Roman Roads in the Changing Landscape of Eastern England *c*.AD410 – 1850

by

James Edward Albone

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

University of East Anglia, School of History

December 2016

Abstract

Roman roads are one of the most important legacies of the Roman period in Britain and many of the routes that they define still remain in use today. Although they have long been the subject of academic research, their history since the end of the Roman period has been largely overlooked. By studying the use, significance, and survival and loss of Roman roads in parts of eastern England between the fifth and mid nineteenth centuries this thesis directly addresses the gap in the existing literature.

The survival of Roman roads is intrinsically linked to the continued existence and significance of their destinations, be they former Roman settlements or new (urban or religious) locales. Whilst destinations continued to function the roads leading to them also remained in use. When destinations failed the roads ceased to serve as long-distance routes and became prone to fragmentation and loss. The initial breakdown of the Roman road network commenced as part of wider societal and landscape changes in the eighth century when former Roman settlements finally ceased to function. Sections of some Roman roads continue to be used as local roads today but countless more were probably removed during the post-medieval enclosure process. Roman roads have significantly influenced the development of the landscape through which they pass by acting as foci for burials, settlements, churches and economic activity. They have also functioned as boundaries, most notably those of medieval parishes – a role which influenced the continued use of some roads.

The relationships between Roman roads and the surrounding landscape, and the factors affecting their survival and loss, examined in this thesis are also applicable to roads of other periods. Consequently the findings presented here not only advance our knowledge of Roman roads but also have wider implications for English landscape history.

Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abbreviations

ASC	Anglo-Saxon Chronicle
EAA	East Anglian Archaeology
EE	Bede's *Epistola ad Ecberhtum esicopum*
HE	Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*
LA	Lincolnshire Archives
LE	*Liber Eliensis*
LHER	Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NAHRG	Norfolk Archaeological and Historical Research Group
NELHER	North East Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record
NHER	Norfolk Historic Environment Record
NHES	Norfolk Historic Environment Service
NLHER	North Lincolnshire Historic Environment Record
NMP	National Mapping Programme
NRO	Norfolk Record Office
RCHME	Royal Commission on the Historic Monuments of England
SHER	Suffolk Historic Environment Record
SLHA	Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology
UEA	University of East Anglia

Acknowledgements

Part One

Chapter 1: Introduction

Roman roads are, without doubt, one of the most enduring legacies of the four centuries of Roman administration in Britain and some of the routes that they define are still used by well over a million people in this country every day[1]. The fact that some still remain in use today means that they have a long history, almost four fifths of which falls since the end of the Roman period. The majority of past research has focussed on the Roman period and the roads themselves, with the greater part of their history remaining comparatively under-studied. This thesis seeks to address this deficit by exploring the history of Roman roads in parts of eastern England, specifically the historic counties of Lincolnshire and Norfolk, throughout the one and a half millennia since the end of the Roman period. It examines the use and continued significance of the Roman road network by asking in what ways, and by whom, it was being used over this period. This is complemented by a second theme which acknowledges that the history of Roman roads has always been part of a two-way process. Not only have Roman roads influenced the development of their surrounding landscape, but they have also been subject to changes in that landscape; changes that have affected their long-term survival and loss.

At one level this is a study of the history of a single monument type – in this case Roman roads. More specifically, it is a study that relates to the part of the history of Roman roads which lies after their initial period of construction and use. This approach can be paralleled with other studies exploring the 'afterlife' or long-term use of individual monument types (e.g. Bradley 1993, 113-129; Whyte 2003). However, studies such as these have, almost exclusively, focussed on the long history of prehistoric monuments, with sites of later periods rarely, if at all, being considered from this perspective. The study of the history of Roman roads in the *longue durée* in this thesis is, in this respect, distinctive in that it considers a Roman monument type in this way. The scope of this thesis is not, however, just that of a single-monument study, it also has a much wider resonance with the potential to increase our

---

[1] Based on annual average daily flow (AADF) traffic counts for 2013 (Department for Transport 2015) and average vehicle occupancy data for 2014 (Department for Transport 2014).

understanding of broader themes, such as landscape change and continuity in eastern England and beyond.

The study of roads in general, not just Roman roads, has much to tell us about the changing history of the landscape through time. Roads do much more than just provide a means of getting from A to B; they act as corridors of communication not just for the movement of people, but also for ideas and material goods. Nor are they insulated from their surroundings. As Tim Copeland (2009) has shown, roads have a hinterland, a broadly linear zone of influence, which may vary in width both along the length of the road and at different times throughout its history. Consequently the history of roads is interwoven with that of the places present along their courses and also their surrounding landscape. As Christopher Taylor observed;

> Roads and tracks do much more than just enable people to travel from one place to another. They affect the position and layout of our towns, the shape of our villages and indeed a great deal of our whole environment. At the same time roads and tracks of all ages have been influenced by the land through which they pass and the demands made on them by man at different stages in his technological advance (Taylor 1979, xiii-xiv).

However, the study of the history of roads and their role in landscape change is problematic. The date of origin of the vast majority of pre-modern roads is difficult, if not impossible, to establish due to a lack of any characteristics that distinguish those constructed in one period from those of another. Even where roads were purposely constructed or surfaced the natural materials, such as gravel and stone, that were used for this purpose are inherently undateable. Whilst dateable ceramic building materials, such as brick and tile, may sometimes be incorporated into the road make-up or repairs these materials may be centuries old by the time that they are recycled in this way and are likely to provide only a *terminus post quem* for that part of the road. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that, more so than with other monument types, the use of roads results in their continual erosion. Although a route may survive on its original course, the physical form of the road may have been completely lost or replaced through an ongoing process of wear and repair.

A further complication is that individual journeys leave little in the way of an archaeological signature. Consequently, direct evidence for the actual use of roads in the past is often highly ephemeral (Reynolds and Langlands 2011, 412). Only very rarely are dateable artefacts that were dropped by road-users recovered with sufficient locational or stratigraphic accuracy that they can be used to confirm the existence and use of the road at a particular point in time. Nevertheless, evidence for road-use can be sometimes be inferred from such finds and from the archaeological record of a road's destinations and zone of influence.

Roman roads, or at least some Roman roads, are different to many of the other roads in the landscape. They have certain characteristics that allow them to be both clearly identified and dated to the Roman period. The most significant of these are their perceived straightness and their constructed form. The most notable aspect of this second characteristic is the presence of a raised bank, or *agger*, on which the main carriageway of the road was located. These important features of Roman roads are explored more fully in Chapter Three. The characteristic form exhibited by most major Roman roads means that they occupy a special place within the study of roads in the landscape. For the most part they can be separated from the many thousands of other undateable roads, tracks and other features that form the landscape palimpsest. As features of known date, they can provide a fixed point against which other elements of the landscape can be compared and through which landscape change can be examined.

The investigation of Roman roads in Britain has a long history which is closely linked to the study of the province of *Britannia* itself. Along with other visible remains, such as the ruins of forts and towns, the roads were among the first monuments to be recorded as the detailed study of the country's Roman past developed from the sixteenth century onwards[2]. Although, as we shall see in the next chapter, aspects of the role of Roman roads in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods have been examined, this later history of Roman roads has received little attention compared to the actual process of tracing the road network. As Sarah Harrison has pointed out, previous research on Roman roads has concentrated mainly on "description rather than analysis" (2005, 59). It was not until the end of the twentieth century that questions

---

[2] A detailed historiography follows in Chapter Two.

surrounding their use, significance, and survival and loss became more widely recognised by historians and archaeologists.

The overarching research theme of the thesis is to examine the continued use and significance of Roman roads within the study area since the end of the Roman period. The time period being considered extends from the end of the Roman period, for which the traditional date of AD 410 will be used, through to the mid nineteenth century (*c*.1850). Examining Roman roads over this long timespan allows for patterns and variations in the use and influence of the roads to be recognised and conclusions to be drawn about related change and continuity in the landscape. Whilst the principal focus will be on the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods, the examination of later centuries enables the impact of post-medieval landscape changes, such as parliamentary enclosure, and their effect on the survival and loss of Roman roads to also be considered.

Within the broader theme of the thesis there are five specific research questions that will be addressed;

- How has the Roman road network been used since the end of the Roman period? To what extent has it remained a significant part of the pattern of land communications?
- In what ways have Roman roads influenced the development of the landscape through which they pass since the end of the Roman period?
- Why do some Roman roads remain in use in the twenty-first century whilst others have completely disappeared from the landscape, and what are the principal factors that have influenced their survival and loss?
- Is there a particular time since the end of the Roman period when the loss of parts of the Roman road network occurred or was this a piecemeal process spread out over the last sixteen centuries?
- How does the history of 'unimproved' Roman routeways[3] compare with that of the 'engineered' Roman road network? Can any similarities be used to help identify or confirm the course of unimproved routeways with more certainty?

---

[3] See Chapter Three for a definition of this term.

The research questions around which the thesis is structured have potential to feed into and, just as importantly, be informed by wider archaeological and historical debates relating to the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. A background to these themes will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter but, in summary, they include;

- Landscape change and continuity, especially the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England and changes occurring between the Anglo-Saxon and later medieval periods.
- Changing settlement patterns and the ways in which these relate to contemporary communications infrastructure such as Roman roads.
- The formation, dating and longevity of boundaries in the landscape and associated administrative and territorial land-holdings.

The link between these wider debates and the questions addressed in this thesis is reinforced by the close parallels between both of these and a number of themes identified as important research objectives in the regional archaeological research frameworks for the study area. Within the research framework for the eastern counties, the need for more research into the Roman road network has been highlighted, "particularly in the later Roman period and beyond" (Going and Plouviez 2000, 21). In the East Midlands, it has been recognised that although, "evidence for the continued importance of the Roman road network in the fifth to ninth centuries is difficult to evaluate" being able to demonstrate the upkeep of Roman roads during this period could contribute to the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition debate (Vince 2006, 172, 184). The question of why some Roman roads have continued in use whilst others have disappeared has also been specifically referenced within the research frameworks (Going and Plouviez 2000, 21; Vince 2006, 172; Medlycott 2011, 48). Developing our understanding of the ways in which Roman roads have influenced the development of the Anglo-Saxon and medieval landscape, especially their use as social and political boundaries, has also been recognised as an important research theme (Medlycott 2011, 58; Knight *et al*. 2012, 82, 89-90).

The wider debates themselves are also encompassed within the regional research frameworks by themes and objectives that are not necessarily directly related to the study of the Roman road network but which nevertheless have a bearing on the topics

being discussed in this thesis. These include further investigation of the archaeological evidence for the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition period (Medlycott 2011, 49-50; Knight *et al*. 2012, 84), an increased understanding of the landscape setting of Anglo-Saxon burial sites (Knight *et al*. 2012, 85) and the evolution of settlements during the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods (Medlycott 2011, 58; Knight *et al*. 2012, 86). The specific themes and questions from the regional research frameworks which are most relevant to this thesis are included in full in Appendix Five.

Approaches developed through landscape history and archaeology have been seen as being particularly relevant to the study of the broader Roman to medieval transition period, at least in part "because of the opportunity to extract meaning from the positioning of sites and activities in the landscape" (Esmonde Cleary 2001, 96). The juxtaposition of Anglo-Saxon and medieval activity foci in relation to Roman roads and the wider landscape presents just such an opportunity. If a Roman road is known to have still existed at a certain date, and as we shall see in the next chapter for those that survive today that means at any point since the end of the Roman period, conclusions can be drawn about its relationships to, and potentially provide relative dates for, other features in the landscape. Using this approach, this thesis will examine a range of different archaeological datasets and historical sources in relation to the Roman road network to establish its significance, use and role in the development of the landscape of the study area. The sources used and the methodology adopted are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. Having thus established how the corpus of Roman roads in the study area was selected, Chapter Four will close the first part of the thesis by briefly describing the Roman road network of the study area in both its original from and its current surviving extent.

Part Two is concerned with the relationship between Roman roads and locales, such as destinations and activity foci, located on, and along, the road corridors. This part of the thesis is arranged in three chronological chapters covering the early Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter Five), middle Anglo-Saxon period (Chapter Six) and the late Anglo-Saxon and medieval period (Chapter Seven), which examine what the locales can tell us about the continued use and significance of the Roman road network. Concluding Part Two, Chapter Eight will draw together the evidence from the preceding chapters and consider the role that locales have played in the survival and loss of the Roman road network.

Part Three of the thesis examines the Roman road network in a wider landscape context. Chapter Nine begins this by looking at the areas in between the locales examined in Part Two and considers the relationships between the Roman road network and the agricultural landscape during the medieval and post-medieval periods. Finally, the important theme of the use and significance of Roman roads as territorial and administrative boundaries is examined in Chapter Ten. The closing discussion and conclusions in Chapter Eleven (Part Four) draws together the different themes examined in Parts Two and Three and shows how these have addressed the questions posed by the thesis and how they have contributed to the wider debates outlined above. Potential avenues for future research into Roman roads and the landscape will also be identified and discussed.

Chapter 2: A Historiography of Roman Roads in Britain and their Context within Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Studies

The Long History of the Study of Roman Roads in Britain

The study of Roman roads in Britain has a very long history which can only be briefly summarised in the first part of this chapter. Roman roads were first mentioned by Bede in his *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the early eighth century when, along with other structures left by the Romans, they were still extant in the landscape (HE 1:11). Centuries later, three major Roman roads, Ermine Street, Foss Way and Watling Street and the unimproved routeway, Icknield Way feature in the 'Four Highways Story' recorded by the twelfth-century chroniclers William of Malmesbury, Florence of Worcester, and Henry of Huntingdon. The story establishes the legal status of these roads by providing an origin myth that placed their construction deep in British, rather than Roman, history (Guest 1857; Cooper 2000). Whilst it is debatable whether the Four Highways story constitutes part of the purposeful study of Roman roads it was to heavily influence the subject for centuries to follow.

The publication of William Camden's *Britannia* in 1586 is often seen as the true starting point for the study of Roman Britain and a pinnacle of late Renaissance scholarship (Todd 2004, 444). Camden made many important observations about the Roman remains that he encountered. He was also among the first scholars to dismiss the Four Highways story arguing that the chroniclers were deceived to hold that there were only four roads and that they were of Roman not British origin. The study of Roman Britain was in the sixteenth century still largely driven by the historical sources, and the Antonine Itinerary was a catalyst for the early study of Roman roads. Dating from the second century AD the Itinerary was a descriptive list of 225 routes throughout the Empire with 15 relating to Britain (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 23). The desire to reconstruct the geography of the province from the Itinerary encouraged the tracing of its road network as the antiquaries sought out routes to link the known settlements and match the distances that it listed.
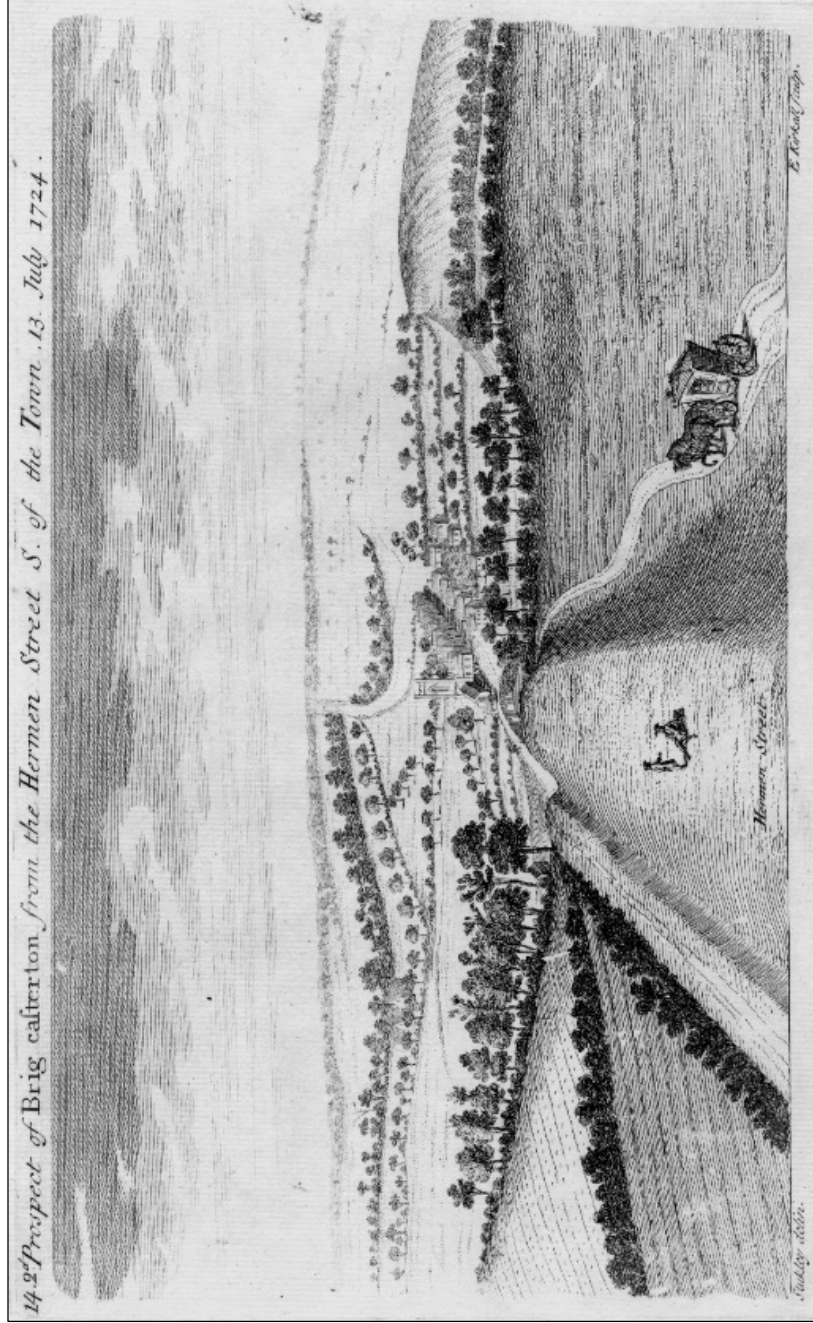
Figure 1. '*Prospect of Brig* [Great] *Casterton from the Hermen* [Ermine] *Street*' by William Stukeley, 1724. This view of Ermine Street, which here formed part of the Great North Road, depicts it prior to its improvement as a turnpike road. The carriageway in the early eighteenth century lay alongside, rather than on, the *agger* of the Roman road and still does so today at this location. (Image courtesy of Lincolnshire Archives, Reference: DIXON 21/4/2/10).

The antiquarian study of Roman Britain, and with it the Roman road network, reached a peak during the 'long eighteenth century' supported by new and enlarged editions of Camden's *Britannia*. Undoubtedly the leading antiquary of this period was William Stukeley. The importance of Roman roads within the study of Roman Britain by this time is demonstrated by Stukeley's speech at the inaugural meeting of his 'Society of Roman Knights' in 1722. The purpose of this organisation was, "to search out and illustrate the Roman Monuments in the Britannic Isles....To save citys and citysens, camps, temples, walls, amphitheatres, monuments, roads, inscriptions, coyns, buildings and whatever has a Roman stamp on them" (cited in Ayres 1997, 94).

Stukeley's main contribution to the study of Roman roads were his field observations made during a series of tours of the antiquities of Britain and published as *Itinerarium Curiosum* in 1724. The fifth tour, the *Iter. Romanum* was made almost entirely along Roman roads (Moir 1964, 49) and he noted and mapped their courses, survival, and construction. The work is accompanied by Stukeley's own illustrations, several of which are significant for showing the surviving form of Roman roads in the pre-enclosure landscape and before their improvement as turnpike roads (Figure 1). However, Stukeley was unfortunately later fooled into publishing a fake itinerary and map of Roman Britain which had been created by Charles Bertram. This forgery and the spurious locations that it described were to have a serious detrimental effect on the study of Roman Britain, and by implication its road network, for well over a century (Piggott 1986).

The study of Roman roads in the nineteenth century was dominated by research at a local level and almost everything that was published on the subject was concerned with tracing a particular road, or the road network around a specific town, county, or region. The next significant contribution to the study of Roman roads in Britain as a whole came at the start of the twentieth century when the first books to be written specifically about the wider subject were published.

Thomas Codrington's *Roman Roads in Britain* (1903) drew together into a single volume for the first time a significant amount of the previous research on the road network. Not only was this a major step forward, it was Codrington's overall approach to the subject that makes his book so important. The course of each of the roads was systematically described along with its surviving condition, previous writers'

observations, and details of any excavated sections. The chapters all included a regional map with the roads numbered for cross-reference to the main text. In addition a large folding map of the whole road network was included at the rear of the book. Although maps of Roman Britain showing the road network were nothing new, this was possibly the first map for over a century and a half to be free from the influences of Bertram's fake itinerary.

Forbes and Burmester's *Our Roman Highways* (1904) is often overshadowed by Codrington's book, but nevertheless made an important contribution to the study of Roman roads in Britain. Rather than providing a catalogue of the road network, it discussed the historical context of the roads along with their construction and use. Most significantly from the point of view of this thesis, it was one of the first works to consider the post-Roman history of Roman roads in Britain in any detail, devoting a whole chapter to the subject.

Both of these books helped to popularise the subject of Roman roads and came at a time, as we shall see later in this study, when the road network was starting to undergo a revival due to the advent of the motor car. The books provided advice on how to trace Roman roads and, coupled with the detailed six inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps that had first been published in the 1880s, provided opportunities for amateur researchers to find and record new sections of the road network. The subject was further popularised by the publication of the *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain* in 1924 under the influence of O.G.S. Crawford, the first Archaeology Officer of the Ordnance Survey.

Among the research that developed out of the new interest in the subject was a local study of Roman roads in part of Southeast England by Ivan Margary. This work, called *Roman Ways in the Weald* (1948), highlighted the importance of the minor road network that existed between the major routes. The publication of Margary's two volume work *Roman Roads in Britain* (Margary 1955; 1957) marks the pinnacle of research in the subject during the twentieth century. Reprinted and revised twice up to 1973, it remains the standard description of the Roman road network in Britain. Although Margary acknowledged the value of Codrington's work, he also saw the necessity for a completely new survey to be undertaken by the mid twentieth century. As he observes in the introduction to the first volume of his *Roman Roads*,

methodological advances and new discoveries during the preceding fifty years had resulted in a wealth of new material becoming available (Margary 1955, 11). The easier means of access brought about by the motor car had enabled him to visit much of the road network and describe it from first hand observation. The route and surviving remains of each road was described, with measurements and details of its form and construction where appropriate. The numbering system for the roads that Margary adopted is an important legacy of his work. It operated in a similar way to the numbering of the modern road network. Major roads were given single digit numbers with a lower case letter suffix distinguishing a particular section of the route. Secondary and branch roads leading from these had two digit numbers and more minor roads were assigned three digit numbers. So for example, Ermine Street between Water Newton and Ancaster was assigned *2c*, a branch road from Water Newton to Ancaster via Bourne was number *26* and a spur northwards from Bourne to Sleaford was numbered *260*.

Margary was also at the head of *The Viatores*, a group of experienced road researchers who carried out detailed research on the network of minor roads in the Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Hertfordshire area, which they published as *Roman Roads in the South-East Midlands* (1964). The results were presented with a series of strip maps showing the route of each road along with excavated sections showing the construction of the roads. Although the work highlighted the potential complexity of the often overlooked network of minor roads (Johnston 1979, 36), it has been criticised for a lack of academic rigor and the inclusion of numerous routes of doubtful validity (Simco 1984).

Margary's *Roman Roads in Britain* had fostered new research on the subject with subsequent discoveries being included in the revised editions (Margary 1973). However, the success of the book, whilst ensuring its longevity, also meant that it presented an apparently definitive account of the road network. After Margary's death in 1976 there was a decline in research and publication about Britain's Roman roads. Leaving aside the general works produced by of some former members of *The Viatores* (e.g. Bagshawe 1979; Johnston 1979), it is possible that some researchers may have considered that there was little more to add to the subject. Bagshawe's *Roman Roads* (1979), which formed part of the Shire Archaeology series, remained in print for over

twenty years, but the same period saw no new books published specifically about Roman roads in Britain.

