chapter 2, it is not my intention to endorse from the outset a simplistic set of interpretive oppositions such as TCZ/distance, core/periphery, domestic/funerary, or life/death. Indeed, I have highlighted potential problems with Barnatt's conception of the TCZs. Rather, the key concern here is the spatial-historical character of the data which is the context in which synchronic categories of space are produced.

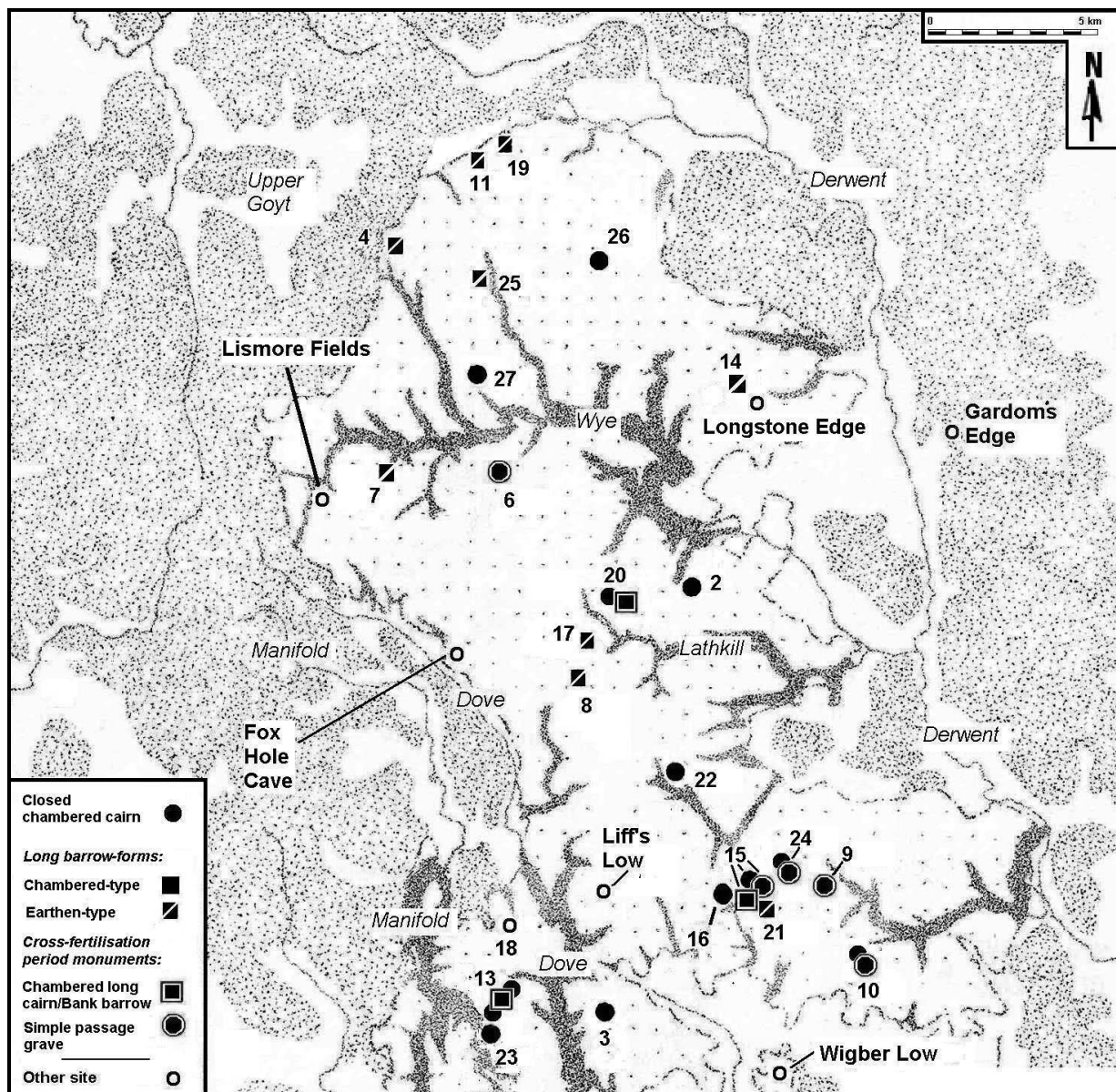


Figure 5.1. Map showing the Earlier Neolithic sites and monuments analysed in this chapter (see Table 5.1), and other sites referred to in the text. The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001.

A. SITE:	B. PERIODS:		C. MONUMENT CLASS:				D. DISTRIBUTION & SETTING:	
	Earlier Neolithic, c. 4000-3300 cal. BC	Earlier Middle Neolithic period, c. 3500-3300 cal. BC	Closed Chambered Cairn	Long Barrow-form	Passage Grave-type Cairn	Great Barrow	1. Limestone Plateau	2. > 1km from TCZ
2. Bole Hill	•		•			o	•	•
3. Bostern	•		•				•	
4. Bull Ring	•			o			•	•
6. Five Wells	•	•			•		•	
7. Gospel Hillocks	•			o			•	•
8. Gib Hill *	•			•			•	•
9. Green Low	•	•			•		•	•
10. Harborough Rocks	•	•	o		•	o	•	•
11. Harrod Low	•			•			•	•
13. Long Low *	•	•	••	•		x	•	
14. Longstone Moor	•			•			•	•
15. Minninglow A #	•	•	o	•	•	•	•	•
16. Minninglow B	•		•				•	•
17. One Ash	•			o			•	•
18. Pea Low	•		x			•	•	
19. Perryfoot	•			•			•	•
20. Ringham Low	•	o	•	o	x	o	•	
21. Rockhurst	•			•			•	•
22. Smerrill Moor	•		•				•	
23. Stanshope	•	o	o		x		•	
24. Stoney Low	•	o	•		o	•	•	•
25. The Tong	•			o			•	
26. Tideslow **#	•		•			•	•	•
27. Wind Low	•		•				•	•
TOTALS	24	8	13	12	5	7	24	16

Table 5.1. The distributions and settings of Earlier Neolithic sites in the Peak District. (For Column D.3-D.10 and the key to symbols used see next page).

D. DISTRIBUTION AND SETTING - continued:

	3. < 1km from TCZ	4. Monument Relationships	5. Hilltop/ Ridge Top	6. Lee of Hill	7. E-, S-E-, or S-aspect	8. Water sources	9. Limestone Valley/Gorge	10. Rock Outcrop
2. Bole Hill			•					
3. Bostern	•	•	•			•	•	
4. Bull Ring								•
6. Five Wells	•		•		•	•	•	•
7. Gospel Hillocks				•	•	•	•	
8. Gib Hill *			•		•			
9. Green Low		•	•		•	•		•
10. Harborough Rocks		•	•		•	•		•
11. Harrod Low				•	•			
13. Long Low *	•	•	•			•	•	•
14. Longstone Moor			•		•	•		•
15. Minninglow A #		•	•		•	•		•
16. Minninglow B		•	•			•		•
17. One Ash		•		•	•		•	
18. Pea Low	•	•	•		•	•	•	•
19. Perryfoot				•	•			•
20. Ringham Low	•	•	•		•	•	•	
21. Rockhurst		•	•		•	•		•
22. Smerrill Moor	•				•		•	•
23. Stanshope	•	•	•		•	•	•	•
24. Stoney Low		•	•		•	•		•
25. The Tong	•			•	•		•	•
26. Tideslow **#			•					•
27. Wind Low			•			•		•
TOTALS	8	12	17	5	18	14	9	16
KEY: Columns B and C distinguish certain (•) possible (o) and arguable (x) examples. Only certain and possible examples are totaled in this table. Sites featuring pre-monument structures are marked in column A with the appropriate numbers of asterisks (*), and a hash (#) is used for orthostats.								

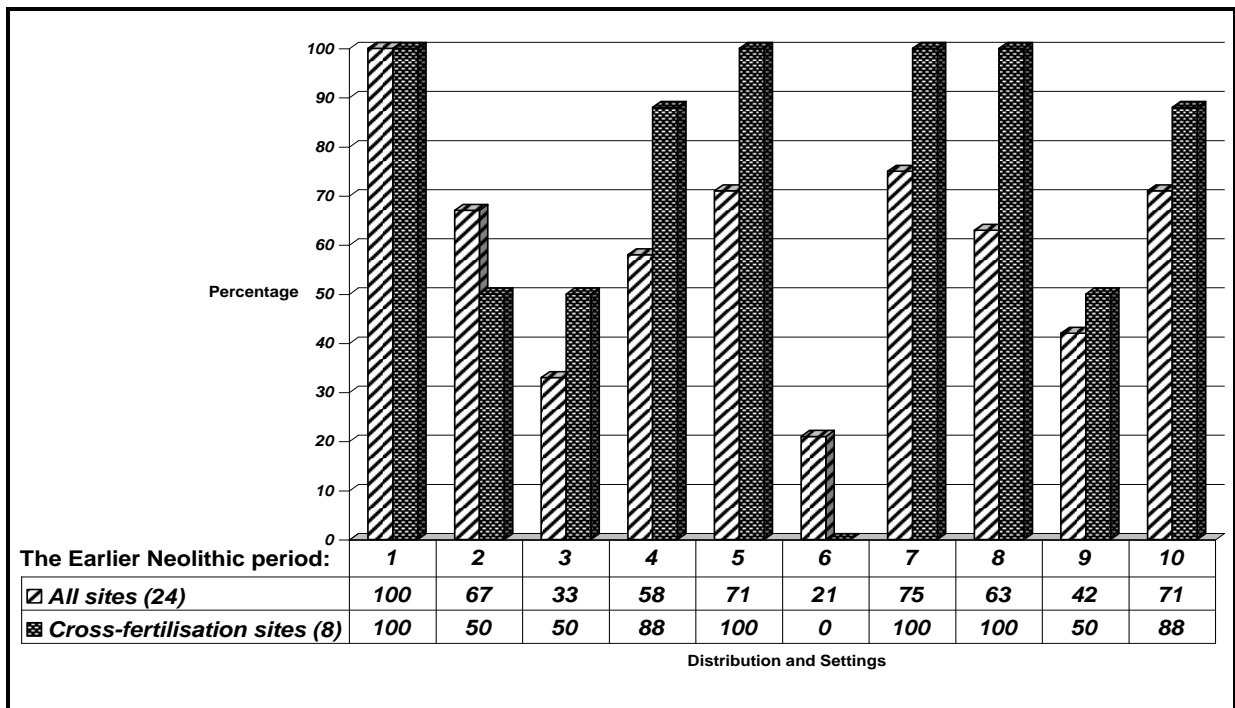


Figure 5.2. Graph comparing the distribution and settings of all 24 Earlier Neolithic sites to those of the Cross-fertilisation period (see Table 5.1, columns B and D, for details).

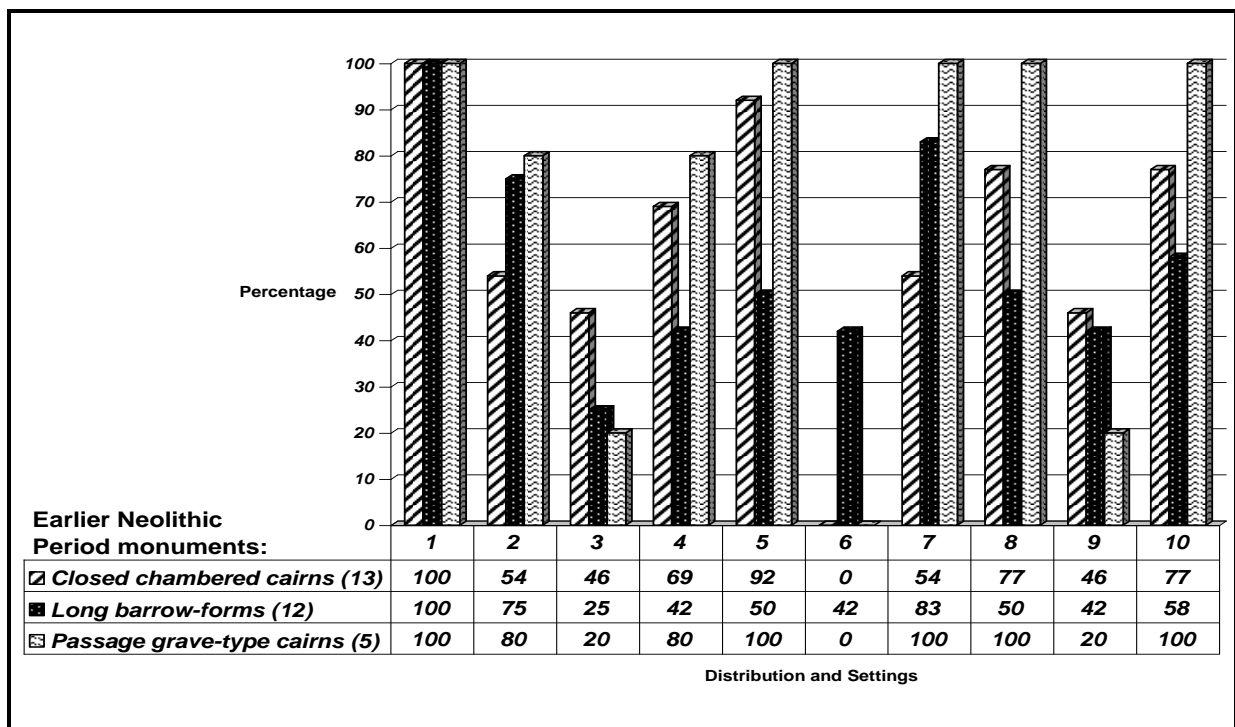


Figure 5.3. Graph comparing the distribution and settings of three classes of Earlier Neolithic funerary monument (see Table 5.1, columns C and D).

A. SITE:	B. APPROXIMATE ELEVATION:	C. MONUMENT CLASS:				
		I. Closed Chambered Cairn	II. Long Barrow-form	III. Passage Grave-type Cairn	IV. Great Barrow	
2. Bole Hill	355 m OD	•			o	
3. Bostern	340 m OD	•				
4. Bull Ring	340 m OD		o			
6. Five Wells	430 m OD			•		
7. Gospel Hillocks	325 m OD		o			
8. Gib Hill*	370 m OD		•			
9. Green Low	320 m OD			•		
10. Harboro' Rocks	370 m OD	o		•	o	
11. Harrod Low	375 m OD		•			
13. Long Low *	310 m OD	••	•			
14. Longstone Moor	340 m OD		•			
15. Minninglow A #	370 m OD	o	•	•	•	
16. Minninglow B	370 m OD	•				
17. One Ash	335 m OD		o			
18. Pea Low	325 m OD				•	
19. Perryfoot	365 m OD		•			
20. Ringham Low	275 m OD	•	o		o	
21. Rockhurst	360 m OD		•			
22. Smerrill Moor	305 m OD	•				
23. Stanshope	300 m OD	o				
24. Stoney Low	320 m OD	•		o	•	
25. The Tong	315 m OD		o			
26. Tideslow **#	405 m OD	•			•	
27. Wind Low	370 m OD	•				
24 SITES	RANGE: 275-430 m OD	13	12	5	Certain: 4	Total: 7
AVERAGES	ALL SITES: 345 m OD	339 m OD	340 m OD	362 m OD	355 m OD	346 m OD

Table 5.2. The approximate elevations above sea-level of the Peak District's Earlier Neolithic funerary monuments and great barrows. See Table 5.1 for key to the symbols used.

First, let us review the patterns and their implications. Three basic patterns appear to support the interpretation of some form of distinction between the postulated social cores and monument spaces in the Earlier Neolithic:

1. The majority of Earlier Neolithic funerary monuments are located more than one kilometre from TCZs (Figure 5.2, columns 2-3). This suggests that, for the most part, the period's monuments were built so as to be outside these social cores, although on that account this distinction would seem to have been less, or not at all, important for cross-fertilisation period sites.
2. Of Earlier Neolithic sites, 71% are located on hilltops or ridges and this proportion rises to 100% in the Cross-fertilisation phase (Figure 5.2, column 5). The landscape character of hilltops and ridges form obvious contrasts to the valleys, shelves and upland basins which comprise the TCZs. So once again, most monuments seem to be located in places that contrast to the probable locations of social cores.
3. Lismore Fields, the site of two Earlier-Middle Neolithic long halls, is in a *valley* location and at an elevation of c. 300m OD (Garton 1991: 13). The Peak's funerary monuments, by contrast, average a greater elevation: 345m OD (see Table 5.2, column B). This general contrast in relative elevations is a pattern typical of funerary monuments and long houses in a number of Earlier Neolithic landscapes in Britain (Davies 2009: 6).

In addition to these broad patterns, Figure 5.3 shows that there are subtle differences in the distribution and settings of different monument classes. For example, long barrow-forms and passage grave-type cairns are comparatively more likely to be located at a distance greater than one kilometre from the TCZs than are the earlier closed chambered cairns (see column 2). In fact, six closed chambered cairns are located near limestone valleys or gorges (and are hence encompassed by TCZs), more than any other class (column 9). Together, these details discourage us from supporting the notion that a synchronic ritual/profane distinction was uniformly applied across time and space, or that distribution patterns are simply coextensive with particular architectural forms. Rather, it identifies variety in the period, with both increases and contractions over time in the distance between TCZs and funerary sites being an important part of the picture.



Figure 5.4. The landscape settings of two long barrow-form monuments in the Peak District. Above: The small mound in the foreground is identified as the remains of the distal-tip of Gospel Hillocks earthen long barrow (Barnatt 1996d), looking east. Below: Harrod Low earthen long barrow (see also Figure 5.5), looking north-west. Photographs: RBW, July 2010.

Moreover, with respect to point 2, Figure 5.3 shows that the percentage of monuments located in hilltop/ridge top settings varies by monument type from 50-100%. This is a very broad range. In fact, my analysis shows that 92% of closed chambered cairns and 100% of passage grave-type cairns are to be found in hilltop/ridge top settings, in marked contrast to only 50% of long barrow-forms. Whilst the elevations of closed chambered cairns and long barrow-forms are very similar and can indeed be contrasted collectively to the elevations of long houses (point 3), the Peak's passage grave-type cairns and four certain great barrows are on average at significantly greater elevations (Table 5.2, column C). These patterns raise the possibility that each of the three Earlier Neolithic monument types related to somewhat *dissimilar* social-spatial practices, and that long term social changes are reflected in their respective positioning in the landscape. In order to test this interpretation, I consider their different architectural forms alongside these patterns through time. How might everyday practical activities have contributed towards different perceptions of social distance between the living (plateau and TCZs) and the dead (the sites, monuments and their immediate environment)?

Discussion: landscape, monuments and social distance

As we have seen, although monuments are in general built at a distance from the TCZs, *long barrow-forms* are often located beyond these potential social cores (Figure 5.3). Whilst the average elevation above sea-level of closed chambered cairns and long barrow-forms are almost indistinguishable (Table 5.2), two further patterns can be derived from a consideration of elevation and topography. The first is that, according to Figure 5.3, long barrow-forms are almost as frequently positioned on *hill slopes* as hilltops (see Figures 5.4 and 5.5, for examples of long barrows on hill slopes). Closed chambered cairns, in contrast, tend to be sited almost entirely in hilltop/ridge positions (see Table 5.1, column 5 and Figure 5.6) and are also slightly more likely to be situated closer to the social cores, valleys and gorges (columns 3 & 9). As mentioned above, this suggests a historical dimension to the construction of Earlier Neolithic monuments in relation to social cores since closed chambered cairns may have been the very first Earlier Neolithic monuments built in the Peak (see Chapter 3). Moreover, the two closed chambered cairn sites where pre-cairn architecture is found – Long Low and Tideslow – also conform to this pattern of elevated hilltop/ridge top settings (see Table 5.1 and Table 5.2). Whilst this very small pattern in the data set might merely be fortuitous, it could represent an early start to the tendency for chambered funerary cairns to be built in elevated settings.

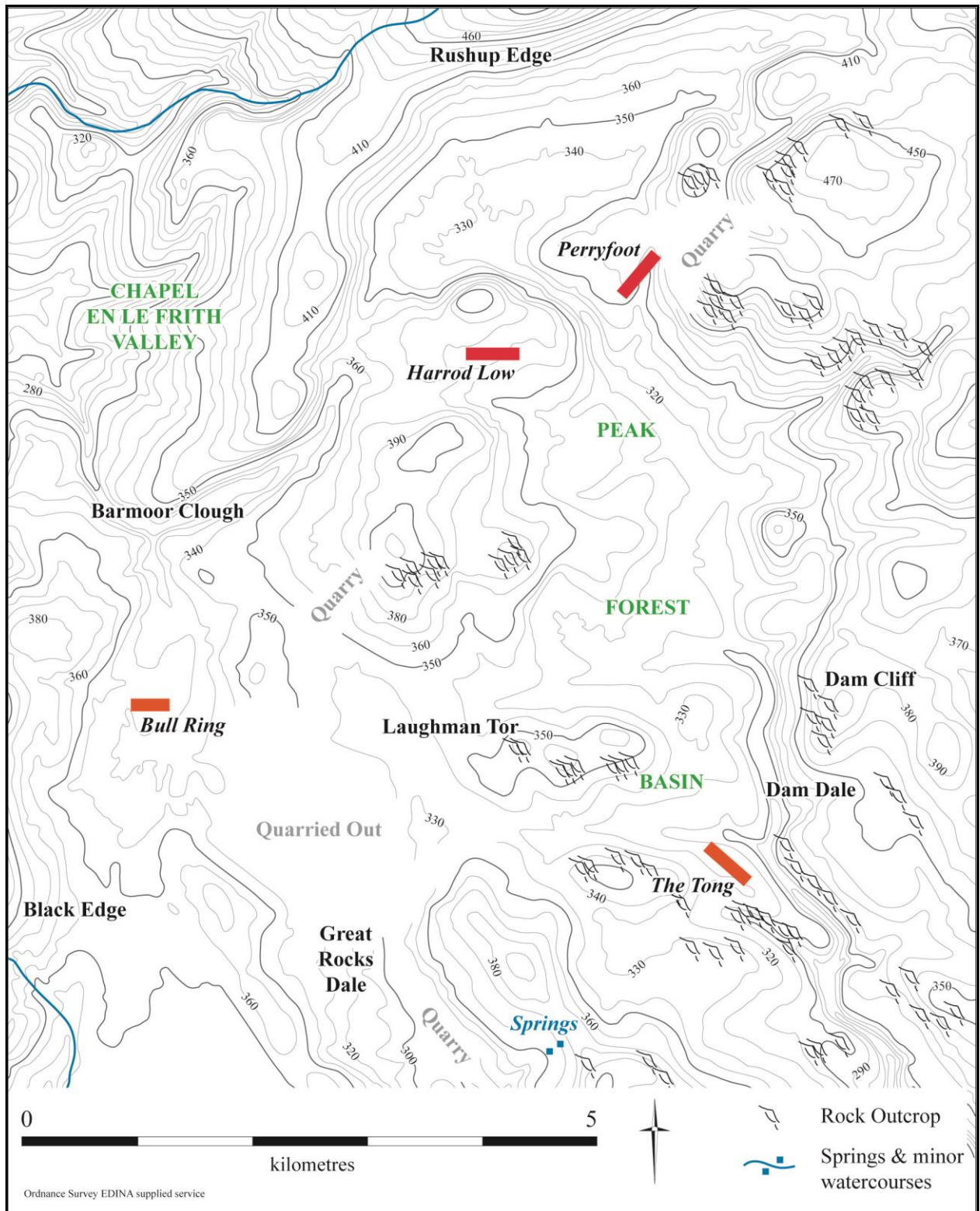


Figure 5.5. 1:50,000 scale map of the Earlier Neolithic period monuments and landscapes at the north-west plateau-edge. Shown here are two certain (red rectangles) and two possible earthen-type long barrow-form monuments (orange rectangles). Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).



Figure 5.6. The settings of two closed chambered cairns. Above: Bostern (beyond the wall, centre) silhouetted against the southern Staffordshire Moors, looking west. Below: Wind Low, also looking west towards the Staffordshire Moors. Photographs: RBW November 2011 and July 2010, respectively.

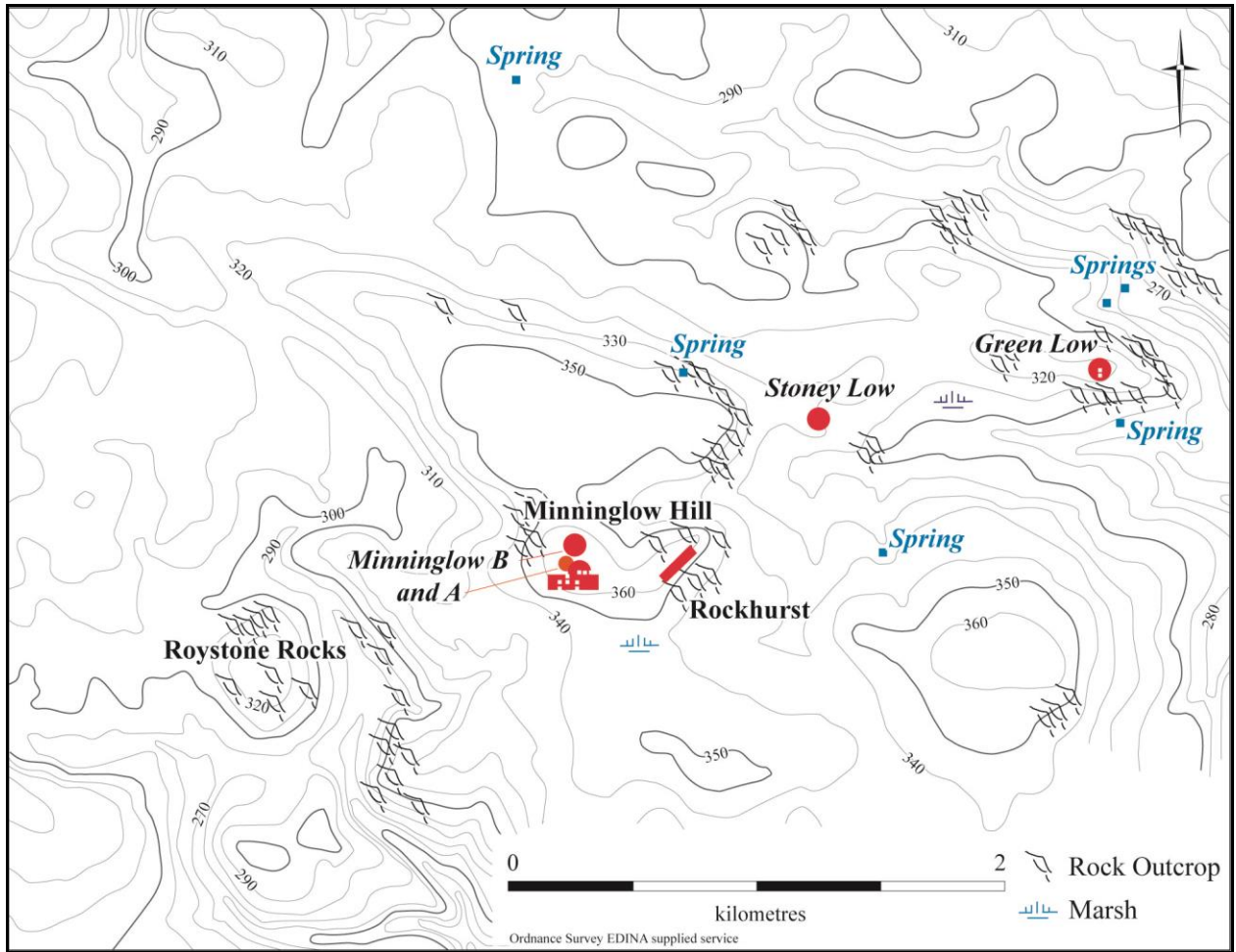


Figure 5.7. Detail from a 1:50,000 scale map of the Earlier Neolithic period monuments and landscapes around Minninglow Hill. The structures depicted are: closed chambered cairns (circles), two long barrow-forms (rectangles, with passages/chambers depicted where applicable), and two simple passage graves (circles with passages/chambers depicted); red and orange are used for certain and possible examples, respectively. Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

The second pattern of note is that passage grave-type monuments, which occurred chronologically late in the Earlier Neolithic monument sequence (Barnatt 1996b), are on average positioned 22.0-23.0m higher than closed chambered cairns and long barrow-forms (see Table 5.2, columns 2-3). For example, the highest-situated site in the Peak is Five Wells, a simple passage grave-type cairn (430m OD; see Table 5.2 for sites' elevations). This site is followed in elevation by a number of sites that were built or originated as closed chambered-types: Tideslow (405m OD), and Harborough Rocks, Minninglow A and B, and Wind Low, which are all situated around 370m OD.

Whilst some long barrow-form sites are of similar elevation (Gib Hill, 370m OD, Harrod Low, 375m OD, and Minninglow A, 370m OD), the more frequent hilltop/ridge settings of

closed chambered cairns provide comparatively greater visual prominence than long barrow-forms. Moreover, of the six prominently-situated long barrow-forms, half incorporate chambered-type cairns, namely Minninglow A, Long Low (305m OD) and possibly Ringham Low (see Table 5.1). These points further emphasise the connection between chambered-type monuments and elevated, prominent topographic settings. It is also notable that this general pattern is often combined with a comparatively *closer* positioning of chambered monuments to the TCZs than is the case for *earthen* long barrow-forms (see Figure 5.3, columns 2-3). Long Low and Ringham Low, for example, are closer to their respective TCZs than are the nine earthen long barrows.

Summary

The overall impression is that closed chambered cairns were predominantly built so as to be physically quite close to the edges of the TCZs and, at the same time, by virtue of their local topography (hilltop/ridge top and elevation) *less easily accessible* because of the effort required to reach them. This is illustrated by the six cairns depicted in Figures 4.6 (Harborough Rocks), 5.6 (Bostern and Wind Low) and 5.7 (Minninglow A and B, and Stoney Low), which are in elevated settings that have especially steep, sometimes rocky sides. Indeed, if one considers the elevation of passage grave-type chambered cairns alongside hilltop/ridge top settings, there seems to have been a particular focus on both these locales in the cross-fertilisation period. This is supported by the following patterns:

1. Passage grave-type chambered cairns have a greater than average elevation (Table 5.2, columns B and C).
2. They are better represented at hilltops/ridges as a class than any other type of monument in this period (Figure 5.3, column 5).
3. The trend in distribution and setting between the Earlier Neolithic period generally and the Cross-fertilisation period structures in particular is towards a proportional increase in hilltop and ridge positions through time (Figure 5.2, column 5).

In contrast, the situation for *earthen* long barrow-forms is reversed. Here the pattern involves the combination of a more frequent one kilometre+ distribution from the TCZs (Figure 5.2, columns 2-3) and a hill slope setting, which is exclusive to earthen long barrows (Figure 5.3, column 6) and makes them less prominent in the landscape. The particularly ‘northern’ regional distribution of earthen long barrows also contrasts with the ‘southern’ one of the various

chambered-types (Barnatt 1996b: 65), an observation to which I shall return below. In summary, the patterns in the new data support the view that very different sets of distributions and settings were associated with closed chambered cairns and earthen long barrows. This bears out the hypothesis that, while different notions of social distance characterised the social-spatial practices associated with the three Earlier Neolithic monument types, some form of distinction and division between domestic and funerary spaces and social practices may have existed throughout the Earlier Neolithic period.

5.1.2 Movement and orientation

This section explores the possible role of Earlier Neolithic funerary spaces as aids to movement and orientation via their physical presence in the social landscape, especially in relation to their elevated or visually prominent settings (see above). In Chapter 4, I proposed that these monuments might be involved in patterns of visual and distributional relationships with other structures, and perhaps particular topographies or individual landscape features (see Section 4.2.1). Column 4 of Figure 5.2 records that overall only 58% of Earlier Neolithic monument sites are involved in such patterns, which equates to 14 examples. This proportion goes up dramatically when only the Cross-fertilisation phase structures are considered (to 88%).

Even so, Figure 5.3 indicates that there is variety in the patterns of inter-monument relationships among different Earlier Neolithic monument classes. Passage grave-type cairns, for example, are once again best represented, with 80% of them having a close physical and/or a visual relationship with other sites. Whilst it is true that the number of sites increased with time, making such visual connections more likely, 69% of closed chambered cairns, easily above the average of 58%, are in close proximity to, are inter-visible from, or are in alignments with other monuments (compare column 4 in Figures 5.2 and Figure 5.3). Moreover, earthen-type long barrow-forms are least likely to be situated in monument clusters or have visual relationships with other monuments (see Figure 5.8). Patterns in inter-monument relationships therefore appear to be significant rather than merely random. This suggests that: 1) *chambered* monuments appear to be more likely to have been designed with inter-monument patterns in mind; 2) once again, *closed chambered-type cairns* were positioned in a different way to *earthen long barrow-forms*, and; 3) this pattern intensified over time along with the development of passage grave architecture and other techniques associated with the Cross-fertilisation period.

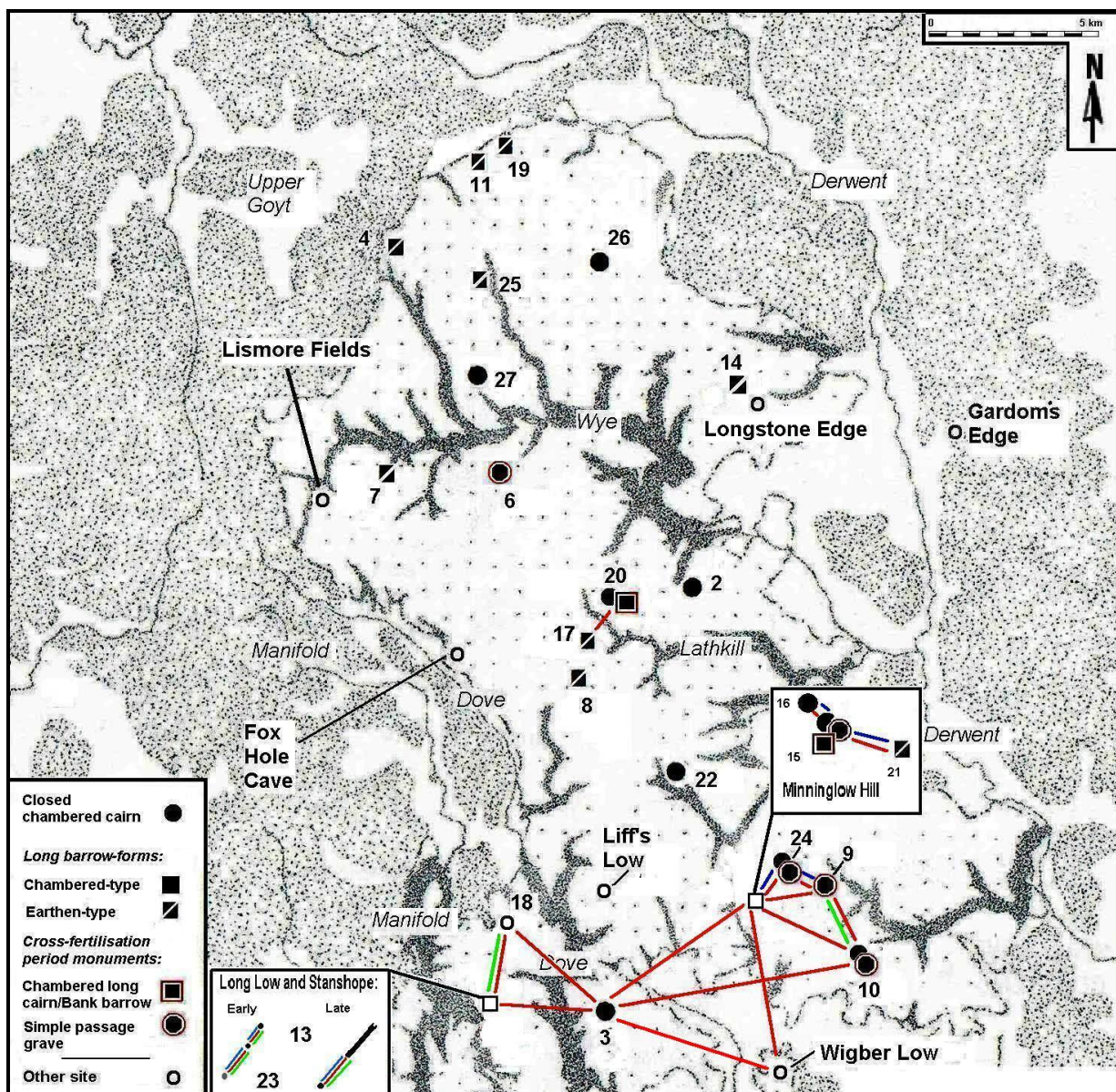


Figure 5.8. Map recording patterns of monument relationships in the Earlier Neolithic period. The coloured lines distinguish between patterns of 1) proximity (blue), 2) inter-visibility (red), and 3) alignment (green) between sites. The two inserts are not to scale. The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001.

A. SITE:	B. MONUMENT CLASS:			C. INTER-MONUMENT RELATIONSHIP:			D. ISOLATION:		
	Closed Chambered Cairn	Long Barrow-form	Passage Grave-type Cairn	1. Proximity	2. Inter visibility	3. Alignment	I. Indicated by physical distance (< 1 km. from other monuments)	II. Indicated by Visual isolation (no monument inter-visibility and alignment)	III. Indicated by both distance and visual isolation
2. Bole Hill	•						•	•	•
3. Bostern	•				•		•		
4. Bull Ring		o					•	•	•
6. Five Wells			•				•	•	•
7. Gospel Hillocks		o					•	•	•
8. Gib Hill*		•					•	•	•
9. Green Low			•	•	•	•			
10. Harborough Rocks	o		•		•	•	•		
11. Harrod Low		•						•	•
13. Long Low *	••	•		•	•	•			
14. Longstone Moor		•					•	•	•
15. Minninglow A #	o	•	•	•	•				
16. Minninglow B	•			•	•				
17. One Ash		o			•		•		
18. Pea Low	x				x	x	x		
19. Perryfoot		•					•	•	•
20. Ringham Low	•	o	x		•				
21. Rockhurst		•		•	•				
22. Smerrill Moor	•						•	•	•
23. Stanshope	o		x	•	•	•			
24. Stoney Low	•		o	•	•				
25. The Tong		o					•	•	•
26. Tideslow **#	•						•	•	•
27. Wind Low	•						•	•	•
TOTALS	13	12	5	7	11	4	15	12	12

Table 5.3. Table recording patterns of monument relationships in the Earlier Neolithic Peak District, identifying the individual class of monument (columns A-B) and four specific relationships (column C). For the symbols used see Table 5.1. This data is displayed in Figure 5.9, below.

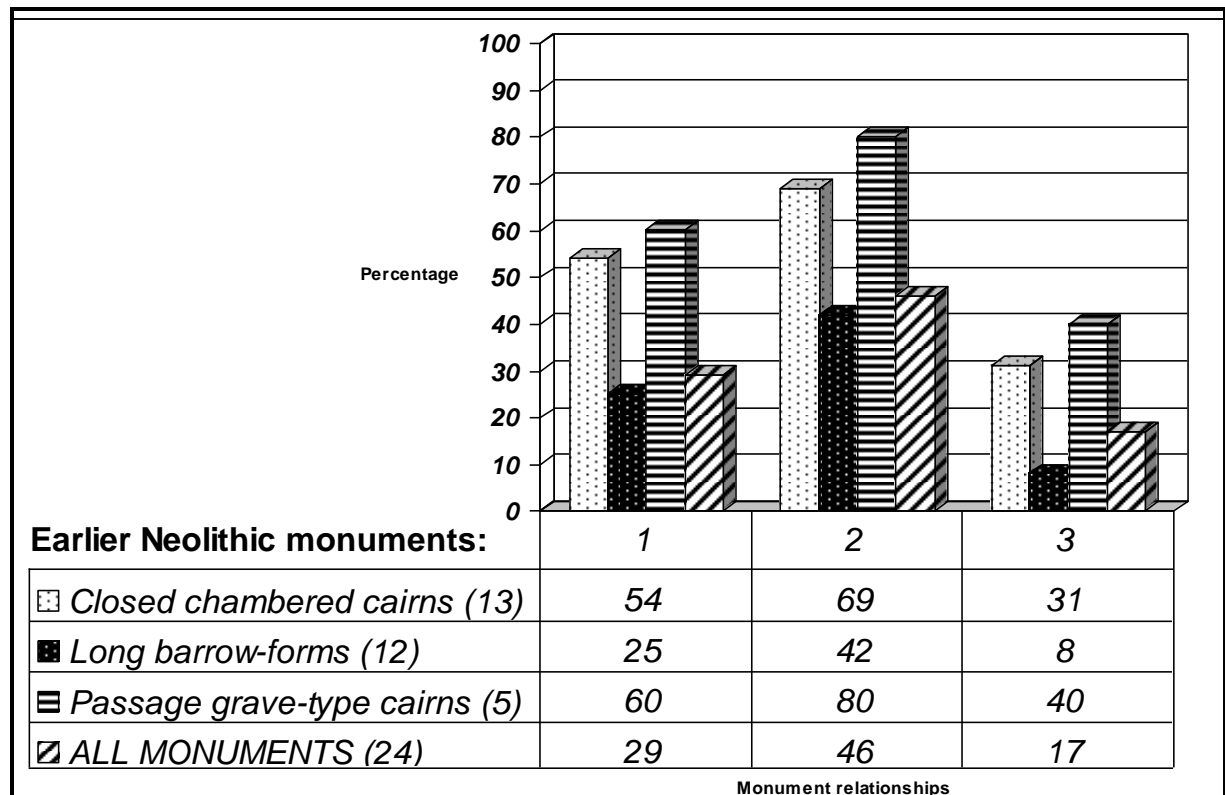


Figure 5.9. Graph comparing patterns of monument relationships in the Earlier Neolithic period. The columns record the following monument relationships by individual class of monument: 1. Proximity, 2. Inter-visibility, and 3. Alignment. Source: Table 5.3, columns A-C.

Specific monument relationships of proximity, inter-visibility, and alignment (see Table 5.3), including astronomical alignments, are considered in detail below. In the first three sections, I examine whether particular monument relationships were important in the construction and/or remodelling of different monument types late in the Earlier Neolithic period. Were particular topographies – hilltops/ridges, limestone valleys or gorges, for example – a conspicuous part of these patterns? Is there a north/south split in these relationships, as suggested above? In a fourth section, I investigate those monuments *not* involved in such monument relationships to establish whether the lack of a visual relationship or proximity to other monuments, shared topographic features or astronomical phenomena can be legitimately described as a pattern of ‘isolation’.

1. Proximity

In the Peak District, only two such monument concentrations exist based on my definition of ‘proximity’, both in the south of the region (Figure 5.8). In this section, I begin to assess these clusters critically to understand whether they were intended to be viewed as coherent groups of

monuments. I also acknowledge the occurrences of monument pairing, which lie outside the zone of proximity that I have defined (i.e. Harrod Low and Perryfoot, and One Ash and Ringham Low). I look first at the relationships between monuments constructed contemporaneously, and then examine what the distributions of these groups might say about the importance of particular topographic features.

