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About the Association

The RRRA was formed in 2015 as a registered charity to bring together disparate individuals who were researching Roman roads, and to coordinate a nationwide programme of consistent and high quality research, promoting the study of Roman roads and Roman heritage throughout the former Roman province of *Britannia*. Over the last couple of decades, it has often been a race against time to discover and record what we can of the 60% of the Roman road network about which we are still uncertain, since modern agricultural methods and urban development have been steadily removing surviving features from the landscape. Fortunately, new technologies such as lidar and geophysical survey have helped enormously and enabled researchers to identify the remains of hundreds of miles of previously unknown Roman roads, along with associated Roman sites, and we continue to work to fill the many gaps. Research is only half the story though, we also have to ensure that the results of our work are readily available. We aim to:

1. bring together all known information on Roman roads in Britain, summarised in a freely accessible online interactive gazetteer, hoped to be complete by 2026.
2. identify key sites where important questions remain, and organise fieldwork necessary to answer those questions. 200 Ha of geophysical survey have been completed, with a further 400 Ha already planned, and several future excavations are currently at the planning stage.
3. encourage the involvement of as many people as possible in our activities. We care passionately about community archaeology, and will always encourage local people to get involved in our work, without any charge (unlike some organisations, we will never do this!).
4. make resources available to researchers and other groups, organise events to keep people up to date with research including online talks & seminars.
5. ensure that all our published work is Open Access, including our quarterly newsletter and *Itinera* (following a brief one year members only embargo).

Membership is open to everyone, and our four hundred and seventy or so members come from a wide variety of backgrounds, ranging from those with just a general interest in our Roman heritage to professional archaeologists from both the public and commercial sectors, alongside seasoned Roman roads researchers. The Romans tended to apply their technology uniformly across the empire, this is especially so for Roman road layout and construction. Consequently we do not just restrict our interest to *Britannia* and our membership now includes many international members. Joining the RRRA gives you the knowledge that your modest subscription (just £14 a year for a single adult) is helping to support our important work. You might even get a warm and fuzzy glow.

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EDITORIAL

ROBERT ENTWISTLE

The publishing of *Itinera* Volume II is no less an important moment than that of Volume I: it demonstrates that our journal has arrived definitively as a point of reference for all transport-related aspects of Roman archaeology – and that this has been possible in a year dominated by Pandemic-related lockdowns. As in Volume I, you will find a range of authoritative and stimulating papers aiming to develop the study and understanding of everything to do with Roman roads and transport, for academics and the informed public alike.

In this volume you will find some contributors familiar to you from the last volume, and other important new ones. We are delighted to have a welcome extension of focus to other regions of the Roman empire, drawing us beyond a comfortable local perspective. We publish a lively paper (translated by Mike Bishop) from the Spanish academic and presenter Isaac Moreno Gallo, who has, single-handedly, done much to develop an informed awareness of Roman roads in his native country. A man of trenchant views, he champions a rational and rigorous approach not always evident in the past. The perspective he provides has much in common with that of the UK, while being stimulatingly distinct. *Itinera* would be most pleased to host other papers from international contributors, developing an understanding of roads and transport systems across the empire.

Once again, we have an impressive range to the topics covered in our journal. The international theme is continued by Bev Knott who considers an aspect of transport that may be new to many: the likely extent and impact of brigandage and banditry on the roads across the empire. Closer to home we have a major paper from David Ratledge, who has become Britain's leading interpreter of Lidar in terms of Roman roads. He demonstrates the remarkable degree to which he has been able to extend knowledge of Norfolk's Roman roads, filling in gaps on the map. At the other end of the country, our Chairman, Mike Haken, explores what Lidar is able to reveal for the Stainmore Pass. He investigates how this might develop understanding of a murky but much-debated topic, the relation of some Roman roads to Iron-Age predecessors.

Of course, roads are not only a topic of study in their own right but help us develop understanding of other areas of archaeology and history. Thus Dave Armstrong, who recently published a book on the Hadrian's Wall Military Way, contributes a paper that is likely to become a work of reference in its own right. It explores and sets out the sum of present knowledge on the network of link roads connecting the Wall to other aspects of Roman infrastructure in the North, a topic little examined in the past.

Yet another topic is tackled by John Poulter in a paper recording how Roman Long-distance Alignments came to be suspected, recognised and understood, with worked examples from

across the country. A further paper investigates how such matters could potentially elucidate aspects of the Claudian Invasion. Finally, and returning us to basics, we have accounts of road excavations from different ends of the country: the Culver Archaeology Project in East Sussex, and an excavation supported by NAA (Northern Archaeological Associates) in Lancashire.

Our section 'Roman Roads in 2021' is inevitably impacted by a year in which Covid 19 has limited much fieldwork, including the work of many local societies. Fortunately, through our valued local correspondents, we can see that not all the work of investigation ceased.

A new enterprise this year is our introduction of Book Reviews, a feature we hope to continue and develop in years to come. We are most grateful to Dave Fell and John Poulter for their contributions on this occasion.

We should not forget that the RRRA is a charity supported only by its own expanding membership. The dedicated band that makes the production of this journal possible to the highest professional standards, has done so through generous donation of time and expertise, whether they be experienced archaeological professionals or knowledgeable enthusiasts contributing specialist skills, understanding and commitment. This is the group that make up our Editorial Committee and Advisory Panel (listed at the front of this volume), and our wider network of supporters and contributors.