Perhaps because the subject had been largely dormant for several decades, the end of the twentieth century saw a revival of research into Roman roads in Britain. Hugh Davies carried out PhD research at the University of Reading relating to their construction (1998) and also published new synthetic works on the subject (2002; 2008). Further important work on the surveying and construction of roads in the north of Roman Britain has since been carried out by John Poulter (2009; 2010; 2014). The evolution of the prehistoric to post-medieval road network in parts of Suffolk and Cambridgeshire was explored by Sarah Harrison (2005) in her PhD research at the University of East Anglia. Her work has made a significant contribution towards understanding the landscape history of the road network in the regions, including within it important observations about the later history of Roman roads. Archaeological fieldwork also continues to advance our understanding of Roman roads and lead us to question our assumptions. A clear example of this are the excavations on Sharpstone Hill at Bayston in Shropshire where luminescence dating has suggested that the 'Roman' road had a long pre-Roman history (Malim and Hayes 2011). The most recent contribution to the literature on Roman roads in Britain by Mike Bishop (2014) has focussed mainly on the military history of Roman roads in the medieval and post-medieval periods. The renewed research interest in the Roman road network since the end of the last century fostered the establishment of the Roman Roads Research Association in 2015; a new group devoted entirely to their study (www.romanroads.org/ (accessed 17/03/2015)).

Roman Roads, Wider Debates and the Study of the Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Landscape

Compared to the long history of the study of Roman Britain the archaeological investigation of Anglo-Saxon and medieval England is a relatively young discipline. From the outset the study of these later periods was governed by documentary sources with the independent analysis of the archaeological evidence not playing a significant role until the early twentieth century.

Change and Continuity: The Roman to Anglo-Saxon Transition

One of the principal and long-running debates for this period concerns the nature of the transition from Roman Britain to Anglo-Saxon England. Whilst the debate has focused on many different aspects of the transition, the most relevant to this thesis is the central question of the extent to which this was a period of wholesale change or whether there were elements of continuity, particularly in the landscape.

The differences between the archaeological record of the fourth and sixth centuries are well understood. As Simon Esmonde Cleary (2001, 90-1) has highlighted the nature of the archaeological signature for the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods is quite different. On the one hand the Roman period is characterised by an elite culture including urban settlements, villas, forts represented by an artefact-rich archaeological record with evidence for both masonry and wooden structures. This was accompanied by a non-elite population, evidenced mainly from rural settlements, who were less archaeologically visible. By contrast the early Anglo-Saxon period (at least within central and eastern England) is dominated by evidence from burials, rather than settlements, associated artefacts most often recovered as grave-goods, and an architecture of wooden buildings. It is clear from this background that the transition period saw significant differences in, for example, the material culture and architecture being used at either end of the two hundred or so years concerned. In this context the question is not necessarily whether there was change, but the rather more intangible problems of how and when it occurred, and what its overall impact was on the population and landscape. The fifth century has been seen as the critical period in which to address these topics and debate has focussed on questions of 'people and place' such as the ethnicity of the population and the (dis)continuity of settlements.

From its outset the study of Anglo-Saxon England was dominated by the evidence provided by a handful of documentary sources. Gildas' *De Excedio et Conquestu Britanniae*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* all painted a sketchy yet compelling picture of the end of Roman Britain and the process by which Anglo-Saxon England came into being. Gildas used the story of how the native Romano-British population had been driven west by the invading Saxons as part of an allegory for the sins of his own time (Esmonde Cleary 1989, 166-7). Bede was more specific, identifying three cultural groups - the Angles, Saxons and Jutes – who had

each colonised separate parts of the east and southeast of the country. These documentary sources suggested that the native Romano-British population had either been forced out, slaughtered, succumbed to disease and famine, or been subjugated by an overwhelming number of Germanic invaders who then settled in their place (Lucy 2000, 156-7).

The archaeological evidence, comprising almost entirely of artefacts derived from funerary contexts, was seen to support this interpretation. By the early twentieth century comparison of the form and decorative styles of brooches, pottery and weapons with continental examples were seen to provide firm evidence of the presence of large numbers of Anglo-Saxons settlers in Britain during the fifth and sixth centuries (e.g. Baldwin Brown 1903; Åberg 1926). Linguistic and place-name studies in the mid twentieth century further reinforced this viewpoint with English language itself and the presence of large numbers of Germanic place-names in eastern England supporting the idea of wholesale replacement of the existing Romano-British population (Fleming 2016, 5). Although there had always been a few scholars who had questioned the veracity of the historical sources (e.g. Kemble 1846), the idea of a 'mass-migration' of Anglo-Saxon invaders and settlers, sometimes also referred to as the 'Germanist' perspective, became firmly established and was widely accepted during the first half of the twentieth century.

What role then did Roman roads play in this model of significant population movement during the fifth century? As major lines of communication they were often seen as part of the inherited landscape into which the incoming Anglo-Saxons moved, particularly where the process of invasion and settlement was being considered. Opinion was nevertheless divided about the extent to which Roman roads had been used by during the 'invasion' and subsequent settlement. As late as the mid twentieth century, W.G. Hoskins considered Roman roads to be, "the ready-made routes by which the English colonists penetrated more swiftly and safely into new country than if they had to hack their way in yard by yard from the edges" (1955, 34). R.G. Collingwood and J.N.L. Myres saw that, in Kent at least, the pattern of 'Teutonic settlement' had been determined by the physical geography and lines of communication, including Roman roads (1937, 359). However, E.T. Leeds had earlier noted that the Anglo-Saxons, "were essentially a seafaring race" and concluded that the rivers of England played a far greater role than Roman roads in the process of

Anglo-Saxon settlement. He included a map showing Anglo-Saxon burial sites in relation to the river network, but noted that;

> such a map, if superimposed on one showing the Roman roads, will demonstrate that, in spite of the network spread by the latter over the whole country, only here and there are any settlements to be found of which it might be said that the roads were the way by which their occupiers came (Leeds 1913, 18 & Fig. 1).

Although, as we shall see below, there were significant issues with the identification of Anglo-Saxon settlements in the early twentieth century, Leeds was quite clear about the apparent avoidance of Roman roads by the immigrant population. Interestingly, no consideration appears to have been given at that time to the use of the Roman road network by the displaced Romano-British population during its westward movement suggested by Gildas.

The political mood in the decades leading up to the Second World War saw what Sam Lucy has described as an 'anti-German backlash' (1998, 14). The prospect of the extermination of the Romano-British population by Germanic invaders was no longer a palatable concept and by the late 1930s Myres was able to observe a paradigm shift towards interpretations favouring a greater degree of native survival (1937, 328). Contemporary views of the Germanic migrants also became couched in negative terms with Leeds seeing them as, "an impoverished people, a race of pirates" a view partly fostered by his misinterpretation of the *grubenhauser* that he excavated at Sutton Courtenay as squalid dwellings (1936, 20-2). Despite the view that much more of the native population probably survived than had previously been thought to be the case (e.g. Stenton 1943, 314), it was still generally accepted in the mid twentieth century that the level of change demonstrable in the archaeological record must have required large-scale population movement.

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed a significant shift in the approaches taken to the study of the transition period. The development of aerial photography had led to the discovery of many new archaeological sites and demonstrated that the Roman-British countryside was far more densely occupied than had previously been thought. This had in turn resulted in an upwards revision of the estimate of the Romano-British population. Palaeoenvironmental studies were also revealing that the

countryside remained an open agricultural landscape in the post-Roman period as it had been for centuries. It was not dominated by vast tracts of dense virgin forest nor was there wholesale woodland regeneration at the end of the Roman period either - the presence of which would have supported abandonment of the agricultural landscape required by the traditional historical narratives (Rackham 1986, 75; Dark 2000, 132-56). The presence of a larger Romano-British population and the evidence that the landscape had not been abandoned meant that the existing models for the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition were no longer tenable.

In light of this, new theories about the process of change that occurred between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England developed which for many involved considerably reduced numbers of Continental immigrants. Whilst Esmonde Cleary considered that the number of immigrants necessary to affect the changes lay in the tens of thousands (1989, 204), Nicholas Higham (1992) proposed a takeover by a significantly smaller elite who seized control from the native population. Such approaches came hand-in-hand with a recognition that there were in any case multiple narratives for the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition. It has been realised that the collapse of Roman administration and a market economy need only to have seriously affected the "important and visible class" of urban-dwelling and villa-owning elite (Esmonde Cleary 2011, 17). With estimates that the vast majority, perhaps even up to 90% (Hingley and Miles 2002, 153), of the population of Roman Britain were living in the countryside, such observations have led to the idea that there was likely to have been far more continuity, in the countryside at least, following the end of Roman administration than was previously considered possible. However, such ideas were not necessarily entirely new, with A.L. Rivet having suggested that if continuity were to exist after the end of the Roman period it would be amongst low-status farming communities rather than the villa-owning elite (1969, 215).

Part of the debate surrounding the 'transition' has for decades centred on the speed with which the changes evidenced in the archaeological record came into being. On the one hand, there were those who have maintained that the Roman way of life had reached a sudden demise with the withdrawal of centralised Roman administration in the early fifth century (e.g. Collingwood and Myres 1937; Reece 1980; Esmonde Cleary 1989). By contrast, others have seen the process as being far more gradual, extending both before and after the traditional end-date of Roman Britain AD410. Neil

Faulkner (2000) has suggested that the decline started in the mid to late fourth century. The other end of the process, a continuation of a Romanised way of life has been stretched well into the fifth century and beyond. It has, for example, been suggested that settlement activity at Silchester may have continued on even into the seventh century (Fulford 2012 cited in Rippon *et al*. 2015, 5).

These differing approaches to the transition between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England are, as we shall see, relevant to our understanding of survival, loss and continued significance of the Roman road network in the centuries that followed the traditional end-date for Roman Britain of the early fifth century. It is worth now moving on to consider how the specific theme of the survival and loss of Roman roads in this period has been approached by previous researchers.

Previous Concepts of the Survival and Loss of Roman Roads

One aspect of the later history of Roman roads that has repeatedly received attention from historians and archaeologists is their survival and loss. Both the processes involved and the date at which the roads ceased to function feature as recurring questions; the re-examination of which are also central to this current thesis.

The intermittent survival and destruction of some Roman roads was recognised from the outset of their study. As early as the seventeenth century Camden observed some surviving only as the earthworks of the *agger* on uncultivated land noting that they were, "...being dismembred, as it were, and cut one peece from another in some places, by reason that the countrey people digge out gravell from thence" (Camden 1607, 44-5). Whilst such references provide useful evidence for the process by which the physical remains of Roman roads disappeared from the landscape, the roads themselves must already have fallen out of use. However, this first part of the process, the actual abandonment of parts of the Roman road network, received little attention until the more contextual approach to the study of the roads in the twentieth century.

Among the first to give any serious consideration as to why some Roman roads fell out of use and disappeared from the landscape were Forbes and Burmester. They recognised that the loss of Roman roads was a two-stage process; initially one of "neglect and disuse", followed by their "actual destruction" during modern highway

works (1904, 170). The idea that the roads were neglected in the centuries immediately after the Roman period was firmly seated in contemporary views of the Germanic migrants then believed to have swept across eastern and central England. These "barbarian invaders" were, as we have seen, considered to be inferior to their Roman forebears and, "had neither the will nor the capacity to utilize the results of Roman civilization" (*ibid.*, 171). However, this view was not universal, Baldwin Brown acknowledged at least some use of the Roman road network during the early Anglo-Saxon period, romantically invoking a memory of, "the Saxon chapman… as he once trode the still unruined causeway" (1903, 60).

The disuse of Roman roads in the early Anglo-Saxon period is, however, by far the simplest explanation for the subsequent breakdown of parts of the Roman road network. Implicit within this model is the suggestion that there was little or no long-distance travel taking place in the fifth or sixth centuries to ensure that the roads continued in use; a view which has remained surprisingly persistent (Margary 1955, 16; Taylor 1979, 87; H. Davies 2008, 47). However, this too is a perception founded on an out-dated view of 'Dark Age' England. In the early to mid twentieth century most historians were happy to accept that 'Germanic migrants' had travelled long-distances over sea and land, with Roman roads being seen by some as among the routes taken into the heart of the country (e.g. Hodgkin 1935). Somewhat paradoxically, once they had arrived, these same peoples were believed to have dwelt in villages hacked out of regenerated woodland and ceased to travel anywhere at all. Whilst the paucity of documentary evidence for widespread long-distance travel in the fifth and sixth centuries can, in part, be blamed for this misconception, the idea is also deeply rooted in the prevailing negative view of the lack of sophistication and wider connections maintained by the population of the period. Increasingly, excavated evidence, particularly in the form of grave-goods from cemeteries, is demonstrating that early Anglo-Saxon communities had very wide communication and trade network and that long-distance travel was likely to have been a regular occurrence for at least some elements of the population. As Leahy has concluded, "the evidence suggests that early medieval England was a lot more integrated than we imagined – the idea that horizons only extended as far as the next hedge but one is untenable" (2007a, 263).

The popularity of the idea that Roman roads were largely, if not completely, abandoned during the early Anglo-Saxon period led to the suggestion from some

scholars that even the roads which remain in use today had actually become totally disused and then re-instated at a later date (Eagles 1979, 164; Stafford 1985, 9; Welch 1992, 107). However, Oliver Rackham dismissed this theory as "unrealistic" pointing out that roads "are highly artificial and survive only through continuous use". As he went on to explain, "a gravel road neglected for five years gets overgrown with bushes; after ten years it becomes a thicket more impenetrable than if it had never been a road" (1986, 257). This view accords well with observations about the state of the country's roads in the early twentieth century. The success of the railways meant that by the end of the nineteenth century there was little long-distance traffic on the main road network (Harper 1922, preface). By the time of the road revival brought about by the advent of the motor car in the early twentieth century, even major Roman roads such as Watling

Figure 2. A section of the former A140 at Marsham in Norfolk which has been replaced by a new carriageway to its west. Its tarmac surface is rapidly becoming overgrown where it is not still being used as a footpath.

Street, Foss Way and Ermine Street which had existed as turnpike roads, were little more than grass-covered tracks (The Grantham Journal 1925, 8; 1930, 6). The process can still be observed to be taking place on abandoned parts of the modern road network, underlining Rackham's point about the speed with which disused roads can become overgrown (Figure 2). However, the timescales that Rackham proposed for a road to become completely unusable related specifically to a gravel road and thus some caveats have to be added. Other types of Roman road surface, such as edge-set limestone slabs, are likely to have become overgrown at different rates. Perhaps more important, however, would have been the nature of the surrounding vegetation. A road passing through a wooded area, or flanked by hedges or trees, might be expected to have become overgrown more quickly than one crossing open heathland simply due to the quantity, type and proximity of the plant life available to recolonise it. Nevertheless, Rackham's view that Roman roads must have remained in continuous use to have survived as roads through to the present day is considered to be sound and is adopted as one of the core principles of this thesis.

An alternative theoretical approach to the breakdown of the Roman road network has focussed more on the lack of maintenance of the roads in the centuries after the end of the Roman period rather than a lack of long-distance travel. This was essentially the view taken by Margary, who subscribed to a, "gradual breakdown and decline" rather than a "sudden cessation of the Roman way of life" (1955, 16). Although he too had considered that, "the Saxon settler had little use for roads" his view of the process of loss was somewhat cataclysmic;

> The wooden bridges would be the first to go, and if some local owner did not carry out the repair the road would be broken at that point unless a ford was available nearby; wash-outs would occur in hilly districts, severing the road at culverts and creating very awkward obstacles; trees would be blown down and block the road in forest districts. All these incidents would tend to break the roads into discontinuous sections, some of which could still be usefully employed for local traffic (Margary 1955, 17).

Others too have seen watercourse crossings as weak points in the Roman road network. Harrison has suggested that without maintenance timber bridges would have

become unusable by the end of the fifth century but that some stone bridges may have survived for several centuries longer (2004, 32-3). However, such views continue to cast the population of Anglo-Saxon England in a rather poor light. Firstly, there a presumption that they lacked the woodworking or organisational skills to effect repairs to existing bridges or to construct replacements; a point which is largely unfounded and thus highly debatable. Secondly, it suggests a lack of determination on the part of Anglo-Saxon travellers. The assumption that a long-distance route would completely cease to function due to a failed river crossing point is unsustainable. As the evidence from the surviving Roman road network shows, such failures would be more likely to result in a deviation of the route via an alternative crossing-point rather than the loss of the entire route; a point which will be re-visited in Chapter Eight. The other events cited by Margary, such as erosion scars and fallen trees, would too have been relatively minor inconveniences likely to result in deviation of the road away from its original course, but not a cause of its abandonment.

This question of changes to the course of Roman roads, particularly within river valleys, has been examined in two studies within East Anglia. In a study of the landscape at Fressingfield and Cratfield on the East Suffolk claylands Peter Warner noted the differential survival of Roman roads in the river valleys and on the interfluves. Sections of Roman road survived in use on the clay interfluves but on the lighter gravel soils of the river valleys, where the medieval settlements were located, all traces of the roads had been lost. Despite the survival of the Roman roads as straight sections on the clayland, Warner rather mysteriously considered them to be, "little more than the memory of the line of the Roman road maintained through customary use, rather than the road itself". This 'memory' he noted only survived on the interfluves whereas in the valley bottoms "continuous arable husbandry has ploughed away all trace of it" (Warner 1987, 10).

In this model the survival and loss of the Roman roads is attributed to the differences in the intensity and type of land-use on the interfluves and in the valleys. To some extent this is a reasonable assumption. On the uncultivated clay interfluves there was less pressure on, and change in, the landscape and consequently the courses of the roads remained unaltered. However the notion that they were only a 'memory' of original Roman road is contestable. Whilst the loss of the *physical* evidence for the Roman roads in the river valleys might be due to the intensity of the arable cultivation

this presupposes, as Sarah Harrison (2005, 81) has pointed out, that the roads had already gone out of use. It does not, however, explain *why* they went out of use. It is unlikely that in-use roads would simply be ploughed up in their entirety, however intensive the land-use, and an alternative explanation needs to be sought for the changes to the road pattern in the river valleys in Warner's model.

Closer examination of the pattern of roads at Fressingfield and Cratfield (Warner 1987, Fig. 4) shows that although the modern roads through the valleys no longer follow the line of the Roman roads they do connect with, and theoretically maintain *functional continuity*[4] between, the surviving sections of Roman road on the interfluves. It is possible that in Warner's case study the functional continuity of the Roman road as a long-distance route was actually maintained and that the deviations in the valleys were due to the sorts of localised failures discussed above.

Warner's model for the differential survival of Roman roads in river valleys and on the interfluves was developed further by Harrison in her study of roads in an area lying on the Suffolk and Cambridgeshire border (2005, 81-3). She reasoned that the surviving Roman roads over the interfluves would have provided the easiest and most direct routes over the 'upland' areas to connect communities living in adjacent valleys. Recognising that many Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlements lay away from the Roman road network, Harrison proposed that new tracks would have developed in the valleys as people took the shortest route between their dwellings and the Roman roads at the point where they passed out of the valley and over the interfluves. This would have left the line of the Roman roads through the valleys largely unused and over time they would have fallen out of use (*ibid*.). Warner and Harrison's respective models for the breakdown of the Roman road network provide a useful starting point for the further examination of the processes involved and will be considered again in Chapter Eight.

---

[4] The term functional continuity is defined in Chapter Three.

Locales in the Landscape 1: Changing Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Settlement Patterns

One of the assumptions that accompanied the early twentieth century approach to the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition was a belief that medieval English villages and their open fields were a direct product of the Anglo-Saxon migration with the settlers having imported these concepts from their Germanic homelands. The pattern of medieval settlements thus attracted the interest of the scholars studying the 'transition' who concluded that there was no apparent correlation between Roman roads and Anglo-Saxon settlements. Indeed, the opposite was found to be true. Baldwin Brown, in an examination of the settlement pattern along Ermine Street in Lincolnshire (1903, 60-1), was struck by the lack of medieval villages located along the road and went on to observe that;

> All over the country the existing Roman roads pass through certain villages and towns that had their origin in military stations, but as a rule the seats of the Teutonic communities will be found a mile or two away on either side. (Baldwin Brown 1903, 63-4)

The absence of Anglo-Saxon settlements on Roman roads reinforced a prevalent view that the 'unsophisticated' incoming settlers deliberately avoided all traces of Roman culture. In this context, the "comparative isolation" of Watling Street from Anglo-Saxon settlements was, for example, in Baldwin Brown's view, "very significant of the mental attitude of the Saxon settlers towards these monuments of the unifying influence of the Roman rule" (1903, 63).

A decade later, Leeds drew the same conclusion about the lack of correlation between the roads and settlements but, in an early expression of environmental determinism, sought more pragmatic explanations as to why this may have been the case;

> It has been observed that the Anglo-Saxon villages, almost without exception, lie at some little distance from the line of any adjacent Roman road.....It is a curious but undoubted fact that the Teutonic settlers seem to have carefully avoided planting their settlements on such roads. The reason is not always quite clear, but in the main it lies in the fact that the Roman road-system, being entirely military

in character, drove straight across the country, for the most part avoiding the lower lands abutting on a river or stream which offered the greatest advantages for settlement of an agricultural nature such as were those of the Anglo-Saxons. And this avoidance may possibly have been further prompted by the greater liability to attack by roving bands of hostile tribes, to whom the Roman roads would offer a swift and easy progress. (Leeds 1913, 17-8)

The assumption that medieval villages owed their origins and locations to the Anglo-Saxon settlers of the fifth century was, however, erroneous. Consequently, Baldwin Brown and Leeds' conclusions about the relationship, or lack thereof, between Roman roads and the Anglo-Saxon settlers were fundamentally flawed - but excusably so. At the time that they were writing, no Early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites had been investigated archaeologically; even by the 1940s only six were known compared to over 1100 recorded cemeteries (Webster 1986, 123). The realisation that the evolution of medieval settlements was far more complex than had previously been thought, and had little to do with the initial Anglo-Saxon settlement, had to wait until after the Second World War when a new interest developed in the archaeological survey of deserted medieval settlements. Excavations, at sites such as Wharram Percy in Yorkshire (Beresford and Hurst 1990) consistently failed to reveal any evidence of early Anglo-Saxon precursors to later medieval villages. Whilst it had been noted as "strange" that there was no evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlements under medieval villages even before the concerted programme of investigation into deserted settlements (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 318), the significance of this had not been fully appreciated at that time. At the same time as excavations were taking place at deserted medieval settlements in the post-war period, fieldwalking surveys were beginning to identify evidence for a pattern of dispersed, and wholly abandoned, early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements located within the surrounding arable fields (e.g. Foard 1978; Taylor 1983; Liddle 1996; Bowman 2004).

Excavations at sites such as West Stow in Suffolk (West 1985) and Mucking in Essex (Hamerow 1993) supported the picture from the fieldwalking evidence, showing that these rural settlements had indeed only been occupied in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon period. The extensive excavations at Mucking demonstrated that it extended across the landscape as an example of *Wandersiedlung* - literally 'a wandering

settlement' - which had shifted its location during throughout early to middle Anglo-Saxon periods (Hamerow 1991). The absence of evidence for later activity at some excavated early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites was interpreted by Christopher Arnold and Peter Wardle (1981) as indicative of their abandonment, with them having shifted to new locations in what has been termed the 'Middle Saxon shuffle'. In this model they suggested that, in the seventh to eighth centuries, settlements shifted from locations with lighter soils on higher ground to new sites on richer soils in river valleys. This hypothesis has, however, been criticised, not least because further fieldwork has shown that early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements were much more widely distributed across the landscape than had previously been thought. Helena Hamerow pointed out that due to the limitations of their archaeologically excavated areas the full extents of most settlements of this period are not known. Consequently, it is probable that more of these settlements followed a similar pattern to Mucking, having simply shifted location to new foci, which lay beyond the archaeologically investigated areas, rather than being completely abandoned in the seventh century (1991).

