

# ITINERA

THE JOURNAL OF THE  
ROMAN ROADS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

VOLUME II, 2022



Published by the Roman Roads Research Association



Published by the Roman Roads Research Association  
Ellerbeck Cottage, Ellerbeck, Northallerton, North Yorkshire, UK. DL6 2RY  
A charity registered in England and Wales No. 1163854

ISSN 2635-1579 (print)  
ISSN 2635-1578 (online pdf)  
ISBN 978-1-8383918-1-2

All individual contributions to *Itinera* remain copyright of the author(s). The PDF versions of any article that has been publicly released on our website or elsewhere (but not as early release copies to our membership) may be freely copied and distributed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/), however you may not adapt or alter the work, and may not reproduce individual illustrations and photographs without the author's prior consent, since they often contain additional copyright licensing. The paper copy of this journal remains © RRRA and individual authors.

The Roman Roads Research Association is not responsible for any statement made, or opinion expressed, in *Itinera*. Individual authors are solely responsible for the content of their articles

Typeset in Gentium Basic and Cinzel by the Roman Roads Research Association  
licensed under the SIL Open Font License, Version 1.1

© the Roman Roads Research Association 2022

# CONTENTS

v About the Association

vi Editorial

## ARTICLES

- 1 - 50 JOHN POULTER, The Identification of Long-Distance Roman Alignments in Britain, and their Possible Purposes
- 51 - 66 ROBERT ENTWISTLE, Long-Distance Alignments and Client Kingdoms in the Conquest Settlement
- 67 - 114 DAVID RATLEDGE, The Roman Roads of Norfolk - a Lidar Reappraisal
- 115 - 120 CRAIG PARKINSON, RR72a: Survey and Excavation of the Roman Road at Worston Lancashire
- 121 - 150 DAVE ARMSTRONG, Hadrian's Wall Link Roads
- 151 - 180 BEV KNOTT, Bandits and Roman Trade
- 181 - 218 ISAAC MORENO GALLO, Roman Roads: Status Quo and Future Prospects
- 219 - 240 ROB WALLACE, Roman Roads: Discoveries on the Culver Archaeological Project: 2005-2021
- 241 - 302 MIKE HAKEN, The Stainmore road: from late Iron Age Routeway to engineered Roman Road

## ROMAN ROADS IN 2021

- 303 - 332 Roman Roads in 2021 - recent Roman roads research and fieldwork
- 333 - 338 Newly Allocated Margary Road Numbers

## REVIEWS

- 339 - 344 MARTIN BELL, *Making One's Way in the World: The Footprints and Trackways of Prehistoric People*. (By Dave Fell, Northern Archaeological Associates)
- 345 - 348 DAVE ARMSTRONG, *The Hadrian's Wall Military Way, a Frontier Road Explored*. (By John Poulter)

# PEOPLE AND OFFICERS



## EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

*Rob Entwistle (Hon. Editor)*  
*Dave Armstrong*  
*Dr. Mike C. Bishop*  
*Chester Forster*  
*Mike Haken*

## ADVISORY PANEL

*Paul Bidwell*  
*Paul Booth*  
*John Poulter*  
*David Ratledge*  
*Dr. Pete Wilson*

The Roman Roads Research Association also wishes to acknowledge the contributions of all the other individuals who have volunteered their time and expertise in the preparation, production and distribution of this volume, without whom it would not have been possible:

<i>David Brear</i>	<i>Tyrone Hopes</i>	<i>Paul Morris</i>	<i>Matt Sparkes</i>
<i>Neil Buckley</i>	<i>Ian Jardine</i>	<i>Simon Pratt</i>	<i>Alan Taylor</i>
<i>Hannah Collingridge</i>	<i>David Lakin</i>	<i>Eric Rose</i>	<i>Richard Whalley</i>
<i>Malcolm Fare</i>	<i>Geoff Lunn</i>	<i>Amber Roy</i>	<i>Paul Wilkinson</i>
<i>Dave Haywood</i>	<i>Tim Lunt</i>	<i>Paul Seddon</i>	<i>Gary Whitaker</i>
<i>Ian Heritage</i>	<i>James Lyall</i>	<i>Paul Smith</i>	<i>Sally Woodlock</i>

---

## CONTACT ROMAN ROADS RESEARCH ASSOCIATION

If you are interested in Roman roads or would like to know more contact us via our web site <https://romanroads.org/> or by mail to one of the below;