Ultimately, of course, we are dependent upon our authors for demonstrating the health and range of this aspect of Roman archaeology. Our 'Notes for Contributors' are readily available on the *Itinera* section of the RRRA website, and we encourage all, professional or otherwise, to submit their papers to us. All contributions will be peer reviewed, and we take great pleasure in publishing all that can pass that test. We look forward to your contributions for our next volume.

Robert Entwistle

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Long-distance Alignments and Client Kingdoms in the Conquest settlement

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Abstract

This study builds upon a linked paper by John Poulter in this same volume studying Long-distance Alignments. In addition to three examples discussed by Poulter this paper examines a further two, suggesting that all should be seen as an extended chain. The strategic function of this alignment chain is proposed to be an administrative boundary, leading to queries about the nature of the early province.

The traditional view of the conquest has been one of Roman forces overwhelming a coalition of southern tribes led by Togodumnus and Caratacus, then imposing military rule upon the defeated population. Scholars have expressed doubts about this picture, but no new consensus has emerged. This paper argues that Long-distance Alignments interpreted as administrative boundaries are best understood in the context of an early province dominated by client kingdoms and imposition of Roman rule by consent.

The study falls into two parts: a) presentation of the alignments and b) analysis of the proposed strategic function in the context of literary and archaeological sources for Conquest Britain.

Part 1: presenting the Long-distance Alignments

A number of Long-distance alignments are considered by John Poulter in an accompanying article, examining the circumstances that led to the identification of each. This section of the present study considers three of those alignments (Examples 14, 16 and 17) and adds two more, postulating that all five should be understood as an interrelated group.

Four of the five alignments appear to form an extended chain: Colchester-Leicester, Leicester-Cirencester, North Wraxall towards Cirencester, and Silbury Hill towards Bath. The fifth alignment, through Alchester (first drawn to my attention by Brewer [2022]) runs closely parallel to the Leicester-Cirencester alignment and subdivides the area enclosed by that chain.

The two alignments requiring presentation at this point are North Wraxall towards Cirencester, and Silbury Hill towards Bath.

North Wraxall - towards Cirencester

This Long-distance Alignment underlies a substantial section of the Fosse Way between Cirencester and Bath, passing close by the source of the Thames in the Cotswolds. It is separately described in Volume I of *Itinera* (Entwistle 2021, 51).

Although the Fosse Way connects Cirencester and Bath, the underlying alignment does not precisely target either of those places. Two minor course corrections to the alignment are needed at the northern end to reach Cirencester – at Long Newnton and at Cotswold Airport. At its southern end, the road parts company with it at North Wraxall to continue into Bath. If the alignment were projected onward it would pass Bath a little to the west, but it may never have continued so far, as while still north of the city, it seems to have branched off the second Long-distance Alignment (heading east-west from Silbury Hill).

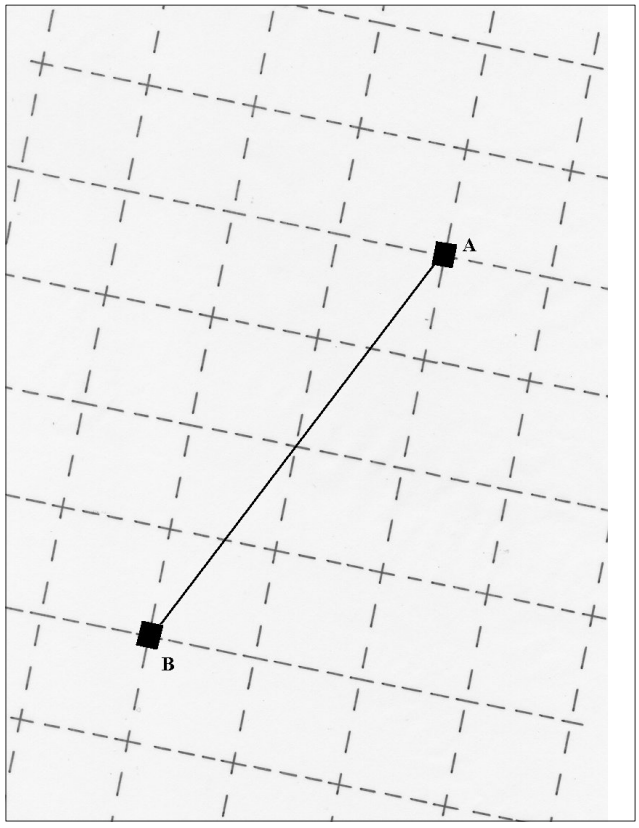
Silbury Hill towards Bath

Evidence has recently emerged of a substantial Romano-British settlement at the foot of Silbury Hill indicating that the prehistoric mound was regarded as a significant presence at this time, even though its original purpose must have been long forgotten (Leary and Field 159-164, 2010). It is also established that Roman road surveyors used it as an observation platform (Margary 1973, 136). The road (RR53) departs westward from Silbury Hill in a straight line for 4km before diverging, partly perhaps to avoid the difficult ground of Calstone Down. Using a digital platform such as Google Earth, however, demonstrates beyond doubt that after a deviation of 9 km, the road returns to its original line, thereupon continuing for a further 16 km across the River Avon to the hills above Bath. The whole alignment to this point is 29 km long (Entwistle 2019, 66).