The distribution of monument clusters and pairs

The largest grouping of Earlier Neolithic sites is around Minninglow Hill and Green Low (see Figures 5.8 and 5.10), where five monuments form two close-set clusters, with a sixth site to the south (Harborough Rocks). The monument sequences here indicate that clustering was an early feature of this landscape. Initially, it appears that two closed chambered-type cairns (Minninglow A and B) were built some 20.0m apart on the highest point of Minninglow Hill, and were subsequently joined by a long barrow-form of probable earthen-type (Rockhurst), 500m away. Approximately one kilometre north-east of Minninglow A and B is Stoney Low which, like these two monuments, was originally a closed chambered-type cairn and was probably contemporary to them. To the east of these sites is Green Low, a simple passage grave-type cairn. This monument may be contemporary with the simple passage grave and chambered long barrow phases at Minninglow A (see Chapter 3). The excavation of Green Low (Manby 1965), and field walking in the areas between Minninglow Hill and Green Low (Garton and Kennett 1996) have found high concentrations of Late Mesolithic and Earlier Neolithic artefacts. This suggests that the area had cultural significance and had probably been periodically inhabited in these periods, and when the monuments were in use (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 48). Moreover, as Barnatt (1996b: 65) notes, Minninglow Hill is ‘visible from much of the Peak District’, which is especially true in respect of the southern plateau-edge (Figure 5.8, and see below). The Minninglow Hill monuments, Stoney Low and Green Low are thus of special interest to my interpretation of social-spatial practices, at both local and regional scales.



Figure 5.10. The distinctive modern profile of Minninglow Hill (centre, ringed with trees) looking southwest from a point half-way between it and Green Low (see also Figure 5.7). Photograph RBW; June 2007.

The second grouping is dominated by Long Low, the massive chambered bank barrow that was initially comprised of two closed chambered-type cairns, which were subsequently linked by a long barrow-form ‘spine’ (see Figure 5.8, insert). The very large round barrow of Stanshope (in this period a chambered cairn with possible cross-fertilisation period aspects; See Table 5.1) completes the cluster of proximal sites, and is located 300 metres from Long Low (see Figure 5.11). In the wider landscape are Bostern (located three kilometres east of Long Low) and Pea Low (located 2.6 kilometres north-east of Long Low), whose inter-visibility with Long Low are discussed below.

These two early monument clusters stand in marked contrast to the situation in the north and centre of the plateau (Figure 5.8). The landscapes of the Peak Forest (Figure 5.5) and that around the upper Lathkill valley (see Figure 5.12) are the closest examples of monument clusters. However, neither landscape has a comparable number of monuments, nor are the monuments in proximity to each other, as defined previously. The closest are Harrod Low and Perryfoot (1.3 kilometres apart), and One Ash and Ringham Low (two kilometres apart). On the whole, only the passage grave-type monuments as a class are above the (quite low) average frequency for being within a one kilometre radius of another site (Figure 5.9, column 1). This percentage accounts for just three passage graves: Green Low, Minninglow A and Stoney Low.

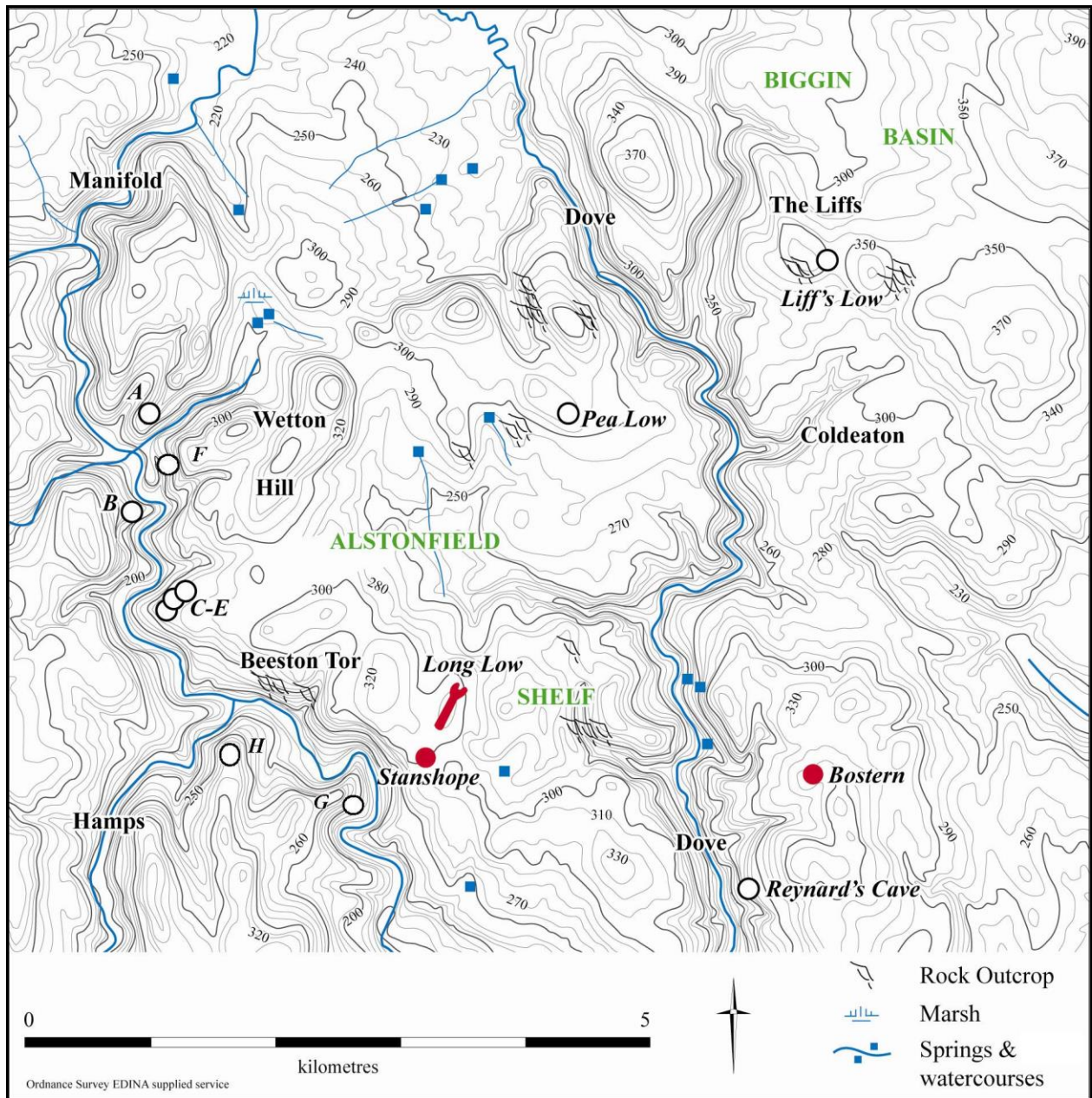


Figure 5.11. 1:50,000 scale map of the Earlier Neolithic monuments and other sites of the south-western plateau. The map shows two closed chambered cairns (red circles), Long Low bank barrow (comprising two closed chambered cairns and a bank) and the locations of Liff's Low and Pea Low. Caves and rock shelters with archaeological deposits include A. Wetton Hill Rock shelter; B. Ossum's Cave; C. Thor's Fissure Cave and Thor's Cave; D. Seven Ways; E. Elder Bush Cave; F. Darfur Ridge Cave; G. Cheshire Wood Cave; and, H. Falcon Low Cave. Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

Indeed, 63% of Earlier Neolithic monuments in the Peak District (15 out of 24; see Table 5.3, column D) are in this sense *physically isolated* from other Earlier Neolithic structures. This is curious because the northern parts of the plateau contain both closed chambered and passage grave monuments (for example, Five Wells, Tideslow and Wind Low), which are likely to have been contemporary with those monument types found in the southern clusters at Long Low and

Minninglow Hill (Barnatt 1996b). The two clusters in the south therefore stand out. These patterns would seem to support the idea that of some form of north/south distinction existed between traditions of social-spatial practices in the Peak during the Earlier Neolithic period.

Proximity to topographic features

There are few specific landscape features which seem to be the ‘special’ focus of this period’s monuments. One Ash and Ringham Low may have been sited so as to be close to the natural spring in Lathkill Head Cave, which is the source of the River Lathkill, about a kilometre from Ringham Low (see Figure 5.12). Interestingly, once Bole Hill and Gib Hill are considered alongside the other two, a row of four Earlier Neolithic structures results, each monument roughly an equal distance apart. In this respect the topographic feature that they have in common is Cales Dale, which stretches between Ringham Low and One Ash. Perhaps this natural feature in some way linked the four funerary sites, the river valley (TCZ) and the natural spring?

The Minninglow Hill, Green Low and Harborough Rocks areas are particularly rocky, but monuments cannot be said to cluster around any particular hill or ridge top; rather monuments are *positioned on* hilltops or ridges in this part of the plateau. Bostern, Long Low, Pea Low and Stanshope are all very close to the limestone gorges and valleys of the River Dove and River Manifold, and offer today’s visitor breath-taking long-distance views. There are also a number of caves and rock shelters within these gorges, the closest physical relationship being between Bostern and Reynard’s Cave (Figure 5.11). However, confirmed Neolithic artefacts and bones that would link these places to the period’s monuments are rare in the Peak (Barnatt and Edmonds 2002).

The cairns on top of Minninglow Hill (Minninglow A and B), and Green Low also overlook minor limestone gorges, but the gorges in question are different ones (see Figure 5.7). Instead, together with Rockhurst and Stoney Low, these monuments seem to dominate the shallow lowlands between Minninglow Hill and Green Low and the area to the south, towards Harborough Rocks. Likewise, One Ash and Ringham Low are both within a kilometre of the Monyash/Lathkill basin, and the Astonfield basin monuments are also within, and wholly inter-visible with, the TCZ. Whilst Harrod Low and Perryfoot are slightly more than a kilometre from the Peak Forest basin to their south, like many of the monuments mentioned here, they are in positions that are sky-lined when approached from lowland directions. The overall impression is that the landscape features that mattered most for each of these clusters and pairings of

monuments were simply the lowland areas that can be seen from the individual sites themselves. Indeed, if Cales Dale formed a pathway between Bole Hill and Gib Hill, this would have involved people crossing the Monyash basin TCZ, encouraging a ritual/symbolic interpretation of this potential usage of the landscape. These points seem to support the theory that the TCZs were a relevant factor for monument positioning in the Earlier Neolithic period.

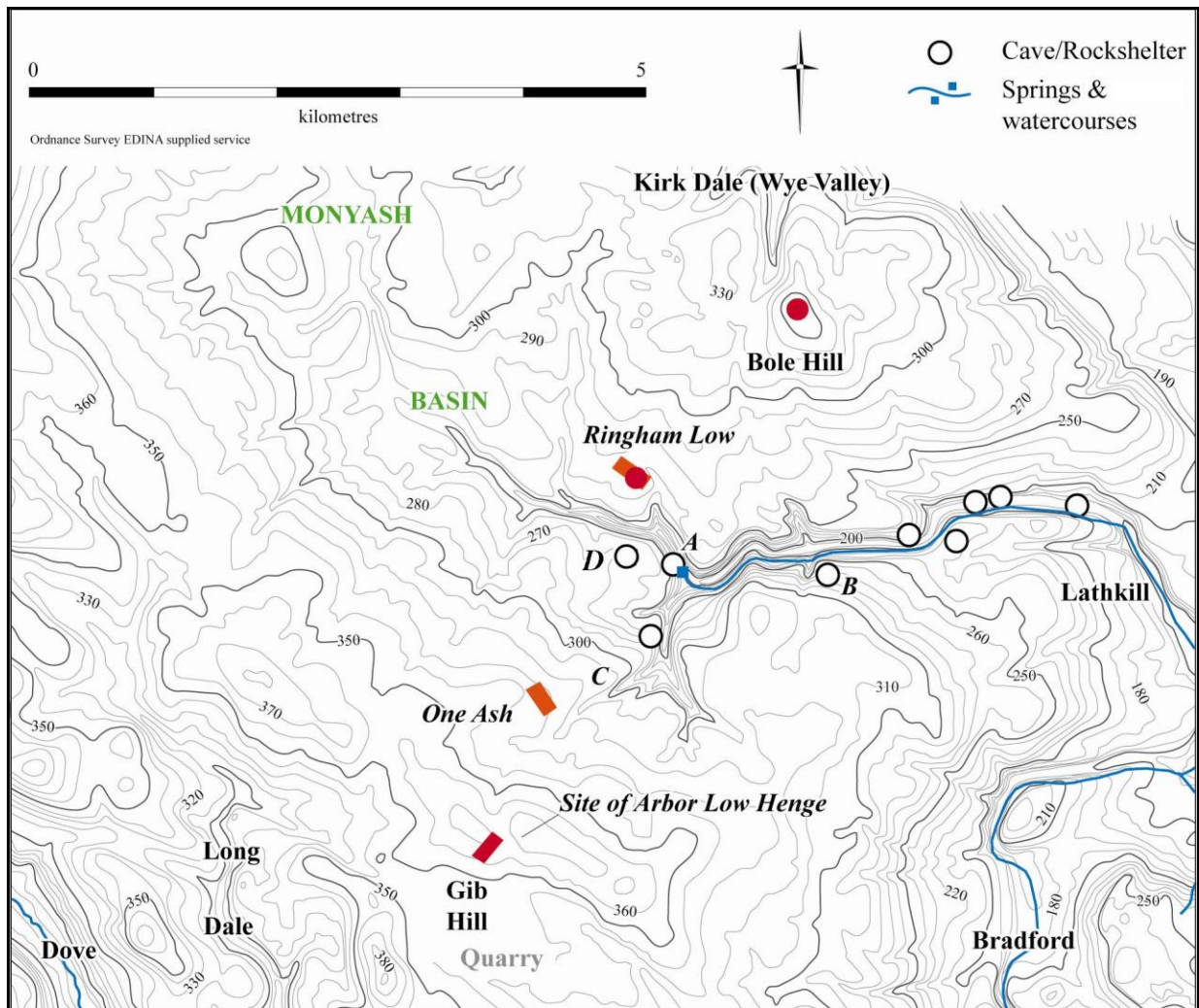


Figure 5.12. 1:50,000 scale map of the Lathkill Valley and surrounding area in the Earlier Neolithic period. The map shows certain (red) and possible (orange) examples of closed chambered cairns (filled small circles), and long barrow-forms (rectangles). Also identified are: A. Lathkill Head Cave; B. Calling Low Dale (formerly Church Dale) rockshelter; C. Cales Dale; D. One Ash Shelter and, the site of Arbor Low henge. Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

2. *Inter-visibility*

Monuments and inter-visibility

A. SITE:	B. PATTERN OF INTER-VISIBILITY			C. APPROXIMATE DISTANCE:
	1. Long Low	2. Minninglow Hill:	3. Bostern	
3. Bostern		•	•	7.0 km
	••		•	3.0 km
9. Green Low		•		2.3 km
10. Harborough Rocks		•		3.8 km
			•	9.3 km
13. The Long Low cairns (2)	••			0.2 km
			•	3.0 km
18. Pea Low	•			2.6 km
			•	3.7 km
23. Stanshope	•			0.3 km
			•	3.1 km
24. Stoney Low		•		1.0 km
21. Rockhurst		•		0.5 km
SUB-TOTAL:	6	5	6	Range: 0.2-9.3 km Average: 3.4 km
OTHER PATTERNS OF INTEREST:				
Minninglow A and B		•		0.02 km [c. 20.0 meters]
One Ash and Ringham Low				2.0 km
Wigber Low		•		5.8 km
			•	5.8 km
TOTAL:	6	7	7	Range: 0.02-9.3 km Average: 3.4 km

TABLE 5.4. Patterns of monument's inter-visibility and distance in the Peak District, with particular reference to Long Low, Minninglow Hill and Bostern (see also Figure 5.8).

On the face of it there would seem to be an obvious connection between physical distance and inter-visibility (excepting possible palaeoenvironmental constraints), and indeed all the sites that are within one kilometre of each other are also inter-visible under present conditions (Table 5.3). Indeed, the same monuments recur in this section and the patterns of inter-visibility shown

in Figure 5.8 do little to change the impression that this was a relatively minor concern, particularly in the north of the region. Overall, only 42% of the period's monuments can be seen from another site (Figure 5.9, column 2). However, the situation on the ground is more complex than this figure would suggest. Figure 5.9, in fact, demonstrates that some classes of monument are seemingly 'more inter-visible' than others, and a focus on individual patterns of inter-visibility builds upon this unexciting percentage. Table 5.4 records the patterns of monument-to-monument inter-visibility and the distances between individual sites and reveals two patterns of interest. The first concerns the apparently 'subtle' positioning of sites in relation to their neighbours. The second is that the clusters already identified (Long Low and Minninglow Hill, which are dominated by chambered monuments) are once again striking.

My first observation is that the low occurrence of monument inter-visibility around the Lathkill valley is surprising given the physical distribution of the four monuments in the area (Figure 5.8). In fact, Gib Hill and Bole Hill are both situated towards the far-edges of their respective hilltops from the environs of the upper Lathkill valley sites, placing these two sites out of view from One Ash and Ringham Low (see Figure 5.12). To a degree this contradicts the interpretation that these four structures were linked together. However, from the future site of Arbor Low hence the four sites are indeed inter-visible: perhaps this visual aspect of the route was a later development. The possibly deliberately short viewsheds were limited by the choice of landscape setting, a situation in evidence elsewhere in the Peak District. Harrod Low and Perryfoot too are not inter-visible, despite their relative proximity. Similarly, Wind Low is invisible from neighbouring sites around the Wye valley and its tributaries. To the north-east, The Tong (only 1.8km away) is hidden below a rock outcrop. To the south, inter-visibility with Five Wells and Gospel Hillocks (4.3km and 4.6km away, respectively) is limited, as I have verified via field observations, by Wind Low's position at the north-end of the hilltop, which limits views to the south. Whether these monuments were really positioned deliberately to mask particular directions is difficult to say, but these examples show how successfully this could have been achieved by positioning monuments carefully in the landscape.

My second observation is that some viewsheds may have been deliberately enhanced or highlighted. Minninglow Hill's plateau-edge location, for example, facilitates a number of impressive patterns of inter-visibility to the south (see Figure 5.9 and Table 5.4, column B.2 for details). Bostern is inter-visible from a distance of seven kilometres, Harborough Rocks from 3.8km, and Wigber Low (see Chapter 3 for description) from nearly six kilometres. That said, it

is hard to assess whether these long-distance views are clearly identifiable today simply due to Minninglow Hill's distinctive tree-ringed profile (*cf.* Figures 5.10 and 5.13).

Four visual connections that include Long Low can be identified (Table 5.4, column B.1). One of these comprises the obvious relationship between the two original closed chambered cairns on the site, but Long Low is also inter-visible with nearby Stanshope, Bostern and Pea Low (see Tables 5.2 and 5.4). It is evident that closed chambered cairns and passage graves, two monument types that are most concentrated in the south of the plateau zone, were most often the subjects of patterns of inter-visibility in the Earlier Neolithic period. Indeed, most of the very few long barrow-forms that are inter-visible had their origins in closed chambered cairns (e.g. Long Low, Minninglow A and Ringham Low). One Ash and Rockhurst are the exceptions, and both are inter-visible with sites that were once closed chambered cairns, respectively Ringham Low and Minninglow (see Table 5.3).

Monuments and topographic features

The nearness of natural springs and water courses, rock outcrops and limestone gorges have already been mentioned with respect to the distribution of monuments. In most cases these landscape features are also inter-visible with Earlier Neolithic monuments. Minninglow Hill, Green Low and Harborough Rocks, for example, are surrounded by rocks, natural springs and, at a slightly greater distance, minor limestone gorges, all of which are inter-visible with these prominently-situated sites. The same is true of the sites connected with Long Low (Astonfield Shelf), with the Monyash basin (Lathkill Valley), and with the Peak Forest basin sites. Despite Wind Low's separation from the Wye valley, mentioned above, there are natural springs in the area, and two gorges that are tributaries of the Wye are inter-visible with this site.

There are two further possible patterns of interest with respect to monument's inter-visibility with topographic features. The first is simply that particular lowland areas seem to be visually referenced by pairs and clusters of monuments (see above). This is illustrated by the Peak Forest pair which, had they been positioned on the nearby hilltops, would also have offered viewsheds to the small basin to their north, rather than being limited to that to their south (see Figure 5.5). The second possible pattern is that Minninglow Hill and the ridge upon which Bostern was built were significant points of reference for both local and wider inter-site

relationships in the southern part of the plateau zone (see Table 5.4 and Figures 5.8 and 5.13), whatever the physical appearance of the monuments might have been.



Figure 5.13. Patterns of inter-visibility associated with Minninglow Hill and the southern plateau-edge. Top: Minninglow Hill (centre horizon), with Green Low and Harborough Rocks (to the right), looking north east from Bostern. Middle: Minninglow Hill (centre, horizon) from Wigber Low, the site of probable Earlier Neolithic pits. Bottom: Minninglow Hill (circled left) and the site of Green Low (right) from Harborough Rocks, looking north. Photographs: RBW November 2011, July 2010 and November 2011, respectively.

3. Alignment

As outlined in Chapter 4, the architectural factors that may have produced alignments between archaeological monuments and natural features, and between monuments and potential astronomical phenomena are: 1) the long axes of elongated monuments, 2) views possible from the forecourts of monuments, and 3) the alignments of passages and chambers. Despite the range of architectural forms included here, the proportion of Earlier Neolithic monuments where such connections can reasonably be identified is very low (Figure 5.9).

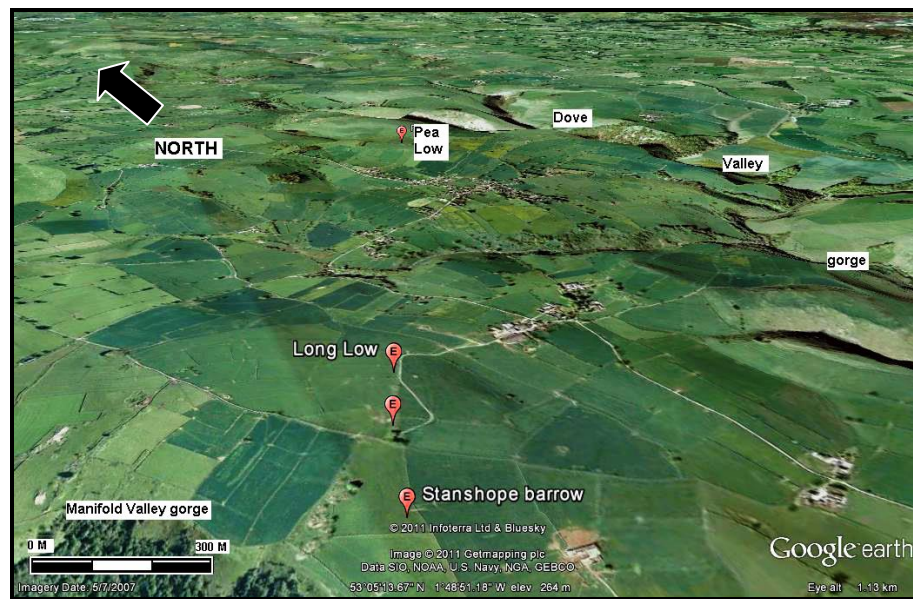


Figure 5.14. An aerial view of the sites of the Astonfield shelf. Image modified from Google Earth.

There are three main reasons for the lack of convincing alignments between monuments and in relation to particular landscape features. First, although the axis of the long barrow-form would seem to lend itself best towards alignments, as discussed above, Peak District long barrows are the structures most often isolated from other monuments and are frequently located on hill slopes rather than peaks. This means that they are unlikely to have been the means by which alignments towards monuments were accomplished. Only Long Low, in the south-west plateau, would seem to incorporate a clear line of sight to a contemporary site (Stanshope barrow). This alignment would probably at one time have also included the two original round cairns in an alignment of three mounds (see Figures 5.8 and 5.11). Another possible alignment may be associated with the bank barrow phase, since it is possible that the monument's axis pointed towards the distant site of Pea Low (see Figure 5.14). However, it is not known what

kinds of structures, if any, were positioned there in the Earlier Neolithic, and the alignment might only have been effective in the later Neolithic (i.e. Pea Low's great barrow phase). The second likely reason is that the most prominent monuments in the landscape, the chambered cairns, are largely circular or near-circular in form. The absence of rows of more than two mounds in this period would therefore have made them unsuitable sources of precise long-distance alignments. The third reason is that the internal settings of most monuments are unknown or poorly understood. Returning to Long Low, the possible forecourt may have been directly aligned with Pea Low, and the proposed forecourt at Stanhope may have opened out in the direction of Long Low (see Figure 5.14). The interior arrangements of Pea Low and Stanhope are among those that have never been studied, but a basic visual point of reference between Long Low and Pea Low does seem likely in the Later Neolithic.

As I mentioned in Chapter 4, both the forecourt and passage/chamber architecture at Green Low are oriented south south-east towards Harborough Rocks (see Figures 4.8 and 5.8). Moreover, according to Ward's 1890 plan published in Barnatt (1996b; see my Figure 3.11.B), the compass orientation of the passage at Harborough Rocks is somewhere between north-west and north north-west. It may therefore have been aligned towards Green Low or to the horizon between Green Low and Minninglow Hill (see Figure 5.13, lower image). Yet Minninglow Hill, which is rather nearer to Green Low than is Harborough Rocks, does not present any alignments using either its simple passage grave architecture or the axis of the later chambered long barrow (both east/west). Instead, the fact that the viewsheds from the forecourts, passages and chambers of these monuments look out over the same landscape may be the only important observation here (see Figure 5.8). Similarly, the most pertinent topographic pattern around Long Low *et al.* would seem to be viewsheds over the lowlands that comprise the Astonfield shelf (see Figure 5.14).

Topographic and astronomical alignments

Where does this leave my analysis of alignments with particular topographic features and astronomical phenomena? Unfortunately, little can be said beyond noting the very broad pattern of the east, south-east and southern orientation of many long barrow axes and of some forecourts and chambers. There are nine broadly east/west oriented long barrow axes that would seem to reference this quarter of the sky (see Figure 3.5), and the axes of three earthen long barrows may have been deliberately aligned on nearby landscape features. Gospel Hillocks, for example, may

have been intentionally oriented towards the rocky hilltop, Chelmorton Low (see Figure 5.4). In a similar fashion, Longstone Moor and The Tong seem to be aligned with nearby rock outcrops, although the second example is located in a very rocky environment in any case. Minninglow A is not aligned with the very prominent Roystone Rocks (see Figure 5.7).

In the previous section, it was noted that there are no convincing alignments of more than two cairns, which is in any case rare. The two examples (Long Low and Minninglow A and B) present no obvious astronomical alignments. Moreover, in the absence of sites having distributional or visual connections with particular topographic features (see above), there is no basis from which to test this idea against either topographic features (as objects and subjects of observations) or astronomical phenomena (as the objects of observations).

Finally, topographic and astronomical connections with stone settings and forecourts are unconvincing. Whilst Ringham Low's orientation towards Lathkill Head cave is interesting, no common purpose beyond possible connections to lowland areas (e.g. Green Low and Harborough Rocks in the case of Minninglow A, and Green Low's south south-eastern oriented passage and chamber) is discernible.

4. Monuments, landscape and 'isolation'

I have considered a number of different possible connections between monuments, particular topographies and potential astronomical phenomena. However, connections were few in number, particularly in the north of the region. Can this general lack of inter-site relationships be legitimately described as a meaningful pattern of isolation? Were some monuments particularly 'disconnected' from other examples of their type or sites of the same period? And with how much confidence can we accord significance to east/west orientations in long barrow-forms, east, south-east and southern-oriented terrain, and the incorporation of the 'sunny quarter' in some passage graves?

My spatial analysis supports the proposal that there is a general tendency for monuments to be isolated from other sites in the Peak District. Twelve Earlier Neolithic sites (50%) are isolated by both their distance from other sites and because they are not inter-visible or in alignment, as defined here (Table 5.3, column D and Figure 5.9). A further five to seven sites are isolated by their distance only, a pattern which encompasses 63-71% of certain, possible and arguable Earlier Neolithic monuments (Table 5.3, column D.I). At the same time, sites that

featured closed chambered cairns and passage graves are more commonly connected than long barrow-forms. Closed chambered cairns, for example, are regularly connected by inter-visibility, and passage graves by inter-visibility and proximity (see Figure 5.9). The fact that these monument classes are more common in the south of the region may indicate that the strong patterns identified in Table 5.4 concerning the southern plateau-edge are exceptional rather than typical. Indeed, the patterns I identify may be merely fortuitous or the products of survival biases. At the same time, the wide scope of my analysis would argue that the statistics can be trusted.

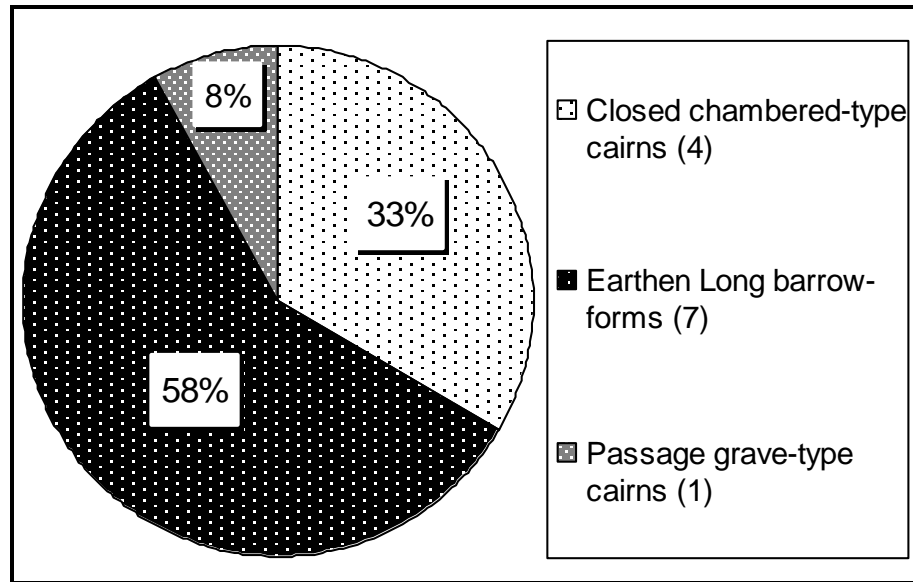


Figure 5.15. Pie chart of the twelve monuments that may have been sited in deliberate isolation from other monuments, identifying their specific type (Source: Table 5.3, column D).

Figure 5.15, for example, shows that more than half of the isolated funerary monuments are long barrow-forms of probable earthen-type. This may once again indicate a temporal and spatial dimension to social-spatial practices, placing monument isolation more firmly in the north of the Peak District plateau, in the post-c.3800 cal. BC period. Another factor is that earthen sites are themselves always isolated from each other; even where earthen-types are involved in relationships with other monuments (see Figure 5.8). If isolation from other monuments is to be given any significance in my interpretation, it must be understood as subsequent to the construction of the closed chambered cairns which, as we have seen, appear to have a southern distribution and are often closer to social cores than are other classes of monument (Section 5.1.2) and are frequently linked by proximity and inter-visibility, and provide evidence of early clustering (Section 5.1.2). Moreover, by the time passage graves came to be built and modelled

in the cross-fertilisation period, the emphasis was rather upon the proximity and inter-visibility of monuments (see Figure 5.9, columns 1-2).

5.1.3 Summary

It now seems reasonable to identify a distinction in the respective social-spatial practices of closed chambered cairns and long barrow-forms, particularly the potentially earlier earthen-type. Of course, this is not to say that Peak District monuments were not linked by paths and networks of movement, or were not generally observable by sight lines from hilltops and other topographies. However, common association with particular hills or gorges has not been found to be significant, and the only widely-held astronomical alignment appears to be very broad associations with the ‘sunny quarter’ of the sky. I therefore want to propose the following broad contrasting patterns of social-spatial practice in the Earlier Neolithic Peak District:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. <i>Closed chambered cairns</i> | 2. <i>Earthen long barrow-forms</i> |
| a. less distant from TCZs | a. more distant from TCZs |
| b. less accessible settings (elevated hilltops) | b. accessible settings (use of slopes) |
| c. core/territorial distribution | c. peripheral/neutral distribution |
| d. southern distribution | d. northern distribution |
| e. strong monument relationships
and (?early) clustering. | e. predominantly in isolated settings
and with east/west oriented axes and terrain. |

Additionally, it is noticeable that *Cross-fertilisation phase monuments* tend to be located in places that reflect the patterns in category 1, but often incorporated east/west orientation and terrain patterns associated with 2 (Figures 5.2 and 5.3). It may be significant that both new-built and remodelled monuments display this tendency. I discuss these contributions to my study at the beginning of the Section 5.2.

5.2 REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE

The dialectic with which we are concerned in this section is the relationship between context-specific ‘material symbols’ (as ‘forms of knowledge’) and the way in which they operate in symbolic/ritual contexts (their ‘logic’; see Schmid 2008: 37 and Shields 1999: 163, for the use of these parenthetical terms). My model of social distance can stand as a general spatial *logic* of representations of space, comprising the appropriate spaces for ritual-funerary spaces in the Peak (principally in relation to social cores but also to topographic features such as elevated hilltop or ridge top settings). Aspects of the landscape settings of social spaces, such as prominent topographic features (rock outcrops, hilltops, slopes, etc) stand for particular *manifestations* or material-symbolic forms of representations of space. By ‘forms’ I mean appropriate symbolic media and architectural technologies, which can be linked to potential conceptual categories. For example, water sources (media) and technologies (such as the axes of passages) may connect to potential conceptual categories (e.g. the connotations of fertility in the case of natural springs or the alignment of architecture on solar events). I will examine whether the material symbols that I interpret were important to the production and reproduction of representations of space in this period.

In this section I therefore examine Figures 5.1-5.3 with respect to the logic and forms of the following architectural-historical processes: 1) The construction of closed chambered cairns and ‘pre-monumental’ structures in the landscape; 2) The construction of *earthen* long barrow-forms, as places largely distinct from stone-chambered monument landscapes, and; 3) The construction and remodelling of Cross-fertilisation phase monuments. This analysis focuses on the relationships, if any, between what I have termed the ‘logic of social distance’ and the ‘topographic features’ commonly found near sites, as ritual-symbolic media, and the roles that architectural forms played in these developments. I also attempt to discover the principals by which we can identify and better understand monument sites as ‘special places’ in the landscape, and to suggest reasons why they may have been valued as such.

5.2.1 Closed chambered cairns

In Section 5.1, I argued that the elevated, prominent locations in which closed chambered cairns were built may have come to represent a particular set of principals governing appropriate

notions of social distances (close to TCZs, inaccessibility) and associated topographic features (principally hilltop/ridge tops, water sources and rock outcrops) for choosing funerary spaces. According to my model, such patterns may point to some of the symbolic and cosmological aspects of choices about monument design and special places in the landscape. The distribution and settings of the 'pre-cairn' structures (see Table 5.1, Column A) will be examined on the basis that they were probably of early date, because their spatial analysis may reveal representations of space that appertain to the very earliest phase of the Earlier Neolithic period. Chronologically, the free-standing structures at Long Low and Tideslow were built before the construction of their respective cairns and their early date can be supported by comparison with Cotswold-Severn cairns (see Chapter 3).

Long Low and Tideslow are among those closed chambered sites that are in especially prominent elevated settings (see Section 5.1). Indeed, at 405m OD, Tideslow is the second highest-situated Neolithic site in the Peak (Table 5.2), and totally dominates the hilltop on which it is located (Radley and Plant 1971). The structures at Long Low occupy the highest position within a radius of approximately two kilometres, with extensive views over and beyond the deep limestone gorges of the Dove and Manifold (Figure 5.13). Taken alone, these examples encourage the interpretation that hilltop settings and great elevations were associated with special places and mortuary activity before the cairns were raised. The pre-cairn sites' involvement in these same patterns means we can suggest that Long Low and Tideslow were among the first sites at which patterns of social distance and topography occurred.

It is also interesting to note that the pre-barrow structure at Gib Hill is also prominently situated and in an elevated position, commanding wide views over the southern plateau zone. In fact, Gib Hill is the highest positioned long barrow-form structure in the entire region at 370m OD (Table 5.2), and is in this respect somewhat atypical for an earthen-type (see Section 5.1.4). Moreover, disarticulated human remains were found in Fox Hole Cave and Ossum's (Crag) Cave, that radiocarbon dated to very early in the Neolithic, and were apparently deliberately deposited in these very prominent and elevated places in the landscape (See Table 4.2). Barnatt and Edmonds (2002) argue that the caves and rock shelters in which human remains have been found were valued in prehistory precisely for being 'places apart'. Despite their frequent physical proximity to the TCZs, I find this argument convincing. Overall, analysis indicates that hilltops and ridges, great elevation and prominence in the landscape, and sometimes social distance were important factors in the choice of special places from the earliest Neolithic.

Special places and funerary symbolism

In my view these three early ‘pre-monumental’ sites (Gib Hill, Long Low and Tideslow) can be explored as being in some sense *foundational* special places in the Peak District, providing potential *symbolic resources* for the development of the structuring principals appropriate for choosing funerary spaces, and later cairns. Indeed, if we look further at Long Low and Tideslow, it is apparent that there are other commonalities which frequently recur among closed chambered cairn sites. Firstly, both Long Low and Tideslow are in close proximity to rock outcrops (Table 5.1), and Long Low is surrounded by natural springs (see Figure 5.12). The proximity of these two landscape features also seems to be an important factor in the location of closed chambered cairns generally: 77% are near water sources and 77% are near rock outcrops (Figure 5.3). Secondly, in addition to the two cairns at Long Low, up to *five* other closed chambered cairns (Harborough Rocks, Minninglow A and B, and Stanshope, plus the arguable site Pea Low) also share in this three-fold pattern of hilltop/ridge top setting and proximity to both rock outcrops and water courses. Thirdly, three further closed chambered cairns that are on hilltops and ridges but proximal only to one of the landscape features (water courses/natural springs, in the case of Ringham Low and Wind Low; rock outcrops, for Tideslow) can be added to the list. This makes a final total of 10 examples that are candidates for being potential foundational sites. Table 5.5 collates these patterns of distribution and setting with respect to both the three pre-monument sites and these 10 closed chambered cairns, and displays them in Figure 5.16. This allows us to consider the changes in the relative prominence of the six locational principles mentioned in the discussion so far.

These early sites appear to have a particular association with the southern plateau zone, with two pre-monument sites and eight closed chambered sites found south of the Lathkill/Monyash area (Table 5.5). Figure 5.16 suggests that this distribution may have been a particular focus for special places in both chronological phases of the Earlier Neolithic period. As previously mentioned, the positioning of Gib Hill privileges views southwards and is physically and visually isolated from the sites that cluster around the Lathkill Valley. This predominance of a southern plateau distribution for the earliest Neolithic sites is significant because it suggests continuity throughout the currency of pre-monumental and closed chambered cairn sites in the Peak. It is also evident that 80% of the closed chambered cairns discussed above are involved in monument relationships. This is rather more than is recorded for the closed chambered cairns as a

whole, which give us a total of 69% (see Figure 5.3), and suggests the early importance of this pattern of distribution in the south of the Peak. With one exception, the overall trend in Figure 5.16 is one of continuity, with some categories of space even registering an increase in the proportion of sites located in them. Monument relationships would naturally be expected to rise through time, as more sites and structures were established.

A. SITE	B. MONUMENT/ PHASE:		C. CORE STRUCTURING PRINCIPALS:					
	Pre-monument phase	Cairn phase	1. > 1 km from TCZs	2. Monument relationship	3. Hilltop/ ridge top setting	4. Near water course/ spring	5. Near rock outcrop	6. Southern plateau zone
8. Gib Hill (pre-barrow structure)	•		•		•			•
10. Harborough Rocks		o	•	•	•	•	•	•
13. Long Low	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Second cairn		•	•	•	•	•	•	•
15. Minninglow A		o	•	•	•	•	•	•
16. Minninglow B		•	•	•	•	•	•	•
18. Pea Low		x		•	•	•	•	•
20. Ringham Low		•		•	•	•		
23. Stanshope		o	•	•	•	•	•	•
26. Tideslow	••	•	•		•		•	
27. Wind Low		o	•		•	•		•
TOTALS: (Includes arguable sites)	4	10	9	8	11	9	8	9

Table 5.5. Table comparing the closed chambered cairns and pre-monument structures mentioned in the text against that period's potential core structuring principles. Column B distinguishes between certain (circles), possible (open circles) and arguable (x) examples of these monument types, and column C records the most common distributions and settings of the sites. In this table arguable sites are totalled. The information here has been extrapolated from Table 5.1.

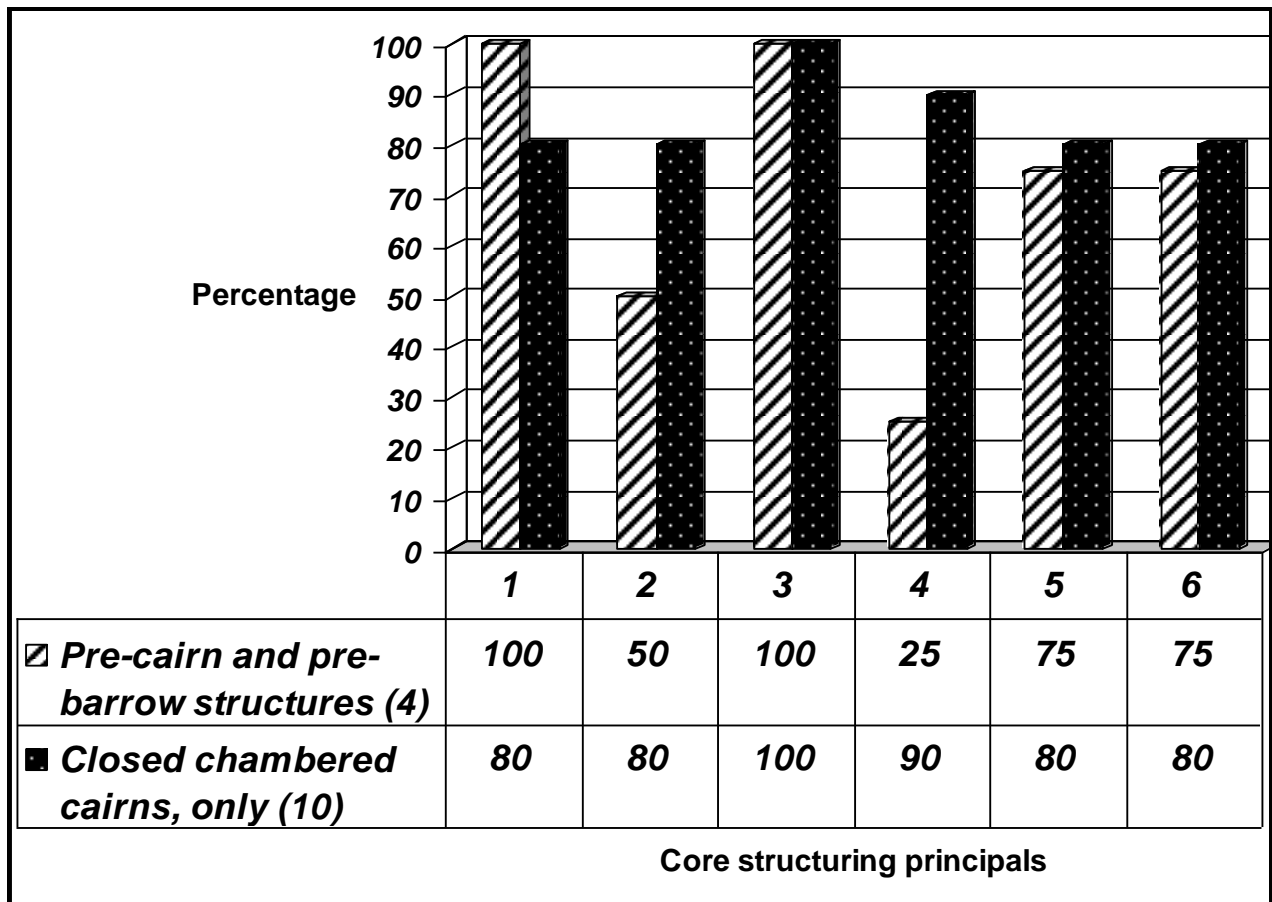


Figure 5.16. The proposed core structuring principals of special places in the earliest Neolithic Peak District. These are based upon the recurrent distributions and settings of the pre-cairn and pre-barrow sites and ten chambered cairns identified in the text. See Table 5.5.