<i>Mike Haken</i> (Chairman)	<a href="mailto:mike@romanroads.org">mike@romanroads.org</a>
<i>Dave Armstrong</i> (Membership Sec. & Newsletter Editor)	<a href="mailto:dave.armstrong@romanroads.org">dave.armstrong@romanroads.org</a>
<i>Rob Entwistle</i> (Itinera Editor)	<a href="mailto:itinera@romanroads.org">itinera@romanroads.org</a>
<i>Rebecca L. Ellis</i> (Finds Officer & Social Media)	<a href="mailto:reb.ellis@romanroads.org">reb.ellis@romanroads.org</a>

## 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.



## 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 RRRRA 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 RRRRA 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

Hon Editor, *Itinera*

[itinera@romanroads.org](mailto:itinera@romanroads.org)



## BOOK REVIEW

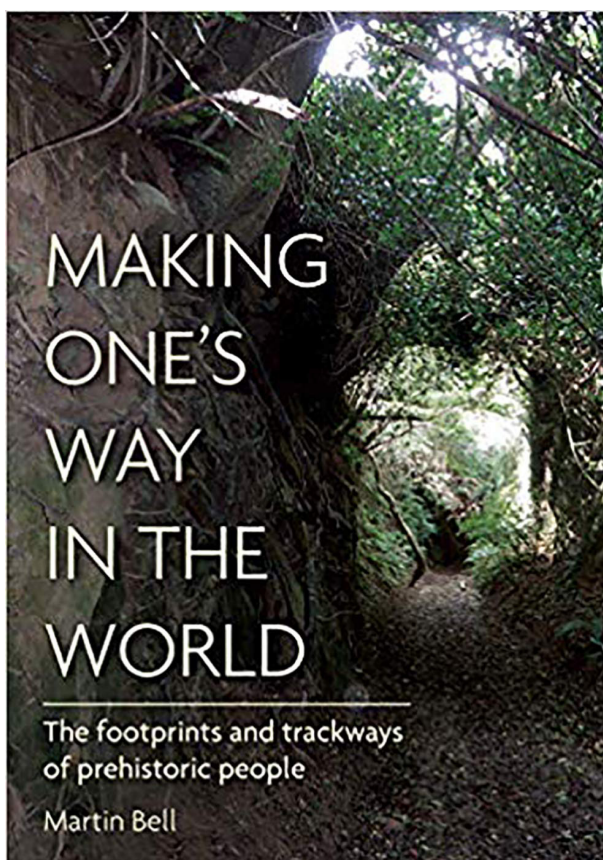
### ***Making One's Way in the World: The Footprints and Trackways of Prehistoric People.***

By **Martin Bell.**

Oxbow Books, Oxford, 2020. Pp xiv + 306, Illus. Price £50.00. ISBN 978-1-78925-402-0.

Martin Bell's handsome hardback, dedicated to the study of prehistoric routes, is imbued with his enthusiasm for a long-side-lined subject now returning to prominence. The volume draws upon Bell's career-long fascination and is testament to his substantial contribution towards the study of evidence for human and animal movement. He sees this as an activity charged with meaning, significance and agency, but one that is often transient and difficult or impossible to detect in the archaeological record. Rare traces associated with travel, transport and communication are increasingly recognised as fertile archaeological resources that require dedicated investigation, rather than inadequate assumptions, if we are to realise their potential contribution to prehistoric narratives.

In contrast with engineered Roman roads, generally renowned for their enduring impact upon the landscape, identification and recording of prehistoric routes, typically more nebulous and elusive, is challenging. Throughout all eleven well-edited chapters Bell explains and promotes an innovative environmental approach through targeted data collection. Following a logical, thematic, and broadly chronological sequence, each chapter is structured clearly under subtitles and the text densely referenced and generously illustrated, with myriad case studies from North-west Europe and North America effectively employed. It is little wonder that reviewers express deep admiration for *Making One's Way in the World*. This book effectively fulfils its primary objective of encouraging dedicated thinking about the impact and nature



of interaction between humans, animals, and environments, whether in specific places or along connecting routeways.

Chapter 1 provides the key to understanding what follows and therefore rewards careful consideration. Bell sets out his approach and explains the challenges, frequently reiterating an oft-heard lament that the study area has been ignored in favour of more tangible site-based remains or shifting thematic and theoretical fashions. Happily, he is subsequently able to present a lavish inventory of pertinent work from a wide range of interconnected disciplines and a detailed catalogue of significant theoretical waypoints in the subject. This might suggest, therefore, that despite the intractability of the subject, the study of prehistoric routes is positively thriving, and its importance widely acknowledged.