Although the Silbury Hill alignment and the previous one would at first sight appear to be separate entities, they meet if each is projected beyond the point where they part company with their roads. Careful measurement of their bearings shows the angle of separation between them to be 52.86 degrees (see table). This angle is indicative of Roman planning, indicating a high probability that the two were laid out in a single planning exercise.

Roman practice was not to measure angles in degrees, but to mark the bearing of a line in relation to the axes of an established right-angle – for example counting three units along one axis and two units along the other, to define a line projected between them (Lewis 2001, 228). This approach is most evident where roads make a planned crossing of centuriated land, that is land which has been surveyed to form chequer-board style squares, typically of 20 actus width and length. In these circumstances roads often traverse a grid in a planned manner, passing through the corners of squares that have been counted horizontally and vertically (Poulter 2014, 40).

Long-distance Alignments, however, could not be laid out in reference to a pre-established grid, necessitating a different solution for defining angles of turn. Judging from the



Road crossing a centuriated area in a planned manner (2x4)

(Courtesy John Poulter)

frequency with which four particular angles are found (termed Alpha [53.13°], Beta [36.87°], Gamma [61.93°] and Delta [28.07°]), military surveyors adopted the same principle but used the axes of defined length found in two particular right-angled triangles, readily assembled from rods measured in whole units – the 3:4:5 and 8:15:17. Each is part of a triangle 'family' known as 'Pythagorean triples', used in land surveying as far back as Babylonian times (Mansfield and Wildberger, 2017). The 3:4:5 and 8:15:17 triangles specifically find mention in the writings of Roman engineers and surveyors, notably Vitruvius (*De Architectura*, IX, vi) and Nipsus (Dilke 1967, 27). For those curious to pursue the topic, more information is available elsewhere (Entwistle 2019, 101-106).

The Silbury Hill and south Cirencester alignments, as has been observed, are separated by 52.86 degrees. This is within 0.27 degrees of a perfect Alpha angle, implying that they were surveyed as a single branched Long-distance Alignment, presumably for a single strategic purpose (Entwistle 2019, 66-68). The starting point for the survey would have been Silbury Hill, as surveyors coming in the other direction would have found it all but impossible to target such a precise location.

The alignment chain.

Taken together, we may trace a continuous chain of Long-distance Alignments stretching from Colchester (on the east coast) north-west to Leicester, south-west to Cirencester, onwards towards Bath, then eastwards to Silbury Hill. This seemingly odd location is distinguished by being placed at the Headwater of the River Kennet – and it would seem unlikely to be a matter of chance that the chain terminates where the River Kennet begins. That river flows eastward through the modern counties of Wiltshire and Berkshire to join the Thames at Reading, which itself flows onward to London and the sea. Thus, the rivers and alignment chain together mark out a major portion of the early province – not least the entire Thames Valley from estuary to source.

Part 2 of this paper adopts the hypothesis that this demarcation of territory is a matter of deliberate Roman planning. For convenience of reference the series of Long-distance Alignments will be termed 'the alignment chain'.

Table of Long-distance Alignments forming the 'alignment chain'

Alignment	Terminal locations used for measurement	Bearing and angles	Observations
Leicester to Colchester	East of Leicester, Gartree Rd: (4)64385, (3)01289 Gog Magog hills: (5)57991, (2)48888	119.24° bearing 89.4° from Leicester to Cirencester: close to 90°	Challenging to measure exactly. 89.4° assumes that RR24 SE of Cambridge uses the alignment. Poulter's measurement is fractionally greater: 89.6°.
Leicester to Cirencester	Stretton-on-Dunsmore (4)41166, (2)72745 Near Blackwell (4)24692, (2)42566	208.64° bearing	Parallel to Fringford-Alchester-Littlecote alignment (below): 0.14° difference as measured.
North Wraxhall towards Cirencester	Near North Wraxall (3)81152, (1)75063 Near Long Newnton (3)91782, (1)91362	33.11° bearing	Probably surveyed off the Silbury Hill alignment.
Bathford to Silbury Hill	Above Bathford 380707, 166475 SIlbury Hill (4)10019, (1)68538	85.97° bearing	Angle from alignment towards Cirencester is 52.86°: close to perfect Alpha angle of 53.13°.
Fringford to Alchester - Littlecote	Newton Morrell (4)61671, (2)29261 Grove (4)40765, (1)90763	208.5° bearing	89.26° from Leicester-Cirencester, as here measured.

Part 2: Strategic function of the alignment chain

All alignments in the chain are characterised and identified by roads running along parts of them, but (as is usual with Long-distance Alignments) none is followed by a road for anything like its whole length. When the survey date of an alignment can be estimated (as in the case of Leicester-Cirencester) it is often judged to have significantly preceded road construction along the line (Poulter 2009, 28; Entwistle 2021, 52). We must therefore look further than routeway guidance for the *raison d'être* of this huge exercise in surveying.

One possibility is that the alignments were part of a major measurement and assessment of territory: it would be reasonable to expect something of the sort in a new province. However, differences that we may observe in the management of areas outside and within the alignment chain (see below) suggest that this solution is not sufficient, and that the alignments represented some sort of boundary distinguishing between zones. This is the hypothesis that we will pursue.

The most obvious purpose of a boundary might be to mark the limits of the early province. A previous generation of scholars viewed the Fosse Way in this light and we have shown that two of the Long-distance Alignments in the chain underlie sections of that road. Nowadays, however, the idea of the Fosse Way frontier is rejected – partly because the road carried no close-set chain of forts as might be expected of a military frontier, and partly because First Century Rome did not make a practice of establishing linear limits to empire. Boundary lines, however, were certainly used for administrative and ceremonial purposes, and therefore we should take notice of anything indicating differences in administrative organisation either side of the alignment chain.