However, it is surely significant that hilltop/ridge top settings *remained* important, and that the number of monuments located in proximity to water sources and rock outcrops and in the south of the Peak rises in proportion with the construction of cairns. Indeed, these distributions and settings are especially associated with closed chambered cairns overall (Figure 5.3).

Summary: landscape, symbolic media and architecture

On the basis of these patterns, I suggest that the six distributions and settings recorded in Table 5.4 represent the principals by which special places (whether monumentalised or not) can be identified in the Peak District from the earliest phases of the Neolithic period. It seems likely that the locations of special places in the landscape emphasised the social distance and conceptual separation between social cores and ritual/mortuary areas by the subtle use of aspects of the cultural landscape. These properties of the physical landscape may have coalesced into symbolic

media with which the general ‘out of the ordinariness’ of the location was communicated. Physical and symbolic cues (that is, material symbols) through which the contexts of movement between each sphere of life were delineated may have been obvious to people using these sites.

With time, these basic symbolic media appear to have enlarged and/or diversified from their foundational principals. As the number of such sites in the Peak grew, the positioning of monuments may have deliberately emphasised the physical and visual connectivity of mortuary sites, particularly in the south plateau zone where many of the earliest sites originated. Given the increases in the number of sites built near rock outcrops and water sources between the pre-cairn and closed chambered cairn phases, it is possible that the representative qualities (or symbolic potential) of these features were taken up in the formation of symbolic technologies. For example, the stone-paving at Tideslow, Long Low and Stanshope, and the huge slab-built chambers, which are typical of this phase and, at both Minninglow A and Tideslow, may have united the material and symbolic qualities of rock outcrops to both slab-built pre-cairn settings and closed-off chambers. Practices concerning the exposure and preparation of the dead in proximity to natural springs, and at or near elevated rock outcrops, may thus relate to a cosmology in which the oppositions of life and death, fertility and sterility were manifest in the cultural landscape. I investigate such ritual practices in Section 5.3.

5.2.2 Earthen long barrows

One of the most compelling results of Section 5.1 was the recognition that the distributions and settings of earthen long barrows contrasted strongly with both closed chambered cairns and chambered long barrow-forms. From the outset it has been a possibility that the Peak District’s earthen long barrows had very different origins to the Peak’s chambered monuments, including those of long barrow-form (Barnatt 1996b: 11-12). I have also suggested that earthen long barrows were allied to social-spatial practices that contrasted to those of both closed chambered cairns and chambered long barrow-forms. It is therefore possible that these practices in turn linked symbolic media and technologies that were themselves either from different cultural contexts, or undertaken in different places, seasons or periods than those discussed in the previous section. In consequence, the relationship of earthen long barrows to chambered-types may not be as straightforward as merely the same basic outer form being reproduced in different materials (another possibility which I acknowledge in Chapter 3). Indeed, chambered-type long

barrow-forms appear to have drawn upon patterns of closed chambered cairn distributions and settings rather than those of earthen long barrow-types (Section 5.1).

This raises questions about the *distinctiveness* of earthen long barrows with respect to stone-chambered monument types. In particular, how do the distributions and settings of earthen-types compare to the earlier suggestion that long barrow-forms were, 1) situated with the logic of isolation and marginality and, 2) focused on different landscape features and settings to those associated with the closed chambered cairns and chambered-types?

Discussion: the distinctiveness of the earthen long barrows

The respective proportions of earthen- and chambered-type monuments located in the settings and distributions discussed above are presented in graph form in Figure 5.17. This suggests that earthen long barrows have a number of distinctive features that differentiate them from chambered-type monuments. I want to consider two in particular: 1) earthen-type long barrow-forms are especially marginal and isolated monuments when compared to other Earlier Neolithic period chambered monuments (see Section 5.1) and, 2) in addition to a general east/west axis orientation that is shared with chambered long barrows, earthen-types are also associated with eastern, south-eastern and southern oriented terrain (Figure 5.17, column 7). Both of these attributes are in contrast to closed chambered cairns, which were the first monuments built at the sites of the chambered long barrows (see Chapter 3).

My first point of enquiry takes as its taking starting point the observation that long barrow-forms are generally the most frequently located more than 1 kilometre from the TCZs. Whilst closed chambered cairns are similarly often found in such settings, in principal this still supports the importance of social distance from the TCZs as a factor in the choice of location for long barrow-forms. Figure 5.17 demonstrates that the greater proportion of these marginal long barrow-form sites are, in fact, earthen- rather than chambered-types (columns 2 and 3). In fact earthen-types account for 44% of all Earlier Neolithic monuments thus located, and only one earthen site was within 1 kilometre of a TCZ (The Tong)⁶. Indeed, earthen sites are never found clustered together, pairs are rare (there being only 2 examples), sites are not usually inter-visible,

⁶ Calculation based on 18 Earlier Neolithic monuments located < 1km from TCZs, of which 8 were earthen long barrows (see Table 5.1, column D.2).

and they are always more than 1 kilometre apart. The ‘isolation’ of earthen long barrows appears to be a genuine spatial pattern.

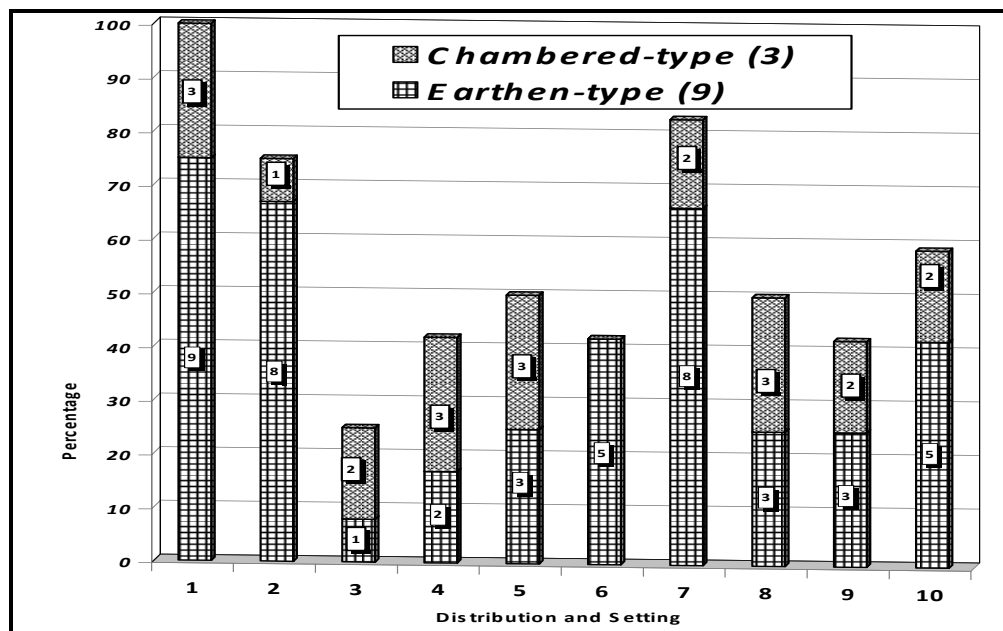


Figure 5.17. Graph displaying the relative proportions in percentages (y-axis) and number of examples (labels on the columns) of earthen- and chambered-type long barrow-forms at each of the distributions and settings considered in Figure 5.3 (see Table 5.1, column D).

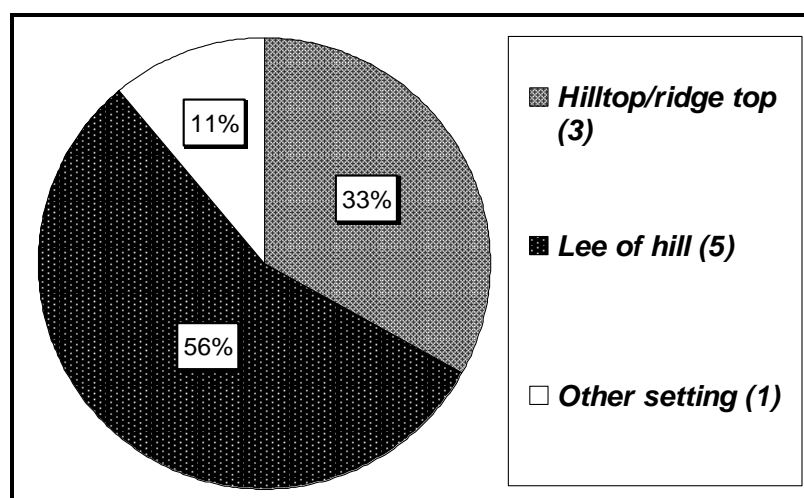


Figure 5.18. Pie chart comparing the landscape settings of the Peak District's nine earthen long barrows (see Tables 5.1 and 5.5).

My second observation is based upon the fact that the vast majority of the 83% of long barrow-forms located on terrain with eastward, south-eastward or southern aspects are earthen-types; eight in fact (Figure 5.17, column 7). At the same time, whilst the majority of Peak District long barrows are oriented broadly east/west (see Figure 3.5) only one of these is a chambered-

type (Minninglow A). At Long Low, the orientation of the hilltop and the pre-existing cairns (see Figure 5.8, inset) imposed major restrictions on the orientation of the finished monument, eliminating the possibility of an east/west orientation, but at Ringham Low the structure could in principal have been orientated east/west. This point is further emphasised when the landscape settings, compass orientations, and associations with eastern, south-eastern and southern terrain are considered together (Table 5.6). Whilst the settings of earthen-types show no outstanding tendency overall, being only slightly more represented on hill slopes than hilltops/ridge tops (see also Figure 5.18), their adherence to an east/west orientation and to eastern, south-eastern and southern landscape aspects are very high (*cf.* Figure 5.17 and Table 5.6, column C). This might indicate that this orientation was of particular concern in earthen long barrow settings, and was therefore influential regardless of whether a hilltop/ridge top or a slope was to be the monument's setting.

A. SITE	B. LANDSCAPE SETTING:			C. COMPASS ORIENTATION:	
	Hilltop/ ridge top	Lee of hill	Other setting	Broadly East/west orientation (Figure 3.5)	East, South-east or southern Terrain association
4. Bull Ring	•	•	•	•	Within a south oriented valley
7. Gospel Hillocks				•	Parallel to the east/west oriented Wye valley
8. Gib Hill				•	Hilltop is part of a ridge oriented north-west/south-east, long distance views are to the south and east only
11. Harrod Low				•	Location is the slope of a east/west oriented hill
14. Longstone Moor				•	Location is the top of a east/west oriented hill
17. One Ash				•	Location is the slope of a ridge oriented north-west/south-east. Views over the east/west oriented Wye valley
19. Perryfoot				•	No.
21. Rockhurst				•	Location is the top of a east/west oriented hill
25. The Tong				•	Parallel to north-east/south-west oriented limestone gorge
9 SITES					
TOTALS:	3	5	1	8	8
PERCENTAGES:	33%	56%	11%	89%	89%

Table 5.6. A summary of the landscape settings and compass orientations of the Peak District's earthen long barrows.

Summary: marginality, isolation and meaning

In arguing that the two patterns outlined above are the defining characteristics of *earthen* long barrows, obvious objections can be raised. First, there are clear instances of overlap with the positioning of the closed chambered cairns in some of their landscape settings: for example, hilltops and ridges, and distance from TCZs. A third of earthen-types are located on hilltops and ridge tops (Figure 5.18), and locations away from the Peak's potential social cores (TCZs) is common to all funerary monuments in the region. Analysis in Section 5.2.1 suggests that this was an early, perhaps foundational, component of special places in the region. Second, in the light of these observations it is clearly unwise to favour an interpretation based on one set of statistics over another.

The first objection can be countered by pointing out that whatever their other distributional and topographic characteristics, earthen long barrows *are* especially marginal and located away from neighbouring monuments, particularly other earthen-types. Indeed, a comparison between Figures 5.3 and Figure 5.17 (*cf.* columns 2-3) shows that, on the whole, earthen-types were still more frequently located more than one kilometre from TCZs than were closed chambered cairns. Furthermore, in the case of many topographic and distributional patterns the representation of earthen-types is generally poor. For example, their positioning with respect to conspicuous landscape features (proximity to water courses/natural springs, 17%; limestone gorges/valleys, 17%; rock outcrops, 33%: see Figure 5.17) and shared inter-monument relationships (e.g. proximity, 25%; alignment 8%; see Figure 5.11) are very low. Moreover, all three chambered-types occur in patterns typical of closed chambered cairns (e.g. in terms of monument relationships, hill tops), as one might expect. In contrast, for earthen-types the most prominent patterns relate to the orientation of both long axes and local terrain, which in the case of long axes reflects a nationally recognised pattern (Darvill 2004).

This does not explain why Rockhurst, for example, was built in a hilltop position, near natural springs and so very close to the chambered cairns on Minninglow Hill (see Figure 5.7). It is possible that some long barrow sites assumed to be earthen-types may instead be ruined chambered-types. Nevertheless, the second objection remains valid and can only be sufficiently answered by building on the evidence already presented. This is addressed in subsequent sections, in which I examine the use of sites and monuments in Neolithic-period funerary rituals. However, I want to conclude here with the observation that the very strong association of earthen

long barrows with the sky between the east/west and south-east/south-west is also seen in Cross-fertilisation period monuments (Figure 5.2, column 7).

5.2.3 Cross-fertilisation period monuments

In Chapter 3, I grouped eight chambered sites, presumed to have been constructed after 3500 cal. BC, into a single architectural process (see Figures 3.4 and 5.20). I proposed that this should be regarded as an important period in the Peak District's Neolithic sequence. The basic supposition in this section is that these eight newly-built and remodelled monuments share architectural innovations consistent with the interpretation of an increased emphasis upon ritual gatherings and physical access to the remains of the dead (*cf.* Bradley 1998). I also identified a potential 'shift-within-a-shift' in this period, which is something I explore further in Section 5.3.3. The current section examines the architectural developments in this period in light of two very different symbolic and cosmological schemes which I suggest for closed chambered cairn and earthen long barrows.

Cross-fertilisation period architecture and spatial patterns

Section 5.1 revealed that monuments featuring passages, façades and forecourts were well-represented in locations associated with closed chambered cairns. This might be expected for three reasons (see Table 3.2): 1) at least four of these sites had previously been closed chambered cairns; 2) a fifth site (Green Low) was built in a cluster of existing cairns; and 3) the majority of sites in this period are located in the south of the plateau zone, where monument distribution is most dense (see Figure 5.1). In Section 5.1, I noted that patterns that seemed important for closed chambered cairns generally *increased* in frequency in this period and, in respect of passage graves in particular, are often relevant to 80-100% of the sites analysed. Whilst the differences in landscape positions between earthen long barrows and Neolithic chambered monuments have been recognised as very marked, a surprising number of the monuments of this phase *share* the eastern, south-eastern and southern terrain setting of earthen-types (see Figures 5.3 and 5.17). In the Cross-fertilisation period the proportion of monuments having such an aspect rises when compared to the Earlier Neolithic period as a whole, and passage grave-type cairns are especially well-represented (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3, column 7). Additionally, despite having few astronomical alignments, architectural aspects of Cross-fertilisation period monuments are

generally associated with the ‘sunny quarter’ of the sky, and this is also evident in the orientation of long barrow-forms.

Green Low, for example, is located in what I earlier termed the core area of closed chambered cairn distributions and settings (see Table 5.4). The site is relatively distant from the nearest TCZs, is in an elevated hilltop setting, is among numerous rock outcrops and surrounded by water sources (in this case, several natural springs; see Figure 5.7). At the same time, the structure is also situated on an east/west oriented line of hills, and has a south south-easterly entrance, passage and forecourt. Five Wells and Minninglow A are similarly situated in closed chambered cairn-like settings (on hills, near springs and rock outcrops) but each also has an east/west architectural aspect. The passages at Five Wells are orientated east/west, and at Minninglow the orientation of the simple passage grave’s passage and the long-axis of the subsequent chambered long barrow were both oriented east/west. This also placed the location of the latter’s potential forecourt towards the east (Chapter 3). Moreover, Five Wells and Minninglow are associated with east/west terrain: Five Wells overlooks the Wye valley, which flows east/west, and Minninglow is on an east/west oriented hilltop (see Figure 5.7). Ringham Low also overlooks an east/west limestone gorge (the Lathkill) and the location of its possible forecourt, as sketched by Bateman, is south-easterly: the direction of Lathkill gorge (Figure 5.14).

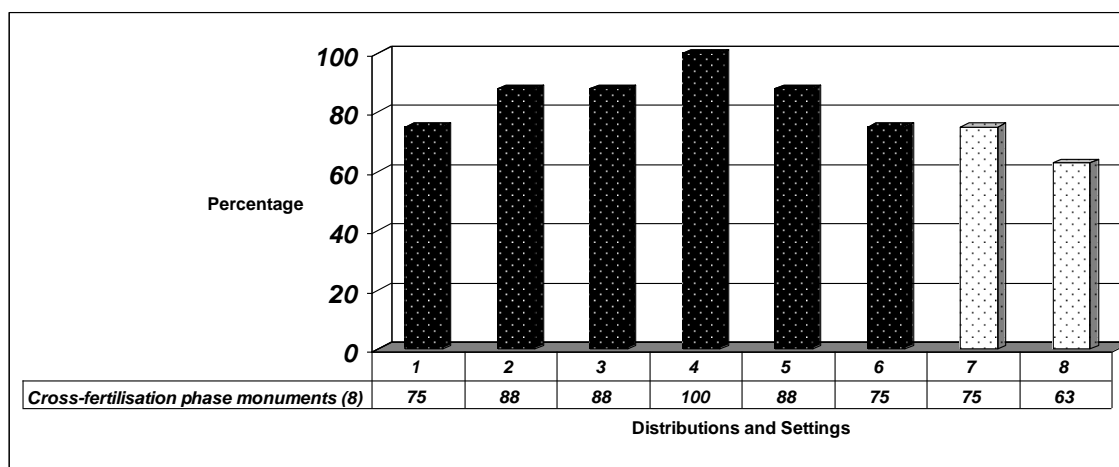


Figure 5.19. Graph comparing the relative importance for the Cross-fertilisation phase monuments of selected patterns of distributions and settings (columns 1-6), to those of east, south-east and southern terrain and architecture (columns 7-8). For data and labels see Table 5.6, column C.

What is particularly interesting is that closed chambered cairns are not especially common on eastern, south-eastern and southern terrain, only 42% being situated in these areas (Figure 5.3). Had this figure been greater, this would have provided a reasonable explanation for the

frequent location of Cross-fertilisation period architecture in this setting. Namely, that this pattern was merely one *inherited* from the positioning of closed chambered cairns, which were built first in sequences at five of these eight sites (see Table 5.1). However, just four closed chambered cairns built in these settings were remodelled in the Cross-fertilisation period (Minninglow A, Ringham Low, Stoney Low and Tideslow), of which only two are *certain* to have originated as closed chambered cairns (Minninglow A and Tideslow; see Table 5.1 for details).

This undermines the likelihood that deliberate positioning on this oriented terrain was a factor shared across the Earlier Neolithic period as a whole. Table 5.7, moreover, compares the cross-fertilisation period monuments to the six distributions and settings proposed in Section 4.2.1 as the core principles governing the choice of location of closed chambered cairns. Whilst many monuments share their distributions and settings (see Figure 5.19, columns 1-6), the proportion that are associated with eastern, south-eastern and southern aspects of terrain and architecture are much higher (see columns 6-7); in fact they seem almost as important to this set of monuments as are the cairn associations (see also Table 5.7). How can we account for this apparent leap in significance of terrain and architecture associated with the sunny quarter of the sky in the Cross-fertilisation period?

Discussion and summary: contact, engagement and authority

My interpretation is that when the sites of this period were developed, the eastern, south-eastern and southern aspects were incorporated alongside characteristics specific to the cairns. This raises the question of whether the Cross-fertilisation period in the Peak represented a particular instance of contact or engagement between cultural or social groups and traditions which had previously built different monuments (i.e. earthen long barrows) in markedly different places and employed somewhat distinct symbolic references to the cultural landscape, as well as dissimilar technologies and architectural forms. Perhaps the cultural or mythological origins of one section or portion of the Peak's population was memorialised in the new architecture. This might suggest that ritual-ceremonial authority was invested in some people or groups and not in others. Alternatively, the importance of the sunny-quarter of the sky, latent or indistinct in the circular or near circular cairns, became appropriate to the new architecture in some, perhaps related, way. It is also possible that this period (i.e. the first centuries of the Middle Neolithic) saw outside influences once more affecting Peak society. I explore these possibilities in Chapter 7.

A. SITE :	B. CROSS-FERTILISATION PHASE MONUMENTS:	C. DISTRIBUTION AND SETTINGS:							
		1. Social distance	2. Monument relationship	3. Hilltop/ Ridge top	4. Water source/spring	5. Rock outcrop	6. Southern plateau	7. East, south-east, south terrain aspect	8. East, south-east, south architectural aspect
6. Five Wells	•			•	•	•		•	•
9. Green Low	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
10. Harborough Rocks	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
13. Long Low	•	•	•	•	•	•	•		•
15. Minninglow A	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
20. Ringham Low	o		•	•	•			•	•
23. Stanshope	o	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	?
24. Stoney Low	o	•	•		•	•	•		?
TOTALS	8	6	7	7	8	7	6	6	5

Table 5.7. Table comparing the Cross-fertilisation period sites (columns A-B) to the distributions and settings of the closed chambered cairns proposed as core structuring principals in Section 5.2.1 (column C, 1-6). Two additional patterns, that is east, south-east and southern terrain and architecture (7-8), have been added for comparison. The question marks (?) in column C.8 are used to denote sites where the internal architecture is too poorly known to confirm orientation.

5.3 SPACES OF REPRESENTATION

I have modelled spaces of representation as an analytical category that focuses on the socialisation of space through ritual and ceremonial practice, and particularly seeks to understand the dialectic between ‘material symbols’ and the ‘norms, values and experiences’ (Schmid 2008: 37) in architectural-historical processes (see also Lefebvre 1991: 191). In Chapter 4, I chose rites of passage as the medium by which Neolithic period ritual and ceremonial practice could be explored. The Peak District’s Earlier Neolithic archaeological record largely corresponds to the national picture of articulated, partially-articulated and totally de-fleshed bones being recovered from the chambers and cairn material of monuments, and occasionally in caves and rock shelters (see Chapter 3). The great variety in the period’s monumental forms – from free-standing pre-barrow structures, through to fully enclosed chambered cairns, passage graves, and henges – and the patterns in their landscape positioning also suggest that the movement of individuals and material culture could be spatially organised at and around monument sites. In Sections 5.1 and 5.2, three material-symbolic relationships have been prominent and I want to explore in turn how each may have been central to the socialisation of space through rites of passage during the course of the Earlier Neolithic period as a whole.

The first relationship is the dialectic between the landscape character of *special places and their social distance* from TCZs; the second focuses on distinctions between the contemporary or near contemporary *closed chambered cairns and earthen long barrows*, in terms of physical form and patterns of distribution and settings; third is the Earlier Neolithic architectural sequence’s potential role in *funerary rites and ancestral rites*, as suggested by the additions of passages, forecourts and façades in the Cross-fertilisation period. In the following three sections, I speculate how stages and points of transition in the ritual process, as described by Garwood (2011; see my Figure 4.10), might be calibrated to these key themes in the spatial data. Section 5.3.4 summarises these interpretative sections and forms the point of departure for further evaluations in Chapter 7.

5.3.1 Special places and social distance

In the earlier sections I noted that elevated hilltops and ridges, rock outcrops and natural springs were frequently associated with the sites of chambered monuments and pre-cairn

structures. Physical distance from TCZs was a major pattern in the sites of this period, as was a tendency for earthen long barrows and Cross-fertilisation period monuments to be sited on east, south-east or southern oriented terrain. This section tests the proposition that during the Earlier Neolithic period mortuary and other rituals were held in and around specially selected places in the landscape, and that the ritual process incorporated these aspects of the surrounding cultural landscape into rites of passage. Specifically, I interpret the ritualised mediation of points of transition in the ritual process as reflected in particular journeys to and around such locations in the Peak District. In what follows the focus is upon the landscape, with monuments addressed more systematically in subsequent sections.



Figure 5.20. In the foreground and top right are some of the distinctive terrace-like rock outcrops that encircle Minninglow Hill (in this case, along the hill's western flank). Photograph: RBW, June 2007.

Ritual process and cultural landscape

The initial breach between the everyday social world and the commencement of ritual process (see Figure 4.10) can be interpreted to have been marked by undertaking the journey from the TCZs towards the designated location. In three-quarters of this period's monuments and all of the pre-monument structures, this journey was more than a kilometre from the probable limits of the Peak's proposed social cores. Moreover, in most cases this would have involved physical effort, since elevated hilltop and ridge top settings were typical of the period's monument spaces generally, and became the norm by the Cross-fertilisation period (Figure 5.2). Such a journey, though certainly not far or especially arduous, can be considered as significant if a corpse (or part of a corpse) was being transported, or if very young, sick or elderly members of the community were present. Leaving the social cores (and perhaps the

ritual preparations that prefigured leave taking), and experiencing this necessary trek, may therefore have corresponded to rites of separation.

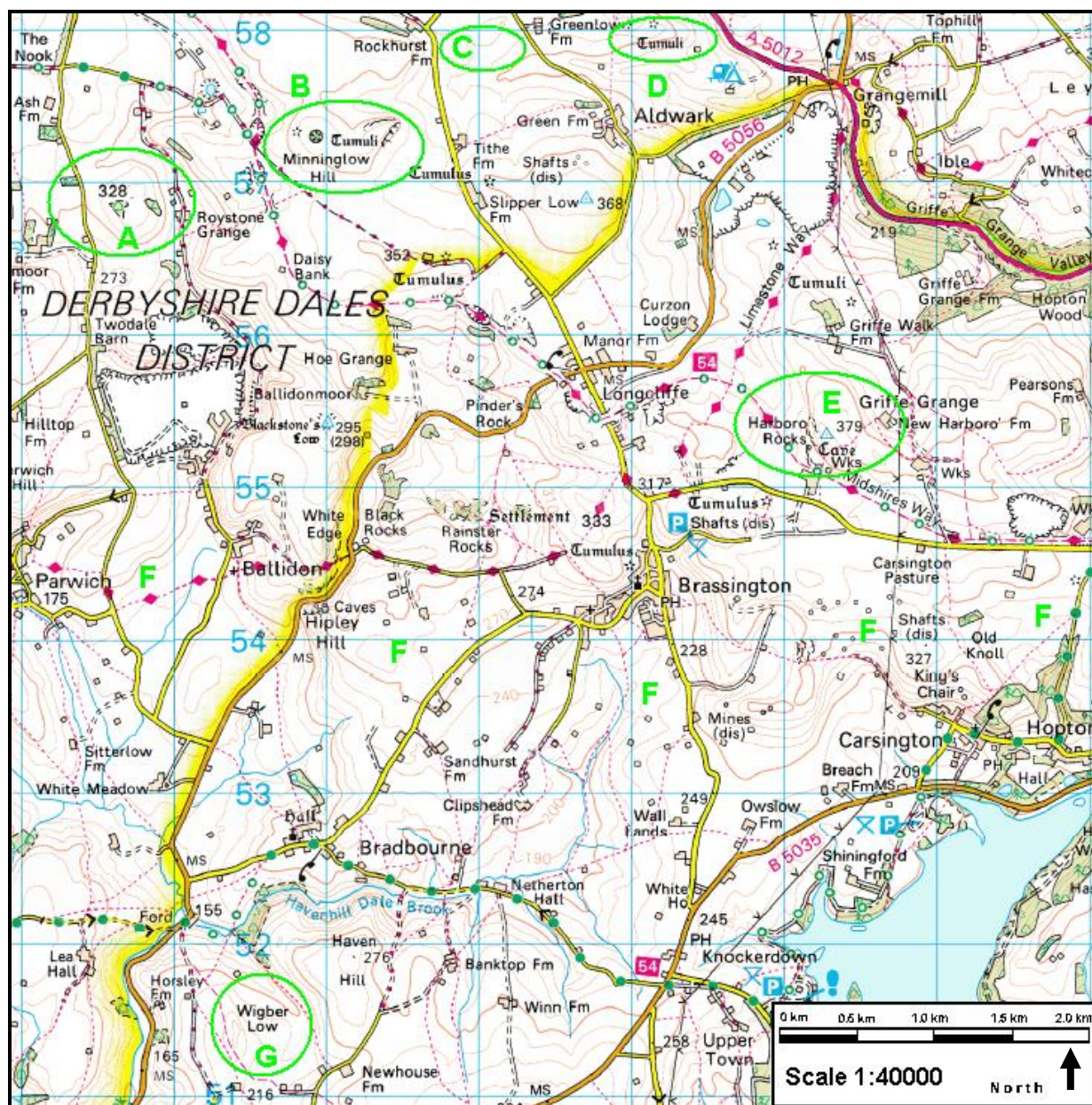


Figure 5.21. Map of the Earlier Neolithic sites and landscape features around the southern plateau. Identified are Roystone Rocks (A), Minninglow Hill (B), the locations of Stoney Low (C) and Green Low (D), Harborough Rocks (E), the limestone plateau-edge (F) and Wigber Low (G). Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

In the case of the journey itself, features in the local environment may have formed (additional) aspects of this separation from and abandonment of social norms and structures. The frequent occurrences of rock outcrops and water sources (especially natural springs) may indicate that these, probably familiar, places were utilised in this process. Natural features may have been signifiers of symbolic aspects of the journey, or may have been the locations and media for particular rites and for the transference of cultural knowledge. Perhaps rock

outcrops signified the presence or marks of ancestors or spirits (*cf.* Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina 1998), or were visual cues for ritual instruction (see Figure 5.20), whilst water courses and natural springs were visited or crossed in purification rites. The movement undertaken may also have had a deliberate directionality: in at least 75% of cases, the destination was positioned on or with respect to eastern, south-eastern or southern oriented terrain, and this proportion rose in the cross-fertilisation period (Figure 5.2). Again, the elevated settings in which most monuments were built suggests that in approaching their destination people's movements could have incorporated an approach from or towards the basic cyclical movements of the sun, such as sunrise and sunset. In some cases the inter-visibility and/or alignment of more than one site may have been perceptible, and indeed the ritual process may have encompassed more than one monument or special place.

Upon arrival and departure from the designated special place or places the distinctions between the sacred arena and the social world may have been explicitly affirmed by looking out over the terrain and the spectacle of TCZs in the distance. Sites that were especially visually interrelated (e.g. Bostern and Minninglow Hill), or visually aligned (e.g. the Lathkill valley and Astonfield basin sites) may have given a powerful sense of connectedness to the activities being undertaken, and to other (past, future or simultaneously occurring) events held in the wider landscape. Perhaps part of the opening and closure of the sacred space was the attendance of the sun, whether rising or setting. In this case, the potential directionality of people's entry and departure may have linked rites of liminality to a transcendental cosmological order (Garwood 2011). When monuments came to be built, passageways and forecourts may have been intended to reflect materially these symbolic aspects of the direction in which people arrived and departed. Rites of reaggregation may simply have consisted of completing the activities within the prescribed places of revelation and transformation. Alternatively, people may have undertaken a return journey in which they retraced their steps, re-encountering the places they visited on their outward journey and perhaps affirming their new social personas by using the same symbolic media in new rites, trials and knowledge exchange in new ways.

At Stanshope, Long Low and Pea Low, for example, the sites may have been related to a processional route or visual alignments that constituted a ritual journey between sites, or a conjoining of geographically separate events, facilitated by the monuments' physical form, orientation and prominence in the landscape (see Figure 5.14). Similarly, the rocky, elevated hilltop sites near the southern plateau-edge (Figure 5.21) may have been part of cycles of movement between the off-plateau social core (in this case, Havenhill Dale Brook just north

of Wigber Low (G) in the map) with its the profusion of water sources, and the natural springs and rock outcrops that lie between the two (see also Figure 5.7). In my opinion, the most convincing example of a particular route for ritualised movement is provided by the four Lathkill valley sites (see Figure 5.22). This interpretation incorporates a number of spatial patterns involving four mortuary structures: 1) patterns of distribution and landscape settings suggesting social distances (the central two monuments are within the TCZ, the two others are outside of it); 2) topographic features as both routes of movement (i.e. Cales Dale) and symbolic media (e.g. natural spring, caves), and 3) a potential direction of movement, from north-east (Bole Hill) to south-west (Gib Hill), which is to say towards the setting sun. It may be significant that one of the places where the complete route can be appreciated visually is from the future site of Arbor Low, where a wide range of fourth-millennium BC artefacts (ceramics, worked flints, polished stone axes) and ‘ephemeral dwellings’ are recorded (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 145).

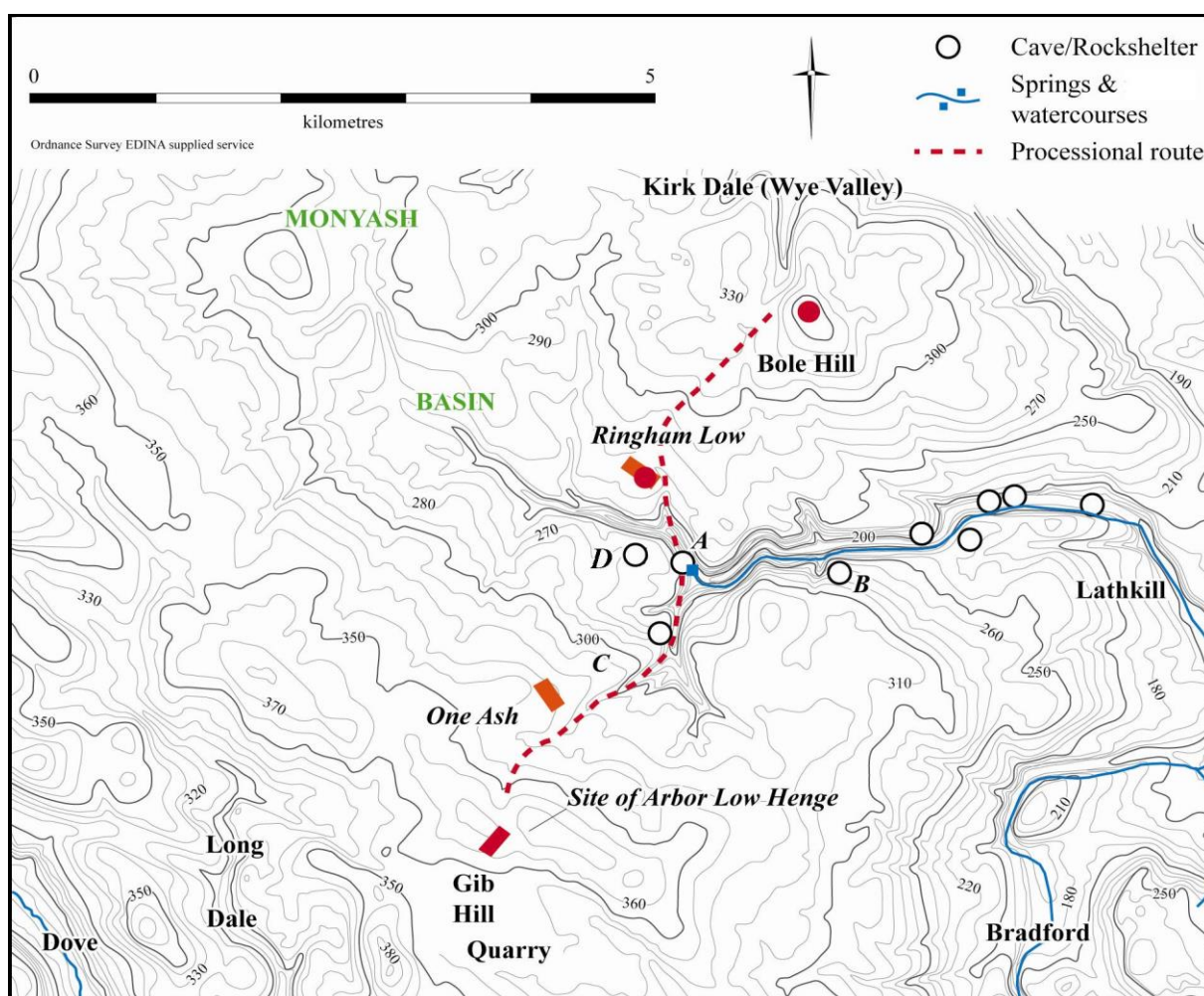


Figure 5.22. 1:50,000 scale map of the Lathkill Valley and surrounding area in the Earlier Neolithic period interpreted with a potential processional route. Map shows certain (red) and possible (orange) examples of closed chambered cairns (small circles), and long barrow-forms (rectangles). Also identified are: A. Lathkill Head Cave; B. Calling Low Dale (formerly Church Dale) rockshelter; C. Cales Dale; D. One Ash Shelter, and, the site of Arbor Low henge. Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

5.3.2. Closed chambered cairns and earthen long barrows

Whilst there are commonalities, on the whole these two monument classes are positioned in the landscape in very different ways. It is also clear that they have fundamentally different outward forms and, although the data set is small, their respective pre-monument structures are also different. It therefore seems likely that in their mature monumental forms they were used differently in ritual and ceremonial practice. I build upon my interpretations in 5.3.1 by examining how the production of these dissimilar spaces (in terms of both architecture and landscape) may have been used to mark points of transition in the ritual process.

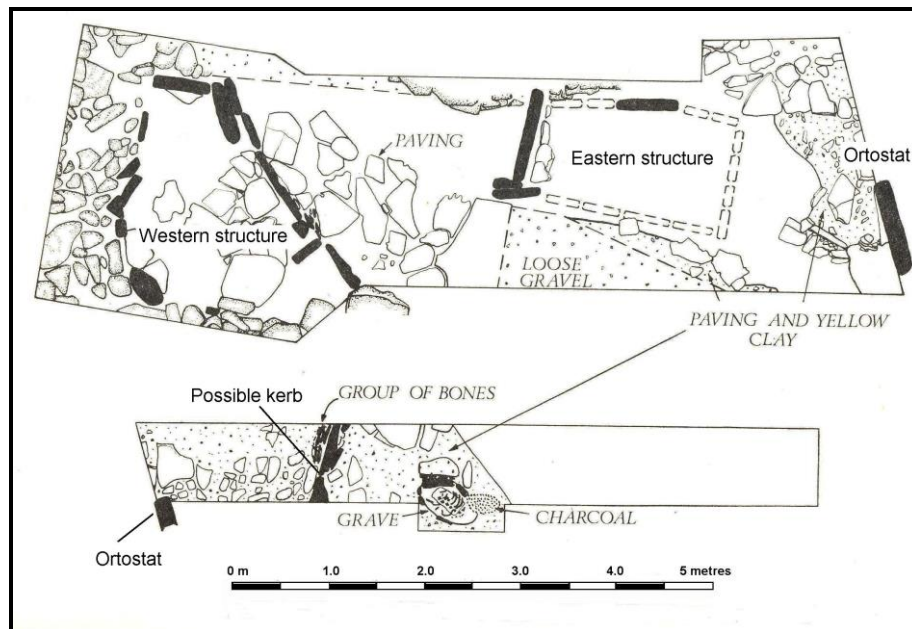


Figure 5.23. Plan of the pre-cairn structures at Tideslow. Source: Plant and Radley 1971: Fig. 2; with additions (lowercase text and scale).

Pre-monument structures and mortuary rites

At pre-cairn sites there is evidence that the core features of closed chambered cairns – the chambers themselves – were first employed as free-standing ‘boxes’, which indicates that a clear spatial order existed in the mortuary process. Moreover, one of the two boxes at Tideslow and the structure at Long Low were sealed by massive capstones, perhaps converting them directly into closed chambered cairns. Significantly, at Long Low and Tideslow these boxes were associated with paving (Barnatt 1996b: 88-90). At Tideslow this surrounded the eastern structure and a 1.1-metre tall orthostat (see Figure 5.23), and was set upon a layer of yellow clay which had been placed on the old ground surface (Radley and Plant 1971). Additionally, the western box at Tideslow and the one at Long Low were paved

on the inside, and there were inhumations upon both surfaces (Barnatt 1996b: 88-9). At Long Low about 13 overlapping contracted inhumations were discovered and Rhodes (1818, cited in *ibid.*) described the stone structures at Tideslow as containing ‘several inhumations’. A mortuary-focussed function at Tideslow is further supported by the many fragments of human and animal bone excavated from between the paving stones (Radley and Plant 1971).

Barnatt (1996b: 37-8) suggests that at two closed chambered cairns (Ringham Low and Smerrill Moor) chambers may have been used to keep articulated inhumations distinct from the disarticulated bones. The double-chambered arrangements at these sites indicate the potential of funerary monuments to *organise* the mortuary process. Indeed, remembering that at the north north-east cairn at Long Low the human remains were articulated and semi-articulated, whereas at the south south-west cairn they were all wholly disarticulated, it is possible that by means of the two structures the entire hill top was involved in the movement and organisation of the dead. Furthermore, the open-topped character of pre-cairn spaces may have functioned by intentionally excluding the access of land animals while favouring birds (that is, ‘sky-burial’). Perhaps where such structures were originally uncovered, they might have functioned as a place of primary burial by indicating the places where inhumations had taken place, and where to retrieve the de-fleshed remains in the post-liminal stage. We may never know. However, what we have here are at least two locations in the Peak at which enclosed, probably originally open-topped, spaces were created for activities that included the de-fleshing and organisation of the remains of the dead. It is therefore possible that these structures represented both the sites at which the dead were prepared and broken-down into parts (a potential period of ritual separation) and the location at which the body’s transition from a social being to an ancestor or another state of being was effected.