Having established on page 4 that addressing the subject ‘...comes back to the need for detailed examination of individual features, critique of ideas and interpretations and the need to develop a robust chronology and interpretative framework’, the chapter explores methods of considering, examining, contextualising, describing and discussing past movement, drawing specifically upon Niche Construction Theory, defined on page 17 as ‘the process whereby organisms, through their metabolism, their actions and their choices modify their own and/or each other’s niches’ (Olding-Smee et al. 2003, 419; Laland and O’Brien 2010). This holistic framework seeks to recognise and consider interactions between all contributing environmental components. They are referenced and employed throughout the text and strongly influence the handling of case studies. We are also presented with a helpful glossary for terms used regularly within the work, the only drawback being that such a definition of terms renders the book’s own title oddly specific. Overall, the chapter is an effective and comprehensive introduction to the objectives and context of the subject, while unapologetically embracing rewarding theoretical concepts and terminology. The language of this first chapter is clearly aimed at an academic audience, whereas following chapters are perhaps more accessible and engaging for a general readership.

Chapter 2 presents an expanded case study examining past movement among the ‘First Nations’ of North America. The abundant and diverse range of evidence offered seems selected in order to demonstrate categories that might profitably be explored in a prehistoric European context where remains are more fragmentary. This chapter offers a successful exploration and demonstration of Bell’s technique and approach, using rich and varied evidence that he clearly found inspirational. It is a technique which we might all benefit from adopting when circumstances and opportunity allow. However, later in Chapter 11 (page 247), Bell acknowledges openly that the chance encounters typical of development archaeology are inadequate for answering the many research questions concerning prehistoric routeways, which require rather to be addressed by research-led excavations. He emphasises that dedicated study of routes requires equally dedicated funding, resourcing, and access to particular areas.

Bell develops the concept of ‘niche construction and placemaking’ in Chapter 3, applying the techniques and approaches championed in Chapters 1 and 2 to hunter-gatherer routes in North-west Europe. For these peoples, seasonal movement was evidently crucial to survival, involving adaptive strategies within and across varying environments. The author emphasises the concept of mutuality between animal and human routes, particularly with

regard to tracking seasonal migrations. Bell considers these operations to have been so fundamental that the landscape may have been regarded primarily as a network of routes rather than as a unified whole, in this period. Those of us who repeat identical journeys on a daily basis, or for periodic gatherings, may readily sympathise with this viewpoint.

A convincing case is made for intersections of ancestral routes becoming enduring focal points for activity and subsequent location of monuments in the Neolithic and later periods. He points out that the Mesolithic manipulation of environments is increasingly recognised, particularly with reference to land clearance. Bell champions the ingenuity and capabilities of such communities and groups, who defined places and linear corridors within landscapes along frequented lines of movement. However, he acknowledges that directly associating clearances and disturbances with routes can introduce false assumptions. It is implied that the primary drivers in route creation can be either environmental constraints and opportunities, or human endeavour, although many readers may imagine some synthesis in these alternatives.

Human and animal footprints are the principal subjects of Chapter 4. Employing a comprehensive series of case studies, the author emphasises the notion that effective observation and reading of such features would have been vastly more important to prehistoric peoples than to those of us living in developed economies today. Tracking the movements of humans and migrating animals was both more feasible and important to survival for earlier societies than for those of us who have our primary routes capped with tarmac and concrete. He regards footprints made in soft ground as a particularly intimate form of evidence promoting engagement with the humanity of ancient individuals, although that very same quality can divert attention from informative contextual information. Bell's case studies help explore themes such as group or herd composition, the origins and destinations of journeys, seasonality, dating evidence, and other aspects that elevate the research potential of these captivating remains.

Prehistoric routes first receive attention in Chapter 3, where Bell describes the preservation of Mesolithic focal points beneath monuments attributed to later farming communities. This phenomenon is revisited in Chapter 5, which presents some familiar examples of routes indicated by grouped ceremonial features, demarcated sites and upstanding features. Bell explains concisely the value of skeletal and DNA evidence for identifying longer-distance mobility, then turns to geological evidence and selects the axe trade, and large stones destined for the great circles and avenues, as examples demonstrating artefact distribution between places and communities. The majority of routes, however, are not likely to have been memorialised by such earth and stone constructions; and Bell reminds us that repeatedly-used drove and trading routes may have been corridors rather than well-defined tracks, making mobility far more difficult to identify archaeologically.