The alignment chain seems to distinguish remarkably well between those parts of the province that are 'policed' by forts, and those that are not. On the line of the chain we find the legionary fortress of Colchester, and forts at Godmanchester, (possibly) Leicester, and Cirencester. Westward of the chain we find a sweep of first century forts: large vexillation forts at Kingsholm (ie Gloucester), Metchley, Kinvaston and Mancetter, and other forts such as The Lunt, Alcester, Droitwich and Wall. To the north we find a vexillation fort at Longthorpe and other forts at Great Casterton and Ancaster. Yet in the very extensive territories south and east of the alignment chain, including the entire valley of the Thames, we find not one confirmed Claudian fort other than Alchester. The forts at Great Chesterford and Dorchester-on-Thames, for example, have both been shown to be of a later period and a suspected fort at St. Albans is now disproved. Other military remains, as at Chichester and Syndale (Kent), appear not to be associated with formal forts. Unless archaeology has entirely failed us, it would seem evident that we are looking at different forms of administration in the two areas. Whether or not we interpret the chain of Long-distance Alignments as a formal boundary between these zones, we should acknowledge that it distinguishes between them remarkably well.

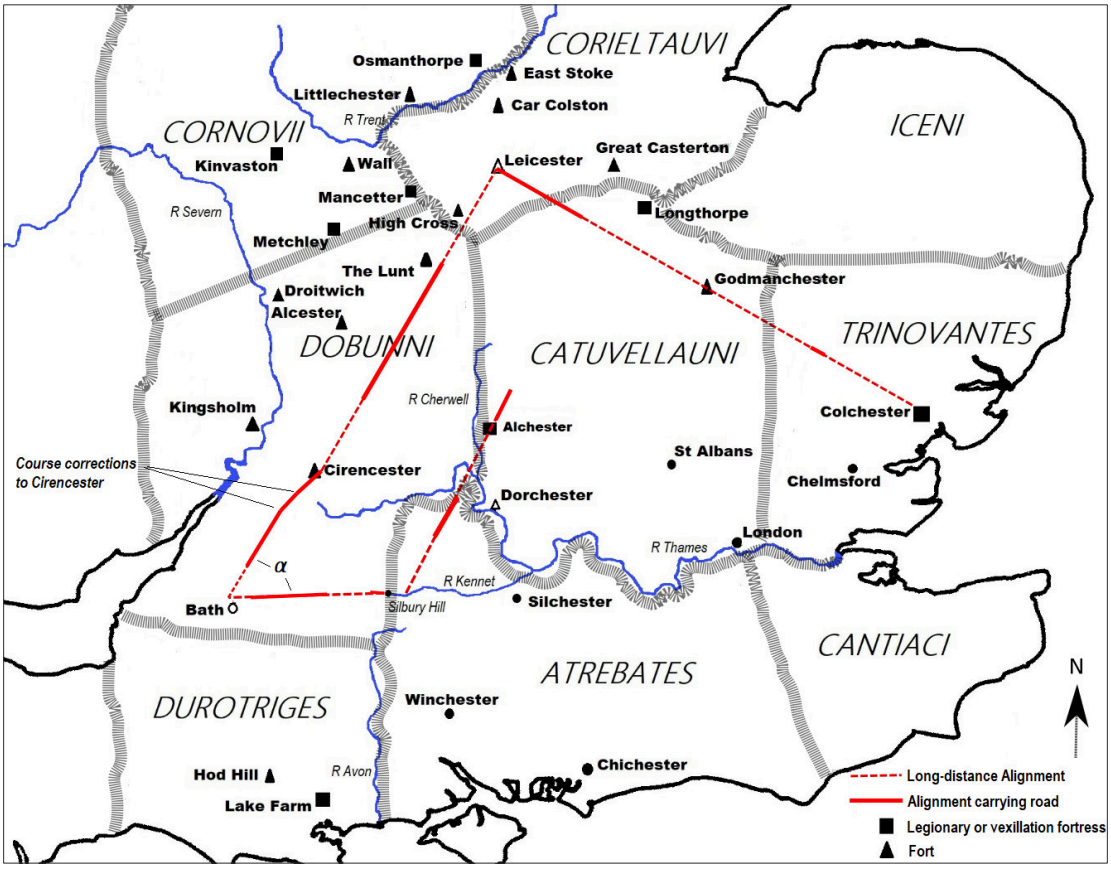
We should also note that the southern part of the chain links to the rivers Kennet and Thames, which have themselves long been recognised as potential boundaries. Before the Catuvellaunian expansion the Thames divided the spheres of influence of the eastern and

southern kingdoms (Hingley 2018, 9, 23), and the Kennet has been suggested as the northern limits of Cogidubnus' domains – the restored southern kingdom (Wacher 1995,24).

The Roman concept of boundaries

As the Roman concept of boundaries was different to our own, we should define our terms before proceeding further. Isaac reminds us that the term *limes*, used too readily as shorthand for a fortified frontier, had no such meaning in the early empire (Isaac 1988, 130). Whittaker goes further, arguing that the Roman empire never adopted linear frontiers, and that we should speak rather of 'border territories' held in depth, where the organised core of the province might fade into a zone of control and influence, perhaps maintained through client kings, and beyond that to an extended 'sphere of interest' (Whittaker 1994, 19).