Sadly, this does not help us understand what kinds of mortuary rites were undertaken at the sites of earthen long barrows. It is entirely possible that purpose-built structures, such as timber chambers or platforms, façades and mortuary enclosures were a feature of the Peak District, as seen in the north-eastern, eastern and southern England (Darvill 2010b). These may have become lost or obscured by later building projects or deliberately destroyed by fire, and some traces may eventually be found in the Peak. However, the only example of such a structure is the curious pre-barrow remains at Gib Hill. Whilst in its mature stage the barrow apparently had disturbed human bones and worked flints within it, as is recorded of many cairn sites, Gib Hill differs from the other pre-cairn sites in four respects. Firstly, the only surviving architectural detail was a probably single phase, oval-shaped platform: there are no known stone settings (Barnatt 1996b: 85). This feature was described by Bateman as ‘1.5

yards thick' (c. 1.3m high; citation from Barnatt 1996b: 8), about the same size as the later long barrow. Like at the cairn sites, this suggests a close relationship between the early feature and the mature monument (a covering of earth and stone that in total measured c. 45.0 x c. 20.0-25.0m, and was about 1.5m high; Barnatt 1996b: 8), because of the way in which the former was a central part of the latter. Secondly, beneath the platform was a large spread of disarticulated ox bones. Animal bones were found at other pre-cairn sites, but those of ox were not found in such numbers or concentrated to the exclusion of those of other fauna. Thirdly, the clay platform showed signs that fires had been set at the site or nearby (charcoal and wood were found in the clay), as were many burnt fragments of unidentified bones. Evidence of burning is something not found at pre-cairn sites. Finally, no confirmed human remains are associated with the pre-barrow clay layer; it shows no clear sign of having operated as an exposure platform, for example. Mortuary activity was a key feature of the pre-cairn structures but it cannot be said of Gib Hill whether there is a meaningful absence of evidence of such rituals or if the burnt bone fragments found are in fact human.

On this basis, it is difficult to interpret the kind of rites that took place at Gib Hill in a way that allows comparisons with the pre-cairn sites. It is clear that the earthen long barrow site was not laid out in the same manner or with the same materials as the pre-cairn structures. There is little indication as to where the points of ritual transition may have been marked at the site, and the preparation and organisation of the dead cannot be positively identified. One point of interest is that at the pre-monument sites the physical control and organisation of the living seems minimal, although there is scope for the marking out of taboos or symbolic thresholds (for example, the orthostat and paving at Tideslow, and the hilltops themselves). The lack of physical constraints is clearest at Gib Hill, and it seems that a single constructional event created the pre-barrow structure and perhaps the mature monument soon after. The site's possible enclosing ditch would appear to have transformed the mound into an object of view, although the depth of this feature appears to have been slight (Barnatt 1996b). As a potential destination for the Lathkill valley processional route, it is intriguing to note the association of the spread of oxen bones and fires with the construction of the clay platform. Perhaps this signifies an event (or events) of ritual feasting and the inauguration of the processional route upon its completion? On this account, it is interesting to note that the Peak's earthen long barrows might have been the results of social processes with very different time scales than the chambered monuments and were, like Gib Hill, set aside upon their completion.

5.3.3 Funerary rites and ancestral rites

This final section addresses the architecture of the cross-fertilisation period monuments in light of the interpretations in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.2. What is of interest here are the contrasts that can be made between the ‘buried’ human remains of closed chambered cairns and earthen long barrows, where the funerary space and deposits became sealed-up by the monument, and those sites at which repeated access or proximity to the remains of the dead was integral to monumental design. Passage grave-type cairns obviously present different opportunities for the organisation and control of mortuary activities. It seems likely that they emphasised potential points of transition in the ritual process, especially between the monument’s chamber and exterior. At the same time, it is evident that this period brought both changes in the patterns of the distribution and settings of monuments (see Figure 5.2) and in the architectural features through which people moved. What do these changes in landscape and monumental forms mean for society and for the socialisation of this period’s cultural landscape?

Ancestral rites and architectural change

Passages are present in at least four and perhaps as many as seven sites in this period (see Table 3.2). From the four most likely occurrences of passage graves, two types are identifiable. On the one hand, there are four simple passage graves, namely Five Wells, Harborough Rocks, Green Low and the early phase Minninglow A. The other type is represented by Minninglow in its later, chambered long barrow phase, which features at least three contemporaneous, laterally-positioned passages. Analysis shows that the entrance points at simple passage graves (which must be passed before the chamber is reached) are often comparatively smaller than are the interiors. At Five Wells the aperture between the portal stones is somewhat narrower than the chamber (Figure 5.24) and at Green Low the entrance is narrowed by the continuation of the façade across the eastern half of the passage (Figure 5.25).

This trend is seen in both of the relevant phases at Minninglow A, where passages were found to be lower in height than, and about half the width of the chambers (see Marsden 1982):

‘CHAMBER 1’	Chamber: 1.3m long, 0.9m wide and 1.9m high;
(Simple passage grave)	Passage: 1.5m long, 0.5m wide and 1.05m high.

‘CHAMBER 2’ (Chambered long barrow)	Chamber: 1.6m long, 1.2m wide and 1.7m high; Passage: 2.2m long, 0.6m wide and 1.3m high.
‘CHAMBER 4’ (Chambered long barrow)	Chamber: 1.35m long, 1.5m wide and c. 1m high; Passage: 2.6m long and c. 0.9m high (width unknown).

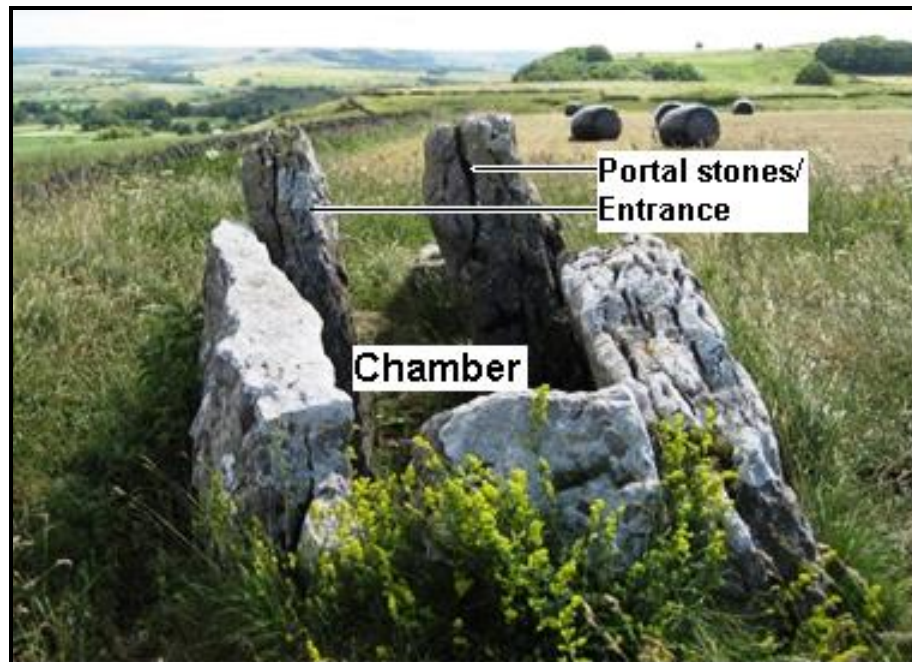


Figure 5.24. The eastern stone settings at Five Wells viewed from the centre of the mound. Photograph: RBW, July 2010.

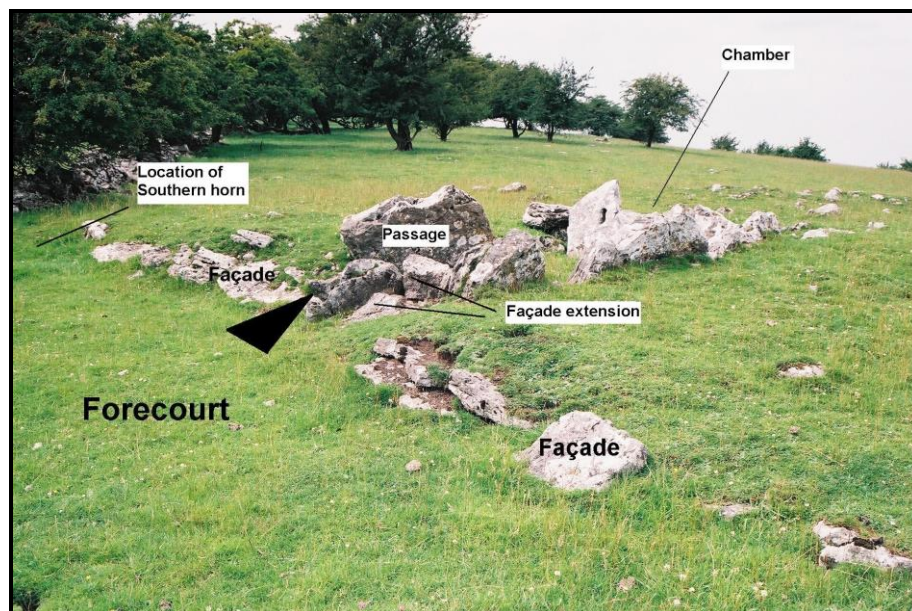


Figure 5.25. Green Low simple passage grave-type cairn, showing features discussed in the text. Photograph: RBW, July 2008.

Similarly, Ward (1890, cited by Barnatt 1996b: 88) recorded the dimensions of the chamber of the Harborough Rocks simple passage grave as 1.0m long, 0.7m wide and 0.7m

high, with a passageway that, although damaged, comprised of a stone only around 0.2 m high. The impression gained from the passages and chambers of these four sites is that the points of access – which would be expected to be particular foci in ancestral rites – were at the same time deliberately restrictive spaces. The numbers of people able to enter the chambers and participate in whatever happened within the cairns would be very limited. That these cramped conditions occur in both simple passage graves and chambered long barrow-forms is significant because it increases the likelihood that these were deliberate architectural devices deployed throughout the Cross-fertilisation period. In the case of Minninglow it is interesting to see that the passages of the chambered long barrow phase were respectively 0.7m and 1.1m longer than the simple passage grave-cairn, surely increasing the sense of confinement and isolation from the outside world.

The second arrangement of space common in this phase is the façade. There are up to four examples at simple passage graves (Five Wells, Green Low, the early phase at Minninglow A, and Stanshope; Table 3.4). At Green Low, the rough outline of the façade, constructed of courses of dry-stone walling, can still be appreciated today (Figure 5.25). At Five Wells and the early passage grave phase at Minninglow A, the façade features may have formed continuous rotunda-style walls, encircling each cairn (see Chapter 3). What is immediately noticeable in these cases is that entering the inner chambers would be achieved from the space directly opposite the façade. As a design feature, the façades of simple passage graves imply that a space was prepared for peoples' congregation and attention around the entrance to the monument. However, this proximity of gathering and access points forms a marked contrast to the situation at the long barrow-form structures. This is illustrated by looking at the third architectural feature that is prominent in this phase – the forecourt.

Evidence for forecourts occurs in at least four monuments. In Chapter 3, I proposed that if forecourts existed at Long Low, Minninglow A and Ringham Low, the evidence suggests they were of the 'false portal' variety. This is because the passages at Minninglow and the laterally-arranged stone settings at Long Low and Ringham Low seem to suggest that chambered long barrows in this period had their entrances in the long-sides of the monuments (see Figure 3.11.A and B). I suggest that because passages were not accessed from forecourts and façades at these sites, the potential gathering points have been deliberately separated from the entrances to the chambers (*cf.* Darvill 2004: 102). This is in clear contrast to the simple passage graves where 'the activities of those entering the chambers and those gathering ... would have been more closely integrated' (Thomas 1999: 146). The monuments in this phase are therefore distinguished from the closed chambered cairns, earthen long barrows and their

respective pre-monument structures in two ways: first because they seem to provide for and organise *gatherings* on the outside of the monument, whereas the earlier monuments placed few physical limits to people's movement and congregation (see above); second, Cross-fertilisation period monuments deliberately minimise *access* to the interiors and in some cases, divide 'gathering' from 'participating' spatially.

It seems likely to me that for the dead who were transported into the chambers, the passages were stages for rites of separation (from the living as social beings), and the chamber itself represented the integration of the corpse (liminal and post-liminal stage) into another state (the ancestors, spirits, etc; *cf.* Barrett 1994a). Indeed, the dimensions of 'chambers' 2 and 4 at Minninglow A indicate that the long cairns were built to exaggerate this separation by increasing the length of their passages in comparison to the earlier phase. Since it was the chambered long barrows that divided the community, those who entered the passages were perhaps doubly separated from the community. It is possible that those who accessed the inner chamber were also perceived as becoming temporarily separated from the living during this process. Their proximity to the liminal stage within the cairn might, therefore, have required them to undertake rites of reaggregation – for example, purification or seclusion – before their complete return to the social world. One wonders who entered these narrow dark passages, what they risked in undertaking these acts, and what motivated their participation.

5.3.4 Overview

In coming to the end of this first chapter of the interpretive part of my thesis I draw together its key points in a way that deliberately highlights the relationship between the three spatial analytical categories (social-spatial practices, etc.) and the dialectics between them (material symbols, etc.; see Figure 2.7).

From social-spatial practices to material symbols

The first step in my analysis examined the distributions and settings of monuments with respect to the postulated social cores, and to movement and orientation in the region more generally. It was immediately noted that different patterns pertained to closed chambered cairns, long barrow-forms and passage graves, and that there was an additional fault-line between earthen long barrows and chambered monuments. Closed chambered cairns, for example, were more often located near social cores but in elevated settings above them, and in clusters in which inter-visibility played a role, than were other monuments. Passage graves

seemed to intensify these patterns, whereas earthen long barrows were more socially distant, had a northern distribution, and were relatively isolated from other monuments (although in two examples they were ‘paired’). It is likely that some closed chambered cairns had been built before even the earliest long barrows and passage graves, thus lending increased significance to their clustering in the south-plateau and the overall distinctiveness of the earthen long barrows in comparison.

The positioning of monuments in the landscape suggested that their local TCZs were sometimes a factor in their location and orientation. There is no compelling evidence for astronomical alignments beyond the broadly east-west axes of most long barrow-forms and the possible tendency of Cross-fertilisation period monuments to incorporate this aspect into their architecture (e.g. passage orientation) and landscape settings (i.e. the orientation of their local terrain). The way in which passage grave-type cairns in particular and Cross-fertilisation period sites more generally appeared to intensify patterns typical of closed chambered cairns, but rarer for earthen long barrows (e.g. hill tops/ridges, water sources, rock outcrops), further underscored the sense that chambered monuments could be linked to a particular set or sets of symbolic principles (material symbols) from which earthen sites were set apart. Looking at pre-cairn structures and human remains from caves and rockshelters, I speculated that certain patterns of distribution and landscape settings formed the foundational principles for the location of special mortuary places in the landscape from, perhaps, the earliest Neolithic.

From representations of space to the ritual social roles of space

I suggest that six principles can be identified on the basis of which choices were made about the appropriateness of funerary spaces and possibly also other kinds of special activity. Pre-monument structures, caves and rock shelters (e.g. Fox Hole Cave) may have been among the earliest examples of this tendency to hold mortuary rites in close proximity to TCZs, but in elevated hill top/ridge settings, near fresh water sources and rock outcrops and with an especially ‘southern plateau’ distribution (see Figure 5.16). The sixth principle was to be spatially related to the sites of other monuments and the closed chambered cairns, which probably had their origins in the stone slab-built pre-monument sites, came to be even more closely associated with this set of basic principles. One feature of these potentially long-term and outwardly expanding associations is that the connections between mortuary activity, the immediate environment and distributions on the plateau became of greater consequence to

society as a whole, because they were not confined to these spaces. On this basis, I propose that these spatial and topographical properties of the landscape were important parts of the symbolic media and overall logic of the social use of these places. These properties appear to have been taken up in the construction of simple passage graves and chambered long barrows, which individually and collectively (as Cross-fertilisation period monuments) represent a high-water mark in the significance of many of these principles (see columns 4-5, 7-8 & 10 in Figures 5.2, 5.3, and 5.17). Since a number of these sites were newly-built they need not have conformed to the patterns of closed chambered cairns, but in large part they continued to do so.

Earthen long barrows were distinctive in both their relative isolation in the landscape, their poor correspondence to the patterns common to chambered sites, and in their architectural forms. These sites' elongated form allowed reference to the eastern horizon to be made by means of their long axes but the sites were also distributed near eastern, south-eastern or southern oriented terrain. The alignment of architecture is something that could conceivably have been a feature of the long axes, forecourts and passages of the cross-fertilisation period structures, but this connection was rather mute or diffuse. Instead, chambered long barrows and passage graves have two outstanding features. First, their architecture suggests an increased provision and control over ritual gatherings at these sites. Second, there is an upsurge in the significance of east, south-east and southern oriented *terrain*. The spatial organisation of the monuments in this period also underwent a change in which the potential gathering points were deliberately separated from the entrances to the chambers. Previously, closed chambered cairns were not particularly associated with this pattern, which may have derived from the period in which earthen long barrows were built. Together, these new patterns fit with a desire to organise further not only the activities at the sites themselves but potentially also the direction from which the sites were approached and movements through the wider landscape.

From spaces of representation to social space

The dominant spaces of representation in the Earlier Neolithic period appear to be the sequence of chambered monumental forms, with a relatively short parallel earthen long barrow phase. Nevertheless, this may have come to impact on the development of chambered monument design and orientation in profound ways. On the basis of my interpretation of the monument spaces during the Earlier Neolithic as a whole, I suggest that the passages were major transition points in the ritual process at these sites, and in the overall character of ritual

in its wider sense in the whole region. Clearly, the closed chambered cairns created a high degree of separation of the central chamber from the outside of the cairn. However, with the positioning of passages in this previously inaccessible space mortuary rites changed enormously, not just on-site but also with respect to the wider cultural landscape. Cross-fertilisation period monuments register an increase in the importance of many of the topographic settings associated with the earlier monuments. It is therefore possible to suggest that the construction of the new monuments with respect to these aspects of the cultural landscape was related to their valuation as the appropriate locations for these particular mortuary activities.

People's perception of this physical separation may have had a symbolic character that was reflected by and expressed in social behaviour in other areas of their lives. The passage itself may, on the one hand, have been thought to *protect* the community from the contents of the chamber but, at the same time, may have *heightened awareness* of this reason for its usage. The people who entered may have been ritual 'officials', family members, friends of the dead or even strangers, but the 'necessity' of the passageway may have constantly underscored the danger they were in. What I am proposing is that the mid-fourth millennium BC represents a turning point in dealings with the dead, an increase in the control and organisation of the living in ritual practices, which opened the way for new social roles for some individuals and groups.

CHAPTER 6

THE LATER NEOLITHIC PERIOD,

c. 3300 – c. 2400 cal. BC

At the end of the Earlier Neolithic, the Peak had a wide range of extant monuments: at least six closed chambered cairns, as many as five simple passage graves, and nine earthen and three chambered long barrows (of which one was a ‘bank barrow’). At least five monuments could be entered by means of passages, and up to eight sites shared architectural features by which the space around them was organised by the means of façade and forecourt. The most striking change in the initial centuries of this period is the *transformation* of this landscape of diverse monuments for the accumulated dead into one dominated by enormous, rather uniform, circular mounds which added very few mortuary remains of their own: the great barrows.

6.1 SOCIAL-SPATIAL PRACTICE

This chapter considers social space in the Later Neolithic period by examining the perception of social space from two perspectives: 1) the relationship of monuments to the proposed social cores; and, 2) the roles of monuments in relation to movement and orientation. Analysis focuses on the following architectural processes (see Section 4.2.2):

1. The remodelling and enlargement of selected Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments into up to ten large funerary mounds, probably during the period c. 3300-2800 cal. BC (Table 6.1, columns B.1 and B.2.I and Figures 6.1 and 6.2). These are collectively described as ‘large funerary mounds’ but can be sub-divided into seven great barrows and three ‘other enlarged mounds’ (see Figures 6.1 and 6.3).
2. The grave and low-profile barrow construction at Liffs Low, during the ‘later Middle Neolithic’ period (3300-2900 cal. BC, according to Loveday and Barclay 2010; see my Figures 6.1-6.3). For convenience, I refer to the structures in processes 1 and 2 collectively as ‘Later Neolithic funerary mounds’ (Table 6.1, column B.2.I).
3. The construction of the two Henges, and at least one stone circle and ‘cove’ (at Arbor Low), c. 2900-2400 cal. BC (column B. 2.II).

4. The architectural processes described in 1 and 3 are related to the possible emergence of monument complexes in this period (see Figure 6.1).

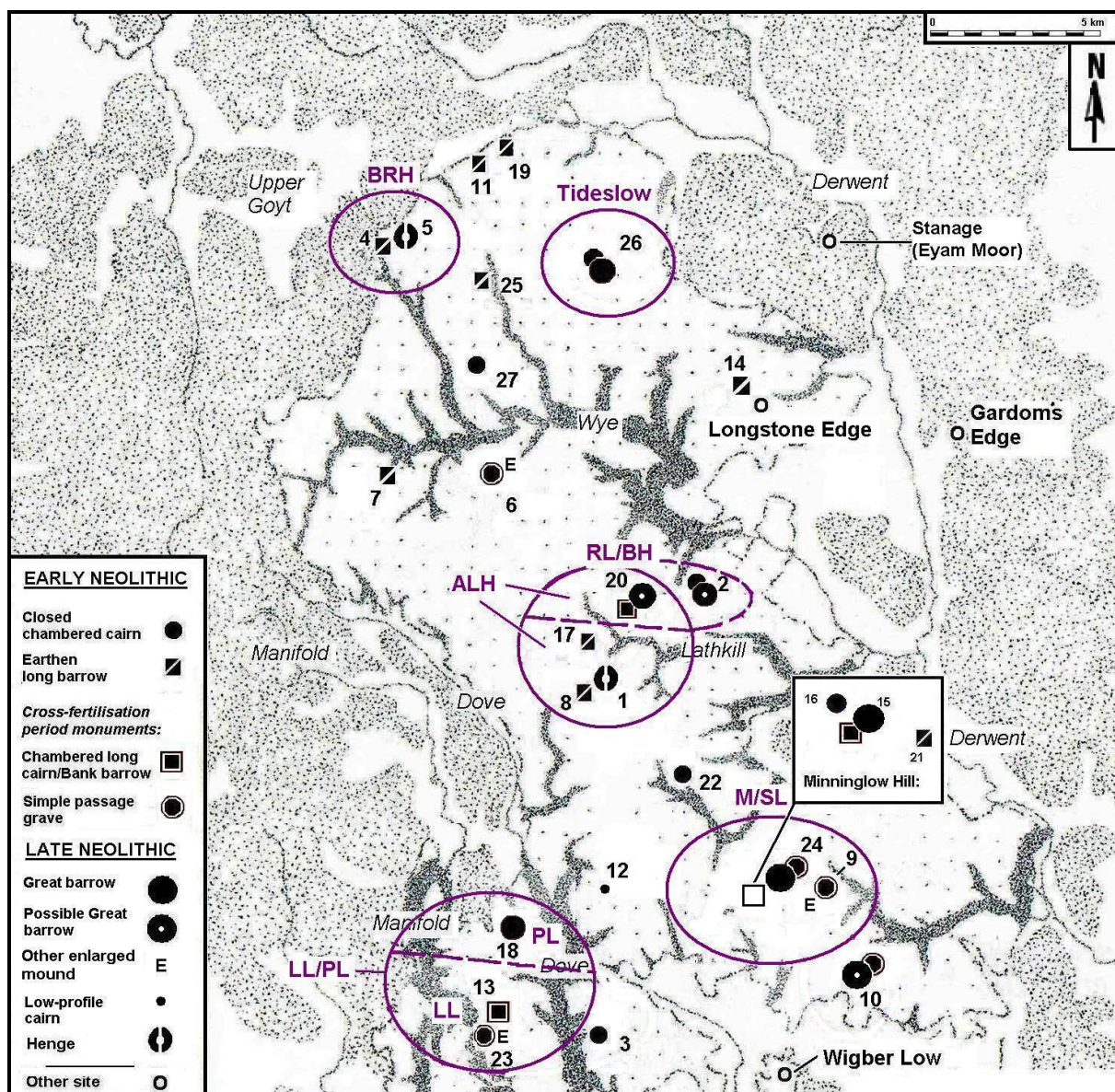


Figure 6.1. Map showing the Later Neolithic period sites (Table 6.1, column A), and other sites referred to in the text, in relation to Barnatt's (1996b) ceremonial complexes (up to seven clusters are outlined and labelled in **purple**). The abbreviations used are as follows: ALH = Arbor Low henge; BRH = Bull Ring henge; LL = Long Low; M/SL = Minninglow/Stoney Low; PL = Pea Low; RL/BH = Ringham Low/Bole Hill). The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; the insert is not to scale.

A. SITE:	B. ARCHITECTURAL PROCESSES:				D. DISTRIBUTION AND SETTING:		
	1. Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments		2. Later Neolithic period monuments:		1. Limestone Plateau	2. > 1km from TCZ	3. < 1km from TCZ
	I. Closed chambered cairn	II. Cross-fertilisation monument	I. Funerary mound	II. Henge			
1. Arbor Low				•	•	•	
5. Bull Ring				•	•	•	
2. Bole Hill	•		o		•	•	
3. Bostern	•				•		•
4. Five Wells		•	•		•		•
9. Green Low		•	•		•	•	
10. Harborough Rocks	•	•	o		•	•	
12. Liffs Low			•		•		•
13. Long Low (Bank barrow)	•	•			•		•
15. Minninglow A	•	•	•		•	•	
16. Minninglow B	•				•	•	
18. Pea Low			•		•		•
20. Ringham Low	•	o	o		•		•
22. Smerrill Moor	•				•		•
23. Stanshope	o	o	o		•		•
24. Stoney Low	•	o	•		•	•	
26. Tideslow	•		•		•	•	
27. Wind Low	•				•	•	
TOTALS	13	8	11	2			
	14 sites		13 sites		18	10	8

Table 6.1 The Distribution and Settings of Neolithic sites in four phases of monument building relevant to the Later Neolithic period (columns B.1 & B.2). Column D is continued on the next page. Note: Column B identifies certain (•) and possible (o) examples of Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments and Later Neolithic period monuments.

D. DISTRIBUTION AND SETTING - continued:

	4. Monument relationships	5. Hilltop/Ridge Top	6. Lee of Hill	7. East, south-east, or southern aspect	8. Water source	9. Limestone Valley/Gorge	10. Rock Outcrop
1. Arbor Low	•	•		•			
5. Bull Ring	•						•
2. Bole Hill	•	•					
3. Bostern	•	•			•	•	
4. Five Wells		•		•	•	•	•
9. Green Low	•	•		•	•		•
10. Harborough Rocks	•	•		•	•		•
12. Liffs Low			•				•
13. Long Low (Bank barrow)	•	•			•	•	•
15. Minninglow A	•	•		•	•		•
16. Minninglow B	•	•		•	•		•
18. Pea Low	•	•		•	•	•	•
20. Ringham Low	•	•		•	•	•	
22. Smerrill Moor				•		•	•
23. Stanshope	•	•		•	•	•	•
24. Stoney Low	•	•		•	•		•
26. Tideslow		•					•
27. Wind Low		•			•		•
TOTALS	13	15	1	11	12	7	14

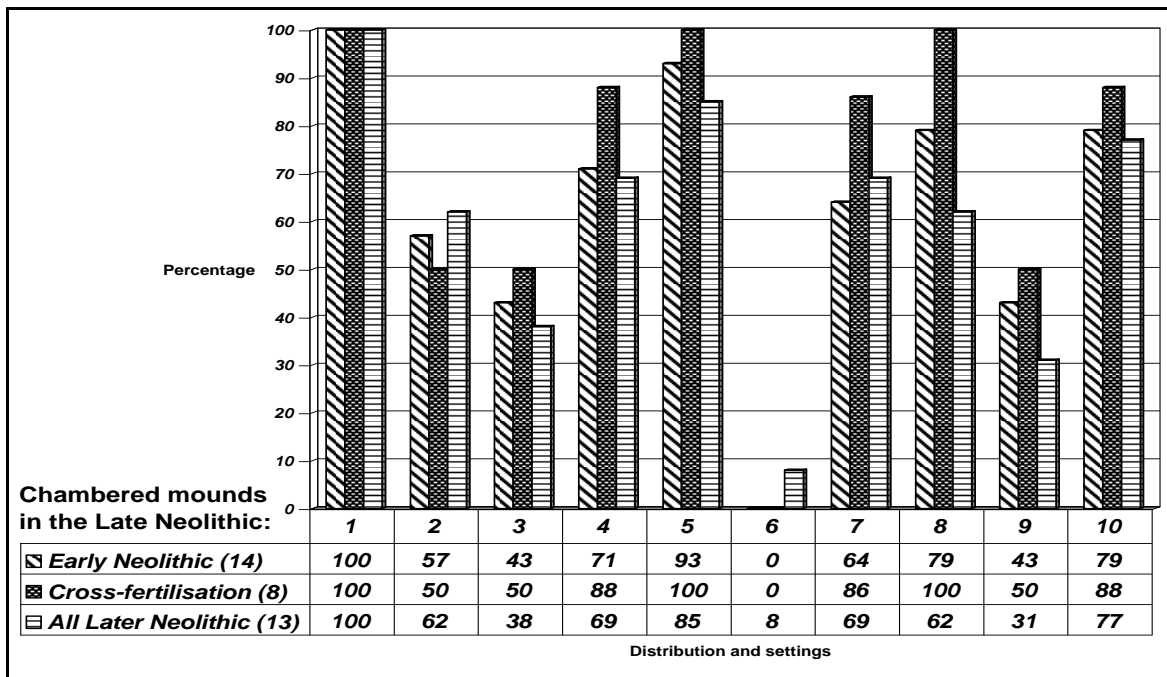


Figure 6.2. Graph comparing the distribution and settings of Later Neolithic period monuments to the chambered mounds of the Earlier Neolithic and Cross-fertilisation periods (see Table 6.1, columns B.1 & B.2, and D.1-10 for details).

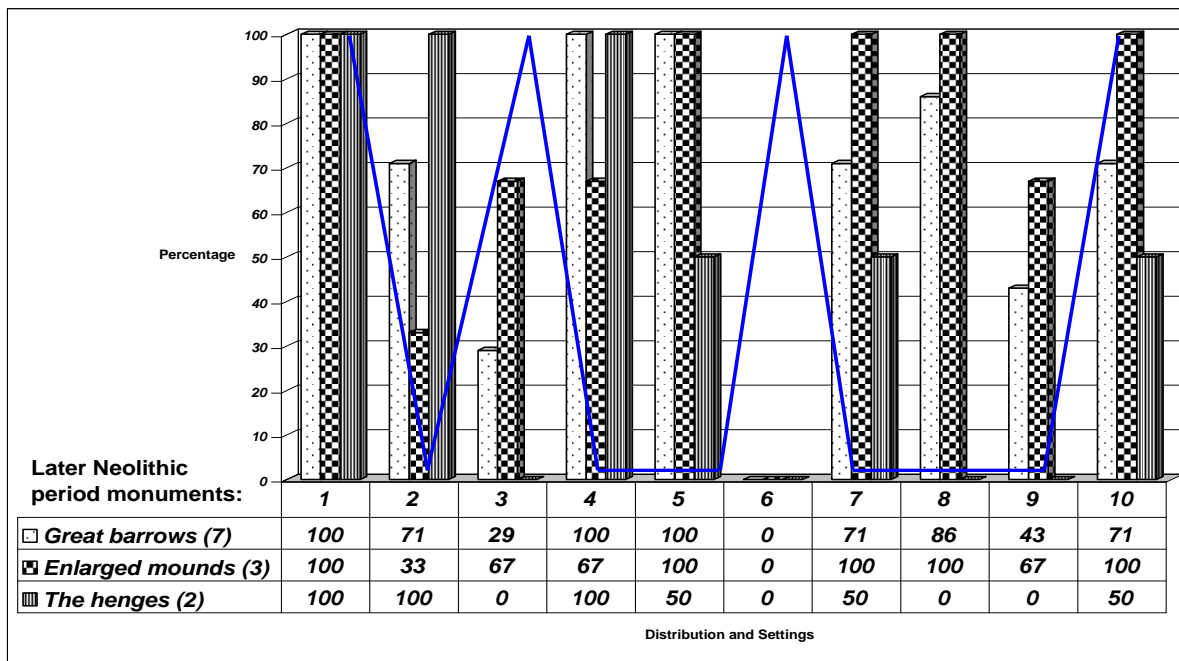


Figure 6.3. Graph comparing the distribution and settings of the following Later Neolithic monuments: certain great barrows, other large mounds, all large funerary mounds, henges, and Liffs Low ([blue line](#); see also Table 6.1, columns B.2 and D.1-10).

A. SITE:	B. ELEVATION:	C. MONUMENT CLASS:									
		I. Earlier Neolithic Chambered cairns	II. Large Funerary mounds		III. Henges	IV. All Later Neolithic monuments					
			Great barrows	Other enlarged mounds							
1. Arbor Low	365 m OD	<div>•</div>	<div>o</div>	<div>•</div>	<div>•</div>	<div>•</div>					
2. Bole Hill	355 m OD										
3. Bostern	340 m OD										
5. Bull Ring	340 m OD										
6. Five Wells	430 m OD						•				
9. Green Low	320 m OD						•				
10. Harboro’ Rocks	370 m OD						o				
12. Liffs Low	349 m OD										
13. Long Low (Bank barrow)	310 m OD						•				
15. Minninglow A	370 m OD						•				
16. Minninglow B	370 m OD						•				
18. Pea Low	325 m OD						•				
20. Ringham Low	275 m OD						o				
22. Smerrill Moor	305 m OD						•				
23. Stanshope	300 m OD						•				
24. Stoney Low	320 m OD						•				
26. Tideslow	405 m OD						•				
27. Wind Low	370 m OD						•				
TOTALS:	18 SITES						14	7	3	2	13
RANGE:	275-430 m OD						275-430 m OD	275-405 m OD	300-430 m OD	340-365 m OD	275-430 m OD
AVERAGE:	346 m OD	346 m OD	346 m OD	350 m OD	353 m OD	348 m OD					
			Total: 347 m OD								

Table 6.2. The approximate elevations above sea-level of the Peak District's Later Neolithic funerary and ceremonial monuments. Note: Column C distinguishes certain (•) and possible (o) examples.

6.1.1 Social cores and monumental spaces

Figure 6.2 shows several points of agreement in the distribution and settings of the Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments and the Later Neolithic monuments. This is not surprising, since most of this period's monuments are former Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments, and earthen long barrows were not modified during this period. Even so, five of the Earlier Neolithic chambered monuments seem not to have been significantly changed during this period, and seven of those that were originated as Cross-fertilisation monuments (see Table 6.1, column B). On this basis, it is worth considering whether these patterns of site

remodelling might signify continuity in places and practices that were accorded importance by Neolithic society. Continuities in the use of social spaces might indicate long-term stability in social or cultural practices from the Earlier Neolithic to the Later Neolithic periods which, in principle, would support Barnatt's (1996b: 66-7) 'evolution of foci' argument for ceremonial complexes. However, the precise nature of this possible continuity is unclear at this stage because the architectural processes and individual site chronologies of the period are diverse. In this section, I explore the distributions and chronologies of the period's monuments with respect to the major monument clusters, bearing this diversity in mind.

Funerary mounds

Some similarities between the distribution and settings of Earlier Neolithic chambered cairns and Later Neolithic period monuments as a whole is largely corroborated by the analysis of monument-types in Figure 6.3. This suggests that the few changes identifiable in Figure 6.2 reflect the construction of the small number of newly-built monuments of the period (i.e. Liffs Low and the two henges). This can be seen when comparing the distribution of great barrows to the henges with respect to their distance from TCZs (columns 2-3): 71% of great barrows and both henges are more than 1 kilometre from these postulated social cores. Conversely, only Liffs Low and one enlarged mound (Stanshope, a possible example) are located close to social cores. It is therefore of interest that three Earlier Neolithic chambered sites that were not remodelled in this period occur in relative proximity to social cores (Bostern, Long Low and Smerrill Moor). Perhaps socially distant sites were preferred for remodelling projects in this period, and these three sites were not remodelled because they were too close to core areas. In the cases of closed chambered cairns and Cross-fertilisation structures (57% and 50%, respectively), the physical distance from TCZs had never before been as great as in this period. It seems especially significant that the two largest monument types in the Peak District, great barrows and henges, share such an important pattern of spatial distribution, and that Liffs Low, which is architecturally unique in the region, was built in an unusual landscape position.

In Chapter 5, elevated hilltops and ridges, and to a lesser degree rock outcrops, were judged to be influential in interpreting chambered monuments' social distances, and they appear to continue to be important settings in the Later Neolithic period generally (Figures 6.2). Great barrows and enlarged mounds in particular are located on hill tops and ridges and in proximity to rock outcrops (Figure 6.3, columns 5 and 10), at similar average elevations as the cairns of the previous period (Table 6.2). Again, it is the addition of new monument forms, in this case the sites of Liffs Low (on the saddle between two peaks) and Bull Ring henge (in a valley), that cause the fall in the overall proportion of sites located in

hilltop/ridge settings in this period (*cf.* Figures 6.2 and 6.3, columns 5; see also Section 6.1.2). Other landscape settings and topographies also link Earlier Neolithic architecture to the large funerary mounds, particularly sites with Cross-fertilisation features. The association of large funerary mounds of this period with natural springs, rock outcrops and east, south-east and southern oriented terrain are rather high (see columns 7-8 and 10), and the proportion that are subjects of monument inter-visibility (great barrows 100%; enlarged mounds 67%) shows an increase on the Earlier Neolithic period average (which was 50%; see Figure 5.2). Once again, it is possible to suggest that these sites were chosen for remodelling in this period because of their prominent and visible landscape settings. Locations that were more socially distant, at greater elevations, and involved in patterns of monument inter-visibility seem to have been most desirable.

In this light, I think it likely that Liffs Low's less prominent positioning in the landscape relates to different social-spatial practices than those associated with the large funerary barrows. Indeed, as Loveday and Barclay (2010: 110-11) point out, the density of barrows in the vicinity of Liffs Low is particularly low, rising about 4-6 kilometres away from the monument, something that it is difficult to attribute to differential destruction alone (see Barnatt 1996b). Loveday and Barclay (2010: 111) characterise this as 'an early stage in landscape niche acquisition', and the site's location and landscape setting set it very much apart from the other Neolithic sites. Unfortunately, Liffs Low is a unique monument in the region, and gives little sense of a 'trend' or tendency with which to work. On the basis of the contents of the grave and the cairn's size and form, Liffs Low is typically interpreted as a short-term socio-political statement concerned with a particular claim to land, rites of access or authority (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001; Loveday and Barclay 2010). It is my impression that the social-spatial practices associated with Liffs Low ran somewhat outside of, or parallel to, the trajectories of the chambered cairns, great barrows and monument clusters of the Peak District.

The henges and monument clusters

As mentioned above, despite being distributed away from the great barrows and other chambered mounds (see Figure 6.1), the henges exhibit similar patterns of distribution to the funerary mounds. Arbor Low and Bull Ring are both more than one kilometre from their nearest TCZs, both have distinct and important spatial relationships with pre-existing sites (see Figure 6.2 and Section 6.1.2, below), and both are positioned in elevations that are average for the Peak monuments in this period (Table 6.2). The immediate environments of the henges differ from each other inasmuch as Arbor Low is positioned in an elevated

setting, whereas Bull Ring is in an upland valley location. However, their respective landscapes might also be considered similar in that Bull Ring is located on a 'slight rise' in the valley-floor (see Barnatt 1988: 5, and my Figure 6.4, below), and both the henges lack a close association with natural springs and water courses, limestone gorge, or prominent rock outcrops (see Figure 6.3, columns 8-10). In respect to the latter pattern, it should be noted that the landscapes of both sites have been changed by quarrying.

If we look at the distribution of the henges in comparison to the three *certain* great barrow-based clusters (i.e. Minninglow/Stoney Low, Pea Low and Tideslow) the following three observations can be made (see Figure 6.1, for details):

1. The distribution of the henges with respect to the plateau-zone is noticeably uneven: Bull Ring is only c. 200 metres from the north-western plateau-edge (Barnatt 1988: 5); Arbor Low is in the centre of the plateau; and there are no henges in its southern reaches. The henges are spatially distinct from the three concentrations of monuments around the *certain* great barrows.
2. A wholly new cluster was initiated by the construction of Bull Ring, near a solitary long barrow. The nearest of Barnatt's proposed complexes is Tideslow, and the nearest chambered site is Wind Low, both of which are equally physically 'isolated' monuments.
3. The construction of Arbor Low created a more spatially extensive and architecturally heterogeneous complex than had previously existed anywhere in the Peak. This is because a) the choice of location for Arbor Low may have united an existing chambered cairn-based complex (Bole Hill/Ringham Low) with the earthen long barrows at Gib Hill and One Ash, and b) the resulting cluster brings together almost the full range of Neolithic period monuments.

There are no firm dates either for great barrows or for henges in the Peak. The circumstances of the construction of the henges might be interpreted as being a response to the regional-scale distribution of the great barrows, encouraging the view that henges were built subsequent to monuments clusters. At the same time, although the construction of Arbor Low (3) does not wholly contradict this interpretation, the henge's relative proximity to Ringham Low and Bole Hill (a possible great barrow complex), introduces the possibility that the henges developed alongside the funerary mounds, and were in some sense complementary or parallel developments with the formation of larger monument complexes or regional-scale complexes. Either way, it is striking that the henges are distant from the monuments of both the southern plateau (1), where the landscape is dominated by large chambered mounds, and

from the few chambered sites located in the north (2). What these two parts of the limestone plateau have in common is that the most convincing examples of great barrows are located there. This implies that great barrows and henges were purposely built in different parts of the Peak District, something I explore further in Section 6.1.2.