One of the debates to arise from the recognition that medieval settlements did not have their origins in the fifth or sixth centuries surrounded the question of exactly when, in the East Midlands in particular, did the process of nucleation and the formation of villages actually occur. A range of different dates have been proposed, most often for shortly after the mid ninth century (Lewis *et al*. 2001, 198), but even as late as the eleventh century (Dyer 2003, 21-3). However, as Stephen Rippon (2010, 54) has pointed out the excavated and fieldwalked evidence give two different perspectives on the same question. On the one hand the absence of late Anglo-Saxon pottery types on fieldwalked early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements in the East Midlands indicates that the sites were out of use by the start of that period, providing a *terminus ante quem* of *c*.850 for their final use. The lack of evidence for early to middle Anglo-Saxon pottery from excavated sites within medieval settlements suggests that they did not come into being until after middle Anglo-Saxon pottery types had ceased to be used, indicating a *terminus post quem* of *c*.850 for their establishment.

More recently archaeological test-pitting within currently occupied rural settlements (CORS) has yielded little evidence for early and middle Anglo-Saxon settlements beneath later villages, apparently reinforcing the existing picture (Lewis 2010, 103).

However, the appropriateness of this survey technique for identifying settlement remains of this period has been questioned by Duncan Wright, whose own research has revealed that middle Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence is present beneath later medieval settlements, but at locations slightly removed from their later foci. He has suggested that existing models of largely unchanged early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements persisting up to mid ninth century are no longer tenable and that significant transformation in the organisation and character of rural communities and their settlements began as early as the seventh century. However, once established they exhibited a higher degree of permanence than their predecessors, undergoing very little subsequent shift in location (2015, 11-14; 178-82).

Rooted as it was the origins of English landscape history and the work of W.G. Hoskins (1955), Maurice Beresford (1954) and others, much of the early work on the origins and evolution of medieval settlements was undertaken in the Midlands. The landscape of the Midlands, including much of Lincolnshire, is often referred to as 'champion' countryside characterised in the medieval period by nucleated settlements set within open fields comprising arable strips of inter-mixed ownership. The distinctiveness of this landscape has long been recognised and it has been extensively discussed by landscape historians (e.g. Williamson 2012, 125-46). In a characterisation of medieval rural settlement, Brian Roberts and Stuart Wrathmell (2000; 2002) classified this landscape as part of a Central Province which extends from the Dorset Coast through the Midlands to Northumberland. To its southeast lay an entirely different landscape, traditionally referred to as 'woodland' or 'ancient' countryside, which they classified as the Southeast Province. This landscape was, as its name suggests, characterised by a high percentage of woodland, but also by a dispersed settlement pattern. Whilst these areas had originally included open fields, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they contained many small separately owned enclosures (Williamson 2012, 125).

Norfolk lies within the Southeast Province and its dispersed, rather nucleated, settlement pattern offers a different narrative of the evolution of Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlements. Extensive fieldwalking surveys in the county, such as those undertaken by Peter Wade-Martins (1980), Alan Davison (1988; 1990) and Andrew Rogerson (1995a; 1995b; *et al*. 1997) have produced significant evidence of middle Anglo-Saxon settlement activity. These sites are characterised by scatters of Ipswich

ware, an early eighth to mid ninth century pottery type which was widely distributed across East Anglia. Crucially these fieldwalking surveys have demonstrated that many of the scatters of Ipswich ware pottery are located around later medieval parish churches.

In contrast to the relative locational stability of the middle to late Anglo-Saxon settlements of the Central Province, those within East Anglia remained far more mobile. The presence of medieval parish churches standing in isolation away from their settlements has long been seen as one of the characteristic features of the Norfolk landscape. The process by which this occurred is now understood to involve the gradual drift of the settlements away from the church sites towards the edges of commons and greens by the eleventh to thirteenth centuries (Williamson 2014). However a few pottery scatters identified around the isolated churches during the fieldwalking surveys were found to only contain middle Anglo-Saxon Ipswich ware with no late Anglo-Saxon pottery types, such as Thetford ware, being present. This has been taken to suggest that the settlement shift away from the churches at these sites occurred towards the end of the middle Anglo-Saxon period in those cases. Whilst this may mirror the abandonment of some settlement sites in the Midlands at around broadly the same time, the presence of the churches provides an additional facet to the Norfolk settlements' development. As it is unlikely that churches would have been established in isolated locations after the associated settlement had drifted away to a common-edge they must have been founded during the middle Anglo-Saxon period prior to the settlement shift occurring (Hoggett 2010b, 209). Importantly this suggests a potentially early date for the establishment of at least some of these churches, in the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

It is clear that there are different histories of Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement evolution to be explored in the Midlands and East Anglia, and these will become relevant within Chapters Six and Seven of this thesis. However, in conclusion to this brief examination of the history of their study, it is worth returning to the main topic of this thesis, that of the Roman roads themselves. Although the debate about the origins of English villages started with observations about their relationship, or more correctly their lack of relationship, with the Roman road network, it is clear from the discussion above that the later debates about settlement origins, form and locations have not sought to explore their relationships with Roman roads. Consequently there

is, as highlighted in the previous chapter, scope to examine the interaction between Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlements and their contemporary communication networks, including Roman roads, in more detail.

Locales in the Landscape 2: Middle Anglo-Saxon 'Productive' Sites

The study of the archaeology of the middle Anglo-Saxon period has, for more than two decades, been dominated by the discussion of so-called 'productive' sites. The term was introduced by numismatists in the 1980s to define sites from which large amounts of middle Anglo-Saxon coins and other metal artefacts were being recovered, principally by metal detecting (Ulmschneider and Pestell 2003, 2).

Interpretations of what these artefact assemblages actually mean have varied enormously. However, most archaeologists have seen the large quantities of coins recovered from these sites as an indication that they had some form of economic role, perhaps as trading sites or the locations of occasional fairs or markets. However, identifying the function(s) of complex middle Anglo-Saxon sites is problematic even when they are excavated. It is often impossible to be certain whether they were secular or monastic in nature, or indeed both - either concurrently or at different phases in their development (Loveluck 2007, 144-8). In this context, it has been acknowledged that 'productive' sites may have been royal estate, ecclesiastical, or monastic centres, either simultaneously or over a period of time, rather than just having a solely commercial function (Ulmschneider 2000a, 87-8). At the other extreme, it has also been suggested that they may represent the ploughed-out remains of relatively ordinary settlements (Richards 1999).

The common factor of 'productive' sites, which led to their naming in the first place, is that significant quantities of coins and other artefacts have been recovered from them. The numbers of eighth and ninth century coins being found within the study area and elsewhere in southern and eastern England provides strong evidence for a developing monetary economy in this period. Whilst the term 'productive' site has been seen as having "unhelpful connotations" (Hoggett 2010a, 77), it is nevertheless useful in the absence of a detailed understanding of these sites. Irrespective of any differences in the form or function of 'productive' sites the finds which have been recorded from them identifies these sites as places where coin-use, or perhaps more

accurately coin-loss, was occurring. As we shall see in Chapter Six, as a group they have been examined in detail for the Lincolnshire part of the study area, including a consideration of their relationship with communication routes (Ulmschneider 2000a; 2000b).

Boundaries and Burials: The Study of Roman Roads in the Wider Landscape

Aside from their relationship to the pattern of Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement, Roman roads have also previously been considered alongside other categories of evidence for this period as part of studies of the wider landscape. Two of these, which are directly relevant to the questions asked in this thesis, are early Anglo-Saxon burial sites and administrative or territorial boundaries.

The relationship between early Anglo-Saxon burials sites and Roman roads is one that has most often been represented cartographically. The depiction of Roman roads on maps of Anglo-Saxon sites was not a new concept when Leeds dismissed its value in the early twentieth century. The first map of Anglo-Saxon England, published by Thomas Wright in 1855, showed the location of 81 cemeteries against a background of Roman roads, rivers and towns (Lucy 1998, 11). Even after Leeds's observations quoted above, the increased use of archaeological distribution maps during the twentieth century saw the Roman road network routinely being shown as a backdrop to the pattern of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, settlements and finds at both regional and national levels (e.g. Phillips 1934, Plate XXVII; Hodgkin 1935, map facing 109; Clarke 1960, Fig. 32). As we have seen, Roman roads were seen by some as an integral part of the Anglo-Saxon settlement, but frequently their inclusion on maps of Anglo-Saxon England seems to have occurred without any explanation or interpretation in the accompanying text. This may reflect a reluctance among scholars to completely disregard such a significant aspect of the earlier landscape or perhaps that the road network was simply seen as a convenient and recognisable geographical framework against which to plot early Anglo-Saxon sites to enable their distributions to be more easily interpreted.

Detailed analysis of the actual relationships between burials sites of this period and the Roman road network had to wait until the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. In a recent statistical study of the landscape context of early Anglo-Saxon

sites in Norfolk, Mary Chester-Kadwell found that they had only a weak association with the Roman road network (2009, 135-6). Given that much of the county lies at some considerable distance from the nearest Roman road this might hardly seem surprising. However, both mortuary and non-mortuary sites were found to occur almost twice as frequently as expected within 100m of the roads.

Earlier examination of the relationship between early Anglo-Saxon burials and Roman roads had focussed primarily on the use of the roads as boundaries, and parish boundaries in particular. Their use as, and relationships with, boundaries in the landscape is in itself an aspect of the history of Roman roads that has received much attention from past researchers. This relationship had been recognised by the start of the twentieth century with Codrington able to observe that, "it is well known that the ridges of Roman roads were often made the boundaries of parishes" (1918, 33). Half a century later, Margary fleshed-out the story;

> Even if he could not use the road as a thoroughfare the Saxon often found the long straight line of the agger useful as a boundary bank between his own land and his neighbour's; when in later times these had developed into large holdings the boundaries grew in importance and eventually became those of the parishes with which we are familiar. Thus it often happens that parish boundaries follow Roman roads (Margary 1955, 17).

However, Codrington and Margary's principal interest in the relationship was that parish boundaries shown on Ordnance Survey maps provided a useful means of tracing the routes of lost sections of road and there was little analysis as to why some sections of Roman road were utilised in this way while others were not. Nevertheless, in a few cases where parish boundaries lay along Roman roads some consideration was given to the age of the land-units represented by the parishes on either side. An example of this relates to a remarkable group of parishes on Ermine Street north of Lincoln which all utilise the Roman road as their boundary. These boundaries were seen by Collingwood and Myres as a fossilisation of a Roman *territorium* (1937, 415), although Richard Morris (1989, 235-8) outlined a more topographically-determined model for their creation. The significance and origins of this group of parishes are considered in more detail in Chapter Ten.

The relationships between Roman roads, Anglo-Saxon burials and boundaries were examined by Desmond Bonney in a series of studies of charter, estate and parish boundaries in Wiltshire (1966; 1972; 1979). In these he observed that a significant number of early Anglo-Saxon burial sites lay close to later boundaries, some of which were defined by Roman roads. From this correlation he concluded that the burials had been specifically placed on boundaries, and that this also indicated that the boundaries themselves, and the land-units that they defined, were of at least early Anglo-Saxon, if not Roman, date. The idea that early Anglo-Saxon burials were placed on boundaries and that landscape features such as Roman roads had served as boundaries at that time became firmly established and oft-quoted (e.g. Stafford 1985) and reinforced by later research (Goodier 1984). Alternative explanations were, however, put forward with Martin Welch (1985) suggesting that the burials were simply placed on prominent landscape features that were only later adopted as boundaries.

Bonney also noted that in some areas of Wiltshire parish boundaries followed Roman roads for long distances, whereas in other parts of the county they followed linear earthwork features instead (Bonney 1972, 176-85). He recognised that where the boundaries followed a Roman road, both the line of the boundary and the land-units that it defined must be of Roman or later date. However, Bonney also reasoned that the opposite must also be true; where parish boundaries followed a prehistoric linear earthwork feature and ignored a Roman road that was present nearby it suggested that the use of the boundary feature and its associated land-units must pre-date the construction of the Roman road. In this context he likened Roman roads to nineteenth-century railways, cutting discordantly across the existing pattern of boundaries. Some of the parish boundaries concerned also represented the boundaries of Anglo-Saxon estates defined in charters and based on these relationships he argued that many of the estates could trace their existence back to Roman or late prehistoric origins.

Bonney's work on the dating of boundaries, and their relationships with Anglo-Saxon burials, has been re-assessed by Simon Draper (2004). With regard to the placing of early Anglo-Saxon burials on Roman roads, Draper questioned the dating of many of the examples cited by Bonney. Research by Andrew Reynolds (2002; 2011) has shown that so-called 'deviant burials' of late Anglo-Saxon date, particularly burials of those who were apparently judicially executed, were almost exclusively placed on major territorial boundaries, such as those of estates or hundreds. In light of this, Draper

suggested that many of Bonney's examples of early Anglo-Saxon burials on boundaries were in actual fact of late Anglo-Saxon date, making them contemporary with the first references to the boundaries in documentary sources. Nevertheless, some irrefutably early Anglo-Saxon burials were recognised to be present on routeways that also functioned as boundaries, including Roman roads. Draper proposed that it was the relationship between burials and routeways in the early Anglo-Saxon period that was significant, rather than that between burials and boundaries. He proposed an alternative model for boundary formation whereby the placing of burials adjacent to routeways in the early Anglo-Saxon period and the utilisation of the routeways as boundaries in the later Anglo-Saxon period were entirely unconnected with both using the routeways simply because they were prominent linear landscape features. The coincidence of both burials and boundaries on routeways such as Roman roads did not necessarily indicate that the boundaries and their associated land-units had to be of early Anglo-Saxon, or earlier, origin.

The second hypothesis put forward by Bonney, in which the boundaries that did not follow Roman roads must pre-date them, was also refuted by Draper. With some of the examples cited by Bonney, Draper demonstrated that the sections where Roman roads were not utilised as boundary features actually lay within densely wooded parts of medieval royal forests. In these cases he suggested that the line of the road may have become lost in the forest, particularly if the road was disused, and that its surviving *agger* did not present itself as an obvious landscape feature when the estate boundaries were established in the late Anglo-Saxon period (*ibid*. 61-2); a view echoing those of Rackham discussed above concerning vegetation regeneration over abandoned roads. In doing so he highlighted the flaws in Bonney's reasoning, just because the boundaries did not lie on the line of the Roman road it did not automatically follow that they had to pre-date it. Draper did, however, acknowledge that the evidence is not categorical for either side of the debate and some such boundaries and land-units may in fact be earlier than the Roman roads that lay near or across them.

Similar approaches to those of Bonney, using horizontal stratigraphy to examine the historic landscape, have also been applied to the relationships between field systems and Roman roads. Large areas of co-axial field systems, defined by a series of long and broadly parallel boundaries and trackways with the corridors of land in between

sub-divided into small fields, have been identified in parts of central and eastern England. Significant elements of some such field systems survive in the modern landscape as at Little Waltham and Chelmsford in Essex (Rodwell 1978; Drury and Rodwell 1980) and the so-called 'Scole-Dickleburgh' field system on the Norfolk-Suffolk border (Williamson 1987). By contrast, in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire morphologically similar coaxial field systems have been identified only as cropmarks with no elements extant in the landscape (Riley 1980, 25-6).

Apart from their visual similarity in plan, what linked the field systems at all of these locations was that they are cut across discordantly by Roman roads. In many cases where the Roman roads lay diagonally across the otherwise co-axial layout they created small triangular fields. Once again this led to an analogy with the imposition of railways over the existing field pattern in the nineteenth century which led to the creation of similar irregular fields alongside them. Tom Williamson's initial conclusion was that the 'Scole-Dickleburgh' system was based on a surviving, but somewhat altered, planned field pattern of late prehistoric date, pre-dating the construction of the Roman Pye Road (Williamson 1987). This interpretation was challenged by David Hinton (1997) who argued for a topographically-driven layout to the landscape and that most of the surviving field pattern was post-medieval in origin. In response, Williamson (1998) offered a revised hypothesis in which the parallel trackways related to transhumance activity between the River Waveney and the watershed on the adjacent clay 'upland' areas, arguing that the presence of the Roman road would have had little bearing on such movements through the landscape. A late prehistoric date for the pattern of trackways was still considered likely, but it was recognised that the infilling of the landscape between them could have occurred in the medieval or even post-medieval periods. In a further refinement of the transhumance interpretation Williamson has noted that co-axial landscapes such as that at 'Scole-Dickleburgh'

> cannot be dated in any simple way by the manner in which they appear to be 'slighted' by Roman roads. The original relationship was not between the road, and a dense network of fields, but rather between the road and a widely spaced pattern of parallel lanes and boundaries. These could have been imposed on the Roman road just as easily as the other way around: the difference in orientation

is explained by the difference of purpose, the lanes and boundaries linking and dividing the resources of a local environment, the Roman road taking a direct route from one place of military or civilian importance to another. It need thus have no chronological implications (Williamson 2012, 101).

It is clear, that such relationships are highly complex and that the use of horizontal stratigraphy to date the evolution of landscape features is filled with potential pitfalls. As Della Hooke has highlighted, "boundaries were concerned with the delimitation of such land as pasture, arable or meadow and the existence of a Roman road might be totally irrelevant" (1998, 81).

Conclusions

The discussion above has shown that the study of Roman roads has a long history which has continually been influenced by, and contributed to, wider archaeological and historical themes. This is just as true for the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods as for the Roman period itself. However, for much of the study of these later periods the use and significance of Roman roads have been drawn into, and examined from the perspective of wider debates, rather than in their own right. Having now established a baseline historiography for the key themes examined in this thesis, and moreover their relationship with the Roman road network, it is now possible to outline the dataset and methodology for this study.

Chapter 3: The Study Area, Methodology and Sources

Description of the Study Area

The area examined by this thesis comprises two ceremonial counties in eastern England: Lincolnshire, which lies within the East Midlands region; and Norfolk in East Anglia. Both of these counties are coastal and they are separated by the Fenland region and the Wash; a major estuary fed by rivers from across both of the adjoining regions. Details of the geography and history of Lincolnshire and Norfolk are discussed and placed within their regional contexts elsewhere (Bennett and Bennett 1993; Ashwin and Davison 2005; Stocker 2006; Williamson 2006) and will only be briefly summarised here.

Lincolnshire

The historic county of Lincolnshire was one of the largest in England, second only in size to Yorkshire, and covered over 6900km^2. Historically the county was divided into three parts: Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland. The northern area of the historic county was split off to form part of the new county of Humberside in 1974, but was reorganised again into the separate unitary authorities of North Lincolnshire and North East Lincolnshire in 1996. The whole area of the historic county is considered in this study (Figure 3).

Lincolnshire is bordered to the east by the North Sea and the Wash estuary, and to the north by the River Humber. Its other major rivers are the Trent, which forms part of its western boundary; the Welland, which forms part of its southern boundary; and most importantly the Witham. The River Witham rises just to the southwest of the county and flows northwards to Lincoln before heading southeast through a wide shallow valley into the Wash.

The topography and drainage pattern of the county are largely dictated by its geology. The strata of the underlying solid geology dip gently towards the east and outcrop as a series of roughly north-south aligned bands. In the west of the county, the Trent valley is dominated by Lower Jurassic clays and mudstones although bands of harder
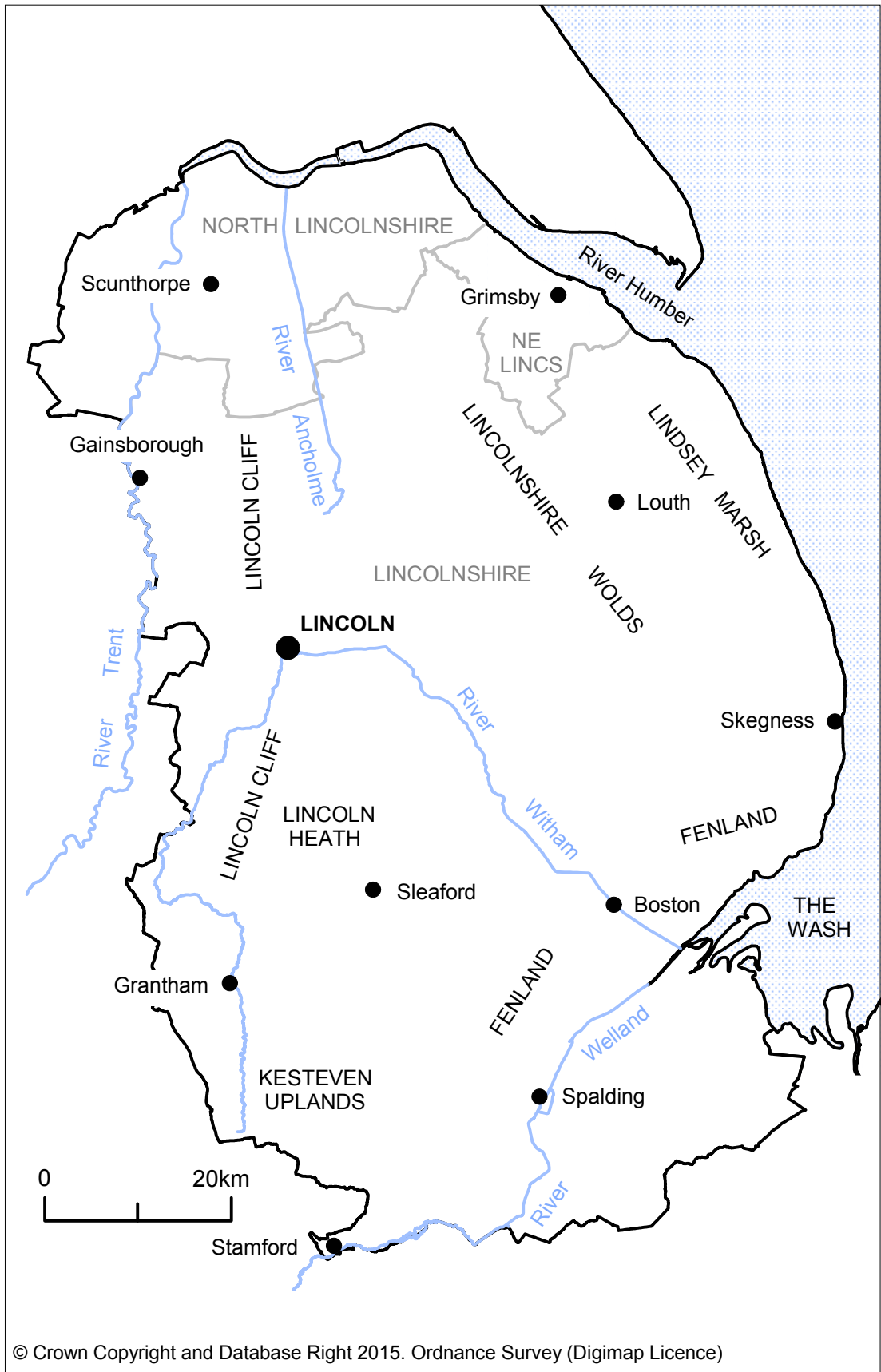
Figure 3. The geography of modern Lincolnshire.

ironstone are also present. These are in places overlain by alluvium, glacial till, and wind-blown sand. Middle Jurassic limestone forms a prominent escarpment, known as the Lincoln Cliff, which extends through the central part of the county. The dip-slope of the escarpment, particularly to the south of Lincoln, is referred to as the Lincoln Heath. In the northern part of the county, the eastern edge of the dip-slope is bordered by Upper Jurassic clays and alluvium in the valleys of the River Ancholme and Barlings Eau. To the east of this valley is the chalk upland of the Lincolnshire Wolds, which rise to 168m above sea level. To the east of the Wolds is a low-lying coastal zone called the Lindsey Marsh comprising alluvium and glacial till. In the southern part of the county, the Lincoln Heath and Kesteven Uplands are bordered by the low-lying expanse of the Fens along the Witham valley and around the Wash coast with their peat and silt deposits (Aram 1993a; 1993b; Robinson 1993).