Yet boundary lines of other sorts were very much part of Roman practice and greatly respected. Trained surveyors, *mensores* and *agrimensores*, laid out carefully surveyed lines in a process infused with ritual, assigning lands to appropriate authority under divine sanction. The god *Terminus* specifically protected boundary markers, and serious penalties



Southern England following the Roman Conquest

awaited those who might tear them out: '*de termino moto*' (Hinrichs 1989, 84). We should remain open to interpreting the chained alignments as administrative boundaries within the province.

Surveyors were so familiar with laying out boundaries that they had specific technical terminology associated with the practice. The verb *regere* referred to the drawing of a boundary line, and the term *rigor* in surveyors' literature indicates a straight boundary line. On inscriptions it appears as *rigore recto* (or *r r*), emphasising the straightness. As recent work demonstrates, an enamelled Roman cup has survived which incorporates the term *rigore* in its inscription, possibly belonging to a surveyor involved with the planning of Hadrian's Wall (Breeze and Flügel, 2021).

The problem of the forts

Graham Webster, in 'The Roman Invasion of Britain' (1980), confidently claimed that following the Conquest a tight network of some 130 forts must have been constructed across the South-East, even mapping their presumed sites with what he considered 'a fair degree of plausibility' (Webster 1980, 112, 122). Forty years on, despite his maps and huge advances in archaeological detection methods, not a single Claudian fort (other than Alchester) has been confirmed within or south of the alignment chain. It must now be considered likely that the vast majority of them never existed. Yet if his predictions have failed to materialise, his logic remains entirely sound: hostile conquest, bitterly resisted across the southeast, would have required a network of forts to maintain it. The reverse side of the coin is that lack of such a network implies some form of governance by consent, and no hostile conquest in the form usually envisaged. Military operations, which undoubtedly involved hard-fought battles, may have been more nuanced.

The issue is compounded by the total lack of temporary camps listed for the South-East of Britain (Welfare and Swan 1995). Temporary camps are nothing to do with administration or government but are usually regarded as a sign of the army campaigning in hostile territory. Hoffmann comments, 'this most suggestive feature is so far missing from the archaeological record in the South and South-East' (2013, 61). There could be reasons why temporary camps have been insufficiently preserved to show up in the archaeological record, but it is another issue that needs explaining by those advocating widespread bitter resistance to the Claudian intervention.

Lack of archaeological evidence for a hostile invasion has brought increasing disquiet on the part of scholars, but no consensus as to a replacement orthodoxy. However, if we reject military rule as a means of government for some territories, there is a limited range of other options. Mature forms of civilian administration based upon 'civitas capitals' are not to be considered until a later stage of development, therefore we must face up to the only real alternative: compliant native kings (with the title of *rex*, or possibly *princeps civitatis*) across much of the new province governing under Roman supervision.

The outward and visible form of mature civilian administration in Roman towns is the presence of a forum and basilica. Although arguments *ex silentio* are to be treated with caution, it is notable that no examples earlier than the late first century have been identified

in the area of the early province (Wacher 1998, 71), which would be commensurate with these areas having been administered by local princes.

We should return to basics. The narrative of Cassius Dio, our major literary source for the invasion, is often assumed to give an account of Roman forces pushing back and defeating (over several battles) a great tribal confederation under Togodumnus and Caratacus. The military historian John Peddie goes so far as to estimate the number of warriors that each tribe – Catuvellauni, Trinovantes, Atrebates, Dobunni and Kentish tribes – might have been able to put in the field (Peddie, 1987, 64).

It can come as a surprise to realise that Dio's text mentions no such confederation. The only hostile tribes named are the Catuvellauni and 'a portion of the Bodunni [usually understood as Dobunni] ruled by a nation of the Catuellauni' (see below).

If Plautius was confronted only by the warrior hosts of the Catuvellauni, the lack of forts across other tribal kingdoms is readily explained. Neighbouring tribes long threatened by Catuvellaunian aggression had every reason not to oppose Roman actions delivering them from the devil they knew. John Manley speculates that the 'invasion under Claudius may have been, initially, an annexation of the territory ruled by Cunobelin, rather than an invasion of Britain itself' (Manley 2002, 47). Mattingly similarly observes that 'Regime change in client kingdoms offered the potential of quick victories, particularly if the elite order could be persuaded that their interests would be best served by compliance' (2007, 94).

After the successful storming of *Camulodunum*, even the Catuvellauni might have faced no long-term chastisement once their rulers had been replaced by figures prepared to rule as servants of Rome. Philo-Roman rulers across a wider area could expect to be confirmed in power – if they played their cards right by demonstrating loyalty to the Continental superpower suddenly manifesting itself in their midst.

Defining tribal lands

Maps of tribal territory are notoriously unreliable. It is likely that tribes themselves had little concept of their precise geographical limits, as their lands were simply those that their people occupied. Thus a given river valley might have been regarded as tribal territory, but without exact definition. Boundaries are likely to have been imprecise, untidy, and fluid, changing with circumstance and the prowess of individual warlords. It is notable that in referring to northern England, Tacitus never makes reference to 'Brigantia', although it is a term that has gained modern currency. He knew only the 'Kingdom of the Brigantes', that is the lands inhabited by a people.