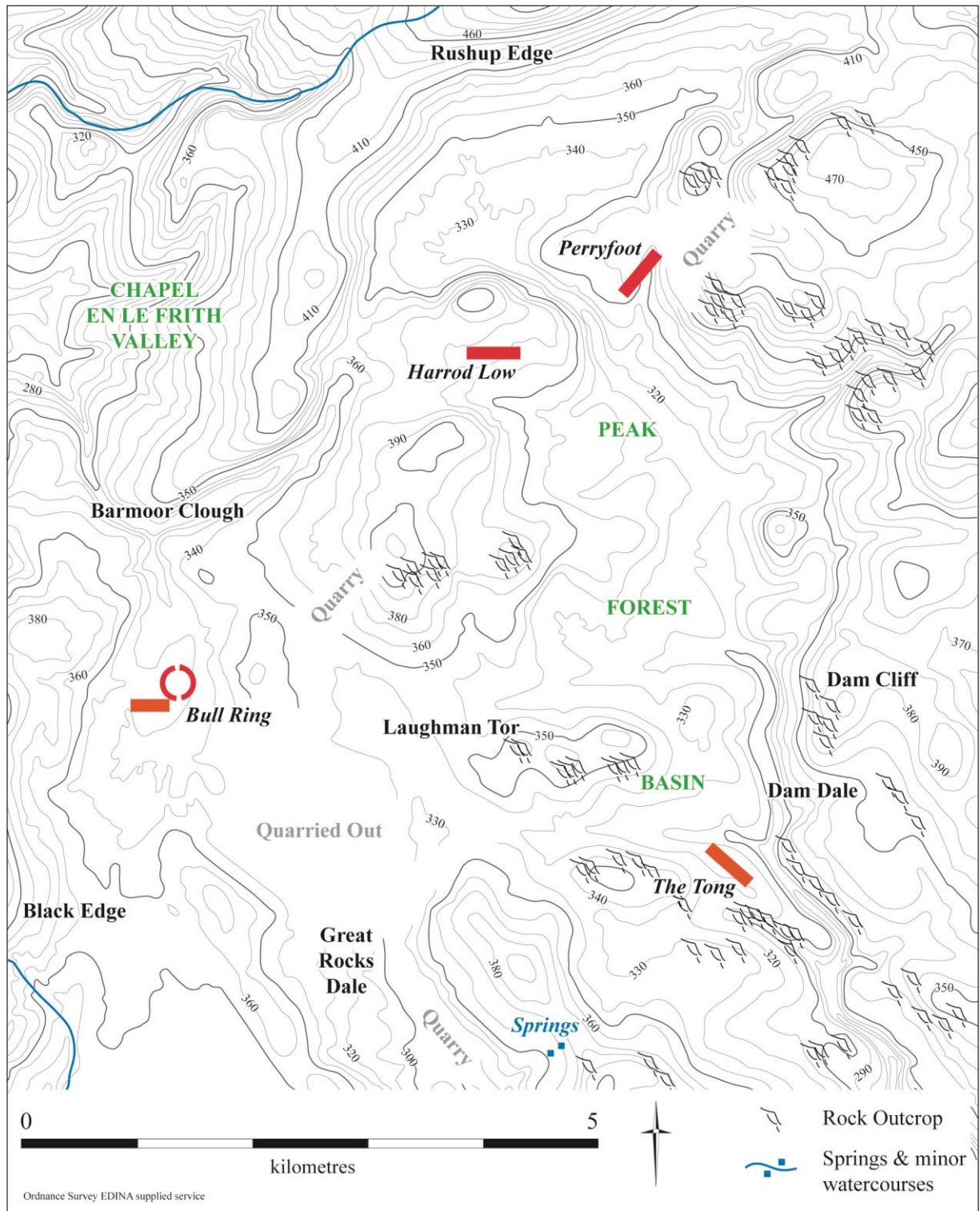


Figure 6.4. 1:50,000 scale map of the Later Neolithic period landscapes and monuments at the north-west plateau-edge. Shown here are two certain (red rectangles), and two possible earthen-type long barrow-form monuments (orange rectangles), and Bull Ring henge.

Overall, the Peak's henges may have reflected some of the social-spatial practices that were associated with the proposed great barrow landscape. Yet there is the suggestion that the production of henge spaces connects these regional social-spatial practices to the local concerns of the funerary mound landscapes, which had developed into clusters over a longer period. What we have, then, is a relationship between great barrows and henges, in which the latter were probably additions to a landscape dominated by the former. This is particularly interesting when one considers the two monument classes' circular design, large scale and settings. I examine design and dimensions in Section 6.2, but for now I want to point out that analysis thus far has introduced a great barrow/henge relationship. Given the dialectical nature of my Lefebvrian model, this dichotomy needs to be recast and explored as a dialectical relationship.

6.1.2 Movement and orientation

This section explores the role of monuments in relation to people's movement and orientation in the landscape, looking in turn at 1) proximity, 2) inter-visibility, and 3) alignments of monuments (with respect to monument-to-monument relationships, monuments and particular topographic features, and with respect to astronomical aspects of monuments). Few patterns were discovered among the Earlier Neolithic period sites outside of the southern parts of the plateau (see Section 5.1.2), and the same also largely applies to funerary monuments in this period (*cf.* Figures 5.8 and 6.5, below). The only wholly new patterns of monument relationships in this period arise from the construction of the henges. One remarkable pattern is the visibility of Minninglow Hill from the hilltop (but not from the henge) at Arbor Low (Watson 2000: 336; signified by a broken red line in Figure 6.5).

1. Proximity

In Chapter 5, I identified two comparatively early monument clusters in the south of the plateau: the three cairns that comprised Long Low and Stanshope, and the group of five monuments on and around Minninglow Hill (see Figure 6.5). In the northern plateau, no such clusters existed in the Earlier Neolithic period. Minninglow and Stoney Low have been designated certain great barrows, and the long term development of these two early sites in such close proximity (one kilometre apart) is significant for two reasons. Firstly, full access to the passages and chambers was maintained at Minninglow A after remodelling as a great barrow. This may be unique in the Peak and it is therefore highly significant for the interpretation of this area of the southern plateau. Secondly, the development of up to four other passage grave monuments in the immediate vicinity into great barrows or similar

enlarged mounds is unparalleled. Nowhere else in the Peak are two confirmed great barrows located so close together, and this density and proximity is not seen even in the case of 'possible' great barrows and the other enlarged mounds (e.g. Ringham Low and Bole Hill are further apart and not inter-visible; see Figure 6.5). On this basis, I propose that the connection being made to the heritage of the Cross-fertilisation period was particularly strong in the Minninglow Hill area. This further supports the view that there was long-term continuity in ritual practices in the Minninglow Hill area as far back as the Cross-fertilisation period, when the passage grave structures were current.

I pointed out above that Liffs Low and the henges were also rather distant from large funerary mounds. Liffs Low is in fact more than four kilometres from the nearest Earlier Neolithic chambered cairn (Bostern) and c. 2.5km from Pea Low great barrow. The nearest chambered cairn to a henge is Ringham Low (which may have been a chambered long barrow-form or great barrow at this time), 2.75km from Arbor Low. Bole Hill is the next closest chambered mound to Arbor Low (and the nearest enlarged mound to a henge), 4.7km away. In the northern plateau, Bull Ring henge is five kilometres from Wind Low, its nearest chambered mound, and four kilometres from The Tong, the next nearest monument after its satellite barrow. These observations demonstrate the fact that chambered cairns are rather distant from henges, and that (with the possible exception of Ringham Low) great barrows are especially so. It is interesting to find this pattern in all areas of the plateau zone. Indeed, if we consider only *certain* great barrows, the distinction is even more marked: Bull Ring is more than seven kilometres from Tideslow; Arbor Low is eight kilometres from Minninglow/Stoney Low and from Pea Low.

It seems increasingly evident that at a local scale large mounds and henges are differentiated from one another, while at a regional scale they are located in comparable positions in the landscape. In later sections, I will consider these relations between great barrows and henges, and whether mounds might have been replaced by henges, because they were in conflict or if they simply played different roles within ceremonial complexes.

2. Inter-visibility

It seems likely that the enlargement of chambered mounds in this period would have increased their visual impact and made some of the patterns identified in Chapter 5 more striking. If, for example, we follow Barnatt in classifying both Ringham Low and Bole Hill as possible great barrows, their augmentation becomes explicable as an attempt to connect them by their physical similarity and possibly their shared inter-visibility with Arbor. This possibility also creates an interesting contrast in the distribution of chambered monuments

on one side of the Lathkill valley, and earthen long barrows on the other (see Figure 6.5). Indeed, it is possible that the visual linkages between Pea Low and both Long Low and Bostern were realised only with the development of the Pea Low site into the great barrow-sized mound seen today, dating their inter-visibility accordingly. Perhaps the Peak District's great barrows served as elevated platforms upon which some people stood (*cf.* similar comments large mounds; Barrett 1994a: 31 and Barber *et al.* 2010: 169). In this scenario, people gathered at Pea Low may have been the subjects of attention for people at Long Low and Stanhope, and/or coordinated movement took place between those monuments and Pea Low.

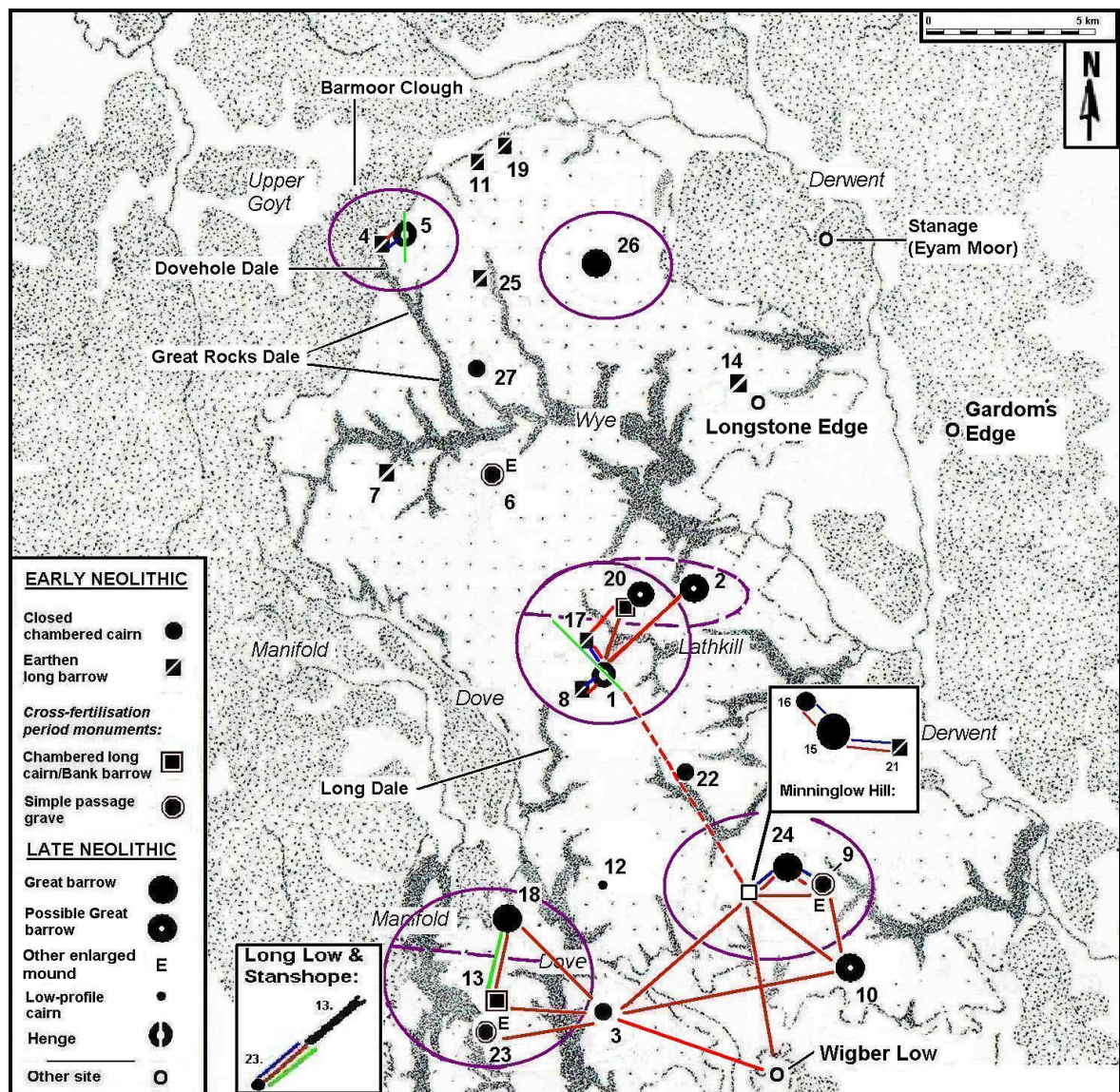


Figure 6.5. Map recording patterns of monument relationships in the Later Neolithic Peak District with respect to monument clusters (encircled in purple), landscape features and other sites. The coloured lines distinguish between patterns of 1) proximity (blue), 2) inter-visibility (red), and 3) alignment (green). The two inserts are not to scale. The map is adapted from Edmonds and Seaborne 2001.

Liffs Low is located c. 1.25 kilometres from the Dove but is not directly inter-visible with the gorge itself or the other sites around it. Instead, Liffs Low's viewshed is confined to the Biggin basin, the site being concealed from distant views to the west and the east by hilltops (see Figures 6.6 and 6.7). Moreover, although sky-lined when viewed from the north from up to two kilometres away, Liffs Low is invisible more than 200 metres to the south (Loveday and Barclay 2010: 111; field checked). It is interesting that it was the northern-end of the mound that was decorated with the 'stone fan' (Barnatt 1996c), since this overlooks the Biggin basin (Loveday and Barclay 2010: 111), and does not increase the mound's visibility from the direction of Coldeaton Dale and the Dove gorge to the south. This locational pattern contrasts with the settings of the superficially similar un-chambered and low-profile cairns at Longstone Edge and Wigber Low (see Figure 6.5), which are in prominent positions, and from which very wide and long-distance views were possible (see, for example, Wigber Low in Figure 5.13).



Figure 6.6. The landscape setting of Liffs Low. Above: the Biggin basin, viewed looking north from Liffs Low (in foreground). Below: Liffs Low (foreground, in front of wall) seen against The Liffs, looking in the direction of the Dove valley gorge (west). Photographs: RBW, November 2011.

Arbor Low is irregularly positioned between two earthen long barrows, Gib Hill and One Ash (Figure 6.5); Bull Ring's satellite earthen long barrow is only c. 20.0 metres away from the henge's banks (Barnatt 1988), and all are inter-visible with the exteriors of their respective henges (Watson 2000: 329). Gib Hill is in fact sky-lined from the north-end of

Arbor Low, and it is from the north of the henge that the sites of One Ash and Ringham Low are also inter-visible (Field observation). Interestingly, although the causeways of both henges could have been positioned in order to incorporate views and alignments with the barrows from their interiors, the henge banks obscure these potential lines of sight in all cases (for Gib Hill, see Watson 2000: 340; Bull Ring barrow, One Ash and Ringham Low, confirmed by my field observations). Indeed, as Watson (2000: 329) notes, with the exception of views out of the northern causeway, the interior space of Arbor Low ‘creates a very strong impression of being isolated under the sky’. I explore the significance of this factor for both henges below.

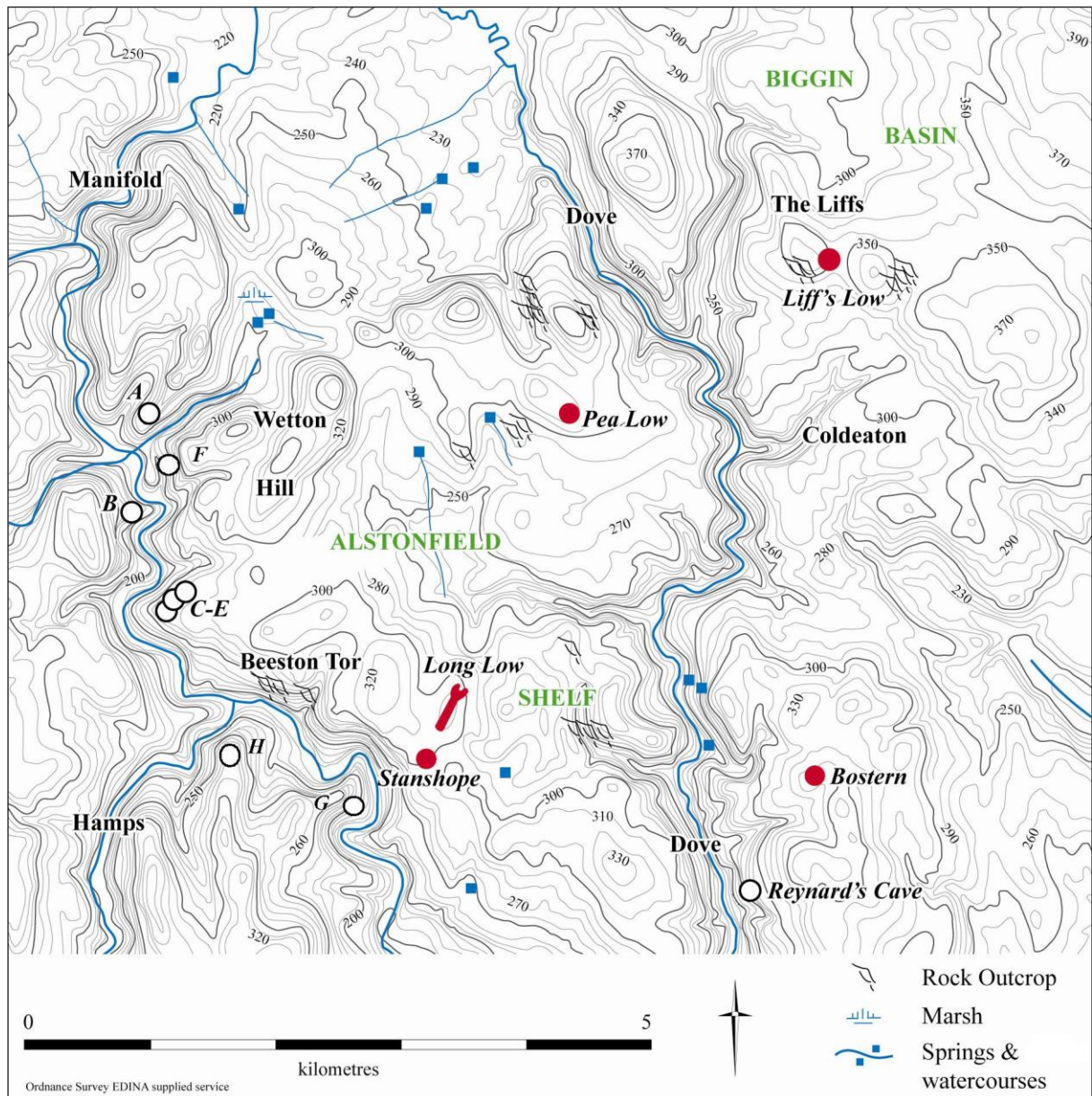


Figure 6.7. 1:50,000 scale map of the Neolithic monuments and other sites of the south-western plateau. The map shows four chambered sites (Bostern, a closed chambered cairn, Stanshope, an enlarged mound, Long Low bank barrow, and Pea Low great barrow). Liff's Low, Reynard's Cave and eight further caves and rock shelters also are identified (see Figure 5.11, for full details). Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

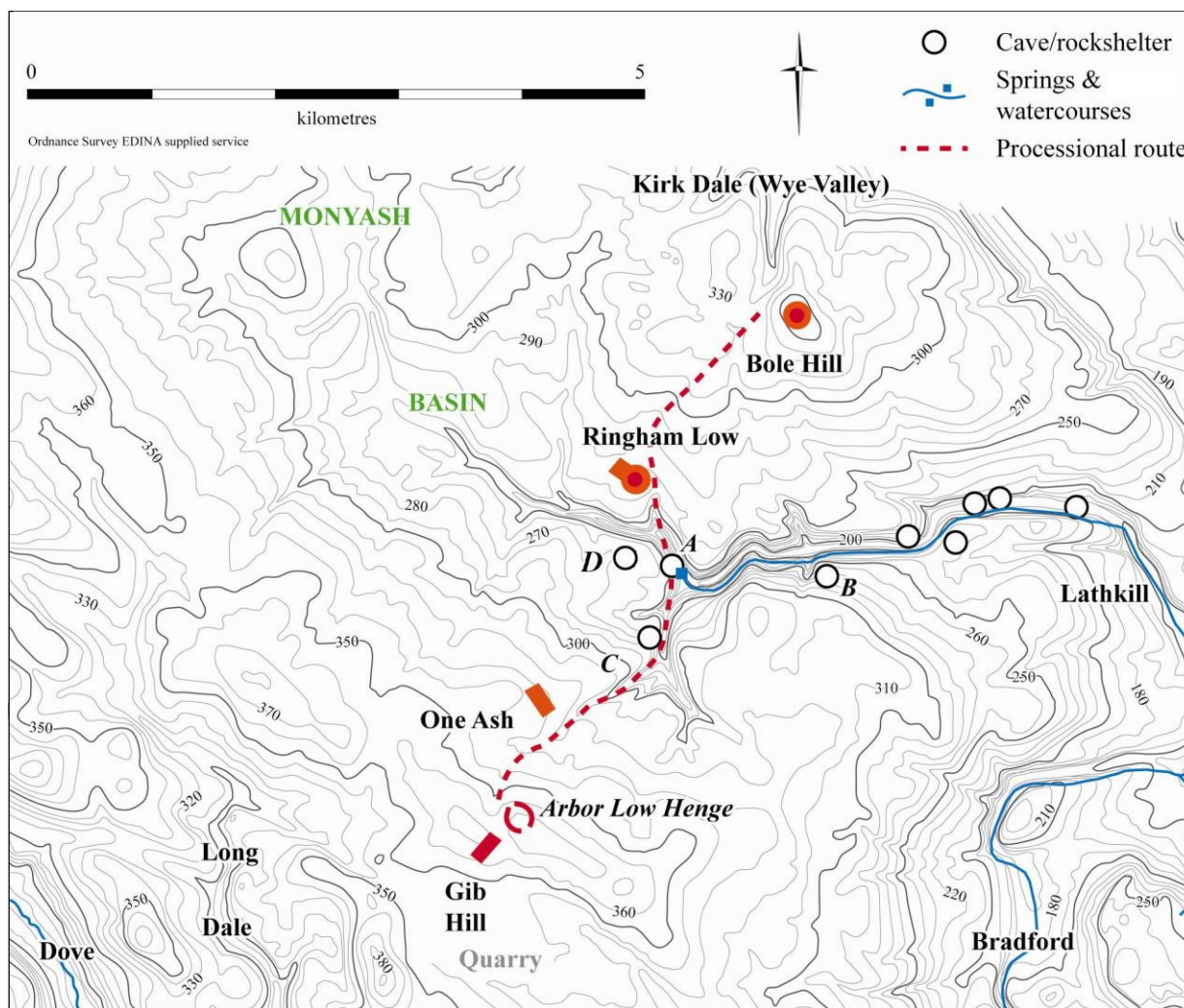


Figure 6.8. 1:50,000 scale map of the Lathkill Valley and surrounding area in the Later Neolithic period with the processional route interpreted in Chapter 5 shown. The map shows certain (black) and possible (grey) examples of closed chambered cairns (small circles), long barrow-forms (rectangles), and great barrows (large circles). Also identified are: Arbor Low henge, Long Dale, Lathkill Head Cave (A), Calling Low Dale Cave (B), Cales Dale (C) and One Ash shelter (D). Base map source: Edina digimap (Roam).

It is Arbor Low's edge-of-hilltop position that makes monument inter-visibility (from the exterior) possible with the sites of all four monuments around the Lathkill valley (Figure 6.6), and it may be significant that these are all visible from the north-end of the enclosure, near its causeway. Moreover, these visual connections are new, since formerly only One Ash and Ringham Low were connected in this way (*cf.* Figures 5.8 and 6.5). Together, these connections between the henge and its immediate cultural environment brings to mind once again the possible processional route I identified in Chapter 5 (see Figure 6.8), for the following reasons: 1) the viewshed possible from the area outside of Arbor Low's northern causeway takes in much of the proposed route of that procession (see Figure 4.1, which depicts Cales Dale, the Lathkill gorge and the ridge beyond that includes Bole Hill); 2) if Gib Hill was the route's destination, then the area around Arbor Low would have been on the south-west horizon upon exiting Cales Dale (*i.e.* towards the sunset), in which case; 3) Arbor Low's northern-end would be arrived at *before* Gib Hill, perhaps indicating that the northern causeway was arranged so as to intercede in this existing axis of movement; finally, 4) the

henge's involvement in local ritual practices may hint at the possible character of the rites undertaken within the henges. I explore this in later sections.

3. Alignment

My analysis in Chapter 5 identified few alignments between sites, monuments and particular topographic features, and or with respect to astronomical phenomena. In the Later Neolithic period even these appear to end, with the blocking of passages and the filling-in of façades and forecourts. An exception is the possible alignment between Stanhope, Long Low and Pea Low, which would have continued since the bank barrow's outer form is the medium for connection between sites (see Figure 6.5, inset). On the whole, there are no additional monument-to-monument alignments in this period: Liffs Low seems not to have alignments of any kind and, as mentioned above, neither henge's architecture has a physical alignment with its satellite mound.

Topography and henges

The axes generated by the two henges' opposed causeways are, however, very interesting when compared to their topographic settings. At Arbor Low, the north north-west/south south-east axis created by the monument's opposed causeways seems to align in the rough direction of the uplands that lie in between the Dove valley and Long Dale to the west, and the Lathkill valley and Monyash basin TCZ, to the east (see Figures 6.5 and 6.8). In Chapter 4, I suggested that this upland 'ridgeway', which leads in a north-westerly direction to the fringes of the Wye valley near Five Wells and south in the direction of Minninglow Hill, may have been a significant topographic feature for orientation and movement in the central plateau zone (see also Figure 4.3).

Bull Ring is also positioned in a location that may have had significance for long distance movement. The valley is not particularly wide and the henge is located about half-way between Barmoor Clough and the Great Rocks Dale (see Figures 6.4 and 6.5). Barnatt (1988: 5) described the first of these as 'the only major break in the western upland ... allowing easy access to the Cheshire plain'. The second is a deep gorge that, despite heavy quarrying, runs almost due south for more than five kilometres from the vicinity of Bull Ring to the Wye valley gorge. Interestingly, the north/south axis created by the henge's causeways appears to be in broad alignment with the resulting elongated valley-form from Barmoor Clough to Doveholes Dale. An ordnance survey map clarifies this area's geography, and shows that before major quarry damage Bull Ring henge was situated in the narrowest part of the valley, which subsequently opened out to the south on to Doveholes Dale (Figure 6.9).

This feature once ran directly into Great Rocks Dale (*cf.* Figure 6.5; see also *ibid.*). Moreover, the henge's banks seem to me to 'reproduce' the close-set flanking hills, one of which can be seen on the right (east) in Figure 6.10 (the other hillside is partially obscured by the trees on the left but can be appreciated in Figure 6.9). I disagree with Watson (2000: 342), who emphasises the 'encircling' aspects of the hills at Bull Ring, missing the fact of their comparative nearness to the east and west of the henge. I suggest instead that the henge's architecture and its positioning in the landscape *formalised* a north/south course between Barmoor Clough and Doveholes Dale/Great Rocks Dale that might have passed *through* the henge's interior.

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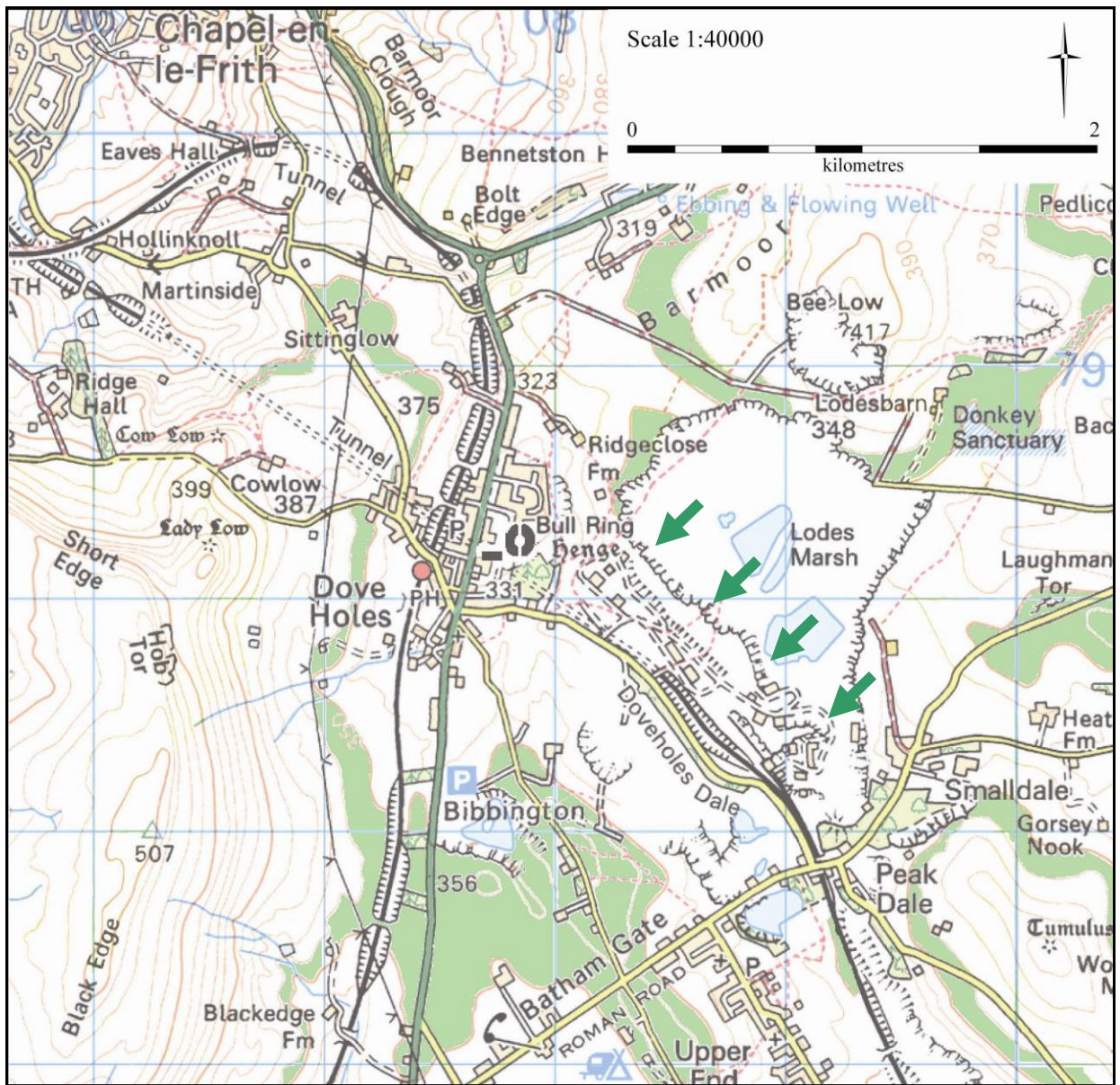


Figure 6.9. Ordnance survey map with the 350-360m contours highlighted in green. The green arrows to the right of the henge trace the continuation of this contour where it has been destroyed by quarrying. Bull Ring henge and satellite long barrow (centre, slightly larger than life-sized), Barmoor Clough (top), Black Edge (bottom left) and Doveholes Dale (below green arrows) are identified.



Figure 6.10. Bull Ring looking towards the south causeway from mid-way between the henge and the satellite barrow. Photomontage, RBW: July 2008.

Astronomy

Barnatt (1978: 81-90) records a number of astronomical observations based around the two henges' satellite barrows and significant stones in Arbor Low's circle. The vantage points are the centres of the henges (at Arbor Low the inner face of stone 53 of the cove; Barnatt 1978: 87). I find these observations convincing. It seems especially clear to me that at Arbor Low these alignments reference the basic seasonal movements of the sun (see Figure 6.11):

1. Midsummer sunrise, as viewed from the centre, can be observed behind stone 6, one of the largest stones in the circle (Barnatt 1978: 83-4). In this general direction lie the Lathkill valley and the processional route shown in Figure 6.8.

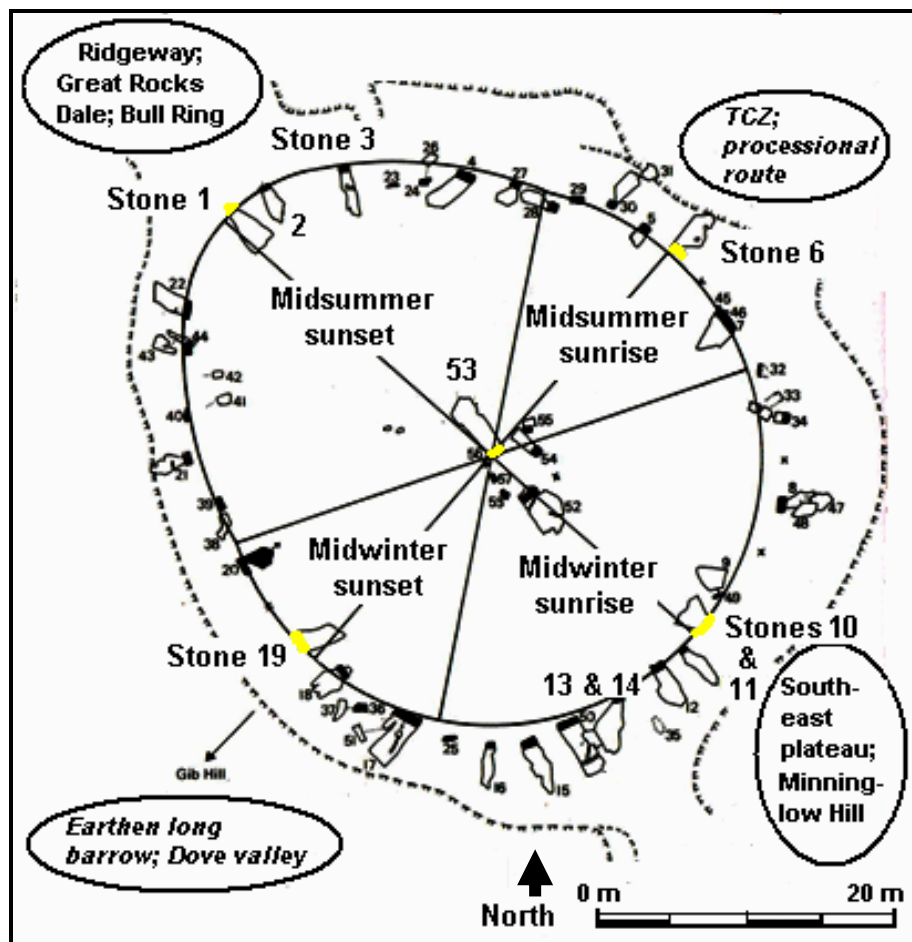


Figure 6.11. The internal space, ditch-edge (broken lines), solstice stones (yellow), circle and cove at Arbor Low. The plan records four astronomical alignments, some of the wider landscape features that can be linked to these directions (circled), and highlights (in black) stones mentioned in the text. Adapted from Barnatt 1978: Fig. 17, with new scale bar and north arrow.

2. Midsummer sunset can be observed through the northern causeway, behind stone 1. In this direction is the Wye valley gorge, Great Rocks Dale and Dove Holes parish (see Figure 6.5). According to Barnatt (1978: 84), the location of Bull Ring (invisible, of course) is also captured by this causeway.

3. Midwinter sunrise is not visible through the southern causeway, but can be seen between stones 10 and 11 (*ibid.*). This alignment, and the southern causeway more generally, point in the direction of Minninglow Hill (which is visible from the hilltop just beyond the southern causeway; see Figure 6.5).
4. The Midwinter sun sets behind stone 19, the approximate direction of Gib Hill long barrow. At Bull Ring, it is also noticeable that the centre of the possible long barrow is directly below the setting point of the Midwinter sun (the horizon being Black Edge), when viewed from the centre of the henge (Barnatt 1978: 90).

6.1.3 Summary

How did the distributions and settings of individual sites and aggregates of monuments reflect the relationships between monuments, social cores, social practices and movement in this period? My analysis has revealed relationships common to large funerary barrows and henges (i.e. social distance, elevated hill top/ridge top settings), suggesting comparable social-spatial practices. The mounds also seem to have a common exclusive distribution from the henges, which are instead close to un-chambered earthen long barrows. Henges do not occur in the south where earthen long barrows are few, which may reflect a north/south, un-chambered/chambered distinction, with henges as a northern-focussed phenomenon. Nevertheless, henge architecture would seem to share some architectural points with passage graves, and henges and Cross-fertilisation structures were central in the development of the region's monument clusters. In the first instance, the architecture and settings of Bull Ring and especially Arbor Low isolate the subject from the world outside and channel movement in a manner reminiscent of the stone settings of passage graves (albeit on a massive scale). Cross-fertilisation architecture and henges can therefore be interpreted as sites that made references to the wider cultural landscape, movement (and perhaps procession) through it, and incorporated astronomical observations into their very structure (passages and forecourts and causeways and stones, respectively). In the second instance, Cross-fertilisation sites were central to the developments of at least two southern-plateau clusters (Long Low and Minninglow Hill), and, as we have seen, the henges create two further clusters, whilst at the same time sharing with the large funerary mounds similar spatial settings in the landscape (see Figure 6.5).

However, by enlarging barrow monuments in this period the relationship between the inner stone settings of the mounds and the wider landscape was effaced, as were those places where people's gathering had previously been organised. Of course, this is not to say that the enlarged mounds were totally disconnected from the wider landscape and people's

movement through it, or that no-one could now gather at the ever-larger mounds that were created. Indeed, they would seem to have increased in size and visibility in the period. Yet fundamental changes would seem to be reflected in the new architectural forms and mortuary practices (Barnatt 1996b). In the next section, I examine the large funerary mounds to consider to what extent they might have shared common symbolic principles with henges.

6.2 REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE

6.2.1 The enlargement of chambered mounds

Useful perspectives on developments in monumental architecture and mortuary practices are provided by Bradley (1998) and Edmonds and Seaborne (2001). Bradley (1998: 101) identifies ‘a circular archetype’ as the basis of a third millennium BC world-view, recognisable across the British Isles in rock art and architecture. He suggests that its origins were in Orkney and the Irish Sea zone with a shift from building tombs to creating circular enclosures, which ‘was set in motion by the audience attracted to such sites’ (Bradley 1998: 132). This interpretation has major implications for the Peak District because all of the monuments built or remodelled in the Later Neolithic period were circular or near-circular, and there are also examples of cup and ring rock art (Barnatt 1996b). According to Edmonds and Seaborne (2001: 77), mortuary activity in the third millennium BC Peak District can be interpreted as establishing a ‘growing distance between the living and the remains of those long dead’, which they suggest is a trend also recognisable on a national scale. I have already introduced a version of this idea in connection to the distribution and form of Cross-fertilisation monuments, which seemed to *intensify* the social distance of funerary space from social cores at both landscape- and site-scales (Chapter 5). What is significant about Edmonds’ and Seaborne’s proposal is that, like Bradley’s circular archetype, this ‘growing distance’ may indicate the beginnings of a break, or indeed an absolute departure from earlier traditions of mortuary practice and ritual activity. In the following section, I explore the applicability of these two perspectives to the Peak District data set and speculate on their possible status as among the Later Neolithic period’s *material symbols*.

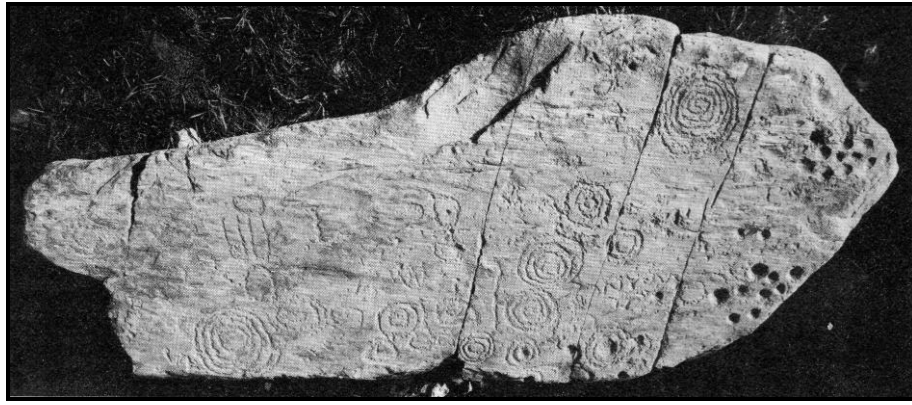


Figure 6.12. An example of rock art at Newgrange passage grave, Boyne Valley, Ireland (Back of kerbstone 13). Source: O’Kelly 1981, ill. 11.

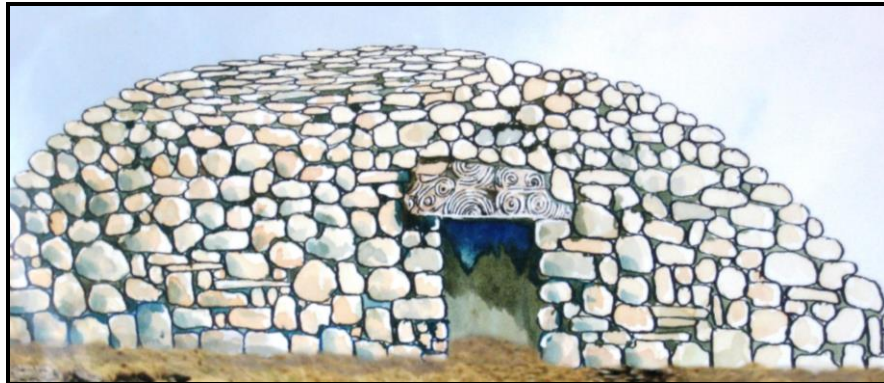


Figure 6.13. An interpretation of the position of the carved stone found at the site of Pierowall passage grave. Source: Pierowall Museum, Westray, Orkney. Photograph RBW, July 2011.

The circular archetype and social distance in the Peak District

In presenting the idea of a circular world-view in the Later Neolithic period, Bradley (1998: Chapter 7) points to two phenomena that potentially link such a development to the Peak District. The first are the circular motifs of Irish and Orcadian rock art seen at passage grave sites (his examples include Knowth and Newgrange, and Maes Howe and Pierowall, respectively; see Figures 6.12 and 6.13). The second are subsequent developments in the vicinity of passage graves and other mounds such as the construction of circular platforms (seen in both Orkney examples), additional encircling banks, ditches or walls (the latter are also present at Maes Howe; see Bradley 1998: Figure 36), and stone circle and henge at Newgrange. Other examples nationally include the proximity of Conquer Barrow to Mount Pleasant henge (Dorset) and Hatfield great barrow (Wiltshire) within Marden henge (see Barber *et al.* 2010), Round Hill, the large mound within the crop mark of a class 2 henge in the Middle Trent valley (south Derbyshire; Loveday 2004), and the ditch encircling Duggleby Howe (Gibson 2008).



Figure 6.14. The rock art of the Peak District. Left: the portal stone at Stanage, Eyam Moor. Right: the rock art at Gardom's Edge, East Moor. RBW, July 2010 and Spring 2008, respectively.

Circular art

Rock art and passage grave architecture are not found together in the Peak District and, on the face of it, the area appears unconvincing as a place where a circular archetype was prominent. In fact, no rock art has been found on the central plateau where the monuments are, while limestone is thought to be an unsuitable surface for carved art (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 142). Instead, the known examples are located at two sites on the neighbouring gritstone moors, at Stanage and Gardom's Edge (see Figures 6.5 and 6.14). Clearly, these are not the kinds of Middle Neolithic circular sites Bradley (1998: Chapter 7) has in mind, and the art work is comprised of comparatively simple designs when compared to some of the examples he cites (see my Figure 6.14). Moreover, circular elaborations (platforms, etc.) have not been identified at any of the Peak District's passage graves and, like the other chambered monuments in the Peak, passage graves do not occur in proximity to henges or stone circles, as they do at Newgrange and Maes Howe.