The land-use of Lincolnshire is predominantly agricultural and is dominated by arable farming in particular. The principal urban centre in the county is the city of Lincoln, with other important towns at Stamford, Boston, Grantham, Grimsby, and Scunthorpe.

Norfolk

In its modern form the county of Norfolk covers over 5300km^2. The boundaries of the county were changed slightly during the twentieth century to incorporate small areas of land formerly in Suffolk at Thetford and part of the Lothingland peninsula south of Great Yarmouth. It is the modern extent of the county that is considered in this thesis. Norfolk is bordered to the north and east by the North Sea and to the west by the Wash estuary and Fenland. The southern boundary of the county bordering Suffolk is formed almost entirely by two rivers: the Little Ouse, flowing westwards; and the Waveney flowing to the east. The other major rivers are the Yare, which flows eastwards across the county towards Great Yarmouth; and its main tributary the Wensum. A network of minor rivers are present in the Norfolk Broads in the east of the county which flow into the River Bure and then into the Yare (Figure 4).

The solid geology of Norfolk overlaps with, and provides a stratigraphic extension of decreasing age to, the sequence present in Lincolnshire which continue to dip gently eastwards reaching the surface in a series of north-south bands. However, the drift
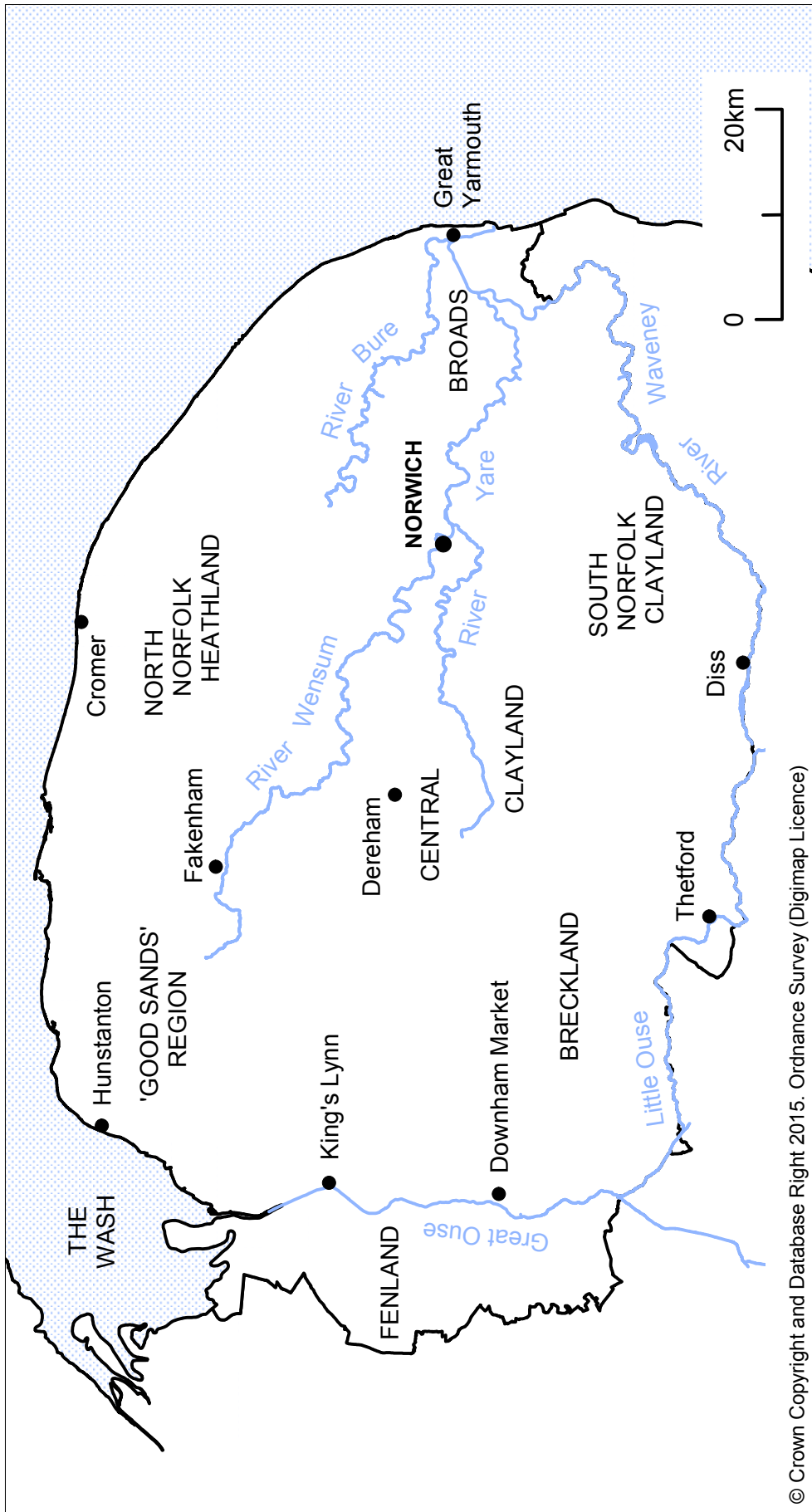
Figure 4. The geography of modern Norfolk.

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

geology of the county plays a much more significant role in defining its different landscape zones. The west of Norfolk extends into the Fenland basin. This area is underlain by Upper Jurassic clay, but this is deeply buried beneath post-Roman marine silts and freshwater peat deposits.

The eastern fen-edge is marked by a chalk escarpment that reaches the northwest coast of the county and forms cliffs at Hunstanton. The dip-slope of the escarpment extends across much of central Norfolk but is largely covered by drift deposits. In the southwest of the county is the Breckland, an area characterised by infertile wind-blown sand deposits and now occupied by large areas of forestry. In the northwest the chalk is covered by a comparatively thin sand deposit in an area which has become known as the 'Good Sands' due to the fact that the soil could be improved by marling. The landscape of central and southern Norfolk is dominated by glacial till and heavy clay soils. The eastern part of the county is predominantly underlain by Norwich Crag sands and gravels. These are partly overlain by glacial sands and gravels that form the North Norfolk Heathlands and which include the highest point in the county on Cromer Ridge at 103m above sea level at Beeston Regis. The Norwich Crag is also overlain in the northeast of the county by the fertile soils of the Norwich Brickearth. These are cut through by the river valleys of the Norfolk Broads which contain peat and alluvium deposits (Williamson 1993, 7-14; Funnell 2005)

As with Lincolnshire, the main land-use in Norfolk is arable agriculture. The principal urban settlement is the city of Norwich with other major towns at King's Lynn, Thetford, and Great Yarmouth.

Reasons for the Choice of Study Area

The two counties that form the study area for this thesis both contain an extensive network of Roman roads and it was established at an initial assessment stage that this included both roads that were still in use and those that no longer existed in the modern landscape. Consequently, in this respect they provided a suitable study area in which the survival and loss of the Roman road network could be examined. Both are large counties occupying similar coastal locations in the eastern part of England. Eastern England was considered to be an appropriate area for examining the history of the

Roman road network as it lies within the part of the country that has traditionally been seen as having experienced the greatest, or at least most archaeologically distinct, change between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods. Both counties forming the study area lie firmly within zone in which culturally 'Anglo-Saxon' artefacts and funerary practice are archaeologically recorded (Lucy 2000, fig. 5.9).

In addition to their extensive Roman road network, both counties contained a major Roman urban centre, and numerous smaller nucleated Roman settlements of varying size and potential significance. However, this is also an aspect in which Lincolnshire and Norfolk differ and which allows for comparisons to be made between the two counties. The histories of their two major Roman urban centres is very different, with Lincoln going on to become an important medieval and modern city whereas Caistor St Edmund in Norfolk was ultimately abandoned.

This is not the only difference between the two counties that raises opportunities for comparisons to be made. Although both counties are here considered to be part of eastern England due to their east coast location, Lincolnshire is traditionally seen as being part of the East Midlands and Norfolk part of East Anglia. More significantly in landscape history terms, Lincolnshire lies within Roberts and Wrathmell's (2000; 2002) Central Province, and Norfolk within the Southeast Province. As we have seen in the previous chapter, these two zones are characterised by differences in settlement and land-use patterns; the Central Province being seen as having nucleated settlements and open-fields, the Southeast province having a dispersed settlement pattern within a more wooded landscape of complex field systems. Consequently the two counties within the study area have potential to provide a window on landscape change across the two different provinces and whether or not Roman roads exhibit preferential survival in one area or the other. Also, as described above, the geology of the two counties in the study area is subtly different, with Lincolnshire having significant areas of solid limestone strata, whereas Norfolk is dominated by drift deposits of clays and gravels. This directly affected the availability of raw materials for the original construction of the Roman roads which in turn may also have influenced their durability and survival differentially across the two counties in the study area.

Defining the Terminology of the Thesis

What is a Roman Road?

The question of what we define as a road, and more importantly as a Roman road, is fundamental to establishing both the scope and methodology of this thesis. The Historic England (formerly English Heritage) Monument Thesaurus defines the term *Road* as "A way between different places, used by horses, travellers on foot and vehicles" (English Heritage 2013). This definition is suitably broad and includes no qualification of the form or construction of the road. Its breadth easily encompasses the associated narrower terms *Trackway*; "A pathway, not necessarily designed as such, beaten down by the feet of travellers" and *Drove Road*; "A road or track specifically used by drovers or herders to drive their animals to market" (*ibid.*).

There is no specific monument classification for 'Roman road' and the Thesaurus indicates that the term *Road* should be used instead. However, the term 'Roman road' is weighted with meaning and is, rightly or wrongly, generally considered to mean more than just any road originating in, or used during, the Roman period. There is a preconception that a 'Roman road' must exhibit certain key characteristics and it is worth briefly considering these before further defining the terminology used in this thesis.

As already mentioned in Chapter One, some Roman roads exhibit certain characteristics that enable them to be distinguished from the roads of other periods. The popular view of Roman roads is that they are straight, often unerringly so (H. Davies 2008, 39) (Figure 5). Whilst this is broadly true it is not the case with all Roman roads particularly in hilly or low-lying terrain where the most convenient route was often adopted to overcome engineering difficulties. It is more accurate to observe that Roman roads are usually made up of a series of straight sections. The second characteristic feature of Roman roads is their constructed form. The most notable aspect of this is the presence of an *agger*, a raised bank on which the main carriageway of the road was located (Figure 6). The *agger* comprised a foundation layer, or 'bottoming', and a metalled road surface. The metalled surface was usually cambered and the *agger* flanked by roadside ditches to assist with water run-off and drainage.

Figure 5. A view looking north along Ermine Street near Snitterby, Lincolnshire, demonstrating the overall straightness of the Roman road. (© Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography. BZL092 09-Jul-1976).

The foundation layer was formed from rubble that was, where available, obtained from the roadside ditches but additional material was also extracted from small roadside quarry pits where necessary. The metalling of Roman roads used a wide variety of materials including gravel, cobbles, iron slag and stone blocks and slabs set on edge. Whilst it appears to have been the norm for an *agger* to have been created as a foundation for the road metalling this was not always the case and there are rare examples of the road surface having been laid directly onto the natural subsoil (*ibid.* 56-62) (Figure 7). Many of the Roman roads in Lincolnshire and Norfolk have not

been subject to any detailed excavation and any information about their constructed form is therefore quite limited.
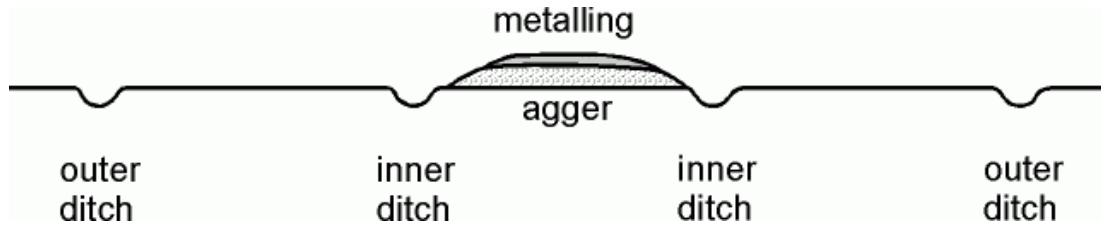
Figure 6. Cross-section of a 'typical' Roman road with outer ditches and side lanes. (http://dccimages.durham.gov.uk/k2p/m/Dglosroad.gif reproduced with permission of Durham County Council (Accessed 20/05/2015))

Figure 7. The surviving road surface of Mareham Lane excavated at Silk Willoughby, Lincolnshire. (Image reproduced with permission of FAS Heritage).

A further feature of some Roman roads that is worth mentioning is the presence of narrow outer ditches running parallel to the *agger*. These defined the full width of the road corridor. In many cases the outer strips of the road corridor appear to have existed

as verges but on some roads one or both were metalled to form side lanes adjacent to the *agger*. There is evidence from Britain and elsewhere in the Roman Empire that unpaved verges of roads were used by equestrian and pedestrian traffic and for the movement of livestock and that wheeled traffic predominantly followed the *agger* (Tilburg 2007, 28-9; H. Davies 2008, 70-2). This observation, that it was not just the *agger* of a Roman road that was used for traffic, is fundamental to understanding how the roads were used in the Roman period, and crucially from the point of view of this thesis, in the post-Roman period as well (See Figure 1).

It is widely acknowledged that the characteristically 'Roman' roads, which exhibit the features described above, only formed part, and probably only a very small part, of the overall network of land communications in the Roman period. Whilst they comprised the majority of the 'main' road network, they existed alongside other long-distance[5] routes which have usually been identified as being of prehistoric origin, but which continued in use during, and since, the Roman period. Frequently termed 'prehistoric trackways' or 'Romanised trackways' they have often been included in studies of the Roman road network in Britain. Codrington (1918) discusses several Romanised trackways including the Icknield Way, which he mapped as a road of doubtful Roman origin. Margary too discussed a number of Romanised trackways in detail acknowledging that;

> Pre-Roman trackways were sometimes converted to Roman standards, and in such cases the road naturally preserves its original winding course, but must necessarily be included as a Roman road" (Margary 1973, 18).

However, trackway implies a rather lower status than that of a road and consequently the alterative term 'unimproved routeway' is favoured in this thesis instead. This term serves to distinguish the 'trackways' from the engineered Roman roads with their characteristic straight sections, *agger* and metalling. It also acknowledges that many of what we see as main Roman roads were actually improvements to pre-existing

---

[5] For the purposes of this thesis the term 'long distance' is defined as any journey greater than 15 to 25 miles / 24 to 40km - the distance, suggested by Ohler (2010, 101), that might be walked by a traveller in one day.

routes rather than lines of communication that were newly established in the early Roman period.

In addition to the long-distance routes, the Roman countryside was also filled with a network of minor roads, lanes, and tracks connecting small settlements, industrial sites, farms, and fields. Except in a few rare cases where cropmark evidence permits the mapping of large areas of the historic landscape, such as in the Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire Fens or on the interfluves of the Norfolk Broads (Malone 2010, 4; Albone *et* al. 2007b, 36-44), establishing the full pattern of minor roads and tracks that formed part of the Roman landscape is simply not possible. Whilst it is important to acknowledge that such a dense communications network existed in the Roman (and later) landscape, the paucity of the available data and the local nature of such routes means that they fall outside of the scope of this thesis.

Throughout this thesis the term 'Roman road' will be used to refer to those roads that exhibit the key characteristics such as straight sections, the presence of an *agger*, metalling along their course and relationships with known Roman destinations. The term 'unimproved routeway' will be used to refer to long-distance routes considered to have been in use during the Roman period but which do not follow a clearly identifiable straight course or show any evidence of Roman (re-)engineering.

The terminology in use for different types of thoroughfare in the modern landscape is also highly structured. For the purpose of discussing the surviving form of the Roman roads in this thesis, a simple distinction is made between roads and all other forms of tracks and paths. Roads in the modern landscape are here defined as metalled public highways used by vehicular traffic. All other forms of thoroughfare, whether public or private, metalled or undefined fall into the broad category of tracks and paths.

Defining Historical Time Periods

The terminology used by archaeologists and historians to describe and define sub-divisions of the period between the end of the Roman period and the mid sixteenth century is both very complex and confused. On the one hand the whole of this time can be considered to be the 'medieval' period, an approach reflected by the temporal scope of the *Society for Medieval Archaeology* and its accompanying journal. The

lengthy and often heated debate about what to call the society's journal before finally settling on *Medieval Archaeology* emphasizes the complexity and breadth of viewpoints that existed half a century ago concerning the terminology for the period in question, and which, to some extent, still exist today (Gerrard 2009, 30-2).

Archaeologists, however, frequently use the term 'medieval' to refer specifically to the period between the Norman Conquest in 1066 and the Dissolution of the monasteries in 1540 (FISH 2016). In this framework the time between the end of the Roman period and the Norman Conquest has traditionally been referred to as the 'Anglo-Saxon' period – a direct product of the 'culture-historical' approaches to its study discussed in the previous chapter. As Wright (2015, 2-3) points out the cultural implications of the continued used of the term 'Anglo-Saxon' have often been overlooked by archaeologists writing about the period. The use of the alternative term 'Dark Age' to refer to the period for which few contemporary documentary sources exist – essentially the early Anglo-Saxon period – was considered by some scholars to be on the brink of redundancy by the mid twentieth century (Gerrard 2009, 31). Although it continued in use surprisingly late (e.g. Hodges 1982), it is now rarely used academically and is omitted from this thesis. The term 'post-Roman' is also avoided due to its ambiguity. Whilst it could, theoretically at least, be taken to quite literally refer to the whole timespan since the end of the Roman period, which would be useful from the perspective of this thesis, it is generally confined to the immediate post-Roman period - i.e. the fifth century.

The term 'early medieval' has more recently been favoured instead of Anglo-Saxon for the time between the end of the Roman period and the Norman Conquest, but it too is not without its problems. It covers a broad time-period, spanning more than five and a half centuries, which saw considerable social, political and religious change. Whilst it is free from the cultural baggage associated with the term 'Anglo-Saxon' it is not easily subdivided as further prefixes cannot easily be added. Although more absolute date-based terminology, such as 'mid seventh century' can be, and are, also used to address this issue, it is not always possible to define events or processes with sufficient resolution to allow this approach to be exclusively employed either.

In view of the problems with the period terminology covering the time-span examined by this thesis a range of terms will be used to describe different temporal divisions and

subdivisions as appropriate. The terms 'early medieval' (*c*.AD410 – 1066) and 'medieval' (1066 – 1540) will be used along with the less-contentious 'post-medieval' (1540 – 1901). The traditional sub-divisions of the Anglo-Saxon period are also used in this thesis where more definition is required than allowed for by the term 'early medieval' - i.e. 'early Anglo-Saxon' (*c*.410- 650), 'middle Anglo-Saxon' (*c*.650-850) and 'late Anglo-Saxon' (*c*.850-1066). Although the 'early-', 'middle-' and 'late-' subdivisions of the 'Anglo-Saxon' period are frequently shortened to 'early Saxon' etc., this particular rendering of the terminology is not used in this thesis. As a short-hand it seems particularly inappropriate to make a further revision of the redundant cultural implications of the terminology being used. This is especially true given that part of the study area lies in East *Anglia* and none of it lies within the areas nominally associated with the 'Saxons' (i.e. Wessex, Middlesex and Essex). Although slightly more cumbersome, the format 'early Anglo-Saxon' etc. will be used. However, these terms are used solely to refer to temporal sub-divisions of the early medieval period and should not be considered to have any cultural implications.

Defining Continuity, Survival and Loss

The terms 'continuity', 'survival' and 'loss' are central to the questions being addressed in this thesis and they have all already been used widely in the preceding chapters. All three can mean very different things depending on the context in which they are being used.

In describing Roman roads, the way in which the terms 'survival' and 'loss' are defined varies depending on whether a road is viewed as an archaeological monument or as a line of communication. The survival of a road as a routeway at any given point in its history requires it to remain in use as a means of getting between different places in the landscape. If a Roman road survives as a routeway it will also survive as a monument even if its surviving form as the latter is not obvious. The same is not true in reverse - survival as a monument does not require the road to remain in use as a routeway. A Roman road can exist as a monument simply as an earthwork of its *agger* or even as buried archaeological deposits with no traces visible above ground. A distinction can therefore be made between the *functional* survival of a Roman road where it remains in use as a routeway and its *physical* survival as a monument, which

does not necessarily require it to still be used. Similarly the term 'loss' can be applied to both the *functional* loss of a Roman road as a routeway where it is no longer used, and the *physical* loss from the landscape of the visible remains of a disused Roman road.

The manner in which Roman roads survive in use in the landscape is highly variable and requires further distinctions to be made in the terminology used to describe them depending on whether the road itself or the overall route is being considered. Where a modern road or track survives on, or immediately adjacent to, the original line of a Roman road it can be considered to have *physical* continuity – (i.e. both the modern and Roman courses of the road are located in the same place and follow the same alignment) (Figure 8). As it remains in use as a road or track it can, as established above, also be considered to have *functional* continuity – (i.e. it retains its original function as a route for getting between one place and another). Whilst the logic of this relationship is clear enough, it is also possible for the overall route of a Roman road to retain *functional* continuity without having *physical* continuity along its entire length. Some Roman roads survive on their original course (i.e. have physical continuity) only intermittently as a series of disconnected sections. However, in many cases these surviving sections of Roman road are linked by later roads that deviate from the Roman line but which maintain the functional continuity of the overall route (Figure 8). As we shall see later in this chapter, such distinctions influenced how the Roman road network was re-mapped for this thesis.