A map such as the one accompanying this article (based upon Jones and Mattingly 2002, 91) is a useful frame of reference providing that we remember its limitations. The reader should bear that in mind in the following discussion.

Catuvellauni and Trinovantes

The fall of *Camulodunum* might have been the moment to install Adminius in power (see below), marking the entry of these lands into the empire. However It would appear that

Cunobelin's former kingdom was divided to avoid a renewed concentration of power, with the Catuvellauni and Trinovantes separated. Splendid 'royal' tombs have been found at both Stanway (Gosbecks, Colchester) (Crummy et al., 2007) and at Folly Lane (St Albans). The latter proved to be a shaft grave within a two-acre enclosure, containing a rich assortment of pyre goods, with cremated remains dating to c.55. The excavation report comments 'it is clear that the person was someone of exceptional importance', 'perhaps... established as a client ruler at the time of the conquest' (Niblett 1999, 412). It is hard to avoid the conclusion that both sites represented Roman era native rulers.

However, if the Colchester-Leicester alignment represents a limit to the client kingdoms, it is clear that northern parts of Catuvellaunian and Trinovantian territory were truncated (see map). Some Catuvellaunian land seems to have come under the military administration of Longthorpe vexillation fortress (c. 44-45 AD according to Historic England) – extending the mailed fist of Roman influence northwards. Trinovantian lands north of *Camulodunum* were probably governed by the legionary fortress, with sections later absorbed into the *territorium* of the new *colonia*.

These northern fringes of the province were given a strong military presence looking outwards towards the Trent, and extensions of Roman power at the expense of the Corieltauvi. The Iceni, by contrast, seem initially to have been left in peaceful control of their territories, as discussed below.

The exception of Alchester

Alchester is the sole Claudian fort so far proven to have existed south and east of the alignment chain and therefore requires explanation. it can be no accident that it is located on its own Long-distance Alignment (described by Poulter in this volume) which runs precisely parallel to the Leicester-Cirencester alignment (actually 0.14 degree divergence as measured: see Table).

John Poulter discusses this alignment and suggests it may have formed some sort of administrative boundary. This idea is developed by the present author, suggesting that it marks off the western limits of the territories encircled by the chain alignments, delimiting a zone enjoying a different fate from the rest.

Alchester appears, on the basis of coin finds, to be located just inside Dobunnic territory – the eastern fringe of which is represented by the River Cherwell and its tributaries (Van Arsdell 1994, 24). Wacher argues that at the time of the conquest these eastern Dobunnic lands were ruled by King Boduocus (Bodvoc on coins) as a Catuvellaunian puppet (Wacher 1995, 303). John Sills also contends that 'one possibility is that Bodvoc was of Catuvellaunian origin' (Cottam et al. 2010, 104). Van Arsdell, however, places Bodvoc earlier (Van Arsdell 1994, 5) and considers Catti to be the Dobunnic ruler at the time of the Claudian invasion, with a centre of influence also focused upon the upper Thames valley (Van Arsdell 1994, Map 18). Van Arsdell argues that the statistics of coin deposition imply that after the invasion the Romans confiscated a large proportion of the gold in his coinage – some 825kg – which would seem likely only if they annexed some or all of his territory. That would certainly

have been an interesting and original way for the Romans to recoup some of their costs as the 'spoils of victory'.

If either of the scenarios proposed by Wacher or Van Arsdell should be correct, the eastern section of the Dobunni was in line for harsh treatment from Rome. We might reasonably identify Dobunnic territories bordering on the Catuvellauni as 'the portion of the Bodunni ruled by ...the Catuellani' mentioned by Cassius Dio. It was a contingent within the British opposition which distinguished itself by surrendering to Rome at the earliest possible opportunity, whereupon Plautius established a fort to supervise their homeland (just as Webster would have expected) before moving on in his campaign (Dio, *Historia Romana*, LX, 20).

Dio's narrative is muddled at this point and has attracted much debate. He gives the impression that this part of the action may take place close to the landing sites, but it is more likely that his lack of geographical awareness and difficulty in combining different sources created some confusion. The point on which he is clear is that a group of the 'Bodunni' under Catuvellaunian control had been induced to take up arms against the Romans. That error may well have been sufficient to see part of their territories placed under military control after the Invasion.

The Long-distance Alignment running south-west through Alchester, parallel to the Leicester-Cirencester line, may be viewed as distinguishing a western zone within the alignment chain – particularly if this alignment terminated on the River Kennet, at Littlecote, as Poulter suggests. Much of the zone corresponds with the eastern territories of the Dobunni from the river Cherwell to the headwaters of the Thames. A strong Roman military presence here would also enable the new province to maintain an active forward policy to the west, towards the River Severn, just as the military fringe to the north enabled a forward policy towards the Trent.

Organisation of lands south of the Thames

In arguing for client kingdoms, we are on surer ground in anticipating such an entity southward of the Silbury Hill-Kennet-Thames 'boundary', all the way to the south coast. We know that a client king was appointed to extensive territories in this region, learning from a reference in Tacitus and a dedication slab in Chichester that the 'ever loyal' 'Great King' Cogidubnus (or possibly Togidubnus) long ruled in this region (Entwistle 2019, 60-63). Claudius must have considered him a very safe pair of hands indeed to grant him control of such a major part of the province. We can probably assume that, long before the invasion, he knew Cogidubnus to be a firm friend of Rome. A decision to grant him such an extensive and important domain could hardly have been done on the basis of a few days' acquaintance in Britain.