That said, a circular theme *is* common to the Peak designs, and similarities can be seen in motifs at Newgrange (*cf.* Figure 6.12 and 6.14). All three surfaces feature round pecked cup-like indentations, and at Gardom's Edge individual cups are encircled by concentric rings, as at Newgrange. Moreover, the contexts of the Peak art are not totally dissimilar to Bradley's examples, where the art is often positioned prominently at the entrances to the tombs or their perimeters. The Stanage stone is positioned at the portal of a small circular structure (an early Bronze Age ring cairn/cairn circle; see Barnatt 1996e), but since it is not earth-fast it might have been decorated earlier and simply added here. At Gardom's Edge too, the carvings are close to the bank of the enclosure, which is possibly Later Neolithic (Barnatt *et al.* 2001). Additionally, excavation of the enclosure's perimeter revealed at least one

paved and well-defined entrance, and sections of decorated wall-façade (*ibid.*). Perhaps rock art in the plateau-zone has become lost or was originally painted (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001: 145). Bradley's circular archetype can, therefore, perhaps be glimpsed in the Peak District, though its impact would seem to be limited in comparison with monuments and landscapes elsewhere.

Circular architecture

The case for the popularity of circular architecture is rather more easily made, despite the imprecise chronologies of some sites (see Chapter 3). As can be seen in Table 6.3, the elaboration of Five Wells from a simple passage grave to a Later Neolithic period enlarged mound involved a greater than two-fold increase in the original monument's area, making an overall increase in area of 215.3 m² (see columns C and D). It is surely significant that this remodelling carefully reproduced the basic circular form of the original monument. Whilst most of the remodelled sites of this period were also probably originally circular structures, I find it especially noteworthy that some did not begin this period as circular. Minninglow A and perhaps also Ringham Low were chambered long barrow-forms when remodelled, and the cairn that was enlarged at Green Low was originally D-shaped, rather than truly circular (see Figure 5.25).

At Minninglow A, the chambered long cairn was encompassed in a mound that I estimate to have covered 1710.0m²; that is, between 1.4 and 1.9 times its former area (see Table 6.3). The result was an oval mound but Marsden (1982) makes clear that an enormous effort had been directed to the northern and southern flanks of the long cairn in order to make the result appear circular. The resulting c. 2.0 metre-high mound (estimated by Barnatt 1996b: 88) would have required more than 3420 m³ of material to remodel. Assuming that Ringham Low was a long cairn of a similar size to Minninglow A (as might be inferred by the sites' similar stone settings and final dimensions), enlargement as a great barrow would have involved a two-fold increase in area, comprising perhaps 2500m³ of earth and stone. At Green Low, the enlargement consisted only of filling in the forecourt, recorded by Manby (1965: 6-7) as 27.5 x 8.0 feet (that is, 20.2m²). This would have been a far less arduous task than the previous two examples, but arguably did more than was functionally necessary to deny access, since the cairn's entrance was only c. 0.6m wide. Rather, the end product of filling in this area with approximately 40.0m³ of earth and stone was a near-circular mound that hid all sign of the monument's previous form.

A. SITE DETAILS:	B. INTERPRETATION OF THE ARCHITECTURAL PROCESS	C. DIMENSIONS OF PHASES (Metres squared, actual or estimated):	D. ENLARGEMENT (actual or estimated):	
			By area (Metres squared)	By percentage (of original size)
6. Five Wells I. Simple passage grave II. Later Neolithic enlarged mound	An enlarged Earlier Neolithic simple passage grave (Barnatt 1996b)	182.2m ² 397.5m ²	215.3m ²	220%
9. Green Low I. Wedge-shaped, simple passage grave with forecourt 20.2 m ² II. Circular cairn	Phase I forecourt filled in to create a near-circular mound (Manby 1965)	277.3m ² 297.5m ²	20.2m ²	107%
15. Minninglow A I. Chambered long barrow-form II. Great barrow	Chambered Long barrow enlarged into a Great Barrow (Marsden 1982)	525 m ² -800m ² (Average: 662.5m ²) 1710m ²	910.0m ² - 1185.0m ² (Average: 1047.5m ²)	144%-188%
18. Pea Low (unexcavated great barrow with possible closed chambered cairn aspect)	Closed chambered cairn to great barrow	1355.0m ²	922.3m ²	300%
20. Ringham Low (possible ruined great barrow with closed chambered cairn and possible chambered long barrow aspects)	i) Closed chambered cairn to great barrow, or	1248.1m ²	815.4m ²	288%
	ii) Chambered long barrow to great barrow		585.6m ²	213%
24. Stoney Low (ruined great barrow with closed chambered cairn and possible passage grave aspects)	i) Closed chambered cairn to great barrow, or	1319.6m ²	886.9m ²	300%
	ii) Simple passage grave to great barrow		1055.1m ²	500%
26. Tideslow (ruined great barrow with closed chambered cairn aspect)	Closed chambered cairn to great barrow	1000.0m ²	567.2m ²	230%
The table above outlines the increases in area that accompanied the different processes of funerary mound enlargements in the Later Neolithic period. Above the double line, are recorded the increases to the size of the original monument by area and percentage (column D) based on known phases (columns A-B) and dimensions (column C). Below the double line, Columns A and B are estimated, since only the final dimensions are known for certain (column C). Here, column D is based on the use of the average dimensions for each monument type, as worked out in Tables 3.2 and 3.3, and in the case of Ringham Low, by taking the average of Minninglow's chambered cairn phase.				

Table 6.3. The actual and estimated extents of the enlargements projects at seven Later Neolithic period mounds.

In most examples we can only estimate the volume of material used. However, something of the impact of this period's enlargement projects can be appreciated by looking at the figures in the lower section of Table 6.3. Using the average dimensions for each monument class worked out in Chapter 3, I have calculated the likely increases in area corresponding to the range of possible architectural processes at four great barrow sites.

The table shows that their areas may have been increased by between two and five times to reach their final dimensions. The increases in size and volume of the sites discussed here were so great that one cannot claim that the existing monuments were merely ‘capped’, blocked-up or ‘decorated’ in this period. Whether originally circular or elongated, these structures were transformed using massive amounts of earth, stone and turf, creating much-enlarged monuments. The point I want to make here is that a circular or near-circular mound always resulted from this architectural process, which implies a strong commitment to this particular design. It is on this basis that I believe we can consider the Peak District’s great barrows and enlarged mounds as reflecting Bradley’s circular archetype.

Mortuary remains and social distance

Evidence relating to the Later Neolithic period’s mortuary data is limited by a lack of radiocarbon dates. However, the trend of increasing distance between the living and the ‘long dead’ that Edmonds and Seaborne identify (2001: 77) can be recognised through two patterns in the evidence. Firstly, as I have just related, the enlargement of Cross-fertilisation monuments removed the living’s access to the already-ancient passages and chambers, which marks a fundamental change in the character of monument design. Based on excavation evidence, we can be certain that this was the case at Five Wells and Green Low, but the general pattern can be inferred for at least two great barrows (Harborough Rocks and Stoney Low), and also at Ringham Low and Minninglow A, where forecourts may previously have existed (see Chapter 3). The continued access to one or more of Minninglow A’s chambers proves that enlargement as a great barrow need not have blocked access to chambers. However, with this exception, passages and forecourts were buried deep within the mounds of this period.

The second pattern is the covering-over of original mounds were comprehensively encompassed within new material. Such was the size of the enlargements that the mortuary activity associated with, and subsequent to the enlargements often did not damage the original monument. At Green Low, Five Wells and possibly Stanshope, the remodelling process swallowed up the substantial passages, façades and forecourt areas completely (see Barnatt 1996b: 87), and also at Five Wells, two features found within the second phase mound (a cist and an inhumation) made no structural modification or damage to the original mound. This can also be seen in an example of the contemporary enlargement of a closed chambered cairn. At Tideslow, excavation at the edge of the great barrow revealed a collection of disarticulated bones behind a probable section of stone kerb, and a ‘grave’ containing articulated ribs and vertebrae slightly beyond it (Radley and Plant 1971; see my Figure 5.22). The former can be interpreted as being either a final deposit in the original mound or one associated with the

commencement of the enlargement; perhaps these were concurrent events. In contrast, the grave represents activity that was subsequent to the enlargement. I agree with Edmonds and Seaborne (2001) that the significance of this grave, and of the pit and cist at Five Wells, is the increase in social distance that is evident in the physical form that accompanied this rupture between the two monuments in this period. What is particularly interesting is the way in which the period's circular architecture and mortuary practices are entwined.

Summary: new ceremonial landscapes?

My analysis in the previous paragraphs supports the view that the remodelling projects undertaken in the Later Neolithic Peak District involved the parallel development of a circular world-view (Bradley 1998) and an increasing physical distance between the 'old dead' and the limited mortuary practices associated with the enlarged material (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). The rock art and enlarged monumental circles were not only the most prominent symbols of the age, but in the case of the latter they were also the means by which a physical separation between the old and the new was effected and exhibited. I propose that this common set of material-symbolic references supports the view that the clusters of large funerary mounds are in fact ceremonial complexes. Like the mounds discussed above, Liffs Low was also the physical means by which the separation and display of the grave and contents was represented by the living. Indeed, the cairn was originally circular or oval-shaped and rather large in plan (c. 320.0m²; Barnatt 1996c), making it comparable in size to some of this period's round cairns (e.g. Green Low, phase II; Table 6.3). Having said that, the site's architecture is in all other ways totally different from the processes seen at the large funerary mounds. Liffs Low did not begin life as a chambered mound, and its later phases do not amount to remodelling so much as decoration and secondary deposits into the original structure (Barnatt 1996c). The site's uniqueness once again means that its relationship to the possible material symbols that I have interpreted in the Peak District's ceremonial landscapes is difficult to pursue.

6.2.2 The Henges

My analysis so far shows that the architecture and settings of the two Peak henges produced a high degree of isolation of the 'ritual subject' (the one who enters the henge) from the outside world by severely limiting or confining his/her views and some of the possible paths of movement. At the same time, my analysis in Section 6.1 suggests that aspects of the cultural landscape were 'given back' to the ritual subject through the patterns of distribution, setting and proximity and alignment that I have identified. In this section I examine how these patterns might act to *reconnect* the subject with the cultural world in a deliberately

structured manner. I investigate this structure by examining the physical ordering and experience of henge space and the two henges' immediate landscape settings.

Henge architecture

The Banks and ditches

Overall the banks and ditches at Arbor Low and Bull Ring are roughly circular and of similar diameters, both having their banks on the outside and having two opposed causeways (Chapter 3). However, their 1903 and 1950 excavation reports note that at each henge the bank's arcs were constructed differently (cited by Watson 2000: 337 and 342). At Arbor Low, Gray (1903: 477-8) discovered that the eastern perimeter was made up of large stone blocks of up to 1.22 metres in length, set in a wall-like arrangement, whereas to the west the bank was made up of distinct layers of earth, clay and turf. At Bull Ring, Alcock (1950: 85) found that the bank to the south-east was primarily made of clay and that the south-west perimeter consisted of large limestone blocks. These differences may reflect no more than the make up of the ditches at both sites, but it is also entirely possible that the bank material underwent intermediate stages of sorting, categorising etc., before being used to construct the banks (Watson 2000: 337). Indeed, at Bull Ring the two flanking hills themselves are comprised of different material – limestone to the east and gritstone and shale to the west – and it is possible that these may have been represented by the differing compositions of the banks. Whatever the truth of the matter, the basic point still stands: the *form* of both henges may have appeared asymmetrical from their very beginnings (see also comments by Watson 2000: 337 and 342).

Another asymmetrical pattern can be seen at Arbor Low, where there is a noticeable 'bulge' to the eastern bank's curve (see Figure 6.15). This may have had two possible effects on the perception and ordering of the internal space of the henge. The first was to create a slightly more spacious area in the eastern part of the enclosure. The second was to make the curve of the bank, ditch and stone circle on the west and south-west perimeter somewhat 'flatter' by comparison. This is particularly evident when the axis between the henge's causeways and the layout of the stone circle and cove are taken into consideration.

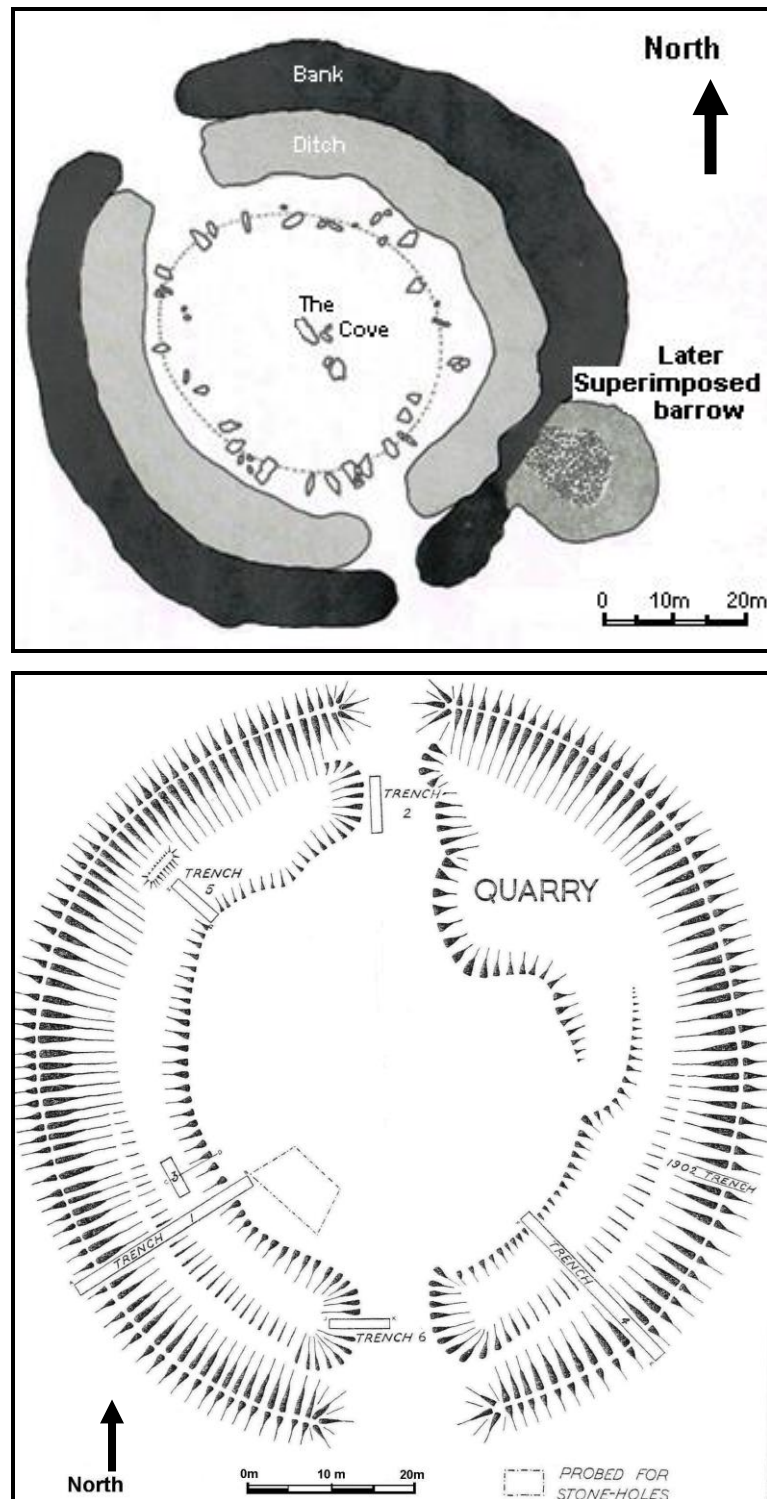


Figure 6.15. Symmetry and asymmetry in the Peak District's henges: Top: plan of Arbor Low. Source: Burl 1976, Fig. 47.a, with additions. Bottom: plan of Bull Ring. Source: Alcock 1950, Fig. 1, with additions.

Entrances and causeways

Chapter 3 established that the causeways at both henges were constructed so as to be regular in size were rock-cut, and corresponded in width and position to the bank terminals. However, excavation and survey suggest that these points of entry and exit were differentiated from each other by other means. Most obvious is the fact that the stones nearest the causeways at Arbor Low may have been selected for their height and width both to give a greater visual

impact, and perhaps to obscure intentionally views within and without (Barnatt 1990; Burl 1976; Watson 2000).

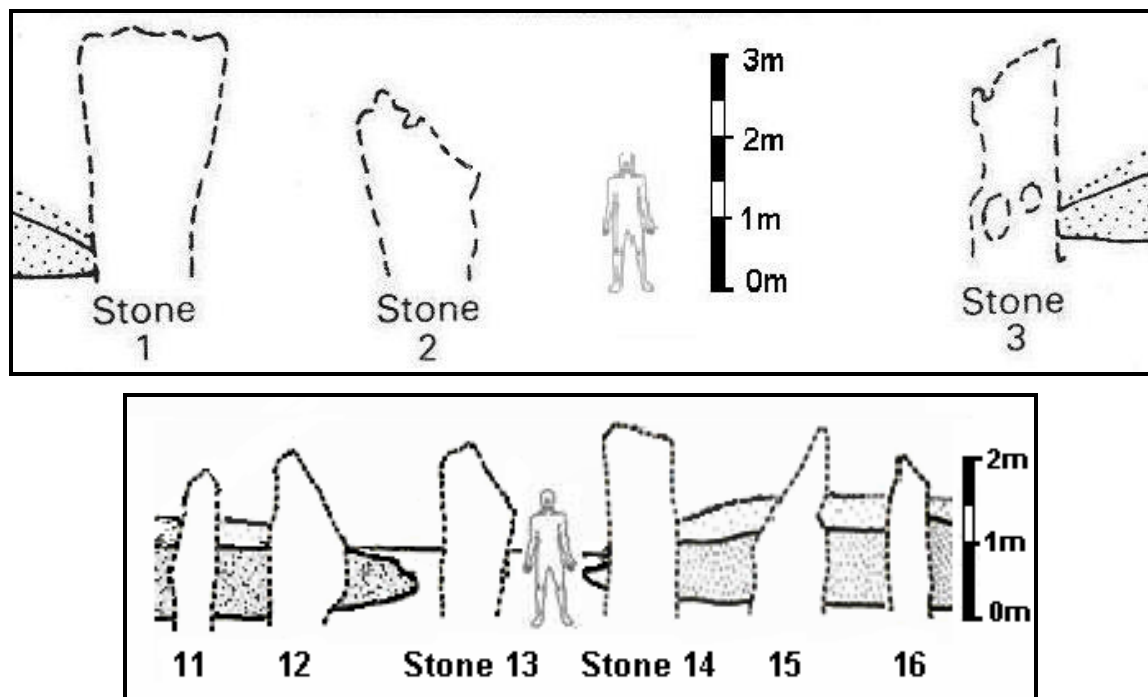


Figure 6.16. A reconstruction of the stones within the northern (top) and southern (bottom) causeways, viewed from inside the circle. The stones are shown at the same scale (1 cm = 1 metre); the figures represent a 1.7m (5', 7") person. Source: details from Barnatt 1978, Figs. 18 and 21-22, respectively, with additions.

However, the two sets of stones at the causeways differ noticeably. At the southern causeway the stones are closely set, regularly spaced and flanked by a symmetrical arrangement of stones (11-12 and 15-16; see Figure 6.16). When combined with the bank and ditch terminals, an entrance/exit is readily defined between stones 13 and 14. At the northern causeway, fewer stones are used and they are unevenly spaced: three 'entrance stones' are positioned within the causeway, with two (stones 1 and 2) being paired to the west. There are further differences between the two sets of entrance stones. Stones 1 and 3 may have stood taller than all those at the south (closer to c. 3.0m rather than c. 2.5m; Figure 6.16) and are respectively distinctive for being particularly broad and flat-topped, and for being perforated by natural holes. The large and uneven spaces between the northern stones also contrast with the southern examples, indicating that either a stone is missing between stones 2 and 3, or that a double-width entrance lay at the north, with stone 2 dividing this into two openings of unequal size. The narrower opening may have encouraged people to pass in small numbers, as seems likely of the southern stones, where single-file may have been appropriate. That said, the estimated space between stones 1 and 2 was still wider than that between 13 and 14. There were also similarities in the two sets of stones: 1) the paired entrance stones at both causeways (stones 1 & 2 and 13 & 14) are each of different heights, with the smallest always on the eastern side; 2) the inward-sloping tops of stones 2 and 3 at the north echo those of

12 and 15, which flank the paired entrance stones at the southern causeway, and in each case the stones are c. 7.0 metres apart; and 3) the majority of the stones have their smoothest sides facing outwards, which is unusual for stone circles (Barnatt 1990: 35).

At Bull Ring, both Alcock (1950) and Barnatt (1988: 5) point to a berm between bank and ditch of up to 1.5-1.8 metres wide, located on either side of the southern causeway. This modest feature is also perceptible on the ground (field checked, July 2008). No such space exists at Arbor Low or at the northern causeway of Bull Ring (Figure 6.15). Alcock (1950: 83) noted that the ditch's profile (at his Trench 1) was sharply defined at the top where the berm is, which may support its interpretation as an intentional feature. It is therefore possible that this area of the henge was distinguished from the rest, either by the increased emphasis that it would give to the sensation of using the slightly wider causeway (admittedly rather a small gesture), or by something that happened *at*, or was situated *on* the berm itself. The berm is a suitable width for a row of people to stand upon, for example, providing an unrivalled position for the observation of the central space and northern causeway.

The stone circle and cove at Arbor Low

Whilst the chronology of the cove and the circle with respect to the rest of the site is uncertain, three points can be made about their relationships to the earthworks. Firstly, the Midsummer sunset solstice alignment combines aspects of both the stones and earthworks. As mentioned earlier, this alignment is viewed by looking from the cove to the apex of the egg-shaped circle at stone 1, an alignment that is also captured by the causeway itself. On this basis, I think that Barnatt (1978: 83) may be right in saying that Arbor Low's 'whole construction was designed round the Midsummer sunset'. Such a foundational principle is important for my interpretation of the experience of henge space because of the way in which the earthworks and stones sometimes complement and sometimes contrast with one another. This in turn may indicate continuities or changes between the earthwork phase and the potentially later stone settings. For example, in contrast to the situation at the northern-end, the southern causeway does not encompass the Midwinter sunrise; it is only by means of the stones that this alignment was represented at the henge (assuming that no other means, for example timber posts, were employed to do the job).

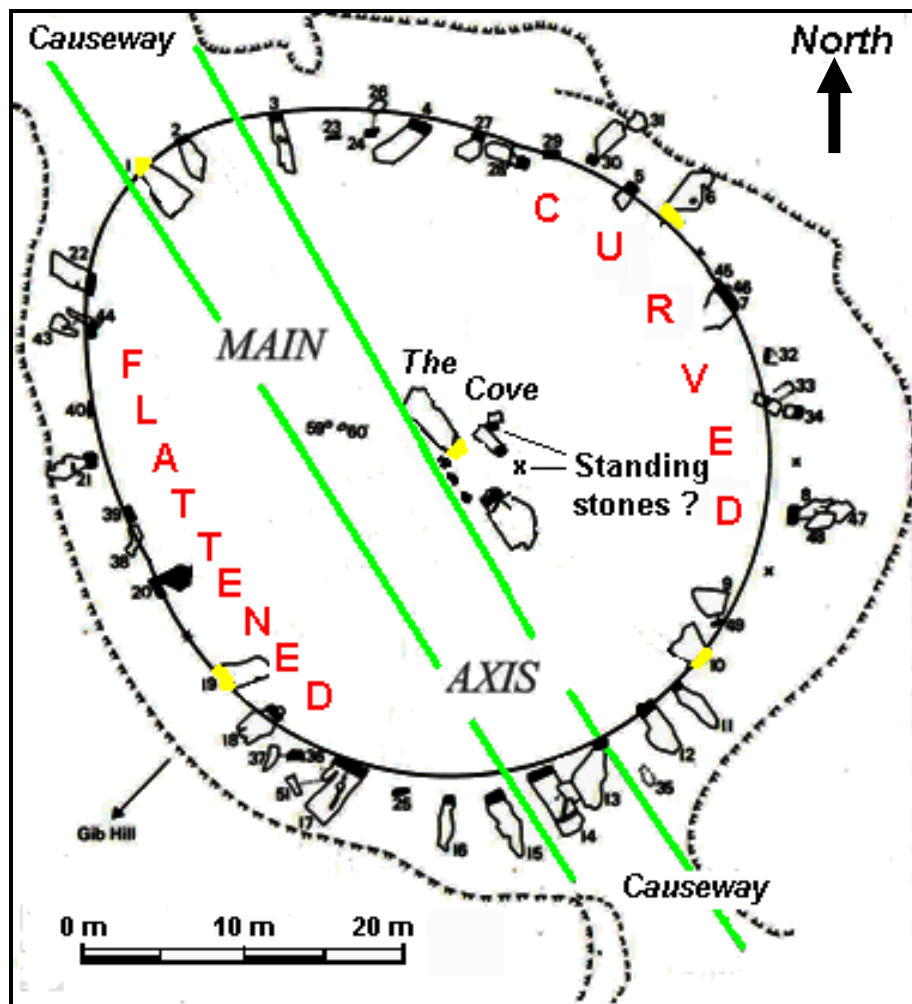


Figure 6.17. The internal features at Arbor Low. The plan shows the axis between the causeways and 'entrance stones' and identifies architectural features discussed in the text. Source: adapted from Barnatt 1978: Fig. 17, with new scale bar and north arrow.

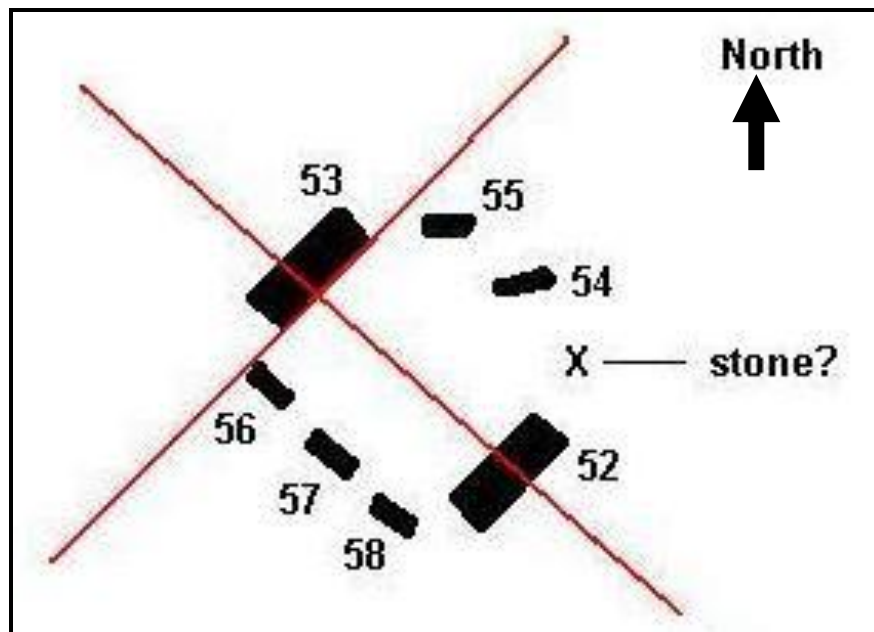


Figure 6.18. A speculative reconstruction plan of the cove at Arbor Low with seven standing stones showing how the four solar alignments intersect at Stones 52 and 53. The sketch is based on descriptions and plans published in Barnatt 1978 and 1989 and Burl 1976; not to scale.

The second relationship is an example of complementariness between the layouts of the earthwork and stones. As we have seen, the shape of the henge banks at Arbor Low appeared somewhat different along each perimeter. The circle seems to reflect this: it is once again the western perimeter that is noticeably flattened, and the eastern that is curved. This impression is increased by the asymmetry created by the site's main axis, as defined by the alignment of the causeways, which unequally divides the interior of the henge (see Figure 6.17). The following may be the foundational principles of the henge space: irregular-sized areas created by the main axis; the flattened (western) and curved (eastern) perimeters; the primacy of the northern astronomical event (Midsummer sunset), and by extension the corresponding sunrise (which is above the eastern perimeter; see Figure 6.11).

This possibility highlights my third point: that the cove is in fact off-set from this main axis (Figure 6.17). So, whilst the cove contains the geometric centre of the stone circle, and is therefore 'central' to the astronomical valuation of the stones (see Section 6.1.2), it is actually located within the 'bulging', more spacious part of the earthwork. It would have been bypassed by a direct route along the main axis, between the two causeways. However, *had* the southern causeway encompassed the Midwinter sunrise, the cove would have stood on this very axis, helping to divide the inner space of the henge equitably. Furthermore, the cove stones 53 and 54 are the tallest and broadest of the arrangement (c. 2.7-3.0m tall), undoubtedly giving 'an element of secrecy' to that feature, especially when viewed from the northern or the southern causeways (Barnatt 1989: 364). The cove stones that survive as stumps are slighter, and may, from some angles, have actually facilitated views both into and out from the cove. The eastern-edge of the cove may have been completely open (*ibid.*), or partially so if the broken stones 54 and 55 were part of this feature (see Figure 6.18). Perhaps views could be had laterally, right across the cove (in the rough directions of the Midsummer sunrise and Midwinter sunset). These views may have been brief for those who moved through the henge space, but prolonged for those who were allowed to gather. Indeed, from the uncertain existence of an eighth stone (marked with an 'X' in Figures 6.17 and 6.18), an entrance to a seven stone cove might be implied; a position that was also off-set from the main axis and within the eastern area.

Landscape settings and the experience of henge architecture

Upon visiting Arbor Low, the most striking observation about the henge's landscape setting is its edge of hilltop position (Figure 6.19), which affords privileged views north and north-east from most places around the site. The henge's northern perimeter and north-western causeway are upon the very crest of the hill slope and the henge is sky-lined when viewed from the

north. Even from the centre of the henge and outside the southern causeway to the south-east, the horizon to the north dominates viewsheds (Watson 2000: 328-31). These patterns of visibility are due to the henge's construction on the inclining part of the hill rather than its top, which is located about 100m to the south-east (Figure 6.19). The visual effect is such that the land around the henge, and even the space within, appears to tilt north-westwards (Figures 6.20 and 6.21). Watson (2000: 335) points out that even from outside the southern causeway the tilt of the land is such that the henge's internal features can be seen almost in plan, although, as we have seen, the southern causeway's entrance stones would probably have obscured such a view. Looking in southerly and south-easterly directions, the rising landscape obscures views beyond the immediate hill top with the consequence that, with the exception of the northern horizon, the landscape quickly disappears behind the henge's banks once the causeways are crossed. To summarise, there is a striking difference between the experiences of entering by the two causeways. From the southern causeway looking north through the henge, the views offered are as wide as those from outside the henge's north-end; from the northern causeway looking across the henge, the entire cultural world disappears upon entry. This fundamental difference will be important for my interpretations of the ritual practices at Arbor Low.

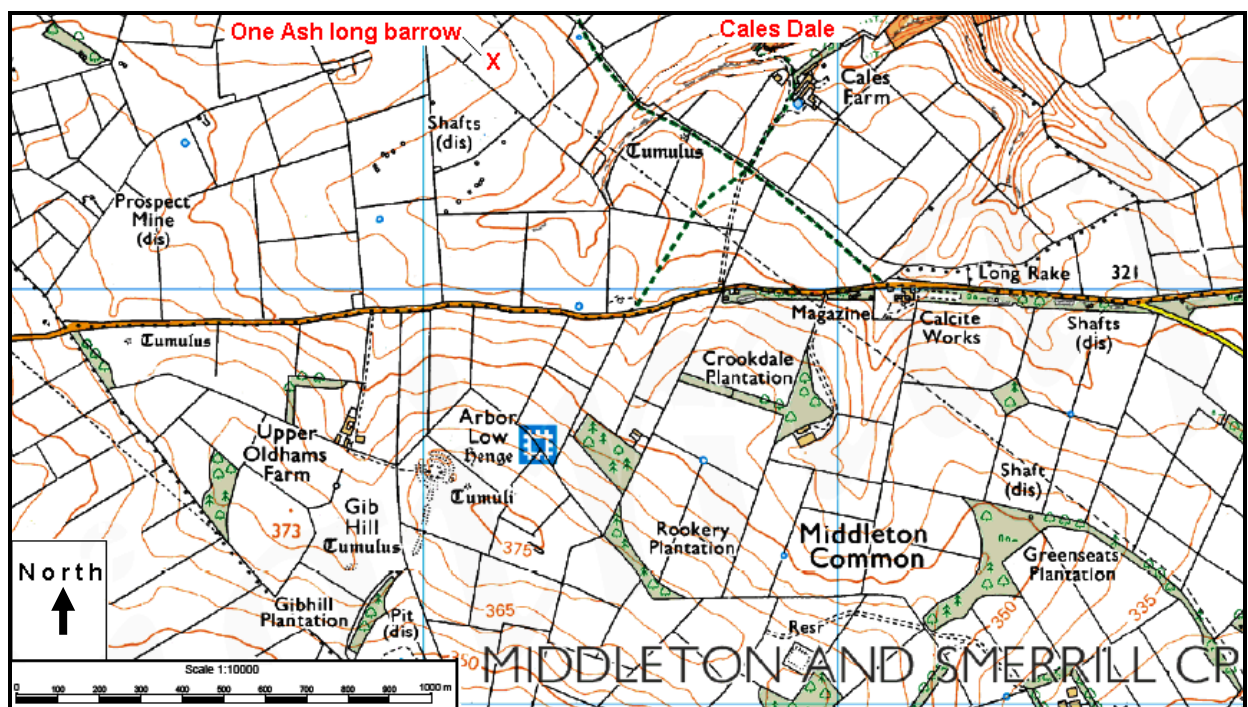


Figure 6.19. Ordnance survey map of the Arbor Low area. The map shows the locations of the henge and Gib Hill long barrow, and I have added the locations of One Ash and Cales Dale (in red).



Figure 6.20. Arbor Low henge and the northern tilt of its landscape setting, seen from Gib Hill. RBW: Spring 2008.

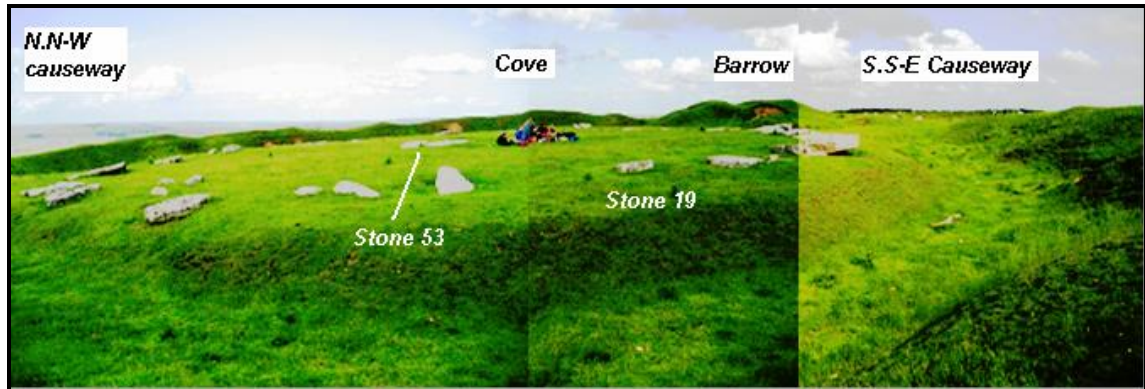


Figure 6.21. The interior space of Arbor Low viewed from the western bank. Photomontage, RBW: June 2007.

The local landscape at Bull Ring is damaged by quarrying and obscured by buildings, but some details about its setting can be made out. The henge is located in a north-south oriented valley, and the valley-sides are particularly close to the east and west of the site (Figures 6.4 and 6.9), meaning that the henge has a somewhat central position within the valley. Additionally, the henge is positioned on a rise of approximately 10.0m in the valley-floor. Combined, these factors afford the site a degree of visibility, estimated at about one kilometre (Barnatt 1988: 5). Significantly, within this distance are the three topographical features that I have already highlighted: Barmoor Clough (beginning less than one kilometre to the north), the mouth of Doveholes Dale (around 200m away), and Black Edge (c. 500m south-west). Black Edge can be seen quite clearly from the centre of the henge, and is the point on the horizon, directly above the henge's satellite barrow, at which the Midwinter sun sets (see Section 6.1.2). I suggest that the locations of all three landscape features would have been appreciated and easily located by people at the henge and *vice versa*, precisely because of the monument's dominant position within the valley. I propose that the arcs of the henge's perimeters and its opposed causeways facilitated this connection by representing the encultured landscape in monument form. Moreover, because the sensation of approaching the henge from the *north* through Barmoor Clough Dale would have involved a *steep climb* towards the henge, the experience of the henge is-comparable to the physical challenge and southwards directionality when approaching Arbor Low's northern causeway. Consequently,

there seem to be enough similarities between Arbor Low and Bull Ring to link some of the ways in which they may have been used in rites of passage.

Summary: Towards an interpretation of ritual practices

This section has identified a number of patterns in architecture and movement through which the use of henge space in ritual practices can be explored in Section 6.3. Both henges seem to be arenas that were comprised of aspects of the physical, cosmological and socio-cultural worlds. References to these aspects of the wider cultural landscape were achieved by reproducing and revealing aspects of the world through the experience(s) of moving to/from and through the henge space itself. In the next section, I explore how these spaces were socialised by ritual and ceremonial practices, highlighting the following:

1. There are indications that both henges had asymmetrical as well as symmetrical organisations of their respective spaces: the east/west differences in the material used for banks at both henges; the flat/curved aspects of the earthworks and stone circle, and the basic differences in the entrances stones at Arbor Low; and the berms at the southern perimeter of Bull Ring.
2. At Arbor Low, the northern causeway's alignment on the Midsummer sunset may be a foundational principle for the layout of the earthworks, and hence a clue to its relationship to the stone settings. The cove's off-set position from the main axis between the causeways would seem to be at the heart of how people moved and assembled within the internal space of the henge, particularly with regard to the astronomical events that it was possible to observe.
3. Additionally, I suggest that as a result of the northwards-tilt of the landscape at Arbor Low, no entrance at the southern-end could have achieved the level of visual impact and drama that would have been possible by climbing up to the north-end of the henge and entering by the northern causeway. I want to foreground a consideration of a northern-entrance/southern-exit basis for my interpretation of the ritual practices at Arbor Low.
4. At Bull Ring, the two causeways would seem to have operated in the same manner. Here the twin banks appeared to reproduce the two flanking hills both spatially, and in their material composition (one bank being constructed of limestone, the other of contrasting materials, mirroring the fact that one hillside is composed of limestone and the other of gritstone and shale). The causeways represented the two significant breaks in the surrounding uplands (Barmoor Clough and Doveholes/Great Rocks Dales). The Midwinter sunset seen from the centre of Bull Ring would have centred on nearby Black Edge, directly above Bull Ring long barrow. References to the past's dead and to far

off Arbor Low henge intersect here because this very sunset event, and Black Edge, could be seen from Arbor Low, where an ancient barrow was referenced in the same way. In this way both local, regional and cosmological concerns were brought within the henges of the Peak District, and down to earth before the assembled community.

6.3 SPACES OF REPRESENTATION

In Sections 6.1 and 6.2, two relationships were prominent in my discussions: the experience of *large funerary mounds and henges*, and the *local and regional* scales of ceremonial complexes. Here, I interpret how each may have been central to the socialisation of space during the course of the Middle and Later Neolithic periods using rites of passage.

6.3.1 Large funerary mounds and henges

In Section 5.3, I interpreted chambered monuments as the foci for rites of passage that extended outwards from individual sites to involve sections of the wider cultural landscape, including neighbouring monuments. I felt that this interpretation was especially convincing with regards to those sites with Cross-fertilisation architectural features. These eight monuments seemed to intensify certain patterns, particularly those associated with the distribution and settings of closed chambered cairns (see Figures 5.2 and 5.3). At the same time, key architectural features formalised a sequence and direction to people's movements and their dealings with the containers of the dead to a degree that had not previously been seen. Moreover, I found that people's involvement may have become progressively more tightly controlled within that process with the separation of forecourts from entrances in some monuments (see Section 5.3.3). It is therefore significant that my analysis in the current chapter shows firm connections between most Later Neolithic monuments and these Cross-fertilisation structures. (The notable exception here is Liffs Low, where the organisation of people and space at the site may not have survived the funeral event itself).

The first connection is that the Cross-fertilisation monuments were the particular foci of these remodelling projects, with up to seven of these 10 examples being enlarged, probably in the third millennium BC. In these projects the original structures may have been 'decommissioned' in a manner that deliberately preserved, rather than destroyed, the earlier architecture (see Section 6.2.1). I want to argue that whatever the reason or reasons for preservation – fear, respect or merely the desire for a stable mound – Cross-fertilisation monuments were preserved as particular kinds of monuments. That is, the monuments being remodelled were remembered, however briefly, as having once been the foci of communal

gatherings, albeit it with limited or controlled access. In this sense the large mounds may have operated ideologically, acting to naturalise these kinds of gatherings, but leaving the henges as the places where such practices were continued. Indeed, the fact that there is one example of a monument where access to the passages was probably retained during this period (Minninglow A) indicates that something of the character of the original monuments remained known.

The second connection between Cross-fertilisation structures and Neolithic monuments is that the remodelling projects themselves created massive circular mounds, which have three key features: 1) they all conform to a circular archetype and involve a break in the character and intensity of mortuary practice in the period (Bradley 1998; Edmonds and Seaborne 2001); 2) the mounds and monument clusters in question are located in parts of the plateau where no henges were built; and yet, 3) the remodelling projects *extinguished* the architectural features that created the order, sequence and control that linked henges and stone circles to Cross-fertilisation monuments in the first place. These patterns seem to pull interpretation in opposing directions. We see large earth and stone mounds that carefully *preserve* but outwardly *extinguish* earlier architectural features, and circular mounds and circular arenas that are built far apart, but in similar patterns of spatial distribution and landscape settings. I propose that one way to make sense of this is to hypothesise that henges and mounds are related phenomena; that is, to consider henges and large funerary barrows as the successors of Cross-fertilisation monuments. Can henges be convincingly interpreted as analogous to chambered mounds, and if so why were henges built at all?

“The ambiguity of enclosure”

In making this proposal, it is of particular interest that both large funerary mounds and henges are sometimes found in elevated hilltop or ridge top settings (Burl 1976: 276). Recently, Watson and Bradley (2009) have noted that movement around some henges and stone circles calls to mind the sequence of events upon entering a megalithic tomb. For example, in an interpretation of the river terrace setting and enormous banks at Mayburgh henge (Cumbria), they (*ibid.*: 67) point out that it is only up close that the nature of the henge *as a henge* becomes perceptible. Watson and Bradley refer to this effect as ‘the ambiguity of enclosure’, comparing the experience of climbing uphill to the single gap in Mayburgh’s banks to that of approaching the entrance of passage graves such as Newgrange (*ibid.*: 67). It is possible, therefore, that when the henges were built the first reaction of people unfamiliar with such a site was that they were approaching an enormous passage grave designed for the whole community to enter.

Whilst I agree with this proposition – even very close by, Mayburgh’s banks can indeed be mistaken for a (very) large mound (Figure 6.22) – it may be unwise to apply this idea to every henge that is elevated in the landscape. At the same time, its phenomenology-based point of departure finds striking parallels in the Peak District where, as discovered in Section 6.1, aspects of the architecture and landscape settings of henges and funerary mounds have similarities that might support such an approach. Noticeably, both the Peak henges might be considered to present the superficial impression of a large barrow when seen at a distance, because they are both sky-lined and their causeways must have been approached uphill. Indeed, one must do the same in moving towards all of the great barrows and enlarged mounds of this period, 92% of the previous period’s closed chambered cairns, and all eight Cross-fertilisation monuments (see Figures 5.2-5.3 and 6.2-6.3).