The term continuity is also applicable to the archaeological locales being discussed in this thesis in relation to the Roman road network. Actual temporal continuity, whether of activity at a locale or the use of a road, is very difficult, if not impossible to demonstrate archaeologically. It is frequently unclear whether there were breaks in the activity or usage of a locale, even where evidence of successive time periods has been recorded through archaeological excavation. If the absence of definable temporal breaks in the archaeological evidence is seen as being indicative of continuity, a distinction can still be made between 'continuity of place' (i.e. ongoing use of a locale or road) and 'continuity of population' (i.e. ongoing use of a locale or road by the same people and their descendants). In terms of understanding the survival, loss and significance of Roman roads within this thesis, 'continuity of place' is the most relevant definition.
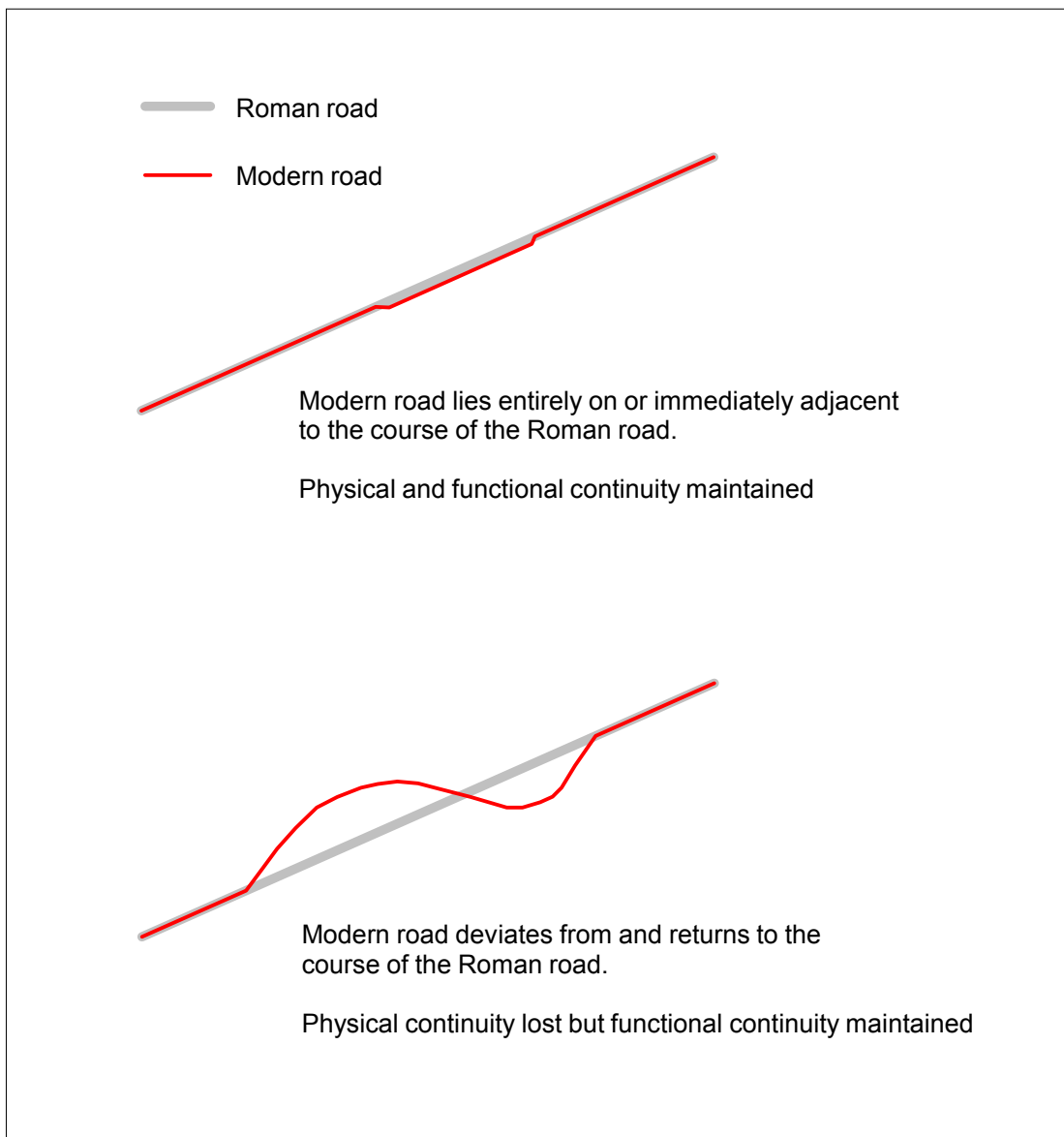
Figure 8. Physical and functional continuity.

Establishing the Corpus of Roman Roads

Despite centuries of detailed research, maps of the Roman road network, whether at a national, regional or local level, exhibit a high degree of inconsistency in the roads that their originators have chosen to depict. Whilst the long-recognised Roman roads such as Ermine Street are always represented, the inclusion of other roads, which may have been identified at a later date, is much more variable. The inclusion of many extrapolated or speculative routes, often shown on maps as dashed rather than solid lines, further complicates the picture. This variation is partly a result of the fluid nature of the data with new routes being identified, courses being revised and occasionally the suggested Roman date of roads being disproved. It does, however, mean that there is no single source available that provides a definitive map of the Roman road network and it has been necessary to completely re-examine and re-map the Roman roads of the study area in order to provide a viable dataset for this thesis. This substantial reassessment of the Roman road network has utilised a wide range of sources that will now be considered along with their relative value and shortcomings.

Sources for the Study of the Roman Road Network in Eastern England

Historic Environment Record Data

The principal dataset used in this thesis comprised existing information on the Roman road network and other archaeological sites and finds within the study area held at the relevant local authority Historic Environment Record offices (HERs). This included both spatial data, in the form of geographical information systems (GIS) files, and related written descriptions with details of the supporting evidence for each record. The written records within the HERs also provided references to, and leads towards, other sources of information such as archaeological reports and aerial photographs the significance of which are discussed separately below. Searches of relevant data held at the Norfolk, Lincolnshire, North Lincolnshire and North-East Lincolnshire HERs were carried out and the resulting information incorporated into the thesis.

As noted at the start of this chapter, there is no specific monument type for a 'Roman road' in the Historic England Monument Thesaurus and it was found that Roman roads were recorded in HERs under both the terms 'road' and 'trackway' depending on their

form and perceived significance. HER searches for the monument type 'road' and the period 'Roman' produced a large number of individual HER records and considerable 'cleansing' of the dataset was necessary as a result. The HER dataset included the well-evidenced 'main' Roman roads considered in this thesis, but also records for many minor roads, lanes and trackways of known or presumed Roman date, particularly those previously recorded from cropmark evidence in the fenland region. In addition to these, there were numerous records of doubtful validity where the existence of a Roman road had previously been suggested based on scant evidence such as a straight section of parish boundary or the isolated discovery of a buried gravel surface during building works. Even if the identification of a Roman road in such records is correct, which is highly improbable in many cases, the lack of other supporting evidence and the inability to identify the course of the road over any meaningful distance renders them useless in the context of this thesis.

The GIS map data comprised the basis for the re-mapping of the Roman road network and was the most important element of the information obtained from the HERs. For the most part Roman roads were represented on the HER GIS maps as linear monuments – a polyline defining the course of the Roman road. However, one of the problems encountered with the GIS data in particular was a lack of consistency in the way that information had been recorded or mapped across the different HERs consulted. The available evidence for the courses of Roman roads is not a complete dataset even for known roads and this is especially true where the roads survive only intermittently as features in the modern landscape. In some cases Roman roads were mapped in the HERs as a single continuous line in the GIS with the course of the roads being extrapolated where gaps in the evidence exist, so that the map showed both the known and postulated line of the road. In other cases gaps in the evidenced course of the road were mapped in the GIS with a dashed rather than solid line or omitted entirely with the mapping being restricted to the sections where direct evidence for the route had been recorded. In a small number of cases, multiple lines for a single road were mapped in the HER without any clear explanation of the evidence-base for each of the possible alternative courses. Such variations meant that although the HER GIS data provided an invaluable starting point for the re-mapping the Roman road network a considerable amount of checking and supplementing of the data was required to establish a coherent and reliable map of the road network for this thesis.

Published and Unpublished Secondary Sources

A considerable body of previous published and unpublished research exists relating to the Roman road network in Britain and beyond. Whilst general works on Roman roads (e.g. Chevalier 1989) provide a useful broader context, it was understandably the works containing descriptions of the Roman road network in Britain that were of most value (e.g. Codrington 1918, Margary 1973; Davies 2002).

As noted in Chapter One, much of the previous work on Roman roads in this country has focussed on tracing their routes. Whilst the information and maps within the published works have formed the basis for some of the GIS mapping in the HERs, it was found that consultation of the written descriptions within sources such as Margary's *Roman Roads in Britain* (1973) provided valuable additional details about the surviving form and course of the roads within the study area. There is also a considerable amount of information relating to surveys and excavations of Roman roads that have occurred in the four decades since the publication of final edition of Margary's synthesis of the road network. Some of these investigations have been published in monographs and journals (e.g. Wade-Martins 1978; Wallis 2002; Toop 2004), but many of those resulting from development-led archaeological investigations since the 1990s exist only as so-called 'grey literature' reports (e.g. Network Archaeology 1999; Snee and Palmer-Brown 1999). Whilst these 'grey literature' reports are not formally published, copies are held at the relevant HERs and many were also accessed online through the Archaeological Data Service website (http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/greylit/). Whilst some of the information contained within the reports and published had been synthesised in the HERs this was not always found to be the case, particularly with earlier works.

Aerial Imagery

The *agger* and roadside ditches of Roman roads means that their former courses can frequently be identified as cropmarks or earthworks through the examination of aerial photographs (Wilson 2000, 158-9). This was recognised at an early stage in the development of archaeological aerial photography and the technique has a long association with the investigation of Roman roads (Barber 2011, 153-4, 178). Comprehensive aerial photographic interpretation has previously been carried out for

much of the study area as part of the Historic England (formerly English Heritage) National Mapping Programme (NMP). The Lincolnshire NMP project was completed in 1997 and covered much of the county, but excluded the fenland region and the majority of North Lincolnshire and North-East Lincolnshire (Kershaw 1998). NMP work in Norfolk is ongoing and by 2014 five sub-county projects had been completed covering the coastal zone; the Broads; selected aggregate-producing landscapes; the Norwich area; and the A11 road corridor (Albone *et al*. 2007a; 2007b; 2008; Bales *et al*. 2010; Cattermole *et al*. 2013). Plots of cropmark and earthwork features recorded by the NMP projects in both counties were accessed at the relevant HERs and used in the re-mapping and analysis of the Roman road network in this thesis.

With much of the existing aerial photographic resource held at the Historic England Archive (formerly the National Monuments Record), Cambridge University Collection of Aerial Photography (CUCAP) and the Norfolk Air Photo Library (NAPL) having already been examined by NMP projects there was little value in duplicating this work by re-visiting original aerial photographs for much of the study area. Even though parts of the Norfolk study area have not yet been covered by NMP projects the location of many cropmark and earthwork sites in the county have previously been recorded in the HER from the extensive NAPL collection even if the archaeological features themselves have not been transcribed. As a result of this it was possible to identify locations beyond the limits of the NMP projects in the Norfolk study area at which relevant cropmark evidence had previously been recorded and incorporate relevant information into the digital re-mapping.

Since its introduction at the start of the twenty-first century web-based digital aerial imagery, particularly that available through Google Earth and Bing Maps, has made a significance contribution to archaeological aerial photographic interpretation (e.g. Bales *et al.* 2010, 26-7). Despite being subject to the same constraints as other vertical aerial photography not taken explicitly for archaeological purposes, such as the time of day/year of the imagery and the crop type/conditions, digital aerial imagery can be productively utilised in the identification of archaeological sites. The extensive coverage that it provides makes it particularly useful for tracing the routes of linear features such as Roman roads over long distances. Web-based digital aerial imagery was not available at the time that the Lincolnshire NMP project was carried out and it was not routinely consulted during the early Norfolk NMP projects. Detailed

examination of available Google Earth and Bing Maps aerial imagery undertaken as part of this thesis provided valuable evidence for re-mapping sections of the Roman road network in both parts of the study area. This proved to be particularly useful in areas where NMP projects are yet to be carried out, such as much of central Norfolk.

Lidar (Light detection and ranging) is a relatively recent addition to the suite of survey techniques available to the archaeologist and landscape historian. The resulting topographic data is particularly well-suited to the identification of archaeological earthworks and data-processing can reveal features within areas of woodland, which would otherwise be invisible using traditional aerial photography (Barber 2011, 245-8). Consequently, lidar can be very useful for tracing the routes of Roman roads where the *agger* survives, even as a subtle feature in arable fields (Environment Agency 2016). Although Environment Agency lidar data is now available to freely download, its release date in July 2014 fell after the completion of the re-mapping of the road network for this thesis and was too late for it to be incorporated. However, a brief examination of the available lidar coverage suggests that although Roman roads are indeed visible on mapped lidar data within the study area, its inclusion would not, in this instance, have added significantly to the existing knowledge of the Roman road network.

Historic Cartography

Historic maps are of immense value in the reconstruction of past landscapes, not only for the period since the seventeenth century when most such maps will have been produced, but because they frequently show elements of the medieval or earlier landscape that have since been lost (Aston 1985, 18; Hindle 1998a). This is the case with the Roman roads in the study area. The historic maps examined during the research for this thesis were of considerable value in establishing the courses of roads that no longer survive in the modern landscape, showing these either as roads and tracks surviving in use at the time that the maps were surveyed or as landscape features such as field boundaries.

The presence or absence of the roads, as roads or tracks, on the historic maps also provided invaluable evidence for the date at which some sections of the Roman road network fell out of use and were removed from the landscape. The role of the historic

maps is particularly significant in this respect as this information is unlikely to be gained solely from other sources. In exceptional cases it was possible to establish that a road disappeared between two particular dates with it being shown on an early map but not on a later one. However, in most cases the absence of a road on a historic map simply provided a *terminus ante quem* for the road-loss.

A wide range of historic maps spanning the fifteenth to twentieth centuries were consulted during the research for the re-mapping of the Roman road network. Original manuscript maps were examined at, or copies obtained from, the Norfolk Record Office, Lincolnshire Archives, London Metropolitan Archives, University of Nottingham Library and private collections. Inevitably, not all of the maps examined during the research contained useful information relating to the Roman road network with some not covering relevant areas of the landscape – a fact that could not be established without physically viewing the maps concerned. Manuscript maps that showed areas relevant to the Roman road network of the study area are all listed in the Bibliography and Sources section at the end of the thesis.

The most recent category of historic maps to be systematically examined during the thesis was the first edition of the six inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps. For the counties considered here, these maps were published during the 1880s and provide a comprehensive overview of the landscape of the whole study area in the late nineteenth century. Later editions of these maps, produced throughout the first half of the twentieth century, were also consulted to answer specific questions about the survival and loss of the Roman road network. The six inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps were consulted using digital resources such as the EDINA/digimap service, the Norfolk County Council Map Explorer and the National Library of Scotland online collection.

The enclosure and tithe maps for the study area provide a detailed picture of the landscape of the in the late eighteenth and early to mid nineteenth centuries, but one that, by its very nature, post-dates the parliamentary enclosure in these counties. Given the large number of parishes in the two counties that have relationships with the Roman road network is was not possible to systematically examine all relevant enclosure and tithe maps within the study area. Instead consultation of these sources was targeted on areas where specific questions about the survival or form of a Roman

road in this period needed to be addressed to inform the re-mapping of the road network. For example, where a Roman road is still extant and in use today it was not necessary to confirm its existence in the late eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries through the examination of enclosure or tithe maps. By contrast where a road was known to have disappeared from the landscape by the time of the six inch Ordnance Survey maps, examination of enclosure and/or tithe maps may have been required to establish if it had been removed during the course of the nineteenth century. It is worth noting that where enclosure and tithe maps were examined it was established that relatively little landscape change occurred between the time of parliamentary enclosure and the surveying of the first edition six inch Ordnance Survey maps in the late nineteenth century. For Norfolk, enclosure and tithe maps were predominantly examined digitally through the Norfolk County Council Map Explorer. In Lincolnshire published transcriptions of enclosure maps (Russell and Russell 1982; 1983; 1985; 1987) were consulted in addition to manuscript maps where necessary.

Large-scale county maps were examined to provide an overview of the landscape and main road network of the study area in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These included the first series one inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps, with the sheets covering the study area having been published between 1824 and 1838, and the surveyor's drawings on which these were based which generally dated to a decade or so earlier. These maps provided the earliest coverage of the whole study area surveyed to a comparable standard and unified scale. Even so, whilst the depiction of a road or track on these maps on the line of a Roman road could be taken as evidence of its existence at that date, the absence of a road from these maps did not necessarily mean that it did not still exist as a minor track, path or boundary feature that was too insignificant to be shown at that scale. The one inch Ordnance Survey maps were examined as published facsimiles (Margary 1987) and the surveyors' drawings were consulted digitally via the British Library website.

The early Ordnance Survey maps were complemented by a number of large-scale county maps which were privately published in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These included the maps of Norfolk (1826) and Lincolnshire (1828) surveyed and published by Andrew Bryant which were comparable in their content and usefulness to the broadly contemporary Ordnance Survey maps. Much more important however was the *Topographical Map of the County of Norfolk* published by

William Faden in 1797. This map is invaluable in providing a detailed picture of the county's landscape prior the majority of its parliamentary enclosure and shows the extents of areas of common land which had mostly disappeared by the time of the surveys by Bryant and the Ordnance Survey (Macnair and Williamson 2010). No map of comparable quality is available for Lincolnshire. Despite being early enough to pre-date most of the parliamentary enclosure in the county, Andrew Armstrong's *Map of the County of Lincoln-Shire* (1778) is neither very accurate nor very detailed. It was however, of some use in identifying the presence of roads surviving in the mid to late eighteenth century.

The most significant group of historic maps examined during the research were estate plans and parish maps dating from the late sixteenth to late eighteenth centuries. These maps provided important information to help identify the courses of the roads and the survival of the Roman road network into the early post-medieval period prior to the changes brought about through private and parliamentary enclosure. The late-sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps were particularly useful as the landscape that they depicted was in most cases likely to be a fossilisation of the medieval layout. However, the availability of such pre-enclosure maps was extremely limited across the study area meaning that the surviving form of the Roman road network in the late sixteenth to eighteenth centuries could only be examined in detail for a small number of parishes.

For reasons which are not entirely clear, fewer pre-enclosure maps were available for parishes in Lincolnshire than in Norfolk. Whilst the variable survival of early maps is likely to be due to a wide range of factors, the difference in the availability of eighteenth century estate maps could perhaps be connected to the relative peaks in parliamentary enclosure in the two counties. Lincolnshire saw much of its parliamentary enclosure taking place at a relatively early stage in the 1770s and 1790s, whilst in Norfolk it fell almost entirely after 1800 (Kain *et al.* 2004, tab. 61 & 67).

In many cases early pre-enclosure maps were found to survive in clusters with several maps of different dates being available for a single parish or estate. This was notable in northwest Norfolk where numerous L'Estrange Estate maps of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century date were available for a group of parishes along the line of the Peddars Way Roman road. Other parishes with multiple pre-enclosure maps

included Cawston in Norfolk and, significantly given the paucity of early maps in the county, South Ormsby in Lincolnshire. The earliest map examined showing useful information about the Roman road network of the study area was for Norfolk: John Darby's *Plan of the Parish of Smallburgh* dated 1582 (BL Maps Roll 527, reproduced in Barber and Harper 2010, 138-9).

The road maps published in John Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675) and the accompanying descriptions of the routes were also examined during the research. The routes described in this work include several along surviving Roman roads within the study area and provided important information about the survival and form of parts of the Roman road network in the late seventeenth century.

Documentary Sources

A variety of documentary sources were available to help elucidate the use and loss of the Roman road network. In many cases these were consulted as transcribed secondary sources and are referenced as such in the text and bibliography. One group of documentary sources that requires particular mention are road orders. After the General Highway Act of 1773 it became necessary for a road order to be obtained if roads were to be diverted or closed (Harrison 2005, 255). The orders, which sometimes included a plan of the roads concerned, had to be ratified at the local Quarter Sessions and were subsequently deposited with these records at the county archive offices. Only a small number of road orders relating to Roman roads were identified for the Norfolk study area at the Norfolk Record Office, but these did provide useful information about the date of road-loss or diversion as, for example occurred at Spixworth through the expansion of the park in 1814 (NRO: C/Sce2/4/16). Unfortunately, although the Lincolnshire road orders have been deposited with the Quarter Sessions records at the Lincolnshire Archives, they are not separately catalogued and it was not feasible to identify or extract individual cases of road closures relating to the county's Roman roads.

Criteria for the Inclusion of Roman Roads within this Thesis

Given the inconsistencies in the existing maps of the Roman road network that have already been highlighted it was clear from the outset that the corpus of roads in this thesis needed to be suitably robust. Each of the roads being examined needed to meet certain criteria if the aims of the thesis were to be achieved.

Firstly, there needed to be a reasonable degree of certainty that the roads included in the thesis were actually in use during the Roman period. The fundamental importance of this is clear. Obviously, there was no value in considering the later history of a road, if it could not confidently be claimed that it had actually existed in the Roman period. Inadvertently including roads that had only developed in the medieval period would hamper the analyses being undertaken. However, whether the roads in the corpus being studied had Roman or pre-Roman origins was not necessarily an issue as long as it could be demonstrated or reasonably assumed that they were still in use at the end of the Roman period.

A second consideration in the selection of the Roman roads for this thesis was the distance over which the course of a road could be traced in the landscape. Whilst the identification a road over a long distance does not guarantee its Roman date, more confidence can be placed in its interpretation the further its course can be traced. As noted above, there are many short straight sections of road recorded within HERs that have previously been claimed as being of Roman origin. Distinguishing these from the many other straight roads in the landscape, the majority of which are undated and likely to be post-Roman, is problematic. Even if it was in use during the Roman period a road which can only be identified as a single short section in any form whether road, track, boundary or cropmark, is of limited use in addressing the research questions of this thesis. Apart from being able to conclude that it has almost completely disappeared from the landscape, and that assumes that it actually continued in the first place, nothing meaningful could be determined about its use or the manner of its loss as its former course could not be established. Consequently the Roman roads selected for inclusion in the thesis were all those where their course and Roman date could be confidently asserted. It was also considered important that the courses of the roads included in this thesis could be mapped with a reasonable degree of accuracy. Confidence in the mapped course of the roads and the identification of their original

alignment was an essential starting point for considering post-Roman changes to the road network.

Many of the previously identified major Roman roads within the study area meet these three criteria for inclusion. The characteristics that have enabled them to be previously identified as Roman roads: their straightness; form; and relationship to settlements and other sites of known Roman date, means that they can, for the most part, be included with confidence. However, detailed examination of several roads previously identified as having a Roman origin revealed that there were either demonstrably of a later date, or that they otherwise failed to meet the criteria for inclusion, and were omitted from the corpus of roads being considered. Details of these roads are included in Appendix Three.

The inclusion of unimproved routeways (those roads previously identified as long-distance 'prehistoric' or 'Romanised' trackways) within any study of the Roman road network is problematic irrespective of whether it is the Roman or Anglo-Saxon/medieval period being considered. Although it is often assumed that these routeways have pre-Roman origins and that they remained in use during the Roman period this rarely can be confirmed. In contrast to 'engineered' Roman roads, their lack of straightness means that it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify their original course with any certainty. A rare exception is the archaeological excavation of Roman buildings fronting onto the modern line of Caistor High Street within the roadside settlement at Nettleton Top in Lincolnshire (Willis 2013, 371). Even then, the archaeological evidence only confirms that the modern road lay on top of its Roman predecessor at that particular location and does not necessarily mean that this is still the case elsewhere along its route. It is possible that the modern appearance of unimproved routeways as well-defined paths, tracks and roads could represent a relatively late formalisation of their routes and they may originally have existed as broad corridors of communication – a possibility discussed for the Icknield Way by Harrison (2003). The routes of the unimproved routeways considered in this thesis are essentially the same as how they are mapped within the GIS data at the relevant HERs.

Given the uncertainty about the original routes of unimproved routeways it is not possible to ascertain the extent which they have changed since the end of the Roman

period or quantify their modern survival. Whilst it could be argued that because some of these routeways are identifiable over long distances in the modern landscape they must exhibit very high levels of survival there is no way of confirming that this is really the case. Consequently it is not possible to include unimproved routeways within the main discussion of the significance, survival and loss of the Roman road network in this thesis. Instead, they are the subject of one of the research questions, to see if the relationships between Roman roads and the post-Roman landscape reveal any patterns that can in turn be used to help identify the courses of unimproved routeways with any more clarity. In view of this unimproved routeways are briefly considered in the period-based chapters in Part Two of the thesis.

Taking a robust approach to establishing the corpus of roads within this thesis is not without its dangers. Firstly there is always going to be a bias towards those Roman roads that survive in use in the modern landscape. These routes will in many cases have been among the first to be identified as Roman roads and are likely to be disproportionately well-recorded. By contrast, roads that have largely disappeared from the landscape potentially run the risk of being under-represented and even excluded from the thesis due to a lack of evidence. Whilst this is a serious consideration, the increased availability of aerial photography since the Second World War and particularly the advent of online digital aerial imagery this century means that many such routes with low-levels of modern survival have now been identified and their courses are at least partly evidenced. This additional method for tracing the courses of Roman roads has redressed the balance somewhat and the under-representation of roads that no longer survive in use is considered to be a major issue.

The second potential issue with robust filtering of the dataset is that inevitably some roads that are in reality of Roman origin, or were in use during the Roman period, will be excluded because there is currently insufficient evidence to identify them as such or trace their course over a long enough distance. Whilst these exclusions are inevitable it must be remembered that the corpus of roads being considered is already an incomplete dataset. It represents only part, perhaps a small part, of the main network of land communications in use during the Roman period. However, in achieving the aims of this thesis the importance of having a robust dataset outweighs the need to include routes of dubious validity.