Doubtless Cogidubnus would have needed troops, native or Roman, to establish effective control of the kingdom, but in that case he followed a tradition that saw no requirement for Roman-style forts. *Calleva Atrebatum* (Silchester) shows remarkable continuity in the pre-Roman to early Roman period with 'no obvious break between the pre-conquest, period 0 and post-conquest occupation' (Fulford, Clarke and Durham 2021, 567). The stationing of

troops in the *oppida* or 'proto-towns' may have been part of the solution and finds of Roman military equipment at Silchester from period 0 and early period 1, reflect finds of equipment and military-style timber buildings at Chichester (Down 1981, 119-128).

Claudius seems to have been determined that the new British province should be built, initially, on the traditional roots of restored client kingdoms, although doubtless under the guidance of 'advisers', with a similar role to 'British residents' from Colonial times. Princes might rule with much splendour, but they were expected to ensure order and security, collect taxes, and perhaps introduce elements of Roman life.

Arrangements such as this would have taken the burden of security and administration off Roman forces while incorporating large areas into empire quickly and cheaply. Client rulers were intended as the acceptable face of Rome in the early days of annexation, a standard Roman tactic for asserting Roman influence and control. If this served as a ploy under Claudius for absorbing the new British province cheaply, peacefully, and securely, then it could be counted an outstanding success.

A province of client kingdoms: is the proposition tenable?

All of the above suggests a scenario in which Britain was initially a province composed of client kingdoms, surrounded to the north and west by a halo of forts maintaining a strong, outward-looking military presence that projected Roman influence into neighbouring territories. A heartland dominated by client kings, ruling on behalf of Rome, is not our habitual view of Britain after the invasion, but we will argue that it fits other literary and archaeological evidence. In this context some traditionally ill-fitting jigsaw pieces slot effortlessly into place.

A Roman right to intervention

We have argued that tribal leaders across the south stood by without intervening while Roman military forces invaded and mounted operations against the Catuvellauni. Such behaviour might be dependent on them seeing some legitimacy in the Roman action. The clearest form of legitimacy might be action against a rogue client state that had demonstrated *lèse-majesté* against the authority of its patron, threatening the security of all.

Scholars have long mooted the possibility that both the southern and eastern kingdoms had historically enjoyed a client relationship with Rome, which the increasingly confident Catuvellauni now saw fit to ignore (Mattingly 2007, 71; Manley 2002, 46-7; Russell 2006, 30). Past Roman influence may even have been manifested through a limited military presence in the heart of each kingdom. The evidence is controversial, yet at Fishbourne a Roman-style military ditch has produced Augustan-period pottery (Manley and Rudkin 2005, 55), and at Gosbecks (*Camulodunum)* a Roman style fort has been claimed as possibly pre-Roman (Creighton 2001, 9).

If the Catuvellauni under Togodumnus and Caratacus were showing contempt for the *status quo* by taking over most of the Southern Kingdom (another Roman client), extending their domination over Kent (Jones and Mattingly 2002, 50, 55), and splitting the Dobunni into two,

then Rome would have to choose between abandoning its interests in Britain or taking decisive action.

Claudius had credible (and loyal) British candidates ready to hand should he wish to use them in imposing regime change. Adminius, a son of Cunobelin, is recorded as being forced from his homeland in the last years of his father's life. He fled from Britain and pledged himself to the Emperor Caligula, who excitedly informed the Senate that Britain was now his (Suetonius, *Caligula* 44). As Adminius seems to have been accepted by the Senate as client ruler-in-waiting, he would have been a perfect candidate, owing everything to the patronage of Rome. A little later Rome was also hosting a client king for the southern kingdom, as Dio records 'one Berikos' (presumably King Verica of the Southern kingdom) being ejected from his homeland and fleeing to Rome, a factor which influenced Claudius' decision to intervene.

Client states inside and outside the province

We have noticed that Britain south of the Colchester-Leicester line approximates to the extent of the old eastern and southern kingdoms. We should be in no doubt that post Conquest such core territory would be regarded as a fundamental part of the new province, whatever its administrative status. Wacher points out (1998, 26) that client kingdoms could exist both inside and outside a formal province.

Other client kingdoms very likely existed further to the north and west, forming a deep boundary zone and sphere of influence for Rome. There is no single definition of what it meant to be a client king, although Braund provides what he terms a 'functional definition' through analysing the varied nature of client kingship and its role in the expansion and maintenance of the empire (Braund 1984, 5). In essence it was a relationship defined by a treaty of mutual protection, heavily weighted in favour of Rome wherever possible. External client kingdoms, if they existed, would be classed as *socies:* 'friends of Rome', bound by treaty to support Roman interests and possibly rendering tribute, but outside the administration of the formal province. The balance between 'friendship' and 'subjection' was a fluid one likely to change character with time and circumstance. Thus Tacitus tells us that the Iceni saw themselves as free allies of Rome. Only under Scapula, the second Governor, were they disabused of their illusions when he sent in military forces to crush an attempted show of independence – at which other (unnamed) kingdoms took note and fell into line with Roman policy (Tacitus *Annales* 12. 31-2).