Figure 6.22. The banks of Mayburgh henge, seen from the south. RBW: April 2009.

Arguably, the ring of stones at Arbor Low makes for a far better example of the ambiguity of enclosure than Bull Ring or even Mayburgh, because of the especially tall and broad entrance stones at both causeways. I agree with Burl (1976) that stone circles may represent the revetment walls or kerb-stones of earlier traditions of Neolithic cairns and passage graves. The comparative height of the stones at Arbor Low’s causeways may in fact play the parts of portal stones and façade architecture, which are common to Cross-fertilisation structures and are typically higher than the roof-stones of passages and chambers (Barnatt 1996b: 25). Significantly, entrance stones at both causeways at Arbor Low may have been taller than the henge’s banks (Section 6.2.1). These ‘familiar’ material symbolic references may have given the same impression of a powerful threshold between the inner and outer monument as had the older monuments’ portal stones and façades. In this view, processing along the main axes between the opposed causeways at Arbor Low, and perhaps also Bull Ring, may have provided a similarly linear experience of using passage-ways. In the case of chambered long cairns, the lateral movement along the long-axis of the cairn between the passages and the displaced forecourts (*cf.* Thomas 1999) may also have found its parallel

in Later Neolithic processions.

From this perspective, the potential for rites of passage activities at henges is surely the equal to that of the Cross-fertilisation monuments. The arrangement of the architectural features at Arbor Low especially suggests the control, guidance and ordering of movement within the monument, especially at the points of entry and people's access to the cove – which have similarities in the experiences that can be had at Cross-fertilisation structures. The cove in particular might be convincing as a representation of the stone chambers of Earlier Neolithic cairns (Watson 2000: 340). In arguing that henges were chambered tomb-like in their manipulation of ritual subjects' movements, it is therefore important to distinguish between those who could enter the sacred space of the henge – perhaps analogous to those who assembled in the forecourt/façade areas of a tomb – and those who could experience the more confined or secluded spaces such as the cove. Earlier I speculated that the cove at Arbor Low might have had an entrance, which would lend further weight to its interpretation as a chamber-like space. In any case, the cove is off-set from the passage-like main axis of the henge which, again, seems to indicate peoples' differing rights or roles in what went on within the henge. Indeed, the cove's possible entrance was further isolated from this axis because of its south-easterly location (Figures 6.17 & 6.18).

These differences may mark the fundamental distinctions between ritual subjects at both individual and group scales: their respective movements around or past the cove, and their participation and access to this structure seem to me to be the key to understanding how this massive hill top arena operated in terms of rites of passage. Rites in which some individuals' movements were guided, controlled and observed by others seem to fit the architecture and landscape settings of both the Cross-fertilisation monuments and the henges. In the case of Arbor Low, it is tempting to say that those who were guided *passed through the henge* before the gaze of others, including those (probably rather smaller in number) who stood within the cove. At Bull Ring, perhaps those standing on the southern perimeter's berms fulfilled this second role. One can easily imagine these as the occasions of the liminal stage or stages in a group's rites of passage between social categories (youth to adult, for example) in which public acknowledgement of this transformation was socially sanctioned by important individuals. What is fascinating is that annual celestial events like the Midwinter sunset – common to both henges – may have played a part in such ceremonies. In the next section, I examine more closely this possible use of henges, looking at their places within local cultural spaces, and the potential regional aspects of connections between sites and monument complexes.

6.3.2 The local and regional

I have demonstrated that a number of links existed between the movements of the sun and particular solar observances that involved the henges, the original architectural features of Cross-fertilisation monuments, and monuments' landscape positions (e.g. Gib Hill). I have proposed that individual sites, complexes and the spatial distributions of complexes can be understood at both local and regional scales. The possible processional route across the Lathkill valley is an example of one ritualised use of a local cultural landscape in which key funerary monuments (Bole Hill and Ringham Low) were remodelled and a henge (Arbor Low) was added to the whole, supporting the impression that the area was used as a ceremonial complex. I use this case study as a point of departure to examine three aspects of the production of social space in the Later Neolithic period: 1) the local, site-to-site scale of ceremonial complexes, like the Lathkill valley area; 2) the use of henge spaces in ritual practices, and as monuments set within such local contexts; and 3) the inter-complex or regional scales of Peak District spaces of representation.

1. Arbor Low and the Lathkill valley processional route

It is Arbor Low's construction in an edge-of-hilltop position, and the orientation of the northern causeway, that makes the site especially significant for the interpretation of local scales of meaning during this period. Monument inter-visibility from the exterior of the henge at this causeway is possible with the sites of all four monuments around the Lathkill valley (Figure 6.8; see also Figure 4.1, which depicts Cales Dale, the Lathkill gorge and the ridge beyond, which includes Bole Hill). Of further significance is that two of these, Bole Hill and Ringham Low, were probably the subjects of major contemporary construction projects and produced very large and prominently situated, circular mounds on the horizon north of the henge. This alone would support the idea that connections between the Lathkill valley monuments were being deliberately emphasised. Formerly only One Ash and Ringham Low were connected by sight, and it is only with the construction of the henge and the viewshed from the northern causeway that all four monuments were brought together in this way (*cf.* Figures 5.8 and 6.5). It may therefore be significant that these two chambered sites were also the furthest from the henge. It will also be recalled that viewsheds from the southern causeway are rather muted, both in respect of the visual impact of the henge itself and because these sites are obscured.

Earlier, I pointed out that if Gib Hill was the processional route's destination, then this hilltop would have been on the south-west horizon upon exiting Cales Dale (see Figures 6.8

and 6.19), producing the effect of approaching the sky-lined sites in the direction of the sunset. When one considers the organisation of the henge with respect to this possible course of movement and nearby Gib Hill, above which the Midwinter sun descends each year, it can be suggested that the *directionality* of this route may be the context into which the more precise solar event was introduced by ceremonies at the henge. Indeed, Arbor Low's northern-end would be arrived at *before* Gib Hill, perhaps replacing or interceding in this existing local axis of movement. Consequently, the design and setting of the northern causeway is, once more, a key archaeological feature in my interpretation since it would seem to link together the following aspects of the local cultural landscape: 1) all four funerary monuments; 2) the social core (i.e. Monyash basin TCZ); 3) the River Lathkill and its spring head cave; and 4) the connotations of death and mourning associated with this mixture of ancient and renewed mounds, and the setting sun.

At Bull Ring the local landscape also appears to have been reproduced in monument form, perhaps even at the level of the very fabric of the henge. It is entirely possible that the contrasting compositions of the two henge banks were intended to represent the different social cores and/or communities in the immediate area. That is to say, the limestone/non-limestone materials used in the construction of the banks might have, on the one hand, referenced the people or places of the Peak Forest Basin TCZ, which is located on the limestone plateau, and on the other the Chapel en le Frith TCZ, which is strictly speaking in an 'off-plateau' location (Barnatt 1988). Indeed, the narrow cutting between the henge and the Chapel en le Frith valley, Barmoor Clough, may be recreated in the form and orientation of the northern causeway (see Section 6.2). Perhaps the long barrows of the Peak Forest basin were involved in ritualised movements linked to the henge, as seen at Arbor Low. My basic point is that this interpretation of the local cultural landscapes around Arbor Low and Bull Ring hint at the possible character of the rites undertaken within the henges.

2. The henges in ritual practice

How were henges used in ritual practices based on rites of passage? In earlier sections, I proposed that aspects of Arbor Low's architecture and landscape setting combined to create a sense of its role in the calculated separation of ritual subjects from the wider cultural world, and a limited but deliberately structured reconnection to selective parts thereof. In Section 6.2, I explored this possibility through the symbolic order and experience of both henges, finding that this was most evident at Arbor Low through the interpretation of the northern causeway as dominant in this process. This is because of the wider views that can be had by looking northwards: from the more elevated southern part of the henge it is possible looking north today to attain a clear downwards view of the henge interior, but when the tall and close-

set stones across the causeway were standing this was probably obscured, leaving no viewshed to speak of. Moving through the henge north-to-south has a greater impact because of the almost total lack of outside references that are available to the ritual subject when moving towards the southern causeway. Instead, the attention is focused on the architecture and people within the interior space, and the sky. Indeed, as previously mentioned, in contrast to the northern causeway the stones encountered looking south are especially close together and evenly positioned, creating a *façade* for the viewer, and a further feeling of confinement that could not be achieved by looking at the widely spaced stones at the northern causeway (*cf.* the sets of two causeway stones in Figure 6.16).

Watson's (2000) photomontages of the henge interior (Figure 6.23) illustrate this combination of architecture and landscape very clearly, particularly when considered as part of a sequence from north to south (i.e. see top photomontage first, then the lower, and finally, the bottom image in my Figure 6.16). To traverse the henge in this way, one's movements are either guided in a straight line by the flatter part of the circle (on the right in the photomontages, and particularly evident from the top image), passing the cove to one's left, or by following the curving stones around to the left, and passing the cove on one's right (*cf.* routes 1 and 2 in Figure 6.24).

If the 'bulging' eastern part of the henge was utilised for people to gather together (to the left of the camera in Figure 6.23, top image), then three further patterns emerge (see Figure 6.24): 1) the cove would be located within this area (labelled 'subject'); 2) the cove's possible entrance would be encountered only by those who gathered in or passed through this area; and 3) the view from this area towards the flatter perimeter (labelled 'object'), would capture, a) those individuals taking route 1, b) the south-western sky and Midwinter sunset, and c) the small number of people who could assemble in the cove. From the parameters proposed so far, up to three courses of movement, involving two or three groups of people and individuals can be deduced (see Figure 6.24), in which ritual subjects may have divided at least twice, perhaps even three times, within the henge. Indeed, the sub-divided entrance stones at the north causeway (see Figure 6.16) might have prescribed people's movements from the very start. Since no such distinction exists at the southern causeway, perhaps people recombined and exited together. If these patterns of movement and pause were brought together in a single hypothetical time and place then it is possible to speculate on who these people were. I suggest that the spacious nature of the curved/'bulging' area to the east of the cove may have accommodated the wider community or their representatives (#2), who as they looked in the direction of the flatter perimeter as a group of ritual neophytes (#1) passed by, witnessed by the rather smaller gathering of ritual specialists (#3). This view would have been

possible because the inner space of the cove was relatively permeable to the immediate east and west (where the stones were smallest).

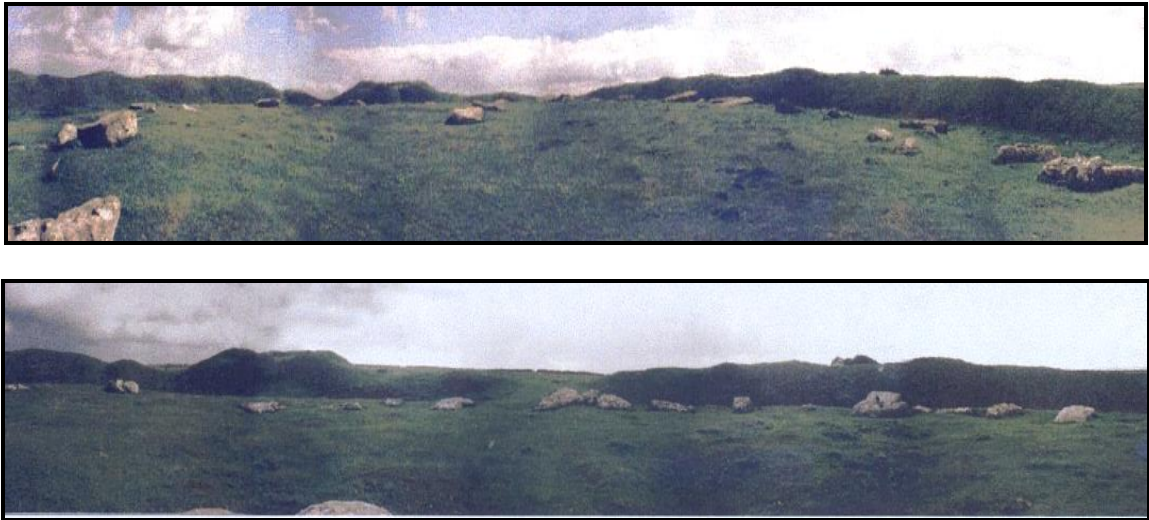


Figure 6.23. Views through Arbor Low henge from within the stone circle, looking south. Top: looking towards the cove (stone 53 is in the centre) and southern causeway (immediately to the right of the cove) from the entrance at the northern causeway. Bottom: looking towards the southern causeway (centre of image) from the cove. Photomontages: Watson 2000, Figures 5.15 and 5.17 respectively.

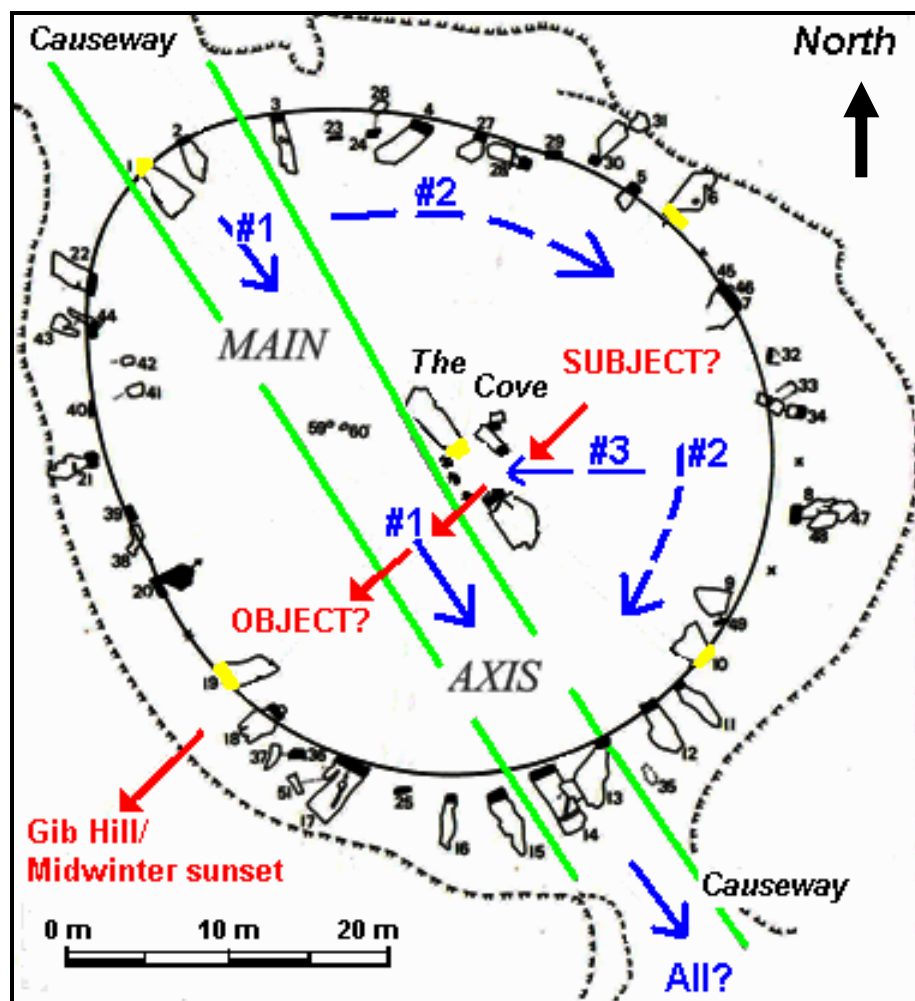


Figure 6.24. One of the possible ritualised uses of space within Arbor Low henge. The movements of people (routes 1-3) are in **blue**; the solstice stones are in **yellow**, and viewshed information is in **red**. Source: modified from Barnatt 1978: Fig. 17.

Whilst rather less can be said about Bull Ring, three related points are of note. Foremost is that, as at Arbor Low, the approach may have been uphill from the north (using Barmoor Clough), involving a sustained climb up to the valley and a departure from the normative social world (i.e. Chapel en le Frith TCZ). Whilst Bull Ring henge might not have been sky-lined to the same extent, there is some similarity because of its dominant, elevated position on the valley floor and the efforts made to reach it. A second pattern, also recalling Arbor Low, is that in crossing the centre of the henge between causeway the ritual subject would have been able to see the Midwinter sunset (in this case on Black Edge), directly above the henge's satellite long barrow. This observation corresponds to the same solstice event at Arbor Low. The third pattern, then, is that in experiencing this solar event the viewer would also be looking in the direction of the narrow berm around the southern causeway and, once again, anything or anyone positioned on the berm would be silhouetted by the light of the setting sun.

In summary, these interpretations are pleasing because they link together material and symbolic aspects of the landscape and architecture to create complicated patterns and thresholds of access and exclusion, movement and pauses, revelation and mystification, which are so characteristic of rites of passage (Garwood 2011). That it has been possible to link such interpretations to ceremonies which may have been back-lit by the descent of the Midwinter sun at the year's symbolic and social end, further underscores the sense of a socially-powerful ritual drama drawing upon different historical trajectories and architectural developments, and a range of social agents, changing roles, and rights.

3. Henges, Minninglow Hill and regional movements.

In this final section, I briefly explore the regional scale perspective by looking at Arbor Low's relationships with the far-off complexes of Bull Ring and Minninglow Hill (see Figure 6.5). In order to build upon my interpretations of rites of passage-based ritual practices at Arbor Low and Bull Ring, I want to make two observations. First, the earthworks and stone circle at Arbor Low both seem to combine a long distance visual alignment with the Bull Ring complex (i.e. a shared view of Black Edge) and the Midsummer sunset alignment (see Figure 6.11). I want to reiterate that this supports the interpretation that these were foundational principles of the henge, and that these were reproduced by the stone settings. However, my second observation is that the corresponding solar alignment to the south (Midwinter sunrise) was not captured by the earthworks despite the clear opportunity to do so. To an extent this reinforces the view that the cove's ambiguous position within the central space of the henge and the curved/bulging eastern and flattened western perimeters, respectively, were

intentional. At the same time, it is evident that none of the funerary barrows in either the Arbor Low or Bull Ring landscapes are aligned with causeways. This fact may be significant because had the southern causeway been built further to the south-east to incorporate the Midwinter sunrise, the direction in which *Minninglow Hill* can distantly be seen, would also have been encompassed by the break in the henge's perimeter (Figure 6.25). As I noted in Section 6.1.2, Minninglow Hill is visible from the hilltop to the south of Arbor Low, and can be located approximately 140-142 degrees south-east on the horizon. What is interesting about these alignments is that the Midwinter sunrise and Minninglow Hill seem to be somewhat separated from the rituals held within the henge. Indeed, it almost seems as if the connection was intended to be appreciated only *after* exit from the southern causeway. The land on the horizon between Minninglow Hill and Gib Hill that is marked out by the arc of the sun is, of course, the south-west plateau edge at Long Low and Pea Low.

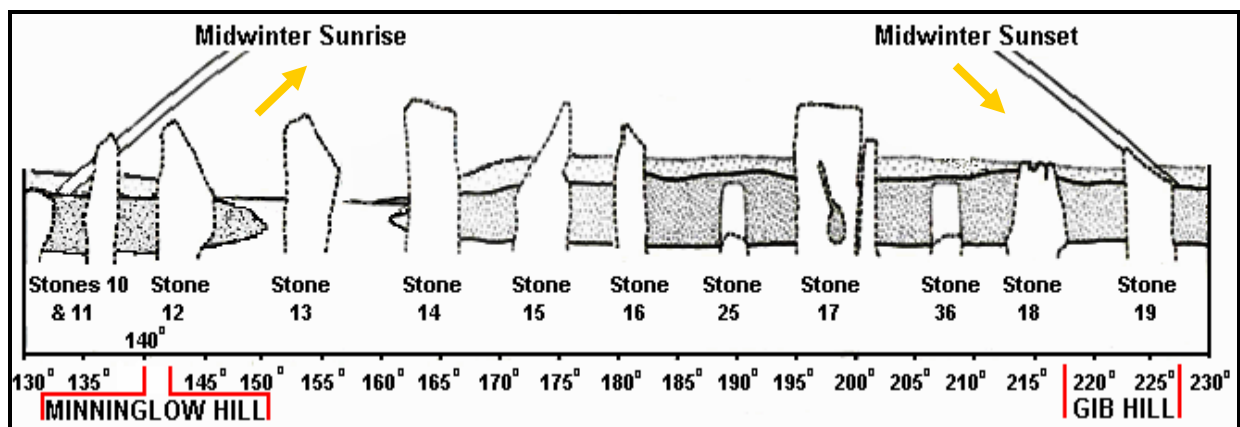


Figure 6.25. The two Midwinter solstices and south-eastern causeway at Arbor Low. Source, Barnatt 1978: Fig. 21 and 22; modified with additions; not to scale.

My feeling is that the Midsummer solstice events were the primary motivation for the organisation of the henge. The Midwinter sunset may well have succeeded or been added to the possible ritual procession, perhaps having been noticed from the site of Arbor Low during ritual movement in the area. Perhaps the Midwinter sunrise was similarly an introduction into the design and use of the henge, which was laid out with the Midsummer solstices and the processional route to and through the henge in mind. Indeed, because the Midwinter sunrise could only be fully appreciated from within the cove, I suggest that its significance may have been confined to those few people (or perhaps non-human agents) who gathered there. Perhaps the wider community spent the morning at other sites in the local or regional landscape; sites along the processional route, for example, or travelling from Bull Ring and/or Minninglow Hill to Arbor Low. In this way, observation of the sunrise event may have been considered both a special preparation for certain members of the community, as well as being inherently prestigious. This gathering would be a counterpoint to a larger assembly later in

the day that marked the end of the social year and, for some, a transition in their social identities and aspirations for the future.

6.3.3 Overview

From social-spatial practices to material symbols

My analysis of monuments with respect to the postulated social cores, movement and orientation have established common themes that the large funerary mounds and henges shared with the earlier Cross-fertilisation sites. Three points were of particular interest. First, the trend in this period is for newly-built and remodelled monuments to be located away from social cores and in elevated, prominent landscape settings. In fact these patterns tended to increase during this period, particularly in the case of great barrows and henges, with earlier chambered monuments that did not fit this pattern (e.g. Long Low, Wind Low) being set aside. The Lathkill valley area attracted renewed interest with the remodelling of two chambered monuments into circular or near-circular great barrows, which may have occurred before Arbor Low henge was constructed. Second, monument clusters were largely exclusive to either mounds or henges, with the mounds frequently having Cross-fertilisation origins. Arbor Low is a partial exception, and I suggest that the henge's construction be interpreted as a regional scale intervention in a localised ritual landscape (see Figure 6.11). Third, Liffs Low stood out from the start, having a different relationship to social cores (physically close, rather than distant) and no shared patterns of proximity, inter-visibility or alignment with the period's other monuments. I suggested that the material symbols linking these practices to society's representations of space might be found in the similarities between the distributions, landscape settings and architectural features of Cross-fertilisation monuments and henges; for example, in terms of circular monument archetypes (Bradley 1998).

From representations of space to space's ritual social roles

Representations of space in this period suggest a process of enlargement and remodelling of some of the Peak's chambered funerary monuments and the design of henges that involved a general turn towards a circular world-view or archetype (Bradley 1998), and a shift from mortuary activity towards other ceremony, as seen in the increased space between the ancient dead and new deposits (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Notably, all of the monuments built or remodelled in the Later Neolithic period were circular or near circular, and the enlarged mounds often increased in size to the factor of 200-500% (Table 6.3). This was much more than was functionally necessary to have denied access, obscured monuments' origins or

merely to ‘decorate’ the existing mounds. In the Peak these two trends combined in the formation of the Later Neolithic great barrows and enlarged mounds, leading me to propose that the character of the Cross-fertilisation sites was being preserved and superseded but *not* destroyed by circular architecture in this process.

Whilst it is curious that the henges were built at a distance from these mounds and from the clusters that the mounds dominated, rather than close by as in the examples Bradley cites (e.g. Newgrange), this supports the interpretation that a deliberate shift from the symbolism of the localised tomb to the regional-scale henge was undertaken via monument clustering, in which the former (tombs) were eventually subordinated to the latter (hengés). The organisation and experience of space at henges supports this by revealing that symbolic roles of the Peak District’s henges were to combine in one place aspects of the local and regional cultural landscapes with social practices, sometimes into their very fabric and certainly into their ritual-cosmological organisation, and immediate environs. Hence human interactions in multiple spheres of life; for example, moving between funerary monuments and across TCZs (Arbor Low and the Lathkill valley processual route), or travelling between different areas of the plateau and neighbouring valleys (Arbor Low, Bull Ring and the Chapel en le Frith valley).

From spaces of representation to social space

The integration of past local cultural landscapes and practices with regional concerns is most strikingly seen at Arbor Low. Here there is strong evidence that the movement of people within the henge was prescribed by subtle asymmetries in the basic architectural features of the enclosure and the stone settings. The provision for different size groups to enter, move, gather and leave the henge can be interpreted from the different roles that it is possible to ascribe to the two causeways and their ‘entrance stones’, the experience of the inner spaces of the henge, the position and orientation of the henge with respect to the local (Lathkill valley) and regional (Ridgeway, Minninglow Hill) cultural landscapes, and from the roles of the movement of the sun as visual cues and devices for timing rituals provided. The time-space character of these practices may have reflected rites of passage similar in their conception to those that may have taken place at Cross-fertilisation monuments in particular, and in the ritualisation of landscape in general (e.g. the Lathkill valley procession). In a way, it is quite startling that grandiose and complicated ceremonial events, which at times linked together different regions of the Peak District, had their origins in small-scale activities held in and around chambered monuments focused on a small number of the community’s dead.

This interpretation, however, reconnects the distinctive principles of Later Neolithic period spaces of representation of the social contexts in which distinctions between special places and social cores were important for everyday life, but were not abstractly applied to 'space'. Whilst the dead are almost entirely absent from the interior of henges, my interpretation of this long-term process rests upon the development of a particular kind of social space: a social space dominated by orchestrated movements through landscape and architecture, which derived not only from a ritual or political authority, but also from recognisable aspects of people's everyday perception of the world and their place in it, the connection between this real life and shared symbolic or spiritual practices, and the way in which these sides of human experience were realised in the dialogue between society and space.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS AND NEW DIRECTIONS

[I]s there something that can come out of this which is a new form of knowing?

(Harvey 2000: 9).

The central objective in my thesis has been to attempt to go beyond traditionally opposed categories of analysis, such as material/symbolic, space/society, core/periphery, and closed chambered cairn/passage grave-type, using my own Lefebvrian spatial dialectical model of the production of space. In the first part of this concluding chapter, I consider what this methodological approach has taught us about Neolithic society in the Peak District, and how the interpretations I made in Chapters 5 and 6 affect our understanding of the wider region and its place in debates about the period. I also suggest new directions that may add to my analyses, and recommend future researches based on my work. I close 7.1 with a summary of my achievements with respect to the outcomes of my spatial analysis, referencing the goals I set out for myself in Chapter 1. In Section 7.2, I evaluate the Lefebvrian methodology itself by looking at how I presented the thesis as a reconfiguration of binary space/society as a three-fold dialectic, and how I made this appropriate to the needs of archaeologists. Finally, I respond auto-critically to my attempts to go beyond Post-processual archaeologies of landscape, outlined in Chapter 1, this time from the perspective afforded by the practical use of Lefebvre's model.

7.1 NEOLITHIC SOCIETY IN THE PEAK DISTRICT

7.1.1 Earlier Neolithic Society

Gathering Time indicates that Neolithic material culture and practices probably arrived in parts of the Midlands in the 38th century cal. BC at the earliest (Whittle *et al.* 2011: 855-59). Many questions have been raised about the character of this primary Neolithic presence and how social geographies and structures might have developed in the three or four centuries following this time. It is not possible to place the Lismore Fields buildings or the funerary monuments of the Peak District with confidence within the first centuries of the Neolithic, although the short chronology cairn-to-long barrow sequence at Whitwell (c.25.0km east of the Peak), now falls within the first-half of the 37th century cal. BC (Vyner and Wall 2011: 26). Earthen long barrows are even less well understood in the region, which presents

problems, particularly for our understanding of their relationship to chambered monuments and to the Lismore Fields buildings. The arguable Earlier Neolithic enclosure at Gardom's Edge has been excluded from my analysis for want of dating evidence, leaving the region without a class of monument that is traditionally seen as an instrument of conversion and/or indicator of early inter-group organisation and political authority (e.g. Renfrew 1981). I stand by this decision, although I am aware that, in the event that the site produces a convincing Neolithic date, it would be necessary to rethink the social and political organisation of the Peak District during this period.

Nevertheless, my spatial model has allowed me to consider the character of Earlier Neolithic period society in broad terms, particularly as related to the inhabitation and socio-cultural organisation of the region's physical geography (e.g. upland/lowland, limestone-zone/gritstone moor, TCZs/plateau), and to the long term developments in monumental forms (e.g. cairn/passages and access/exclusion, and the differences in the distributions of chambered monuments and earthen long barrows). This section focuses on three areas where contributions have been made: in exploring the character of the first funerary spaces and landscapes of the Neolithic period; in considering the significance of the long barrow-form and the distinctiveness of its earthen-type; and in thinking about what the introduction to the earlier designs of passages, forecourts, and other architectural devices can tell us about long term social change and influences from outside the Peak.

The first Neolithic funerary spaces and landscapes

My analysis reveals that most of the closed chambered cairns were positioned in close proximity to the limestone plateau's TCZ-based social cores, where a range of domestic and cultural practices were probably concentrated. Since no closed chambered cairns were found on the gritstone moors, the southern hills or in the shale valleys, I think it is reasonable to treat the plateau as a particularly favoured or more eminent social space, despite social cores having probably also existed outside the plateau-zone and the plateau's actual land use being difficult to characterise. The construction of cairns in proximity to the plateau-zone TCZs might lead us to interpret that they were used to define territories or broadcast from a distance that certain locales were special to local 'bands' or affiliated 'tribal' communities (*cf.* Barnatt 1996b; Renfrew 1981). In material terms, the cairns were certainly very large, on average c. 430m² (and some much greater) and, assuming that they reached the heights of their stone settings, most would have been at least 2.5m tall (*cf.* Minninglow A, 'chamber 3'). My analysis has also shown that they were prominently situated in the landscape and had a tendency to be clustered together. This was especially so on the southern plateau where

some sites could be seen from elevated spots in the southern valleys, and from southern parts of the Staffordshire Moorlands and Eastern Moor.



Figure 7.1. Looking north-west from the entrance of Fox Hole Cave. Photograph, RBW: July 2010.

At the same time, my analysis suggests that closed chambered cairns were most prominent in the landscape when viewed from the lowland areas nearby, rather than over greater distances, or to ‘outsiders’. Indeed, the pair of de-fleshed human bones found inside Fox Hole Cave (c. 400m OD, and overlooking the Upper Dove and Manifold TCZ; Figure 7.1), which date to no later than 4050 cal. BC and 3800 cal. BC respectively, indicates that Earlier Neolithic mortuary practices were probably already associated with elevated hill top settings when monuments came to be built (Chamberlain 2001b). The landscape settings of the slab-built ‘boxes’ and paving at Long Low and Tideslow (the latter of which also had a c. 1.0m tall orthostat) support this view, although these ‘pre-cairn’ structures are undated and ambiguously related to the monuments that followed. However, if the earliest Neolithic funerary activity took place inside caves (most of which are located within narrow limestone gorges) or was undertaken at the relatively low-profile pre-monument structures just described, their effectiveness in advertising cultural property or rights of tenure over the landscape to people who were strangers would have been rather limited. For a territorial

communication model to work in the Peak we must imagine that elevated locations in general, but particularly those in proximity to local lowlands TCZs and to noteworthy hills, ridges or rock outcrops, were in some sense already commonly understood as ‘special’ in the wider region. I suggest that their roles within a regional-scale dynamic between space and society were as important as what Lefebvre terms the erroneous idea (1991: 115) of ‘pure monumentality’ in making these locations distinctive.

Long barrow-forms: similarity/difference

I proposed a period of c. 3800-3300 cal. BC (*cf.* Darvill 2010a: 134) for the usage of long barrow-forms in the Peak District, which has implications for these monuments’ relationships to the (currently undated) closed chambered cairns, and to the buildings at Lismore Fields (Garton 1991). I took the line that analysis should acknowledge the physical commonalities in the long barrow-forms but, going beyond previous studies which conflate the Peak’s long barrows, I also explored differences in the socio-spatial patterns of earthen and chambered-types. I examine chambered long barrows that had passages below. Here, I ask what the possible significances might be of the construction of the two types of long barrow-forms in the Peak, and question their respective relationships to closed chambered cairn landscapes. Are their designs indicative of different people or practices?

My analysis has demonstrated that the distributions and settings of earthen long barrows in the Peak contrasts strongly with the cairns and chambered long barrow-types. Earthen types, which are the most numerous, are especially isolated from other sites, appear to be marginal to the TCZs, and are not particularly associated with the range of landscape features where chambered sites were built or remodelled. They are also positioned on very different terrain, which tends to be sloping and oriented in an east, south-east or southerly direction, which is in contrast to the patterns pertaining to chambered sites. Arguably, the differences in these patterns may reflect the social or cultural origins of the people who built each respective long barrow-type, or merely the situational nature of the sites and the material used, or perhaps a combination of these. Moreover, it needs to be remembered that the earthen-types may once have had chambers of timber or other demarcations of their internal spaces comparable to chambered-types (*cf.* the ‘bays’ at Giants Hills 1 and Long Low) that have simply not been discovered. One should also bear in mind that, at present, we know of only three chambered-types (i.e. 25% of long barrow-forms).

In terms of social practices, the earthen long barrows may have been built and used by the same communities, or perhaps sub-sections of the same communities, as the closed chambered cairns and the chambered-types. Perhaps each related to particular activities

and spheres of interest that were part of the social whole, with the development of some chambered long barrows at cairn sites showing areas of socio-spatial continuity, and earthen sites representing new but related practices. There are no dates to help us ascertain which long barrow-type was the first to be built, and a similar range of de-fleshed and inhumed human remains are seen in both types. However, the bones of probable domesticated animals are recorded in large numbers at two earthen-types, Gib Hill and Perryfoot, with bones of cattle prominent at both. This might indicate that earthen long barrows were particularly associated with herding practices, which we might expect to have focussed upon the plateau and away from valleys and gorges, where earthen sites are typically located (see Section 5.1.3).

However, cattle and the bones of other domesticates were recovered in large numbers from the chambers and mound material at Ringham Low which, whilst not certainly a chambered long barrow-form, is in a lowland landscape position. Moreover, the chambers in question might relate to the closed chambered phase. This might still fit a general pattern of association between the long-form and herding if long barrows had not been so poorly represented near water sources on the plateau, and if Lismore Fields had yielded something more than ‘meagre fragments of [unidentified] calcined bone’ (Garton 1991: 15). This line of argument might still be maintained on the basis that earthen types are better represented away from cores, as is my inclination. Unfortunately, the connection between earthen long barrows and herd animals remains unproven.

A cultural explanation for the distinctive landscape affinities of earthen long barrows is also possible, but no easier to carry forwards. Notwithstanding some overlaps with closed chambered cairns and chambered long barrows where earthen-types were found on hilltops, the east-west orientations of earthen-types and their association with east, south-east and southern oriented terrain are striking. This might point to a cultural connection to/from the eastern horizon, or a cosmological interest in those parts of the sky that were expressed through earthen (and possibly timber) elongated structures. It is certainly interesting that neither pattern seemed important for closed chambered cairns, since this implies that a change in landscape affiliation went along with these architectural developments. The circular forms *could* have been deployed to make astronomical alignments but my analysis does not identify visual connections or alignments with particular places (e.g. hills, rock outcrops or tors) from which these monuments and astronomical events could be viewed.

Whilst this is suggestive of new practices concerning the settings, orientations and architecture of the long barrows, which may indeed have involved astronomical alignments, it is too uncertain to pursue at present. It might be argued that an east-west orientation says as much (or as little) about the western horizon as the east, and my focus on the east, south-

east and southern aspects of monuments and landscape, whilst justifiable, needs to be incorporated into a systematic analysis of the whole horizon. The recent application of GIS modelling to celestial phenomena that can be perceived from Later Neolithic sites by Harding *et al.* (2008) might be used to enlarge upon my observations here. Overall, the patterns recognised in Chapter 5 concerning chambered and earthen-type long barrows may be significant, and I think that it has been worthwhile to consider earthen-types' distinctiveness from both chambered monuments.

Cross-fertilisation architecture: Social practice and ritual authority

In Chapter 3, I characterised the period between c. 3500-3300 cal. BC as one in which a range of monument styles (i.e. circular, elongated and wedge-shaped outer forms) were combined with 'complex' architectural developments (i.e. passages, façades, and forecourts, sometimes defined by 'horns') in a recognisably 'local' tradition. I adopted Manby's (1965) term 'cross-fertilisation' to express this idea, and proposed that it was reasonable to treat the monuments built and remodelled in this phase as a sub-set for the analysis of the 'post-inception' Earlier Neolithic period. I drew upon the 'earlier' Middle Neolithic period, as modelled by Loveday and Barclay (2010), to suggest a date, although I would also accept an earlier start than c. 3500 cal. BC. It is not possible accurately to date any of these monuments, or to assign exclusive cultural origins to the west, the east, or south-west. However, they seemed to me to be 'elaborations' on earlier architectural forms and features. The differences in their respective socio-spatial patterns, therefore, have great potential for a consideration of changes in ritual practices and social organisation in the Peak District in the period between the creation of the first monuments and the sealing-up of communal chambered monuments typical of the centuries around the turn of the third millennium BC (see Darvill 2010a: 134-6). Was this category a useful way of approaching these structures as sites of social change? How did their analysis contribute to our knowledge of the Peak and processes elsewhere?

In terms of socio-spatial change, the main impact that Cross-fertilisation monuments had on the Peak District's existing funerary spaces was to incorporate into the design and organisation of chambered cairns provision for repeated access to the inner chamber(s), and different spaces around the monuments themselves. My analysis suggests that passages presented two kinds of potential connection to the possible rites of passage that took place at monuments. The first are three architectural changes to the closed cairn-type monuments, which also organised encounters with the site itself and relationships extending beyond it: 1) the narrow entrance points to the passages, some of which were aligned towards other

sites (e.g. Green Low and Harborough Rocks) or solar observations (e.g. Five Wells; Figure 7.2); 2) forecourts that allowed a space for people to gather onsite but outside the monument, and perhaps take in particular views or directional movements to/from the site (e.g. Green Low's connection to Harborough Rocks, Ringham Low's view of the location of Lathkill Head spring and Cales Dale), and; 3) façade architecture that might also have given emphasis to the exterior of the cairn and approaches to the site, particularly when combined with passage entrances and/or forecourts (e.g. Five Wells and Green Low).



Figure 7.2. Sunrise at Five Wells, seen through the portal stones of the east-facing setting. Photograph by Chester1960, 05/09/2010. Source: *The Megalithic Portal*, www.megalithic.co.uk. Accessed 09/08/2011.

The second change instigated by these monuments was in the wider cultural landscape, and further supports my interpretation of an elaboration of existing rites. It is surely significant that both newly-built simple passage graves (i.e. Five Wells, Green Low) and remodelled Cross-fertilisation passage graves (e.g. Minninglow and Ringham Low) were built in the same preferred locations as the closed chambered cairns. The newly built structures could have been constructed in very different locations, if desired, so the fact that they were not suggests a commonality of purpose. All of the new styles of monuments were on elevated hilltops or ridges (in fact, on average they are the most elevated in the Neolithic Peak; see Table 5.2); they had water sources and rock outcrops in their immediate vicinities, and could be reached by approaching along east, south-east or southern oriented terrain. I have already suggested that water sources and rock outcrops may have been significant places on the paths to and from chambered monuments. The directionality of the terrain is significant because passage graves of both types are also associated with these directions and passages. Movement towards or away from these monuments may have heightened the sense of purpose and structure to people's movements through the landscape on special occasions and in

their everyday lives. This link to the everyday and practical world is an important part of Lefebvre's spatial thought: it allows monuments and their environs to truly become 'immersive and complex' (Lefebvre 1991: 61; see also Section 2.2.3)

These elaborations of the basic closed chambered cairn principle seemed to have two manifestations: 1) simple passage graves with entrances and forecourts before the tomb, and; 2) chambered long barrows whose façade/forecourt areas may have been designed to be at some distance from the passages (and other areas of deposition, such as the possible 'bays' in Long Low's stone-spine). Given the possibility of rapid change from circular to elongated forms, these can be interpreted as two phases, perhaps undertaken a small number of generations apart. I follow Darvill (2004) and Thomas (1999) in suggesting a progression from rites in which people gathered around the entrance to the monument (simple passage graves) to ones where people gathered and 'participated' in different spatially distinct areas of the sites. In support of this interpretation, I note that no terminal-chambered long cairns were built in the Peak, and that dating by Whittle *et al.* (2007: 128) suggests that terminal-types were the later. In this case *some* of the Peak's simple passage graves (perhaps Green Low and Five Wells, which stand out somewhat) could be said to stand for this development from lateral to terminal. However, the sequence at Minninglow unambiguously shows that the simple passage grave there was converted to a lateral-type long cairn. Excavation of Ringham Low barrow could contribute to our understanding of this sequence. In either case, the access to the inner chambers was deliberately organised and manipulated in these monuments, and at simple passage graves and long-forms access was limited by narrow entrances and passages.

Conclusions and new directions

The conclusions I reached about the distributions of the closed chambered cairns may narrow the range of explanations as to the origins of the people who built the first monuments in the Peak. First, as Chatterton's (2006: 116) review of Mesolithic ritual in Britain and Ireland concludes, 'from approximately 5900-3800 cal. BC, no human remains have been found within caves'. This further encourages the view that the human remains in very elevated sites such as Falcon Low Cave (295m OD), Fox Hole Cave (400m OD) and Rains Cave (375m OD) were the results of specifically Neolithic practices in the Peak. Second, Davies' (2009) study of relative elevations of funerary spaces and Early-Middle Neolithic domestic buildings links the significances of hill tops and lowland areas (like Lismore Fields) in the Peak to a number of regions of Neolithic Britain. My analysis therefore points convincingly towards a Neolithic social or cultural origin for the people who considered elevated hill top settings

special and who elaborated and organised some of them by means of monumental architecture.

Whether these places were shunned or frequented in daily lives, the distribution patterns and landscape settings that I discovered in Chapter 5 suggest that the constant presence of funerary sites played a role in people's everyday movements and general movements around the limestone plateau. This observation goes beyond the models of social spaces based only upon the symbolic sphere of life (see Section 1.2). I have proposed that the landscape in general, and particular features within it, would have at times heightened cultural-symbolic values, and it has been possible to suggest ways in which different scales of social space and topographies might have been involved in constant 'dialogue' with peoples' lives. For example, the physical contrasts that could be made between the everyday social cores and funerary sites may have had a socio-cultural register particular to rites of separation. In their roles as visual cues or media for ritual practices linked to the paths people took towards their destinations, landscape features that most frequently lay between cores and mortuary sites (water courses and rock outcrops or tors) may have recalled everyday encounters. One wonders if the excavation of a selection of the Peak District's natural springs would be as rewarding as the one carried out at the spring near Vespasian's Camp, Stonehenge, where more than 900 flint tools and worked flints, ranging from the Early Mesolithic to the Early Bronze Age, were recently recovered (Jacques *et al.* 2011:13).