The Methodology for the Re-Mapping of the Roman Road Network

As outlined above, the problems identified with the existing Roman roads dataset meant that it was considered necessary to completely re-map the Roman road network of the study area to provide a reliable basis from which to undertake any further analyses. The re-mapping of the road network was carried out using MapInfo GIS software on digital 1:2000 scale Ordnance Survey base maps allowing a high level of precision to be achieved. It is worth noting here that, although the course of some no longer extant Roman roads are marked on modern and historic Ordnance Survey maps as dashed lines, these were found to be only broadly representative of the actual courses of the roads and consequently they were not used in the re-mapping of the Roman road network in this thesis.

The GIS map data obtained from the HERs provided the starting point for the re-mapping, but this data was not accepted at face value and the accuracy of each section was checked against the other available source material already outlined above. Digital aerial imagery and images of historic maps were geo-referenced within MapInfo where necessary to assist with the accurate mapping of the positions of sections of the road network that are no longer extant. The roads were re-mapped in separate sections according to their modern surviving form or evidence-base (road, track/path, boundary, cropmark-only, earthwork-only or historic map evidence).

The remapping of the roads in this way, using all of the available source material, provided maps of the 'evidenced' extent of the Roman road network in each part of the study area. However, these maps were not comprised of unbroken lines representing the complete course of each Roman road. Many gaps were present relating to sections of the Roman road network where no direct evidence had been identified during the examination of the source material to confirm the exact routes of the roads. These breaks in the lines of the re-mapped Roman roads were classified into two different types; 'closed' gaps and 'open' gaps. 'Closed' gaps occurred where sections of Roman road had been mapped on either side of an un-evidenced section. In these cases it was possible to extrapolate the line of the Roman road between the two known points with a reasonably high level of certainty. 'Open' gaps were more problematic and occurred either where the onward continuation of the Roman road was entirely uncertain or where it led towards a natural but undefined endpoint such

as the coast. In these cases it was possible to extrapolate the line of the Roman road by continuing its course on the same alignment but this understandably did not offer the same level of certainty that could be achieved with 'closed' gaps.

As already noted in this chapter, modern roads and tracks that follow the line of Roman roads but which deviate away from, and then re-join, the original Roman course are a relatively common occurrence. Minor changes such as these are part of the history the Roman road network and are very relevant to the themes being discussed in this thesis. However, these deviations, some of which maintain functional continuity, also had a bearing on how the roads were re-mapped and consequently on how their survival and continuity are interpreted. Only where the course of a Roman road had been excavated or the location of the *agger* or roadside ditches was visible as earthworks or cropmarks was it possible to be absolutely certain of its exact position. Where the course lay beneath a modern road or its verges it was not always possible to positively identify the original position of the Roman carriageway. Consequently it was necessary to set criteria for how far away from the presumed original course of the Roman road a modern road had to deviate before physical continuity was lost. A distance of 30m either side of the presumed original course of the road was considered appropriate as it allowed for minor deviations within, or just outside of, the corridor of most modern roads without resulting in unnecessary breaks in the physical or functional continuity of the route. The sections of Roman road that have been mapped as surviving roads and tracks in this thesis all lie directly on, or within these parameters. Sections where the line of a modern road or track deviates away by more than 30m before returning to the original Roman line were not mapped as surviving roads or tracks but were recorded as other forms of evidence (e.g. cropmark) or as the extrapolation of 'closed gaps'. In these cases the course of the modern road or track was considered to have deviated sufficiently far from the original line of the Roman road for *physical continuity* to have been lost.

The re-mapping of the Roman road network in GIS in the manner described above enabled the data to be manipulated to show different aspects of its history as required in different sections of the thesis. On most of the county-level maps included in the thesis, the Roman road network is shown as solid lines representing a combination of both the 'evidenced' and 'extrapolated' sections as this is considered to be closest to its presumed original maximum extent. Having re-mapped the road network to a

uniform standard across the study area it was possible to determine its modern surviving extent and with that the amount of road-loss that had occurred since the end of the Roman period. It was also possible to break these data down further to quantify and map the extent to which the Roman road network as a whole, and individual roads within it, survive in different forms in the modern landscape within the study – an aspect which is presented in Chapter Four).

The Methodology for Analysing the Continued Significance and Influence of the Roman Road Network

As noted in Chapter One, aside from the evidence of their erosion by traffic, the actual use of roads – the journeys undertaken – leaves almost no archaeological trace. They are, in themselves, largely mute sources for their long and sometimes complex histories. Consequently, the evidence for the use, significance, and influence of the Roman roads considered in this thesis had to be drawn from the various locales associated with them; principally their destinations[6] and other activity foci present along, or close to, their routes. The methodology for addressing the central research questions in the thesis involved examining the relationships between such locales and the re-mapped Roman road network using the available archaeological data and historical sources.

Not all archaeological data or site types would necessarily provide meaningful results when compared to the Roman road network and the selection of which ones to include in the thesis was based on those that were considered to be best-placed to address the specific questions being asked. However, the choice of archaeological data was also governed to a great extent by the periods being considered. For example, the archaeological record of the 'early Anglo-Saxon' period in particular is dominated by evidence for funerary activity, supported only to a lesser extent by records of unstratified artefacts and comparatively little direct evidence for actual settlements. In the absence of documentary sources describing road-use in this period, these three categories of archaeological data were the only evidence available from which the

---

[6] Although the term 'destination' is used throughout this thesis for convenience, it is acknowledged that the use of the Roman road network will have involved journeys both to, and from, such locales.

history of Roman roads the fifth and sixth centuries could be examined. For the later medieval period evidence for journeys along the surviving Roman road network is provided by documentary sources and consequently there was less need to draw on the archaeological data to demonstrate road-use.

As with the re-mapping of the Roman road network, the principal source of archaeological data used in the analysis of the continued significance of the road network were written records and GIS files obtained from the relevant HERs. Like the Roman roads dataset, these records required a degree of checking and data-cleansing prior to their inclusion in the thesis. Published sources and 'grey literature' reports were equally useful in this phase of the research, providing detailed information about the results of archaeological investigations at locations along the Roman road network and transcriptions of documentary sources describing its use in the medieval period. An additional resource that provided information about artefactual remains indicative of activity adjacent to the Roman road network was the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) database (www.finds.org). The PAS identifies and records archaeological artefacts found by members of the public – principally metal-detectorists. The database was primarily consulted for the Lincolnshire part of the study area, as all PAS records for artefacts discovered in Norfolk are added to the Norfolk HER and the data was obtained from that source instead. However, as has been noted by previous researchers (Ulmschneider 2000b, n17), some metal-detected finds data is only recorded in the PAS and other databases at parish level making it impossible to establish direct relationships between the findspots and the Roman road network.

It was recognised that in many cases examining the county-wide distribution of different types of archaeological evidence against the Roman road network was unnecessary. Not all 'early Anglo-Saxon' cemeteries or medieval churches, for example, could be expected to be located on, or have a direct relationship with, the Roman road network. To assume that this might be case would be absurd. Approximately 60% of the Lincolnshire study area and just over half of the Norfolk study area lie more than 5km from the Roman roads included in this thesis. Clearly then, a large proportion of the recorded archaeological evidence within both counties would also lie at a considerable distance from the Roman road network – too far, it can reasonably be argued, for any meaningful relationships to be sought or found. Thus, to consider the overall distribution of such evidence across the study area and

then conclude that only a very small number of a given type of sites lay close to Roman roads would be a futile exercise. At the other extreme, only a small number of monument types could be expected to exhibit a distribution solely related the Roman road network, and they are almost exclusively those whose existence was directly linked to Roman roads in the first place, such as Roman milestones or bridges, which, in any case, lay outside the scope of the thesis.

In view of this, the examination of comparative archaeological datasets was predominantly restricted to those located within the 'corridors of influence' of the Roman roads. A key consideration with this approach was to determine what constituted an appropriate width for the corridors being studied. As noted in Chapter One the width of a road's corridor of influence may vary over time, in relation to different types of sites and activities, and at different places along its length (Copeland 2009). Consequently the examination of the influence of Roman roads was not restricted to a single width of corridor. In methodologies involving spatial analysis using GIS, the appropriate landscape context in which the archaeological data need to be studied will vary according the specific questions being asked (Chapman 2006, 99).

The width of the corridors being examined was also determined by the scale at which the locales or activities being considered in relation to the Roman road network functioned or exercised any influence. Medieval rural settlements, their churches and land-holdings, provide a good example of how such relationships can be spatially restricted. The influence of each medieval rural community was largely defined by the extent of its parish and thus only those whose parishes were traversed or bounded by the line of a Roman road could have a *direct* physical relationship with the Roman road network. In these cases the presence of the Roman road could, theoretically at least, have influenced the positioning of locales such as the settlement foci and churches within the parishes. By contrast, communities lying at one or more parishes remove from a Roman road could not have any direct physical relationship with it, even if they regularly used the road for extra-parochial travel or were indirectly influenced by the movement of other people, goods or ideas along it. Whilst such indirect relationships are not without significance, they may be impossible to define archaeologically. For communities lying more than a parish away from Roman roads, the lack of scope for any physical relationship means that the roads cannot have had a direct influence on the positioning of locales such as settlement foci within those

parishes. A further problem with the consideration of archaeological data located away from the Roman road network is that the nature of any indirect relationships that may have existed can be too diluted or confused by other factors that mask their presence. Not least in this respect is our lack of understanding of the full pattern of land communications in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods, with other routeways then present in the landscape having exerted an influence on the positioning of sites and activities away from the immediate environs of the Roman road network.

The 'corridor-based' methodology for examining the continued significance of the Roman road network centres on a series of observable local relationships between the archaeological evidence from the locales and the roads themselves. The extent to which the siting and development of the locales can be attributed to the presence of the Roman roads was considered and the understanding of the relationships at a local level was then used to inform the research questions in a wider context. Using local-level studies as a starting point for approaching wider research questions has been seen as advantageous and has been advocated in the study of the 'early Anglo-Saxon' period in particular (e.g. Lucy 1998, 21). Nevertheless, some categories of archaeological data did require consideration in a broader context to reveal their relationship to the Roman road network more fully and there were exceptions to the 'corridor-based' approach – see, for example, the discussion of the distribution of Knights' Templar sites in Lincolnshire in Chapter Seven. However, even in these cases the resulting distribution is still, in essence, the product of a series of local relationships with the Roman road network.

Having discussed the background to the study area and how the corpus of Roman roads in this thesis has been established and analysed, it is now possible to examine the Roman road network in more detail in the context of the Roman landscape and consider its modern surviving form and extent.

Chapter 4: The Roman Road Network of Lincolnshire and Norfolk

Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the re-mapping of the Roman road network of the study area in two separate ways. Firstly it briefly describes the key elements of the road network in the context of the Roman geography of the study area. This represents the original, or maximum, extent of the 'engineered' main Roman road network of the study area as far as can currently be determined. Crucially, the context of the road network in the Roman period also provides a baseline from which to study its later history, significance, survival and loss.

The second way in which the data on the re-mapped Roman road network of the study area is considered in this chapter concerns the surviving form and extent of the roads in the early twenty-first century. This is important for two reasons. Firstly, if, as has been argued in Chapter Two, sections of the Roman road network did not go out of use and then become reinstated, but rather that its loss has been progressive, the extent to which the Roman road network survives in the modern landscape can be taken to equate to its minimum surviving extent. This minimum extent of the Roman road network complements its maximum original extent in the Roman period. Together they neatly 'bookend' the discussion of the history of the Roman road network which follows in Parts Two and Three of this thesis; particularly concerning its survival and loss between the fifth and nineteenth centuries.

However, the data about the modern surviving extent and form of the Roman roads of the study area acquired through their re-mapping are in themselves one of the outcomes of this thesis. As has been established in preceding chapters, little detailed analytical work has previously been carried out on the Roman road network, and there has been nothing that has sought to establish the extent of its modern survival and form in eastern England. Whilst this chapter focusses on presenting the results of the mapping of the modern extent and form of the Roman road network, rather than its analysis and interpretation, these data will be referenced in the subsequent chapters concerning the significance, survival and loss of the road network and will, in turn,

contribute directly to the final discussion and conclusions of the thesis in Chapter Eleven.

The Geography and Road Network of Roman Lincolnshire

The geography of Roman Lincolnshire is dominated by the city of Lincoln (*Lindum Colonia*). A legionary fortress was established on top of the Lincoln Cliff escarpment overlooking the River Witham and Brayford Pool in the mid first century AD. The fort was initially garrisoned by the Ninth Legion who departed Lincoln for York in AD 71 and their replacement, the Second Legion, left for Chester in AD 78. By the AD 90s the fort site had been established as a *colonia* – a self-governing community comprised partly of retired legionaries (Jones 2002, 51). The urban centre at Lincoln expanded down the hillside in the second century to form the walled 'Lower City' and extra-mural suburbs also developed (*ibid*., 75-106). Lincoln's status within Roman Britain in the early third century is demonstrated by its adoption as one of the four provincial capitals of *Britannia* (*ibid*., 119).

Lincoln acts as a hub for the majority of the 327 km of re-mapped Roman road network of the county (Figure 9). The most significant Roman road in Lincolnshire is Ermine Street, which, as we have seen in Chapter Two, was one of the roads named in the medieval Four Highways story. Including a section passing through the adjoining county of Rutland, it runs the entire length of the Lincolnshire study area between Stamford in the south and a Roman nucleated settlement at Winteringham on the River Humber, a total distance of 120 km. The route continued northwards via a ferry crossing to Brough and then onwards to York. Branching off from Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln is Tillbridge Lane, an alternative route to the north of the province via a crossing of the River Trent at Marton and Littleborough.

Leading northeast from Lincoln is an un-named Roman road that curves around the northern side of the Witham valley to a Roman settlement at Burgh le Marsh. There is good evidence to support the suggestion that a ferry existed across the Wash estuary in the Roman period connecting this road with Peddars Way in northwest Norfolk,
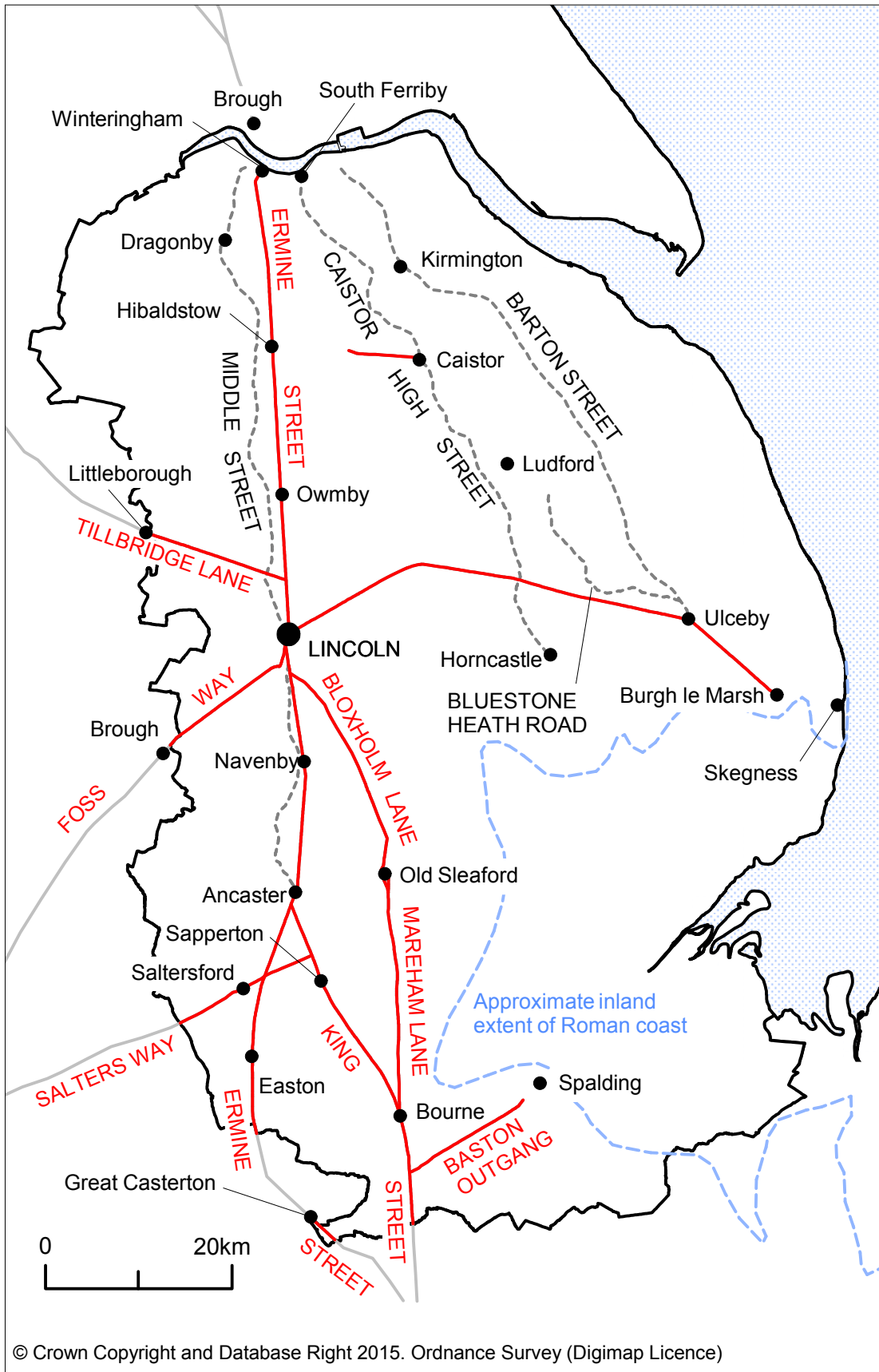
Figure 9. Roman Lincolnshire (Roman roads shown as solid lines and unimproved routeways as dashed grey lines).

thus providing a direct link between the Roman road network in both parts of the overall study area[7].

The second most important Roman road in the Lincolnshire study area, in terms of the national Roman road network at least, is the Foss Way. Although Lincoln serves as the northeastern terminus of this major cross-country route, which was also one of the 'Four Highways', only 17 km of its total 370 km length lie within the study area. To the south of Lincoln King Street, Mareham Lane and Bloxholm Lane in part run parallel to and also connect with Ermine Street.

Aside from Lincoln, other major Roman nucleated settlements in the Lincolnshire study area were located to the south of Lincoln on Ermine Street at Ancaster and at Old Sleaford and Bourne on Mareham Lane. In addition to these settlements other substantial nucleated settlements were also present in the Lincolnshire Wolds at Horncastle, Caistor and Kirmington. A notable feature of the settlements in the Lincolnshire Wolds is that, with the exception of a short section of road to the west of Caistor connecting it to the River Ancholme, none are located on main 'engineered' Roman roads. Instead, all three of these settlements lie on the unimproved routeways of Caistor High Street and Barton Street along the western and eastern edges of the Wolds respectively. A further unimproved routeway called Middle Street[8] runs along the edge of the Lincoln Cliff escarpment in the western part of the county passing through Lincoln between Ancaster and the Humber. Whilst the presence of these unimproved routeways in the modern landscape is largely accepted as proof that they exist as historic routeways[9], there is little firm evidence to confirm that they lay on their original Roman, or pre-Roman, course along their entire length.

A further feature of Ancaster, Caistor, Horncastle and Kirmington is that a small part of the settlement was enclosed by walls or earth ramparts in the mid to late Roman period. The creation of urban defences of this type have traditionally been seen as a result of the threat of Germanic raiders in the late Roman period, but are now

---

[7] Full details of the evidence for the Roman ferry across the Wash are given in Appendix Four.

[8] Middle Street is sometimes also referred to as the Jurassic Way, but this name is a modern invention and is not used in this thesis. See Appendix One for further discussion of the route and its name.

[9] In contrast to the Icknield Way in Norfolk. See below and Appendix Two.

considered more likely to have been constructed in response to internal political and military instability within *Britannia* and were, in some cases, short-lived (Black 2016).

Other smaller, and apparently undefended, nucleated settlements were located at Winteringham and South Ferriby on the Humber, Ulceby, Ludford and Burgh le Marsh in the Wolds, Sleaford, Saltersford, Bourne, and probably also Spalding in the south of the county. Smaller 'roadside settlements' of linear form were evenly spaced along many of the main roads in the Lincolnshire study area at Hibaldstow, Owmby by Spital, Navenby, Sapperton, Easton and Nettleton.

It is difficult to establish a clear picture of rural settlement in Roman Lincolnshire due to the limited nature of the evidence from many of the recorded sites. However, it is clear that large 'villa-type' farmsteads were present on the limestone uplands and in the Wolds along with many smaller, simpler forms of farmsteads (Whitwell 1992, 79-99; Jones 1998; Winton 1998). Cropmark evidence for extensive farmsteads and field systems has been recorded in the Fenland area of the south of the county (Hallam 1970).

The principal differences between the physical landscape of modern Lincolnshire and that of the Roman period lie in its rivers and coast. In contrast to their modern canalised courses, many of the county's rivers would have occupied broader meandering channels within their floodplains. The Foss Dyke, a canal linking the River Witham at Lincoln with the Trent at Torksey, has traditionally been assigned a Roman date but has more recently been reconsidered as having a medieval origin (Jones 2003, 116). Another Roman man-made waterway, the Car Dyke, extends from the Witham at Lincoln along the western fen-edge southwards out of the county but it is still unclear whether it served as a navigable canal or drainage channel (Simmons and Cope-Faulkner 2004).

The Lindsey coast is likely to have undergone some erosion since the Roman period but the extent of this is almost impossible to determine. The changes to the position of the Wash coast have been much more dramatic. Sea-level at the start of the Roman period was probably slightly higher than today and the coastline lay much further inland (Figure 9). Following a marine regression large parts of the Fenland region were reclaimed and occupied from the second century onwards. However a further marine transgression commencing in the late fourth century resulted in the

abandonment of settlements across much of the Fenland region and the retreat of the coastline inland (Hall and Coles 1994, 105-21). The Wash coast was extensively exploited for salt making, and this formed one of the main industries of the Lincolnshire study area during the Roman period (Lane and Morris 2001).

The Geography and Road Network of Roman Norfolk

As with the Lincolnshire study area, the principal differences between the physical geography of Roman Norfolk and the modern county lie in its rivers and coasts. In the east of the county, the river network of the Norfolk Broads acted as tributaries of the Great Estuary. This large estuary, of which Breydon Water is now the only surviving remnant, flowed into the North Sea where Great Yarmouth is now located. A separate smaller channel may also have existed to the north of the Isle of Flegg at Winterton on Sea (Gurney 2002, 12-3; Albone *et al*. 2007a, 102-3).

In the west of the county the pattern of landscape change in the Fenland mirrors that in Lincolnshire. A marine regression early in the Roman period enabled parts of the fenland to be occupied from the second century until sea-level rise forced their abandonment in the late fourth century (Hall and Coles 1994, 105-21). Evidence for salt production in the Roman period has been recorded along both the western and eastern fen-edges of what is now the Great Ouse valley.

Including all evidenced and extrapolated sections, the full extent of the re-mapped Roman road network in Norfolk totals 283 km in length. In contrast to the pattern in Lincolnshire, with Lincoln sitting at its hub, the Norfolk Roman road network is polyfocal and structured around a series of broadly north to south, and west to east routes (Figure 10). As with the Lincolnshire Roman road network, detailed descriptions of the Roman roads that were included and omitted from the study are given in Appendix Three.