Reinterpreting the arch of Claudius

Remarkably, imaginative interpretation of long-established evidence may allow us to put some sort of numbers on these early client kingdoms. A restored inscription from the Arch of Claudius in Rome (Barrett 1991) has always raised difficult issues. In Barrett's translation it includes the words 'he received into surrender eleven kings of the Britons conquered without loss'. Eleven is actually the minimum number that could be represented by the surviving lettering: it could equally be 12 or 13. The phrase implies that a large coalition of British princes had been defeated and forced into submission, in line with the traditional view, although commentators have struggled to come up with a list of eleven (or more)

kings who could possibly have been swept up in the fall of *Camulodunum*. A further difficulty has been to reconcile the bloody fighting recorded by Dio with the inscription's claim that the victory was achieved 'without loss', and to understand why Claudius should wish to talk down his achievements in this way.

Accepting the restored inscription at face value, however, loses sight of important issues. Lines 6 and 7 on the plaque demanded informed imagination from scholars who restored the wording. The exercise had to consider extant fragments of letters, space available, and how the whole might make sense in terms of the invasion as then understood. The words *devicto* ('conquered') and *in deditionem acceperit*, ('received into surrender') are intelligent suggestions rather than confirmed text. Barrett points out that *devictos* could equally well be *receptos* ('received back'), while making the point that the phrase 'without loss' 'must be meant to extol some sort of diplomatic triumph' (Barrett 1991, 14). Thus we should not build too much on the text as it is usually reported – it could equally be rendered something like '11 kings of the Britons were received into loyalty, without loss', implying a diplomatic triumph. Further discussion must be for specialists, but it is clear that such a rendering would change our understanding of the message dramatically: it would now be telling us that, in a diplomatic coup, 11 client kings were established in and around the new province.

If we assume that the overthrow of the Catuvellaunian princes met with the approval of neighbouring tribes, they must also have been impressed by the dramatic display of Roman military power, and by the personal presence of the emperor. During his brief visit Claudius would surely have sought to capitalise on this shock and awe for maximum political gain. We can readily imagine a stage-managed event of some magnificence, in which neighbouring rulers were received in audience by the emperor, flanked by his splendid Praetorian Guard and the senators of his entourage. To gather eleven (or more) tribal leaders for such an event, meeting in person the victorious ruler of the known world, should not have been difficult. Local kings and chiefs prepared to profess their loyalty would be received as *reges* and 'allies of Rome', with all the personal status that implied. Claudius might well celebrate such a diplomatic triumph that, at a stroke, brought bloodless expansion of Roman *imperium* across wide areas, securing the borders of the new province in depth.

Claudius would be able to return to Rome with the essential structure of a new-born province in place. Among the tribes acknowledging Roman overlordship we could expect to find the Iceni, Corieltauvi, Dobunni, the tribes of Kent, and the Brigantes. Perhaps even a visiting chieftain from distant Orkney profited from the moment to gain friends and kudos useful to him back home – explaining the otherwise surprising comment from Hieronymus (a late commentator) that 'Claudius triumphed over the Britons and added the Orcades to the Roman empire'. Nevertheless, there is one tribe we can be fairly sure would have stayed well away from an event of this sort: the Durotriges.

The Durotrigan campaign

The launching of a fierce campaign again the distant Durotriges, led by the general Vespasian, has been something of a puzzle for scholars. According to the traditional view of

the invasion Roman forces would have been better employed securing and pacifying central regions of the new province (Peddie 1987, 143, 154).

Consolidation of regime change in client kingdoms north and south of the Thames, however, could have been achieved with limited manpower, freeing up resources for action against hostile neighbours. The Durotriges were perhaps the only major tribe of southern England, except for the far south-west, who could have seen little reason to welcome Roman intervention. They had no borders in common with the Catuvellauni and are unlikely ever to have felt threatened by them (see map). Possibly they had even welcomed Catuvellaunian pressure upon their once-powerful eastern neighbour, the southern kingdom.

We have interpreted the Bath-Silbury Hill- Kennet-Thames boundary as evidence of a generously restored southern kingdom. It is hard to see in this any advantage for the Durotriges, who could potentially have perceived this presence on their borders as a threat. We know from Suetonius that Vespasian conquered the Isle of Wight, which had been under Durotrigan influence. This was a logical move if Roman access to the province via the Solent were to be protected from hostile interference, but it would have reinforced latent hostilities. Any concept of a beneficent Roman intervention in Britain was clearly a matter of viewpoint: the reality of the Roman presence would soon become evident to all.

Conclusion

This paper has made a case that the alignment chain stretching from Colchester to London via Leicester and Cirencester can be understood as an administrative boundary. This is not, however, a 'one size fits all' interpretation: the strategic functions of Long-distance Alignments elsewhere should be gauged according to circumstance.

A boundary in this location calls into question the (already battered) consensus that Conquest imposed military rule upon a truculent and bitter people. We are familiar with the idea of free Britons defending their island valiantly against the might of Rome, whereas an early province composed largely of compliant kingdoms requires a conceptual leap. Yet in AD43, the choice was not so much a choice between freedom and the Romans, as between the Catuvellauni and the Romans. Under the circumstances, kings and tribal elites may have felt that the prospect of continued wealth and prestige under the aegis of Rome looked quite attractive.

Manley argued in 2002 that 'political annexation of the south-east would help to explain some of the "few facts" we possess, such as the unopposed landings, the "stage-management" of Claudius' arrival and departure, and the lack of significant military forts in the south-east' (Manley 2002, 146). At the time, despite his concerns, he felt the situation not yet ripe for a 'new orthodoxy' to be wholeheartedly proposed. It may be time to revisit that conclusion.

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