These natural features were particularly associated with Earlier Neolithic chambered sites and the roles I suggested that they played in rites of passage were in these senses situational, relational and variable over time, rather than 'fixed' (Lefebvre 1991: 42). Individual topographies might have been 'parts' of ritual cycles undertaken in other areas of the Peak District (i.e. other 'wholes'), and so opened each to tiny ripples of error and innovation, and to the larger swell of change beyond society's perceived 'borders'. The localised function of each cycle of rites of passage may have had another implication. If people moved between TCZs in a seasonal round or tethered mobility perhaps they used the collections of sites, monuments and topographic features in the area in which they happened to be? For this reason the density of chambered monuments in the southern plateau may have been partly fortuitous rather than a result of higher population levels or bounded territorial spaces. I find it productive to think about the Peak's significant places in terms of shared responsibilities for cultural property, as is seen in Layton's attempt to map social space around Uluru, Australia (Figure 7.3; although the distances between sites are noticeably greater than in the Peak District).

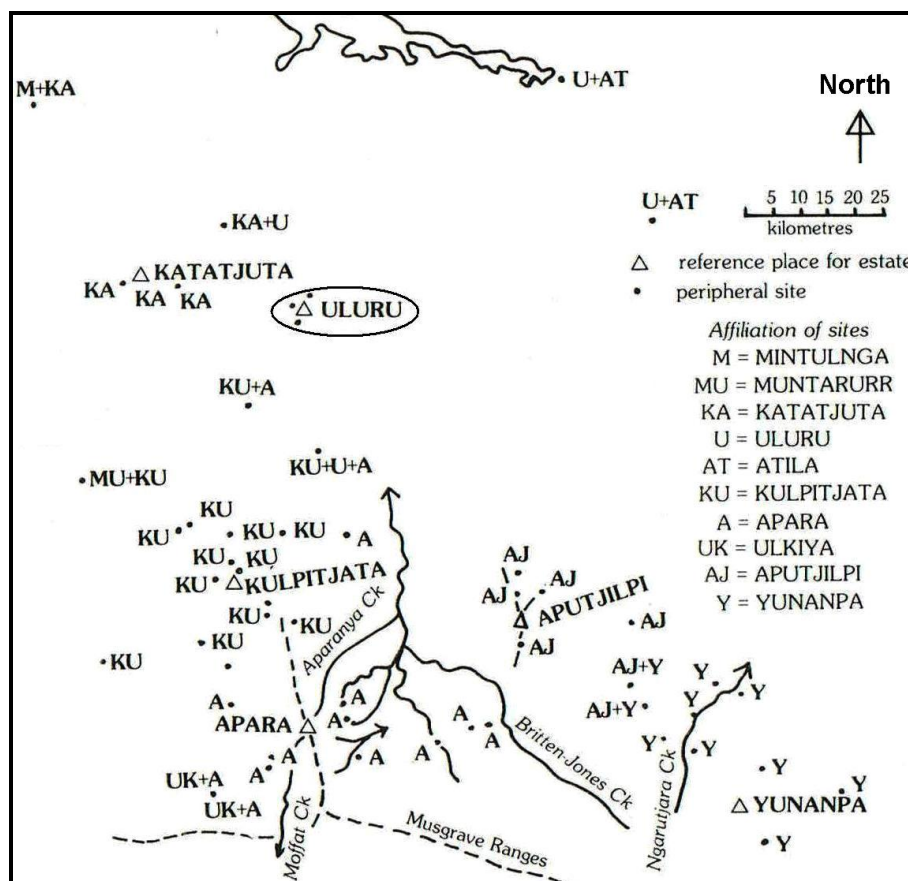


Figure 7.3. An ethnographic model of aboriginal peoples' 'ownership of places and location of estates' around Uluru (Ayers Rock, circled). Source: detail from Layton 1986: Figure 2.

When considering long barrow-forms, it seems advisable to take a more general perspective on the introduction of the form to the Peak. A c.3800-3700 cal. BC date-range for this is supported by analogies to examples outside the Peak, and a range of which have produced similar dates and are comparable in their physical particulars, orientations and settings or, in the case of chambered examples, their chronology. I consider Whitwell long cairn's proximity to the Peak to be significant here; its formal similarities to Minninglow and Ringham Low indicate that the remodelling of round cairns to long cairns was a rapid process, and was perhaps as briefly felt in the Midlands as in the south-west (see Darvill 2010b). It seems to me likely that Whitwell was built by a community who had some connection to the Peak District. It may be interesting to discover the particulars of the diets of the people interred there (I. Wall forthcoming, cited by Schulting 2000). It seems to me that acknowledging the likely cultural weight of the outer long monument-form in general during the three or four centuries of their usage is a prerequisite for studying the introduction of long barrows into the Midlands.

I have leant heavily upon analogy with sites outside the Peak and upon the sequence at Minninglow A. I would therefore like to see Ringham Low excavated and fully surveyed in order to learn more about the architectural sequences at chambered long barrow-forms.

Following the successes of the dating programmes for the Yorkshire barrows (e.g. Gibson and Bayliss 2010) the Peak District's *Bateman Archive* (housed at the city of Sheffield Museum) may prove to be an unrivalled resource for dating its monuments.

The nearest investigated earthen-types are in the East of England and East Yorkshire, but nine perhaps similar monuments exist in the Peak to different heights. Perhaps small test trenches across a selection of earthen barrows could give an indication as to what survives in Peak examples. Timber mortuary spaces, found in excavated examples like Giants Hills, would be a potential cultural link to the Lismore Fields 'timber halls' if wooden phases had been identified in the Peak, but none are recorded. In fact, the bay-like arrangements of space along the stone-spine at Long Low do as much to connect long barrow-form monuments to traditions outside the Peak. Indeed, since Wales may have 'gone over' to Neolithic practices before the Cotswolds region (Whittle *et al.* 2011: Figure 14.48), parts of the Peak District may have had social or cultural contacts or influences that did not follow a simple down-the-line process of social and economic change. There is much more to learn about this process, and I think that the Peak District examples deserve greater recognition than they have until now been accorded.

It is of course possible that there was no hierarchy of people who could and could not enter the Peak District's passage graves. Indeed, we also do not know whether people gathered in groups all together, or if people came and went as they pleased. However, the narrowness of the chambers and the deliberately more confined entrance points and passages suggested to me that people entered in very small numbers, or individually. This would be so even if a large number of people eventually did so on the same occasion, or over an extended period. In consequence, access was not necessarily, or *not only*, directed by particular members of society, but also by the very fact that a passage was added to the chambers in the first place. This strongly implies that contact with the chamber was in some sense a widely-held taboo or at least that contact with the inner chamber required management. It is therefore reasonable to interpret the possible orchestration of movement and participation as 'protecting' the living community, whoever those entering may have been. In this sense, ritual authority may not have automatically meant political authority, although it may have been one route to social power.

A wider implication of my interpretation of these sites relates to the kinds of 'top-down' political authority which archaeologists suggest for causewayed enclosures in the Earlier Neolithic period. If Gardom's Edge was not an equivalent of these sites for the Peak, it raises the possibility that the Peak was without this kind of regional-scale socio-political structure until the Later Neolithic period. At the same time, the practices I describe for the Peak

passage graves were drawn from analogies to the monumental sequences of Cotswold-Severn long cairns. Here, lineage models have been deployed to explain the limited number of human remains in their chambers, some of which were only in use for 2-3 generations (Whittle *et al.* 2007). Perhaps in the absence of inter-group enclosures in the Peak District, such a potentially narrow period of use of the plateau's passage graves might be explained in a similar way, without invoking political authority figures. The mound at Minninglow A is interesting here because, as Marsden (1982) suggests, at least one chamber may have been accessible in the Later Neolithic great barrow phase. Perhaps lineage-based social organisations lasted longer in the Peak than in the Cotswolds and elsewhere? Finally, I suggest that my definition of a coherent Cross-fertilisation phase (or phases) in the earlier Middle Neolithic period has been validated by the breadth of the material, symbolic and social connections that can be made between the cairns and long barrow-forms in Chapter 5. It is consequently a useful monument classification which may reward continued attention.

7.1.2 Later Neolithic Society

The Peak District's monumental landscapes were changed enormously in the two or three centuries either side of 3000 cal. BC. Where once a variety of communal funerary monuments had been in evidence, from around 3300 cal. BC at least five chambered monuments (and perhaps twice as many) were transformed, mostly from Cross-fertilisation structures, by being encompassed within very large, rather uniform, circular or near-circular mounds. However, the literature on sequences that are comparable to these circumstances is very limited; amounting only to some new dates for the burial deposits in similar sized mounds in Yorkshire that date *before* the enlargements in question (e.g. Gibson and Bayliss 2010), and a recent review of examples of large Neolithic mounds in *southern England* by Barber *et al.* (2010). From the former it was possible to suggest that the enlarged mounds in this phase were associated with single inhumation rather than the communal deposits of the Earlier Neolithic, and to define for the Peak District the categories of great barrow and enlarged mound. I feel that on these bases it was reasonable to date the transformations of the Peak's landscapes to the three-four centuries after c.3300 cal. BC. The latest date for this tradition is probably in the 28th century cal. BC (*cf.* Grave D, Duggleby Howe; Gibson 2008).

The Peak's classic henges probably date from the first half of the third millennium cal. BC (Harding 2003), and so may have been built some centuries after the great barrows were enlarged and Liffs Low was constructed. Indeed, on the basis of their distribution patterns I proposed that the henges were built *within the context* of a great barrow landscape. The categories I explored therefore reflected the 'great barrow-heavy' character of the early

third millennium BC Peak. I think this is reasonable given the wide distribution of the enlarged mounds across the Peak. I recast as dialectical relationships the categories of analysis that stood out: ancestral tombs/inaccessible mounds, circular mounds/enclosures (i.e. funerary barrows/henges), and I looked at the differences between the great barrows, which enlarged very ancient chambered cairns, and Liffs Low, which was constructed in a place that lacked this time depth and was spatially distinct from other Neolithic monuments.

My interpretations therefore touched upon the following issues of wider significance, which I explore in this section. First, was the social change represented in the Peak by the great barrows as uniform as the barrows themselves, and if so what was Liffs Low's place therein? Second, were henges related to this process? Are they comparable as ceremonial places to funerary barrows? At what spatial and social scales did they function? Third, were the developments in this period intended to create 'ceremonial complexes' in the Peak District (cf. Barnatt 1996b), and what does such a model do for our understanding of social organisation in the Peak District, and elsewhere?

'Late great' Neolithic barrows and the scales of social change

Of key importance when considering the Peak District's great barrows is the knowledge that the new mounds were in most cases massive enlargements of the existing monuments, far larger than functionally necessary to cover over or seal-up the existing architecture. Convincing comparisons for this monument sequence, and for the building of Liffs Low, can be made with similar sites nationally and to dated inhumations and grave goods at Yorkshire great barrows. The enlargement represented by the layers X-Z of the original Earlier Neolithic period round barrow (W) and its inhumations at Duggleby Howe (see Figure 3.17), for example, can be compared to the sequences seen in the Peak District. The wide distribution of the sites which were affected by these enlargements speaks of important changes, and the comparative density of sites with this sequence in the Peak District makes it an important area of research for this period. What is fascinating is that, here, it was not only closed chambered communal cairns that were enlarged; elongated chambered monuments, passage graves of different outwards forms, and more complex organisations of monument space (forecourts etc.) were also sealed up by the new mounds. I argue that it is highly significant that these enlargements totally obscured the distinctive architectural features of the earlier forms and that this process buried a wide range of funerary structures beneath these uniformly circular or near-circular mounds.

This observation directs attention to the distinctions that can be made between the ancestral-communal and the closed-off, inaccessible enlarged mounds, and the very few inhumations that occurred therein during this period. In Chapter 6, I recast this binary relationship as dialectic by suggesting that ancestral spaces and great barrows are the observable manifestations of underlying socio-spatial relations (see Section 2.2). I suggest two likely connections between the two monument types, which indicate that a real social process, common to other areas of Britain, occurred in the Peak during this period:

1. The transformation of monuments into reflections of a circular archetype (see Bradley 1998), which is simultaneously related to a change to single burials, reflecting a new distance of the living community from the containers of the old dead (Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). Both of these are seen outside of the Peak region, although the similarity to the Yorkshire great barrows that I highlight is especially interesting.
2. The desire to make these changes in society and the dead *explicit* through communal labours that created massive monuments in the landscape.

There are three further observations that I would now like to add. Firstly, Liffs Low's very different positioning in the landscape seems to relate to different social-spatial practices than those associated with the large funerary barrows. Although the site is in an elevated setting, there is no emphasis on visual prominence, nor is Liffs Low in an area where Earlier Neolithic monuments are to be found. Indeed, Liffs Low contrasts to most large funerary mounds by being rather close to the nearest TCZ (the Biggin basin), which is also inter-visible with the (albeit) low-profile cairn. This all supports Loveday and Barclay's (2010: 111) interpretation of the barrow as related to 'landscape niche acquisition'. I suggest that only (1) above is relevant to Liffs Low, and I agree with Loveday and Barclay that the Middle Trent valley provides a likely regional connection for the people who built this cairn.

My second reflection is that the national and regional scale distributions of the enlarged mounds have their counterpoint in *local* concerns. Their distributions with respect to the Peak District's TCZs, for example, point to a continuing social distance that was experienced at a 'neighbourhood' level, as well as across the plateau-zone and its surrounds. It seems likely that the enlarged mounds provided yet more prominent statements about the rights and obligations of different communities to the land, and about their everyday and ritualised movements through it, as much as about what we might call their 'particular dead' (the few people actually represented within the enlarged parts of the mounds). The ritual processions that I suggested in Chapters 5 and 6 (e.g. the Monyash-Lathkill area) would have been enhanced, subtly altered and renewed by the remodelling of the chambered monuments, and

supports the continuing importance of ‘the local’ among the regional and inter-regional.

There is clearly much more to learn about great barrows, and about this category’s relationship to the Peak’s late great funerary monuments. However, the third point that I would like to make may enlarge upon this interpretation of the Peak. This is that the two phenomena mentioned above are also relevant to our understanding of the Peak District’s henges and that, significantly, a far greater understanding of the use of henge space is possible, which allows us to think about scales of social organisation and ceremony.

The local and the regional significances of henges

The Peak District has two classic henges – Arbor Low near the centre of the plateau and Bull Ring 18.0km away at the limestone-zone’s north-western edge. They are, on the face of it, understandably difficult to reconcile with the notion of ‘the local’. These enclosures are the largest and most complex monuments in the Peak that can be confidently assigned a Neolithic date, and they share affinities with circular enclosures right across the British Isles. Henges have frequently been interpreted as *regional-scale* monuments, and as reflecting the coalescence of social, political and ritual ‘unity’ and the practical organisation of large numbers of people and resources (e.g. Renfrew 1981). This interpretation seems to be unanswerable (Harding 2003: 105), but it portrays architectural spaces as merely *products* of social relations, rather than being among the media of those social relations (Barrett 1994; cf. Lefebvre 1991: 115). Even when one acknowledges that the ceremonies held within henges may also have been profoundly affecting to the individuals, families and groups involved (Edmonds 1999: 148-49), as I do in Chapter 6, such approaches make it difficult to imagine the impact of these personal event and gatherings on the societies that built them. A Lefebvrian approach is one where binary opposites such as society/individual are dealt with as being ‘relational from the outset’ (Lefebvre 1991: 155). My approach has therefore been to rethink ‘society’ and ‘individual’ as themselves outward manifestations of internally related spaces: i.e. I seek to understand people in terms of their local and regional identities.

From the start of my analysis I noted that, although no positive dating is available for henges and great barrows, the distribution of the former might be interpreted as being a response to the existing regional-scale distribution of the latter. Indeed, the overall architectural form of the henges and the rather limited funerary component of the Peak examples, matched the likely background to the early third millennium BC, as described by Bradley (1998) and Edmonds and Seaborne (2001; see above). Moreover, Arbor Low’s relative proximity to the Ringham Low/Bole Hill great barrow cluster demonstrated that the significances of the henges in the Peak are not ‘detachable’ from the existing chambered

funerary mounds, which as I assert above, had a clear local significance for socio-spatial practice. This was supported by other patterns of distribution, which indicated that great barrows and henges in fact *shared* aspects of socio-spatial practices; their distributions away from social cores, for example, and their visual relationships to other monuments (see Figure 6.3).

Furthermore, the individual landscape settings and architectural organisations of both henge spaces made deliberate references to the wider cultural landscape. Indeed, these were achieved by combining and revealing aspects of the world through the experience(s) of moving to, from and through henge spaces. Both henges had a deliberately asymmetrical aspect to their organisations of space. The flat/curved aspects of the earthworks and stone circle at Arbor Low, for example, were combined with the cove's off-set position from the enclosed area's main axis to create opportunities for movement, gatherings and for the experiencing of astronomical events that referenced the local and regional cultural landscapes (see Figure 6.11 for details). At Bull Ring one bank was constructed of limestone and the other of contrasting materials, a pattern which mirrors the composition of the two flanking hillsides, and perhaps symbolically represented the practical contributions of different local populations. At the same time, the north-south causeways physically reproduced the two significant breaks in the surrounding uplands to the north and south of the henge (see Figure 6.5), and the monument's dominant position within the valley meant that this long distance route may at times have been referenced by ritualised movement through the henge.

Astronomical events were also discernible at the Peak henges, and were especially evocative at Arbor Low due to the landscape setting of the monument and the privileged position of the cove for these observations (see Figure 6.18). Here again, the two henges have patterns in common. For example, the Midwinter sunset observed from the centre of Bull Ring is seen on nearby Black Edge and directly above Bull Ring long barrow. But Black Edge can also be seen from the northern causeway at Arbor Low and the same sunset also links the interior of this henge with its satellite barrow (Gib Hill). Moreover, this pattern at Arbor Low is reversed upon the summer solstice – the Midsummer sunrise, as viewed from the long barrow, appears as if rising from within the henge (Figure 7.4). Through my Lefebvrian approach, then, the local, regional and inter-regional significances of henges, and the ritual practices and everyday concerns that brought individuals and aggregates of individuals within the henge, can be understood as intimately related.



Figure 7.4. The Midsummer solstice sunrise at Arbor Low from Gib Hill. Photograph by kind permission of John Hill (Source – Hill 2007: Figure 5).

Ceremonial complexes or monument clusters?

Ceremonial complexes are a feature of a number of Later Neolithic period landscapes in Britain, with the Ring of Brodgar landscape in Orkney and Stonehenge in Wiltshire being particularly well-known. Each of these complexes is dominated by standing stones, avenues and viewsheds that, arguably, link together different sites in ways that strongly suggest individual structures are ‘parts’ of ‘whole’ complexes. My analysis, which identified potential ceremonial complexes within the Peak, demonstrates that the ceremonial practices actually undertaken at such complexes have never been sufficiently explored. Barnatt (1996b: 65-7), for example, speculates that a varying number of deliberately organised ‘monument complexes’ were formed in the Later Neolithic period and represented the central places of greater and greater ‘socio-political’ aggregates. He suggests that, on the basis of the distribution of monument clusters on the plateau, seven large complexes coalesced, which either simultaneously held some parallel socio-spatial aspect by which they represented five meaningful social spaces, or were simply followed by five slightly larger aggregates of space (see my Figure 6.1). According to Barnatt, this process culminated in the construction of the Peak’s henges, which delineated ‘two “territories”, splitting the Limestone Plateau in half, perhaps along the Wye valley gorge’ (*ibid.*: 67).

Whilst the perspective I have taken is sympathetic to some aspects of Barnatt’s model – particularly the possibility that ‘parallel meanings’ may have been represented by different situational, rather than ‘fixed’, combinations of social spaces (*cf.* Lefebvre 1991: 42) – it is clear that his model’s debt to Central Place Theory is a real bar to understanding the

ceremony that actually defined these ceremonial complexes. Moreover, only in such abstract and geometric terms can the Wye valley gorge be said to be at the middle of the Peak's plateau: in fact, Arbor Low is closest to the limestone-zone's physiographic centre (see Figure 6.1). I therefore followed Lefebvre by criticising approaches that consider physical distances as indexes of social spaces (see Section 2.1).

It is certainly difficult to approach the Peak's many clusters of barrows as complexes because they have bequeathed to archaeologists very little evidence of repeated acts, rites or ceremonies upon which such a designation rests. However, the expectation that we can interpret social space from activities confined to limited positions within it is also an error (Lefebvre 1991). From the outset my study integrated *movements* through the landscape with *destinations* in broader socio-cultural terms (*cf.* Edmonds and Seaborne 2001). In Section 7.1, for example, I described a number of ways in which monuments spaces and topographic features in the landscape may have been experienced as both parts and wholes of different communities and aggregates of communities. Indeed, Section 7.2 and 7.3 above, describe how the relationships between ancestral places and monumental statements, locales and aggregates are more rewarding foci for study when re-conceived as internally-related phenomena. What I am therefore proposing here is that when considering monuments, clusters and complexes, we should not take an exclusive view point that neglects the critical relationship between the role of place as parts *and* wholes. I want to argue that this relationship in particular allows us to understand ceremonial complexes as operating at more than one scale of social significance. In this sense, the impression that landscapes like that of Stonehenge operated as ceremonial wholes is itself illusory. Only 'monument clusters' truly serve as 'wholes', and then only in our mode of abstraction and analysis (Lefebvre 1991: 115); as *lived* social spaces, ceremonial complexes must in fact have operated in society as parts *and* wholes.

Conclusions and new directions

The conclusions I make about Later Neolithic period society have been especially based upon the large funerary mounds and the socio-spatial patterns that I have interpreted from them. The number, density and spatial distribution of these 'late great' barrows is very striking, and invites the conclusion that their clustering was deliberate and that labour was invested to make these sites especially prominent. I consider three factors as the keys to our understanding of the start of the third millennium BC: landscape distribution patterns, circular forms, and internal sequences of the mounds and their mortuary practices. These changes in architecture in locations all over the plateau-zone (but somewhat more marked in the south) seem to signify that Peak society underwent great social changes at the start of the Later

Neolithic period. However, my interpretation will of course remain unproven until a greater number of large mounds in the Peak are confirmed as being great barrows by excavation. Minninglow A and Tideslow have been excavated in modern times (see Barnatt 1996b for details), and so only Pea Low and Ringham Low now survive in a sufficient state to be the foci of such a project. That Liffs Low, comparable in some respects to Duggleby Howe's primary mound, differs from the spatial patterns of the larger barrows is also significant, although this site's uniqueness makes conclusions hard to draw. In my approach I avoided replacing the regional significances of henges with the intimate by looking at the social context (i.e. the dialectic) in which *both* could be reasonably said to have existed: in ritual practices. In my analysis I discovered clear evidence that each of these socio-spatial scales were brought together in the highly organised events and carefully structured interiors of the henges, such that we can now consider the Peak's henges to have been simultaneously both local and regional spaces.

7.1.3 Achievements of my Lefebvrian approach

It is clear from the above sections that my thesis has contributed in a significant way to our knowledge of society in the Neolithic Peak District. Not only has my Lefebvrian model of the production of space revealed previously hidden facets of Neolithic society and architecture in the Peak, but my research has also provided the first detailed study of this subject in some years. It has highlighted inter-regional connections between the Peak and other parts of the UK, and has illustrated the sheer wealth and diversity of Neolithic monuments in the region, which until now have been sorely neglected. The following is a summary of these achievements with respect to the goals outlined in Chapter 1:

1. My interpretations of Neolithic monuments in the Peak District challenges both the territorial communication model (e.g. the locations of long barrows) and the evolution of foci model (Barnatt's conception of monument complexes) of classic central place theory (that is, materialistic space → society methodologies; see Section 1.2.1).
2. My interpretations successfully question and move beyond interpretations which see monuments as merely the *products* of social relations (for example, Parker Pearson's and Ramilisonina's 1998 scheme for Stonehenge), typical of social constructionist perspectives (i.e. idealistic society → space methodologies; see Section 1.2.1 and 1.2.2, criticism 5).
3. My interpretations deliberately acknowledge and challenge the influence of normative classifications of monuments (e.g. long barrows/chambered cairns) by focussing on

architectural forms (such as forecourts and façades) which are common to both, thus upsetting the similarity/difference dichotomy of archaeological terminology. Reworking dichotomy (space → society) into dialectic (space ↔ society) has been the central theme of the thesis.

4. This has led to the introduction of the cross-fertilisation monument as a novel class of structure, with a particular architectural history and significance, which in turn enables activities around monuments and movement to-and-from structures to be foregrounded in ways that break down the dichotomy between the site and the landscape (Section 1.2.2, criticisms 2 and 3). It has also raised the significance of the blocking-up and remodelling of these monuments, which characterised the great barrow phases of many sites.
5. A multi-scalar spatial analysis is common to my interpretations, which examines categories such as local/regional, site/landscape, monument/TCZ, ritual/everyday, whilst including at all times the human scale of socio-spatial life in the Neolithic Peak (criticism 5).
6. It is worth underscoring that this takes my research beyond symbolic aspects of landscape, although these are deliberately still very prominent in my interpretations (criticism 2).
7. The basis for my interpretations is the rigorous spatial analysis of sites and monuments with respect to ten criteria of spatial distribution, landscape setting and topographic relationships (outlined in Section 4.3). This is criticism 1 of Section 1.2.2.
8. However, my analysis also advances beyond mere description of where and how landscape and topography are important in the placement of monuments (criticism 3) by understanding the monuments' roles in wider landscapes of meaning and social practice (see points 4 and 5, above).
9. Moreover, although I commenced with a collection of geometric (i.e. distances between monuments) and visually-dominant (e.g. inter-visibility) criteria, typical of modern Western-value concepts (criticism 4), I integrated the tactile senses into this framework (e.g. the different make-up of the banks at the two henges, and the significances of natural springs). I also included speculatively subjective factors such as the diffuse (i.e. immaterial) locations of breaks in ritual practices, the effects of seasonal and temporal variations in activity, and so on (see pages 238 and 247, above).

7.2 EVALUATION OF MY LEFEBVRIAN MODEL

In Chapter 1, I suggested that a Lefebvrian approach to the relationship between space and society was a potentially productive one for archaeologists who study landscapes and monuments. I based this proposal initially on Lefebvre's significance in geography over the last 20 or 30 years, and upon the ongoing critical engagement with his work by social geographers. I also recognised that archaeologists have found Lefebvre's critique of binary understandings of space and his basic premise of a three-fold conception of social space to be stimulating. Here is a model which, it seems to me, offers a structure by which the advances of the post-processual critique of abstract and objective approaches to research could be combined with grounding in empirical spatial analysis which they so often lack. However, I also made the observation that in effect no Lefebvrian model had yet been produced by archaeologists. As a consequence, Lefebvre's own potential contribution to spatial thought – which I suggested may be quite different from that of the social geographers most associated with him (e.g. Soja 1996; Shields 1999), to whom archaeologists owe their understanding of his work – has not been fully explored or implemented. My thesis was conceived precisely as an archaeologists' exploration of Lefebvre's potential.

In this section I evaluate three key outcomes of employing a Lefebvrian methodological approach in general, and my own model in particular. First, I look at Lefebvre's three-fold model of the production of space; second, I critically review my attempt to construct a Lefebvrian spatial dialectical model of the production of space for archaeology, and; third I return to my general summary of the current failings of archaeologies of landscape (Section 1.2.2), and evaluate whether Lefebvre's spatial theory and my attempt to implement it for archaeology have had positive effects upon these problems.

7.2.1 Space and Society: a 'three part' dialectic?

This relationship is very difficult to conceptualise, but is at the heart of Lefebvre's philosophy and spatial epistemology. First, in the quotation with which Chapter 1 begins, Lefebvre (1991: 115) states that 'no individual or entity may be considered ultimately responsible for production [of space] itself'. This appears paradoxical – how can Lefebvre claim that 'no individual or entity' produces space? Second, as Singleton (2001: 104) points out, in Lefebvre's conception space is produced in the relationships between *three* categories – how and why should space and society be modelled in this way? In this section I confront these two critical points and assess how with a clearer understanding of these bases archaeologists can adopt a Lefebvrian standpoint from existing archaeological approaches to landscapes.

The dialectic of space and society

When Lefebvre (1991) states that there is no ultimate origin point or first causes of production, he is in fact alluding to the philosophy of the dialectic, an intellectual position for which production is an open-ended and continuous historical process. What may seem like distinct causes and effects (cause/effect) are rather the outward manifestations of underlying historical-social processes (cause ↔ effect; McGuire 1992: 95-6). What appears paradoxical is actually logical because dialectical thought recognises that categories of analysis are in fact internally-related and mutually sustaining (Ollman 2003: 51-5). In this sense, space and society are internally-related because there can be no space without society, and *vice versa*: they are ‘relational from the outset’ (Lefebvre 1991: 155). Anything else is just an abstraction – a mental representation of a real relationship which is based upon a pre-structuring of reality in terms of externally-related phenomena.

Archaeologists may doubt the efficacy of such an intellectual construct, but they themselves have attempted in different ways to conceptualise precisely such a relationship. Sections 1.2 and 2.1, indeed, showed just how similar the perspectives of post-processual archaeologists and social geographers are in their critique of the ‘disabling dualisms’ (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 120-1), ‘whose potency they wish to challenge’ (Smith 2005: 22). However, as I brought out in Section 1.2, there is clear evidence that archaeologists have still not overcome the problematic ‘form follows function’ or ‘function follows form’ inferences in their approach to the space-society relationship. Lefebvre’s spatialisation of the dialectic provides an unrivalled opportunity to model the relationship between the material and spatial forms that are archaeologists’ bread and butter, and the social relations that they want to comprehend as intimately related to them, in an integration of form and function (form ↔ function). In modelling a Lefebvrian spatial dialectical model of the production of space, my thesis contributes towards resolving archaeologists’ dichotomy problems and demonstrates spatial dialectic’s utility for archaeology.

The production of space as a three-fold process

How and why should the relationship between space and society be modelled as comprising three-parts? As I described in Chapter 1, Lefebvre’s basic approach to the dichotomised ‘Cartesian/Western logos’ (Lefebvre 1991: 1-7) was to use, as points of departure, the three commonsense significances that space has in our everyday lives and research. These are, of course, the perception of the physical and material world (I); conceptual, intellectual and linguistic terms and technologies used to communicate information about space (II), and;

social relations, that is, society as the context for (I) and (II). What Lefebvre does is recast the notion of society as the product or producer (I) and (II) by reformulating *social space* (III) as the domain of ‘the lived’. This ‘thirding’ of the space and society relationship (Soja 1996: 67) is entirely new and ‘resolves the conflict between the previous two, without being reducible to either’ (Elden 2004: 187).

The basis for this is the centrality of the Hegelian-Marxist dialectic in his spatial epistemology which amounts to the integration of binary opposites (i.e. material/ideal, object/subject; see Table 1.1) into a methodology of three dialectically-related analytical categories. As outlined above, a dialectical relationship is one where the categories are internally-related. In Lefebvre’s recasting of the space-society relationship as a ‘spatial triad’ (Lefebvre 1991: 39), the three commonsense categories are indeed, as Singleton (2001: 104) observes, ‘analysed one by one’ but attention is *also* given to the *internal relations between each of the three sequential categories*. It is this dual study (categories and relations) that is so characteristic of Lefebvre’s spatial thought and allows us to understand the very process by which space is produced in social relations. In order to experience the physical qualities of space, for example, we require both a conceptual framework and a social context in which to do so – there are quite simply no purely physical spaces or experiences of space outside of our modes of abstraction. When conceived in the commonsense mode even a three-fold study of the physical, conceptual and social experiences of spaces isolates each from one another and reproduces only their external relations. In understanding the logical necessity of this dual (categories and relations) aspect of the space-society relationship within Lefebvre’s (1991: 33-4) ‘three-fold spatial dialectic’ I have (uniquely) orientated my research towards Lefebvre’s own spatial dialectical model of the production of space and have broken new ground by applying it to archaeology.

7.2.2 My model of Lefebvrian “production”

In Chapters 2 and 4 I took forwards my understanding of the basic principles of Lefebvre’s spatial thought and attempted to construct a model that was suitable for use on archaeological landscapes in general and in the Peak District in particular. This process had two aspects: the first being to draw up a schematic representation of Lefebvre’s analytical categories, internal relations and his overall intellectual process; and the second being to identify socio-spatial questions and data that would allow me to populate each of these steps in my model with the kinds of phenomena encountered by archaeologists in their researches. Both of these aspects require critical reviewing because I made choices as I developed my model, and sometimes there were alternatives.

Representing social space schematically

My first option for representing Lefebvre's ideas was simply to go no further than what is already well understood about his model: namely, that the basic structure comprises three analytical categories or terms – social-spatial practices etc. – which are studied one by one, and that each has a particular aspect upon which the study is focused (see Table 2.2). Social-spatial practices, for example, 'have close affinities with *perceived* space, to people's perceptions of the world' (Merrifield 2006: 110, original emphasis; cf. Exon *et al.* 2000; Singleton 2001). However, I dismissed this model early on as being totally inadequate for Lefebvre's intentions as stated in *The Production of Space*. At the very least, I contend, this model needed to be enlarged upon: indeed, as it stood, there was no sense of the relations between categories being understood as internally related, which is a fundamental part of Lefebvre's philosophy and spatial thought, and so no way of thinking about what phenomena were being studied.

I next examined three schematics of Lefebvre's ideas and determined the following: 1) a range of possible 'moments of the production of space', each comprised of the analytical categories, were abstracted in a Marxist fashion; 2) Lefebvre sees the categories as internally related (Ollman 2003); 3) Table 2.2 should, as a result, be remodelled to reflect the fact that each spatial analytic category is composed of all three 'moments' (see Table 2.3); 4) in order to retain the original connection of each analytical category to a particular 'moment', I modelled each category as having both a 'primary' and 'secondary' focus (see column B); finally, 5) Lefebvre (1991: 38), like Marx and Engels (1977), conceived of reality as first encountered through human beings' situated socio-cultural engagement with the world's physicality. I suggest that these points comprise an authentic presentation of the key facets of Lefebvre's model and I have faithfully reproduced them in my final schematics (Table 2.3 and Figure 2.7). With one possible exception, no alternative intellectual structuring of Lefebvre's thought was possible from my analysis of the primary and secondary literature. The possible exception is potentially controversial: my dismissal in Section 2.1 of Soja's conception of the production of space, based on philosophical appreciations of Lefebvre's thought. I stand by this decision and refer the reader to Section 2.1.3.

Identifying socio-spatial questions and data

From Table 2.3 I devised a further representation of Lefebvre's model as an intellectual process by matching the approaches of geographical and archaeological practices to a basic three-fold methodological sequence (Figure 2.6). For example, I suggested that the theories of

space and place employed by social geographers (e.g. Merrifield 2006) and similar approaches by archaeologists using phenomenology and practice theory (e.g. Thomas 1996) accurately represented Lefebvre's conception of social-spatial practice (*cf.* Exon *et al.* 2000). It was on these bases that I built a practical Lefebvrian spatial dialectical model of the production of space and this was also how I organised my analyses in Chapters 5 and 6. I would like to acknowledge here that, whilst Figure 2.6 captures much that is valuable for our understanding of the sequence of analytical categories in Lefebvre's model (the squares), it does not reflect very well these categories' internal relationships (the circles) or the 'circular' open-ended character of the intellectual process. However, this is in a sense appropriate because my case study was not intended, in the current document at least, to continue unrestricted. I therefore suggest that my representation of my model in Figure 2.6 is reasonable in the context of my case study and the assessment of its findings; more so because my interpretations, discussed in Chapter 7, are by definition open-ended because this is the nature of archaeological enquiry.

7.2.3 Going Beyond Post-processual Approaches

This section is based around my general summary of the current failings of archaeologies of landscape (Section 1.2.2), and evaluates whether Lefebvre's spatial theory and my attempt to implement it for archaeology have had a positive effect upon the problems I identified there. I approach each of these six points in turn:

The need for systematic spatial analysis

This criticism was based on observations by archaeologists who have been critical of the reception of ideas of space and spatiality in their discipline (Blake 2004; Exon *et al.* 2000) and archaeologists critical of the post-modern character of the post-processual project more generally (e.g. Fleming 1999). I suggest that my use of Lefebvre's model has been particularly centred upon a systematic analysis of spatial phenomena, which has proved fruitful in combining the demands for verification of empirical data with a speculative and creative approach akin to post-processualism at its best. I must acknowledge, however, that I have not taken advantage of GIS computerised spatial analyses in my case study. This is an obvious avenue for my future research.

Over-emphasis on the symbolic meanings of topography

My second observation is that current archaeological approaches routinely conceive of their spatial data narrowly and abstractly in terms of the *symbolic* valuations of the environment. These are then portrayed as if entirely separated from other spheres of life. Lefebvre's model enables analysis to specifically target dichotomies such as everyday/symbolic, and indeed I took this approach when I reconceived, on the one hand, topographic features such as hilltops and prominent monuments as having a practical value in movement and orientation around the Peak District and, on the other hand, phenomena such as the previously only agriculturally-defined TCZs in broader socio-cultural terms. This latter enabled these social spaces' significances in the Neolithic to be explored in terms of being factors in the underlying relationships between special and symbolic, and practical and domestic meanings.

'The importance of landscapes'

I criticised the over-emphasis on the symbolic aspects of landscapes for having produced dubious interpretations of the significances of certain topographic features for the positioning (distribution, orientation, etc) of Neolithic monuments in their vicinity in situations where these topographies can hardly be avoided. The classic example is the significance Cummings and Whittle (2004) attached to the views of the sea and mountains that can be had from megalithic monuments around the mountainous coast of south-west Wales. I am not wholly convinced by Cummings' (2009) recent response to Fleming (1999) that, because there is a monument in south Wales which does not share these patterns, the significance of those that do is so much the greater.

I argue instead that any symbolic significance attached to the respective locations of monuments and topographic features must be understood in terms of their roles within social practices. I implemented this perspective by exploring the distributions and settings of monuments – with respect to the TCZs, rock outcrops, water courses etc. – as possible factors in rites of passage that utilised the landscape and the monuments themselves. I developed this viewpoint from Lefebvre's conception of spaces of representation in Chapter 4, and applied it at a number of different spatial scales (e.g. TCZ/socially distant places, individual monuments, and architectural aspects of monuments). This approach provided my thesis with some of the most valuable insights into the Neolithic landscapes and monuments.

Modern Western value-concepts

My main examples of modern Western values were the dominance of the visual sense in interpretations of spatial data, and presumptions and misunderstandings that authority figures, ‘the ancestors’, gender roles, etc. are value-free neutral perspectives (Insoll 2007a). Although in identifying and questioning these assumptions I have gone some way towards exposing them and showing how a Lefebvrian perspective offers the opportunity to break them down, in my own research I did not directly pursue sensory experiences of space other than the visual, nor did I discover evidence alternative gender roles. However, it is in some degree assumed that particular a valuation of rock outcrops or natural springs, for example, involved peoples’ tactile and olfactory senses. My analyses of movement around and within Cross-fertilisation monuments revealed potential alternative interpretations of authority by attempting to understand the entrances and passages of passage grave-type cairns as the media rather than the outcomes of ritual authority. However, inevitably the focus for these interpretations was in fact ‘the ancestors’.

Movement, space and place

In Section 1.2.2 I observed that post-processual archaeologists are often interested in bodily movement and paths through prehistoric architecture and landscapes, but that they frequently fail to capture the dynamic between movement and place. I argue that this is what leads good archaeologies towards synchronic and episodic interpretations of space that are detached from the real world experiences. For example, Parker Pearson and Ramilisonina’s (1998) interpretation of the Stonehenge landscape indeed involves movement (‘between the living and the dead’), but since spatial changes are only dealt with at landscape spatial scales and epochal time periods (see Figure 1.4), they fail to reach the human scales of lived space. Lefebvre’s model, by contrast, allows us to think about the relationships between movement and space as *internally-related*, i.e. as the manifestations of underlying phenomena. In my thesis I have examined monuments in way that extend their spatial presence out into the surrounding landscape. For example, I examined the forecourts of Cross-fertilisation monuments not only as spaces in which to gather but also as places where people could take in particular views or make different directional movements to/from the physical space of the site. This approach is an advance on those which appear to map spaces and movements between them as essentially unchanging (over great spans of time) and divorced from people’s platial construction of space.

Forgetting about power and inequality?

Finally, I have taken Tilley (2004: 219) to task for suggesting that the landscapes and monuments of Brittany, Malta and Sweden are ‘radically open’ for interpretation by others, when in reality it is manifestly not the case that ‘anyone can visit these stones’ (*ibid.*). Despite making this point and basing my research on the works of an avowedly Marxist thinker and revolutionary, have I at times forgotten about power and inequality in my research? In fact I find this difficult to judge. There has perhaps inevitably been more emphasis on these points in my theoretical chapters rather than in my case study due to the paucity of evidence regarding inequalities of wealth and power in the Neolithic Peak District. I have also deliberately attempted to avoid the common expectation of naturally occurring authority figures and narrowly confined gender roles, but which, I hope, has not introduced an assumption of community-wide *equality* in its place. Perhaps it is time to return to themes of authority, class and group identity, long absent from archaeology, in a rigorous manner. A good place to start may be ‘Ideology, symbolic power and ritual communication: a reinterpretation of Neolithic burial practices’ (Shanks and Tilley 1982).

7.2.4 Continuing to think about space and society

As I reiterated above, my model is the first to attempt to assemble and deploy Lefebvre’s spatial theory for archaeology. I do not claim that it is either definitive or without controversy. However, I feel that my Lefebvrian model, which I have referred to as a ‘spatial dialectical model of the production of space’, has been effective in rethinking and integrating binary oppositions of spatial thought, and combining them with a programme of spatial analysis appropriate to an archaeological study of landscapes. I have interpreted my data in a way that *challenges* binary categories of analysis, presenting a dialectical approach that breaks down ridged paired distinctions into a three-fold model of the ongoing process of the production of social spaces. Whilst it is not possible to entirely leave behind the simple distinctions and causal logic made between, for example, core/periphery, local/regional, funerary/domestic, and great barrow/henge, I contend that my analysis avoids the erroneous pre-structuring of reality common to modern Western thought, offering in its place a philosophy of internal relations. This philosophy directs attention towards ‘categories as social relations’ and analyses the connections between these categories, as well as the categories themselves. In conclusion, I am convinced that my thesis has made a valuable contribution to archaeology’s ongoing rethinking of the relationships between space and society. I have demonstrated that Lefebvre’s work is of great significance for archaeologists and I look forward to seeing his

ideas become more widely appreciated. I therefore answer Harvey's question in the affirmative – using a Lefebvrian model of the production of space, appropriate to archaeology, is indeed a new form of knowing.

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