The longest and best-known of the Roman roads in the Norfolk study area is Peddars Way, which extends for 68 km across the western part of the county. It enters Norfolk at Shadwell on the River Little Ouse and runs in a series of straight sections to the northeast coast of the county at Holme/Hunstanton where, as described above, it may

Caister on Sea

Great Estuary

Burgh Castle

Wainford

STONE STREET

CAISTOR ST EDMUND

Thorpe St Andrew

Long Stratton

Needham

Brampton

PYE ROAD

Billingford

WALSINGHAM WAY

Crownthorpe

Scole

Wighton/Walsingham

Toftrees

Kempstone

Saham Toney

WAY

Approximate position of Roman coast

PEDDARS

Brettenham

Brancaster

Narford

ICKNIELD WAY

Fincham

Denver

Hockwold

FEN CAUSEWAY

20km

0
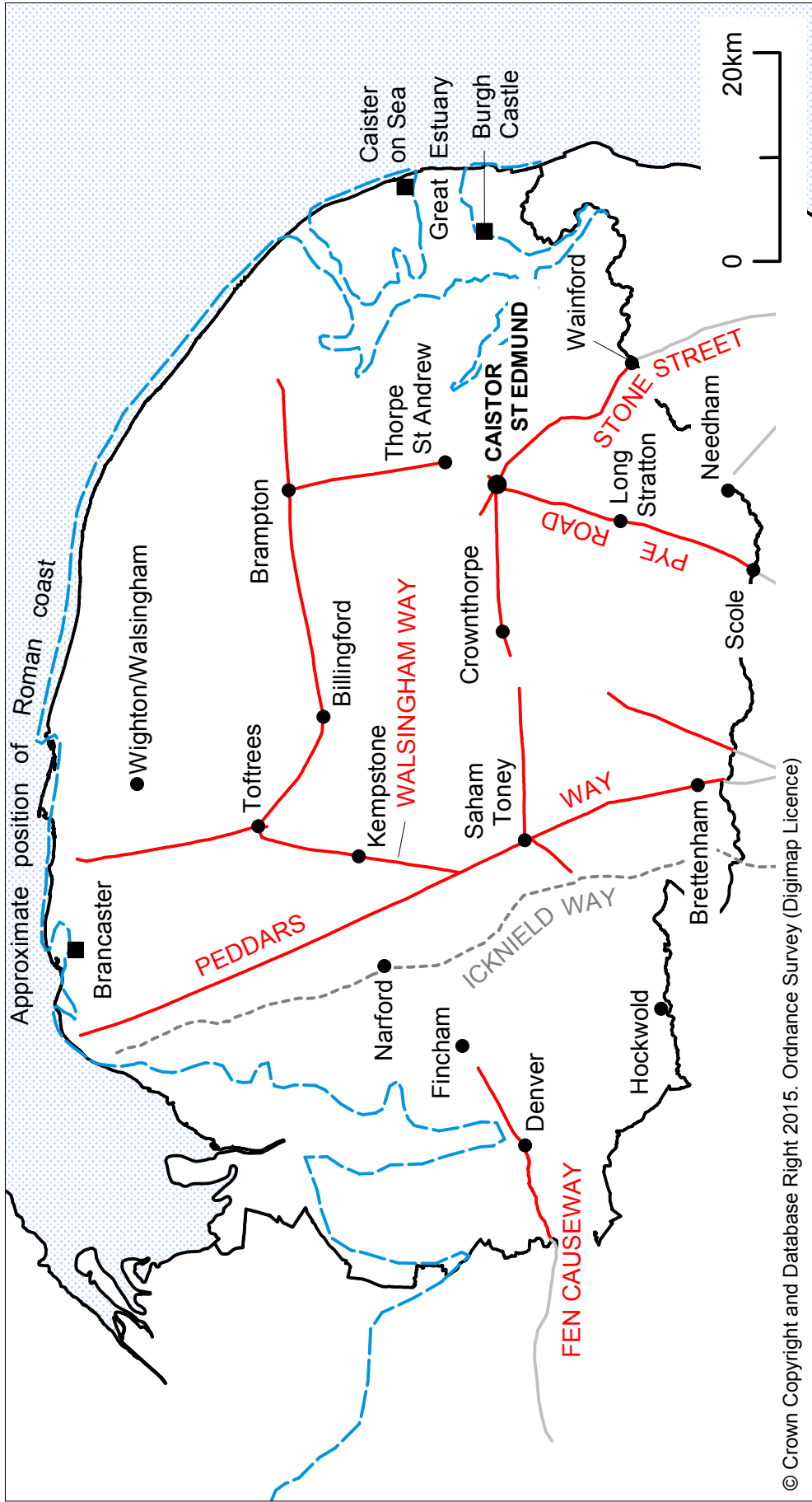
© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

Figure 10. Roman Norfolk (Roman roads shown as solid lines and unimproved routeways as dashed grey lines).

have connected with a ferry crossing to Lincolnshire. Two Roman nucleated settlements are known on the southern part of its course at Brettenham and Saham Toney, but aside from some evidence for a Roman settlement at its northern terminus, there are no known nucleated settlements of Roman date located on the northern part of the route of Peddars Way.

The principal Roman urban settlement in Norfolk is *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor St Edmund) located in the southeastern quarter of the county (Figure 10). Whilst it forms a focal point for the Roman road network in that part of Norfolk, it does not act as a wider hub in the way that Lincoln does for the Lincolnshire study area. The traditional view that the town was laid out in the AD 70s as part of an Imperial response to the Boudican revolt has now been disproved by excavations undertaken by the Caistor Roman Town Project (Bowden 2012; 2013). Whilst there is some evidence for activity at Caistor during the first century AD it appears that the development of the town was a gradual process with its street-grid evolving from the second century onwards. At least two phases of urban defences have been identified. The earliest of these, perhaps dating from the late second century, comprise a large kite-shaped enclosure defined by triple ditches (Bales *et al*. 2010, 66-9). This was replaced, probably in the late third century, by the town walls which remain largely extant at the site today. Unusually for towns in late Roman Britain, *Venta Icenorum* appears to have undergone a resurgence during the fourth century with the forum being rebuilt at that time (Bowden 2012, 34-5).

The most significant Roman road serving *Venta Icenorum* was the Pye Road that extended south from the town to a further nucleated settlement at Scole where the road crossed the River Waveney on the southern boundary of the study area (Ashwin and Tester 2014). Its route then continued southwards to settlements at Coddenham in Suffolk, and onwards to the major Roman urban centre at Colchester. Other roads connected *Venta Icenorum* to another crossing point further downstream on the Waveney at Wainford and with the nucleated settlement at Crownthorpe to its west. The roads leading to the north of *Venta Icenorum* can only be traced for relatively short distances and the full extent of the towns land communication connections in that direction are unclear.

The second largest nucleated settlement in Roman Norfolk appears to have been at Brampton on the River Bure in the northeast part of the county. A polygonal enclosure defined by a single ditch, which is likely to have been accompanied by an earth rampart, was constructed around at least part of the town, probably in the second century (Knowles 1977; Gurney 1995). Between the late first and early fourth centuries a major pottery manufacturing industry existed immediately to the west of the town. White ware mortaria produced at Brampton have been found as far afield as Corbridge on the northern frontier of the province indicating strong trade-links along the east coast (J. Davies 2008, 176). In this respect, Brampton's position as a local hub on the Roman road network is particularly significant. Although the settlement is located on the River Bure it was also linked to the riverine and maritime communications network by road. A road leading to the south of Brampton connected it with a nucleated settlement and probable port on the River Yare at Thorpe St Andrew whilst a road to its east appears to have extended no further than the River Ant at Smallburgh and is likely to have linked with the river network at that location. The road to the west of Brampton, provided a link with a further nucleated settlement in the centre of the Norfolk study area at Billingford (Wallis 2011). Whilst this road has in the past been seen as part of a major west to east route across the study area continuing the course of the Fen Causeway (Margary 1955, 240-1; Gurney 2005) the re-mapping of the Roman road network for this thesis has demonstrated that this is not in fact the case.

The Fen Causeway road itself is something of an anomaly within the corpus of roads included within the Norfolk study area. It was a multi-phase routeway comprising a road, canal and possibly sometimes both together, which extended west from the Norfolk fen-edge at Denver via islands at March and Whittlesey to join with Ermine Street at the Roman town at Water Newton (*Durobrivae*). Whilst excavations have confirmed its Roman date and engineered form, it follows a sinuous course determined by the topography rather than existing as a series of straight sections. A road leading eastward from the Roman settlement at Denver can be traced as far as Stradsett after which its course is uncertain.

In addition to those already mentioned, other significant nucleated settlements were present at Toftrees, which formed a local hub in the north of the study area, Wighton/Walsingham, and Hockwold. These last two are not located on any of the

engineered Roman roads that were included within the re-mapped Roman road network for this thesis. In this respect they are similar to the nucleated settlements in the Lincolnshire Wolds. However, these Norfolk sites lack identifiable unimproved routeways either, a point that serves to highlight our lack of understanding of the full extent of the land communications network in the Roman period. Only one unimproved routeway, the Icknield Way, is known in the Norfolk study area and its existence and route are both open to debate.

Smaller nucleated settlements of uncertain status area known at Fincham, Narford, Long Stratton, Kempstone, Needham, and Ditchingham. Our understanding of the pattern of Roman rural settlement in Norfolk is hampered by the same problems affecting the Lincolnshire study area. Although evidence for Roman activity, in the form of artefact scatters and cropmarks is recorded across most of the county, the exact nature of much of this is difficult to fully interpret in terms of site function and chronology. A concentration of 'villa-type' farms has previously been noted along the chalk escarpment in the west of the county (J. Davies 2008, 188-93) although survey work is gradually increasing the numbers of rural sites of this type in other parts of the county as well (Albone *et al*. 2007b; Bales *et al*. 2010).

Despite its associations with the Boudican revolt of AD 61 there is little evidence of a strong Roman military presence in Norfolk in the first century. Although an early fort has long been suggested at *Venta Icenorum* there is still no supporting evidence despite air photo interpretation and geophysical surveys (Bales *et al*. 2010; Bowden 2012). Early Roman forts are however recorded at Swanton Morley adjacent to the small town at Billingford, and just to the south of the town at Saham Toney (J. Davies 2008, 148). During the third century forts were constructed on the Norfolk coast at Brancaster, Caister on Sea and Burgh Castle as part of the defences of the Saxon Shore (Gurney 2002; Pearson 2002). As Figure 10 shows, the shore forts were not positioned in relation to the existing Roman roads[10]. Although the Roman road network is likely to have been well-established by the time these forts were constructed it appears that their maritime connections were a greater consideration in their siting than any existing overland communication routes.

---

[10] Despite their different dates of foundation, the lack of relationship between the shore forts and the Roman road network appears to have confused some early researchers (e.g. Haverfield 1901, 302-3).

The Roman Road Network in the Modern Landscape

Having briefly introduced the corpus of Roman roads included within this thesis and considered it in the context of the Roman geography of the study area, it is now possible to examine its surviving form in the modern landscape.

Roman roads have a physical presence in the early twenty-first century landscape of the study area in two main ways: as extant roads and tracks; and as boundaries that preserve the former line of the road. In addition some sections of Roman road survive solely as an earthwork of their *agger*, but as we shall see these are few in number. It is the Roman roads that remain in use as some form of thoroughfare, be it a road, track, or footpath, which provide the most tangible evidence for the survival of the road network.

The Survival of Roman Roads as Roads in the Modern Landscape

Survival as in-use roads is the largest single category of evidence recorded for the Lincolnshire road network in this study. Over 180 km of Roman roads remains in use in the county, representing 55% of the total extent of its re-mapped Roman road network (Figure 11). By contrast, in Norfolk only 74 km of Roman roads survive in use equating to just 26% of the total recorded extent of the Roman road network in the county (Figure 12).

The survival of individual roads as in-use roads across the combined study area is highly variable. The Foss Way is the only Roman road that survives in use as a modern road for its entire length within either part of the study area. Although the 17 km section in Lincolnshire represents only a very small part of the road's route between Lincoln and Exeter, it appears to survive in use for much of its length across the country. By contrast, the Fen Causeway, which extends for just under 10 km through Norfolk, is the only road within the study area that has no sections physically surviving in the modern landscape.

In addition to the Foss Way, several other Roman roads in Lincolnshire remain largely extant and in use as modern roads. Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln has a very
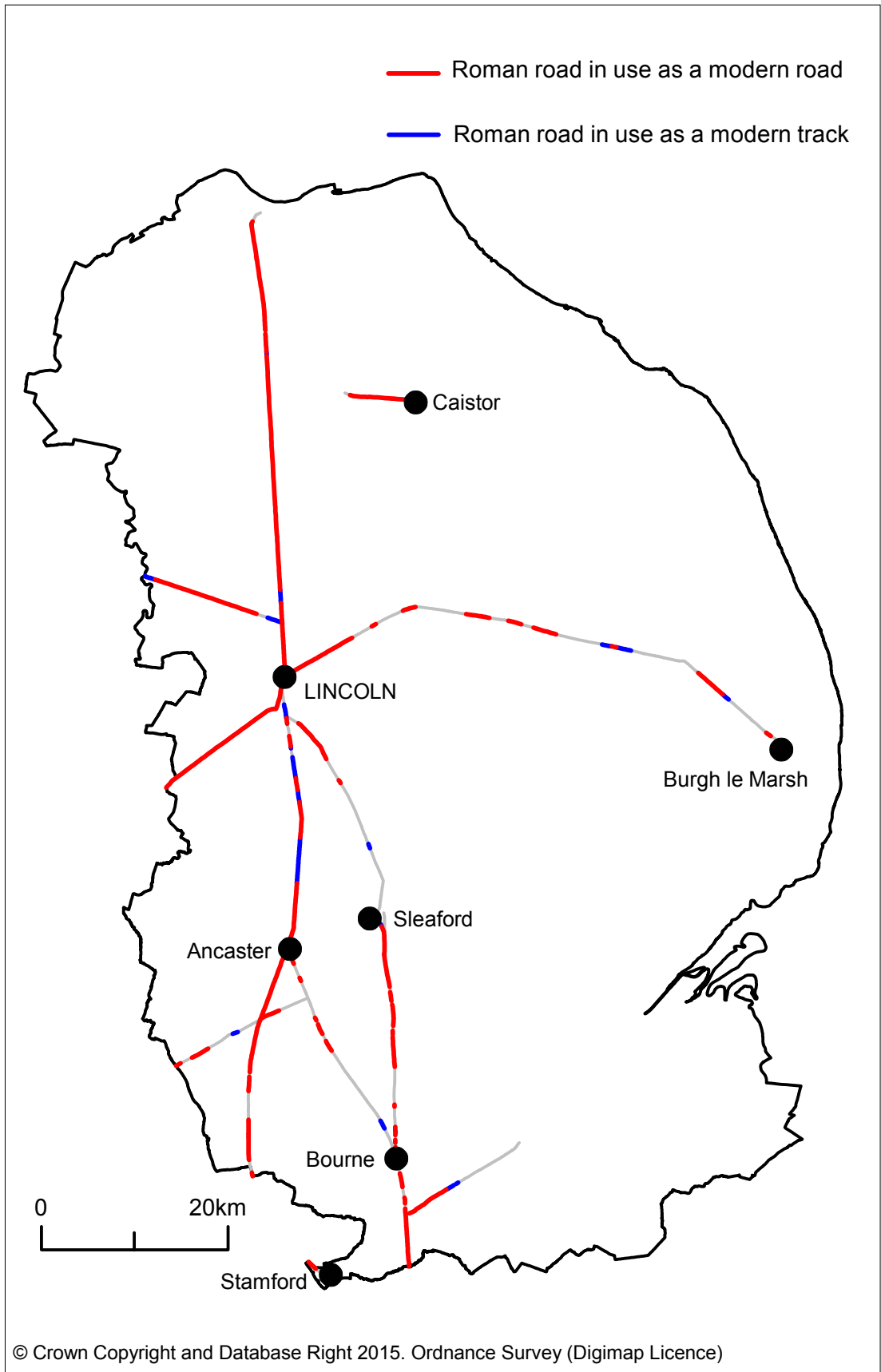
Figure 11. The survival of Roman roads as roads and tracks in Lincolnshire.
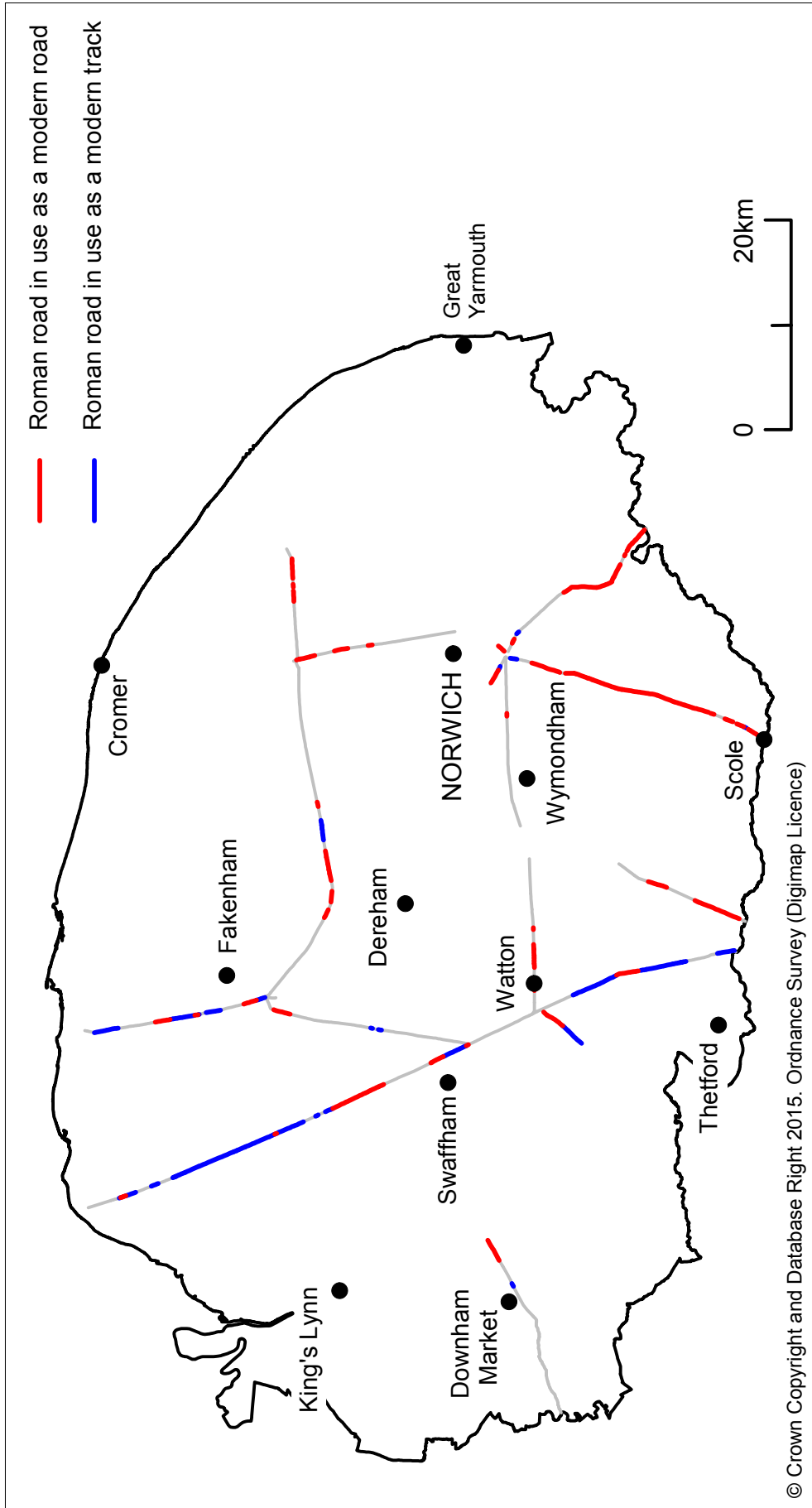
Figure 12. The survival of Roman roads as roads and tracks in Norfolk.

Roman road in use as a modern road

Roman road in use as a modern track

20km

0

Great
Yarmouth

Cromer

NORWICH

Wymondham

Scole

Fakenham

Dereham

Watton

Swaffham

Thetford

King's Lynn

Downham
Market

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

high level of survival with 92% of its length remaining in use and Tillbridge Lane, which branches off from it towards the River Trent, survives as a road for 74% of its length.

To the south of Lincoln the two separate sections of Ermine Street present in the study area show identical levels of survival, with both having 60% of their length in use as modern roads. Between these two sections Ermine Street passes out of the study area through Rutland and remains in continuous use as part of the modern A1 road. If the survival of Ermine Street between Stamford and Lincoln is considered in its entirety, including the section in Rutland, the significance of its inclusion as part of the former Great North Road becomes apparent, with the proportion surviving in use increasing to 78%.

One other Roman road in Lincolnshire that is also noteworthy for remaining largely in use is that between Caistor and North Kelsey. The evidenced course of this road is based entirely on a continuous section of extant road that constitutes 80% of its suggested overall length. The shortness of this road, which measures only 7.5 km in its entirety, would normally mean that it would be difficult to confidently identify it as a Roman road. However in this case it is the extent to which it survives in use as a modern road as well as its relationship with the former Roman nucleated settlement at Caistor that has helped it to be identified as such with sufficient confidence for it to be included within this study. The extent to which the remainder of the Lincolnshire road network survives in use as roads ranges between 22% for Bloxholm Lane up to 56% of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road.

In Norfolk, survival of roads in use in the modern landscape is much poorer than in Lincolnshire at only 26% of the total mapped Roman road network of the county (Figure 12). This comparatively low level of survival is generally also reflected in the extent to which the individual roads remain in use. As with Lincolnshire, the Roman roads that have only been traced over very short distances show disproportionately high levels of survival in-use. In Norfolk this applies to three roads: the Saham Toney to Stanford road (5 km in total); the Caistor St Edmund to Keswick road (3 km in total); and the road to the northeast of Caistor St Edmund (<1 km in total), of which 45%, 48% and 96% respectively remain in use.

If these short roads are disregarded as being unrepresentative of the overall pattern of survival, the road in Norfolk with the highest level of surviving use as a modern road is the Pye Road leading south from Caistor St Edmund. It forms the modern A140 for most of its 27 km course in the county and remains in direct use as a road for 79% of that distance. Only two other Roman roads in Norfolk are significantly extant as modern roads; the road from Caistor St Edmund to Ditchingham, which remains in use for 53% of its length, and the Gasthorpe to Hargham road, 48% of which survives as a road.

All of the other Roman roads in Norfolk have levels of survival as modern roads that are less than 30% of their total mapped length. These include the Wicklewood to Caistor St Edmund road of which only 2% survives in use, and the South Pickenham to Toftrees road (the former Walsingham Way) of which 8% remains in use as modern roads. Peddars Way, which is probably the best-known Roman road in Norfolk, only survives in use as an actual road in the modern landscape for 15% of its course in the county.

The Survival of Roman Roads as Tracks in the Modern Landscape

Roman roads surviving as tracks and paths (hereafter tracks) in the modern landscape comprise 7% of the total mapped road network in Lincolnshire and 15% in Norfolk (Figures 11 and 12). Whereas the amount of the road network surviving in use as roads in Lincolnshire is just over twice that of Norfolk, this relationship is reversed for tracks with Norfolk having double the level of survival compared to Lincolnshire.

Given the high proportion of the Lincolnshire road network that survives in use as roads, 55% of the mapped total, it is perhaps surprising that as little as 7% remains in use as tracks. However, it is likely that the apparently low level of survival as tracks is a direct result of the greater survival in use as roads in the county and that the opposite is true for Norfolk.

Individually, the roads in Lincolnshire show a low level of survival as tracks with this category contributing less than 10% of their total length in all but two cases. The exceptions are Ermine Street between South Witham and Lincoln, and Tillbridge Lane, both of which have 18% remaining in use in this form.

The 15% of the mapped road network in Norfolk that remains in use as tracks equates to more than half of the total that survives in use as roads. This reasonably high proportion of surviving tracks, both in absolute and relative terms, means that they make a significant contribution to the total surviving road network in the county. However, the contribution of individual roads to this total is far from evenly distributed. Mirroring the pattern of survival shown by the roads remaining in use, two of the short roads in Norfolk appear to show high levels of survival as tracks. These are the Saham Toney to Stanford and Caistor St Edmund to Keswick roads which have 49% and 14% of their total length surviving in this form.