In contrast, wetland routes of all periods can be very well-preserved, and Chapter 6 details an array of constructed features that have mercifully evaded the erosive ravages of time. Bell notes that such features would have been counterparts to the dryland routes that presumably connected with them, challenging us to relate the wetland evidence to wider patterns of communication; a theme returned to in Chapter 11. Vessels and vehicles are considered in relation to water transportation, but most of the case studies focus engagingly

upon the origins and destinations of selected wetland routes in North-west Europe, where relationships are examined between routes, settlements, activity zones, sites of ritualised deposition and Bronze Age features. This leads neatly onto Chapter 7, where the author focuses specifically on the correlation between barrow alignments and Bronze Age routes via a suite of typically well-chosen examples, used to demonstrate how barrows referenced and connected landscape, burial, memories, and contemporary movement.

The routes associated with later prehistoric agricultural landscapes are described in Chapter 8 as being generally far more visible and datable through relationships and stratigraphy than their earlier counterparts and antecedents. Bell supplies excellent explanations of their forms, formation processes, dating potential and other attributes with reference to a suite of case studies. Bell chooses this chapter to challenge the plausibility of natural ridgeway routes, citing both other authors' reservations and increasing evidence for activity in the adjacent valleys, where routes presumably abounded. To this reviewer that would seem to introduce a false dichotomy: it may be too narrow a view to imply that supposed ridgeway routes preclude the existence of valley routes or riverine transport, particularly as Bell seems to present cases for natural ridgeway routes on pages 193 and 223. That being said, it is easy to sympathise with his careful deconstruction of assumptions about coherent elevated routes stretching across the landscape and enduring through the ages. As Bell suggests, the historic and current appeal of this idea may sometimes overwhelm the patchy evidence for such phenomena.

The chapter ends with a section explaining how certain pre-Roman routes were perpetuated and formalised in the Roman road network, notable examples including approaches to *oppida*, frequently adopted as forts or towns. Sharpstone Iron Age road, subsequently Romanised, is cited as a surprisingly remote example, but one that may be indicative of more common occurrences that are rarely discovered or recorded. This reviewer is aware of two compelling demonstrations of route adaptation which only became available following publication of 'Making One's Way'. The first example of native routes being adopted by the Roman road builders was revealed during the HS3 upgrade at Blackgrounds, and the second on the A1's southerly approach to Scotch Corner. This reviewer had hoped for further development by Bell of the Roman road theme, before remembering that the focus in this volume is upon prehistoric routes.

Chapter 9 is a very useful examination of evidence for prehistoric boat travel. Bell introduces important practical and economic considerations such as payload and craft speed, suggesting that these factors may have influenced decisions about when and whether land or water transport was selected. Fundamentally, the author seeks to emphasise the role of waterways in connecting rather than separating communities. He concludes in Chapter 11 (page 252) that a *'greater role has been proposed for maritime and riverine communication than is generally appreciated. This partly reflects a growing awareness of maritime archaeology but perhaps the most compelling evidence is negative, the surprisingly limited evidence for well-defined long distance routeways in prehistory, especially in Britain. This implies that the study of ancient routeways requires some reorientation towards integration of terrestrial, riverine and maritime routes and ways of identifying landing places'*. An extended case study in Chapter 10, focusing upon the

Wealden district in South-east England, presents an effective working template for how this endeavour might be approached.

Chapter 11 returns to the primary themes defined in the book's opening pages. Bell goes beyond highlighting the issue that study of routeways has traditionally been insufficient and inadequate: he provides investigative techniques for maximising their information potential, and case studies illustrating successful applications of such techniques. He espouses a shift in perspective that, in reality, may already have begun – no doubt in response to his works and those of others. His enthusiasm concerning prehistoric connectivity is infectious. This is partly a result of his book's academic rigour and insight, but also because he offers a manual which guides society towards a more environmentally sustainable world through better understanding of the one that existed before industrialisation. Consequently, its message may reach beyond archaeological researchers to a far wider audience.

DAVE FELL

(NORTHERN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATES)

[df@naaheritage.com](mailto:df@naaheritage.com)

## REFERENCES

- Laland, K.N. and O'Brien, M.J. 2010: 'Niche construction theory and archaeology', *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 17, 303-22.
- Oldling-Smee, F.J., Laland, K.N. and Feldman, M.W. 2003: 'Niche construction', *American Naturalist* 147, 641-8.

## REVIEW