Leaving these short roads aside, the pattern is very similar to Lincolnshire with all but two of the roads having less than 10%, and in most cases less than 5%, of their length surviving as tracks and paths. The two exceptions both have significantly higher proportions of their total length surviving as tracks than remain in use as roads. Peddars Way has 43% of its total length surviving as tracks, nearly triple the amount (15%) still in use as roads. As well as amounting to a significant proportion of Peddars Way itself, this figure also comprises 68% of the total recorded survival as tracks and paths in the county and over 10% of its total mapped Roman road network. It is tempting to attribute the high level of track survival on Peddars Way to its modern use as a recreational footpath. However, it has only been designated as National Trail since 1986 (See Appendix Two) and for the tracks to still exist they must, for the most part, have survived in the landscape up to that time. Only 1.5 km, amounting to 2% of the total length of Peddars Way in Norfolk, has been reinstated on its original line as part of the recreational path where sections had fallen out of use. It is likely that the designation of Peddars Way as a National Trail has now fossilised its current form and prevented further piecemeal loss of sections of track taking place during the late twentieth century.

The other road in Norfolk with a high proportion surviving as tracks is the Toftrees to Holkham road. It has 38% of its total length remaining as tracks compared to 16% in use as roads. Significant lengths of this road lie on land held by the Holkham and Raynham Estates and the resulting unified pattern of land management may have influenced the high level of track survival. However, the high proportion of Peddars Way and the Toftrees to Holkham road that survive in use as tracks is anomalous both within the Norfolk data and in comparison with the Lincolnshire roads.

The Survival of Roman Roads as Roads and Tracks Combined

As demonstrated by the figures discussed above, significant differences exist in the relative proportions of Roman roads surviving as in use roads and those surviving as tracks. These differences in surviving form are present both between the two counties and between the individual roads in each part of the study area. Although the distinction between survival as roads and tracks is useful in defining the present-day significance of the surviving Roman road network, it to some extent largely a modern consideration. Prior to the twentieth century and the metalling of roads for motorised traffic, the distinction between roads and tracks was less important. Consequently, the survival of roads and tracks can just as usefully be considered together.

The combined figures for survival as roads and for survival as tracks show that 62% of the Lincolnshire road network and 41% of the Norfolk road network remain in use as some form of thoroughfare in the modern landscape. Whilst these combined figures narrow the margin between the levels of overall survival of the road network in the two counties, compared with the roads-only survival data, it is still clear that significantly more of the Roman road network remains in use in Lincolnshire than in Norfolk.

The Survival of the Routes of Roman Roads through Functional Continuity

As outlined in the previous chapter, Roman roads can be viewed as surviving in two different ways depending on whether it is the physical remains of the road or the existence of the route that is being considered. The figures presented above relate to the physical survival of Roman roads as roads or tracks on their original course and consequently the sections discussed exhibit both *physical* and *functional* continuity. Even where physical continuity does not exist it is possible for the functional continuity of the route to be retained where sections of the Roman road surviving on their original course are linked by a modern road making a minor deviation away from the Roman line[11]. By considering all sections of the Roman road network where functional continuity has been retained, irrespective of whether or not the modern road

---

[11] See Chapter Three for a definition of physical and functional continuity.
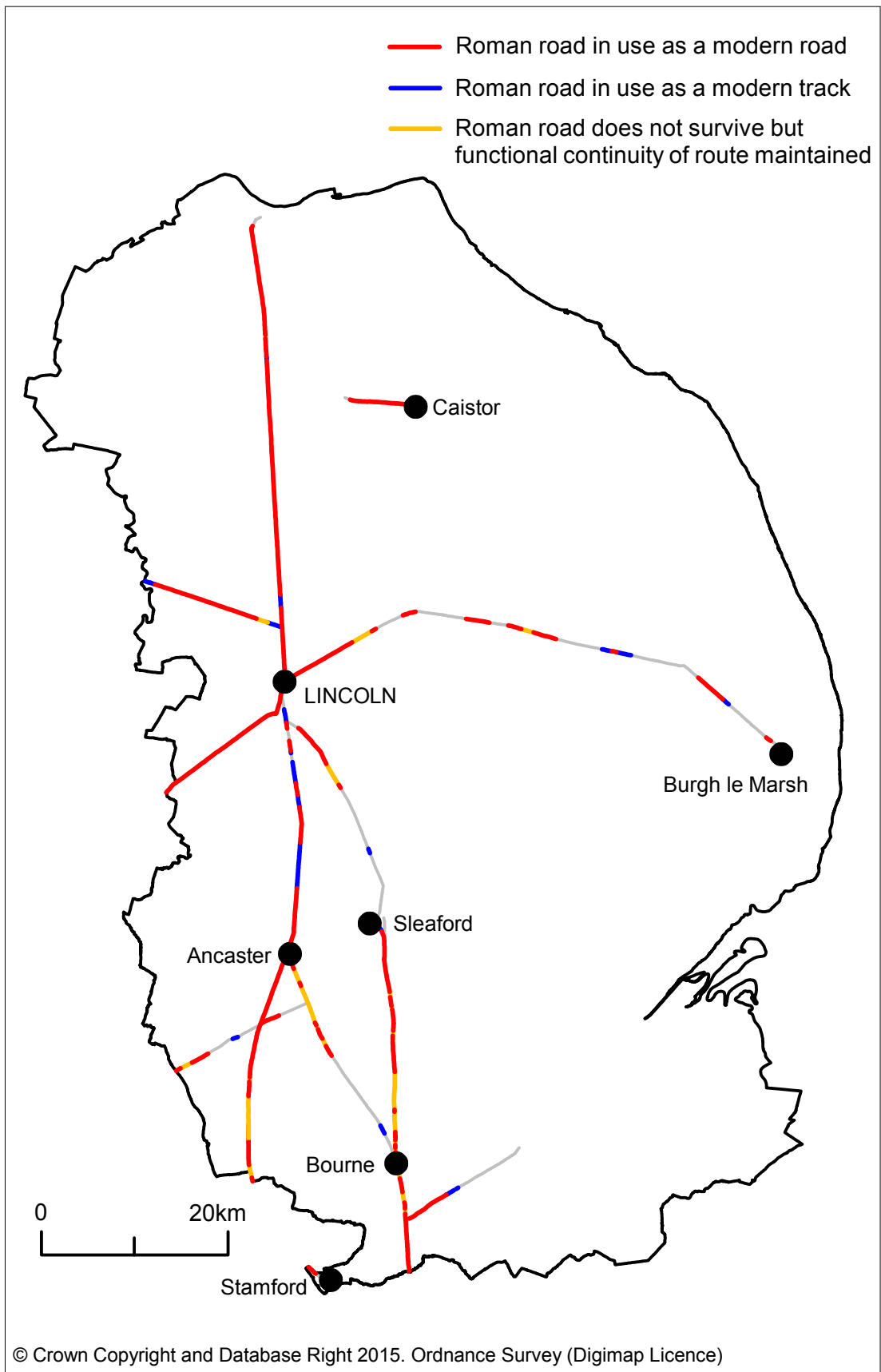
Figure 13. The survival of Roman roads with functional continuity in
Lincolnshire.
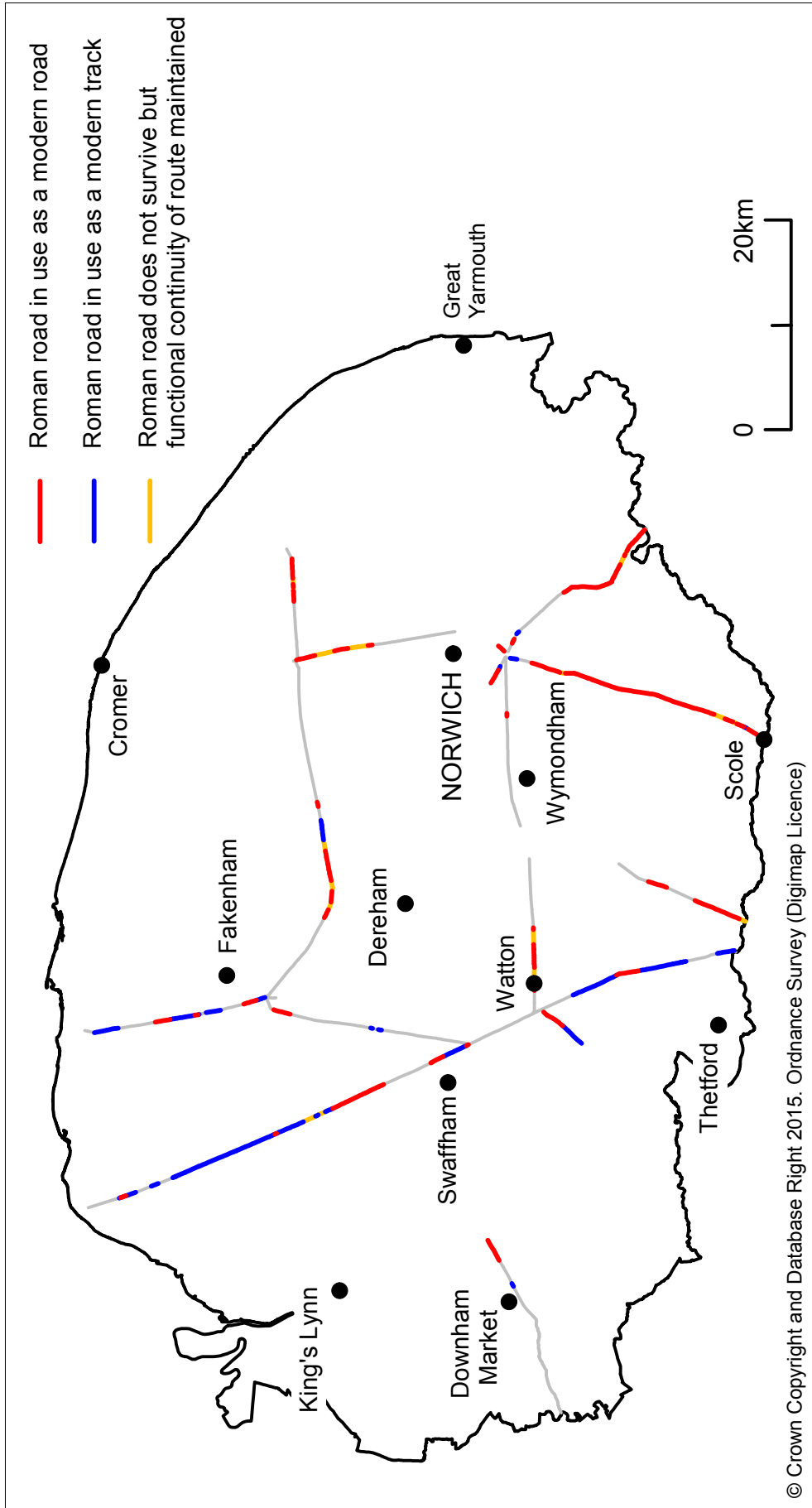
Figure 14. The survival of Roman roads with functional continuity in Norfolk.

Roman road in use as a modern road

Roman road in use as a modern track

Roman road does not survive but functional continuity of route maintained

20km

0

Great Yarmouth

Cromer

NORWICH

Wymondham

Scole

Fakenham

Dereham

Watton

Swaffham

Thetford

King's Lynn

Downham Market

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

physically lies on the Roman course, it is possible to see the extent to which the routes of Roman roads have survived into the twenty-first century.

The impact of the inclusion of all sections with functional continuity is greatest on the roads that show mid to high levels of survival as roads and tracks in the modern landscape. This is, at least partly because functional continuity relies on the presence of surviving sections of road or track at each end of the section being identified. Consequently roads that have low levels of surviving use as roads and tracks are unlikely to include many sections of functional continuity.

In Lincolnshire a further 11% of the total re-mapped road network can be identified as having functional continuity (Figure 13). This increase means that 73% of the total re-mapped road network in the county can be considered to be functionally surviving in use. An additional 35% of the total length of Mareham Lane and 29% of King Street can be considered to show functional continuity bringing the total proportion of these two roads surviving in use up to 91% and 67% respectively. Functional continuity also increases the amount of Ermine Street between Lincoln and South Witham that remains in use by a further 10% to a combined total of 89% and raises the road with the lowest level of surviving use, Bloxholm Lane, up to a total of 34% remaining in use.

In Norfolk 6% of Roman roads can be re-categorised as having functional continuity pushing the total functional survival of the road network in the county up to 47% (Figure 14). Several individual roads show high levels of additional continuity in this form. The Brampton to Thorpe St Andrew road has 25% of its length surviving in this way and the Saham Toney to Hingham road has 24% survival solely as functional continuity increasing their overall levels of surviving usage to 47% and 51% respectively. The Pye Road has a further 10% of its total length surviving through functional continuity raising the proportion of the route remaining in use to 89%.

The Survival of Roman Roads as Boundaries in the Modern Landscape

The survival of the line of Roman roads as boundaries in the modern landscape contributes a small but important part of the evidenced road network of the study area. It is self-evident that survival of the line of a Roman road solely as a boundary can

only occur on sections where the road is no longer in use. So whilst surviving boundaries can provide visible evidence of the line of a Roman road in the modern landscape they also represent past road-loss.

In Lincolnshire 16 km of the road network is directly evidenced by extant boundary features and in Norfolk the figure is 21 km representing 5% and 8% respectively of the total mapped Roman road network in each county (Figures 15 and 16). The slightly higher percentage of survival as boundaries in Norfolk perhaps reflects the lower level of Roman roads surviving in use in that county. Given that survival of the line of Roman roads as field boundaries has often been cited as one of the key pieces of evidence to look for when tracing the course of lost roads (e.g. Margary 1955, 19; Johnston 1979, 144), it is perhaps a little surprising that they should make up such a low percentage of the mapped road network of the study area.

Within each of the two parts of the study area there is no obvious pattern shown by the spatial distribution of sections of extant boundaries marking the line of Roman roads. Boundary survival is associated with roads that show both very high levels of surviving use as roads and tracks and also those with high levels of loss.

In Lincolnshire the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road includes the highest number of separate sections, twelve in total, where the line of the road is marked only by a surviving boundary. This comprises 11% of the total mapped length of the road. By contrast the South Witham to Lincoln section of Ermine Street, and King Street each include seven separate sections of boundary survival but these only constitute 2% and 7% of the overall length of these roads. The Saltersway contains an unusually lengthy 2.8 km section of continuous boundary survival which equates to 17% of the total mapped length of the road.

The South Pickenham to Toftrees road, part of the former Walsingham Way pilgrimage route, shows the greatest amount of boundary survival of the Norfolk roads. Ten separate sections of boundary are present on this road comprising 32% of its total length, the highest proportion shown by any of the roads in either part of the study area. The amount of boundary survival on this road is so significant that it also comprises 32% of the total amount of boundary survival mapped on the Norfolk road network. Although the Toftrees to Holkham road only includes three sections of
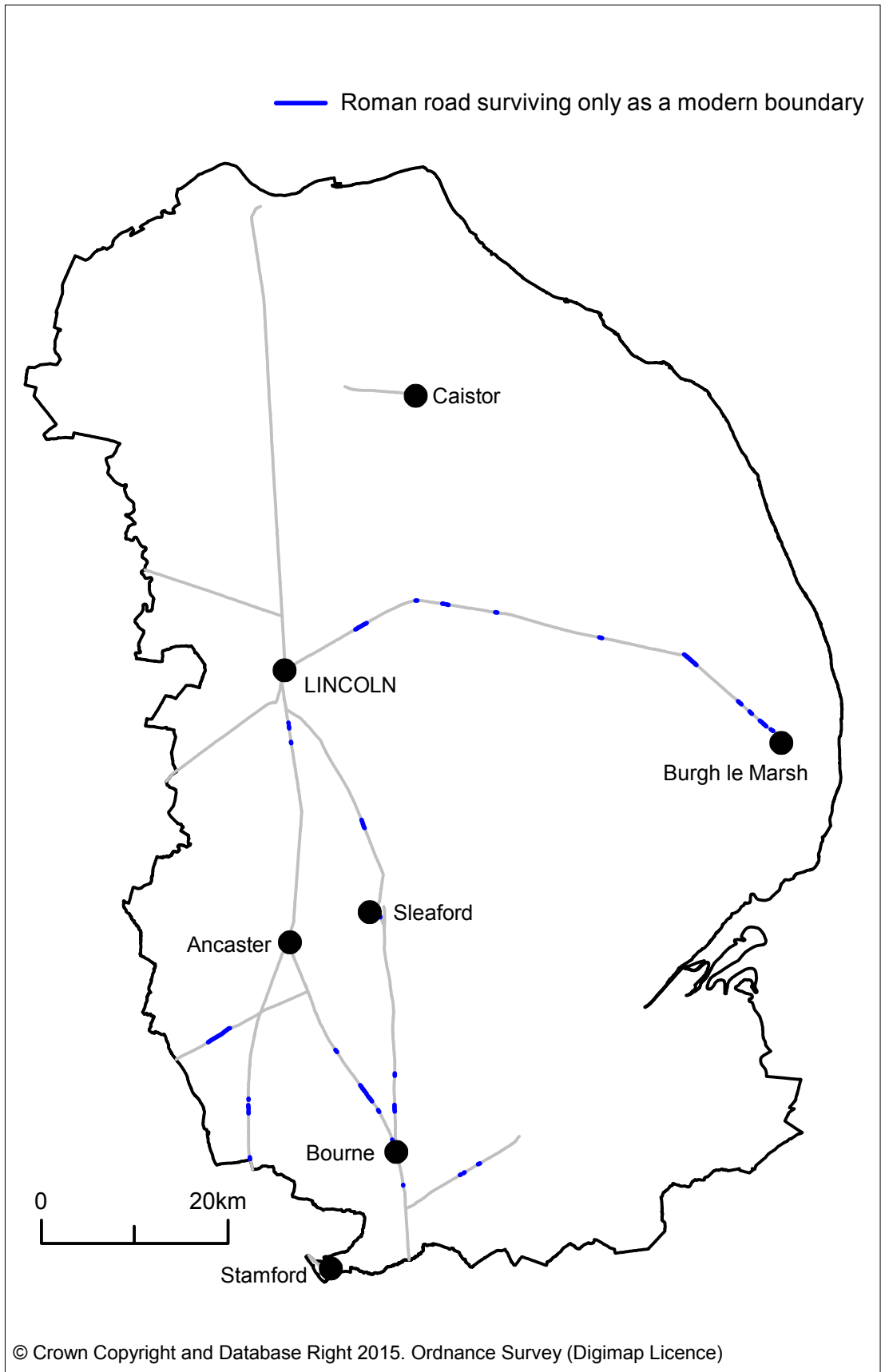
Figure 15. The survival of Roman roads as boundaries in Lincolnshire.
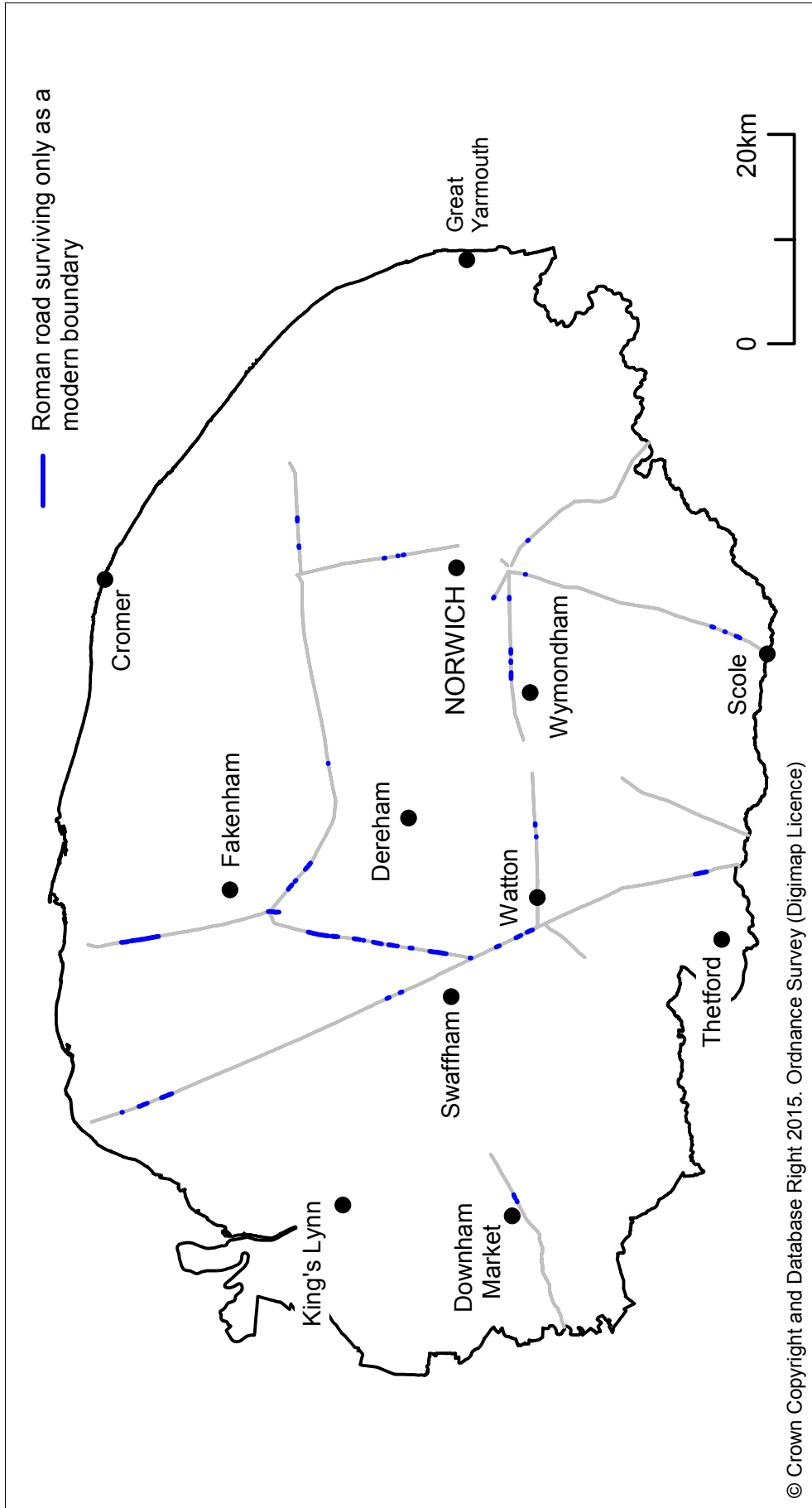
Figure 16. The survival of **Roman roads as boundaries** in Norfolk.

Roman road surviving only as a modern boundary

20km

0

Great Yarmouth

Cromer

NORWICH

Wymondham

Scole

Fakenham

Dereham

Watton

Swaffham

Thetford

King's Lynn

Downham Market

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

boundary survival these comprise 24% of its total length. This road has both unusually high levels of survival as boundaries and also as tracks and paths which, as already noted, may reflect the estate ownership of the surrounding land. Peddars Way has nine separate sections of boundary survival but these only constitute a relatively insignificant 7% of its total length.

The relationship between Roman roads and boundaries will be explored further in the Part Three of the thesis.

The Survival of Roman Roads as Earthworks

Only a very small proportion of the re-mapped road network in this thesis, *c*.1 km in both counties - equating to less than 1% by length in each case, has been recorded solely from earthwork evidence (Figure 17). Numerous other sections of road can be identified where the *agger* survives as an earthwork either beneath or adjacent to an extant road, track, or boundary. In these cases their other surviving form is more

Figure 17. Earthwork of the *agger* of the Billingford to Brampton Roman road visible as a slight ridge in the bracken on Marsham Heath, Norfolk.

significant than their existence as an earthwork and they have been included in the figures for those categories. Whilst the figures presented here must significantly under-represent the true level of the survival of the *agger* of the Roman roads as earthworks they clearly show that very little of the road network has survived solely as an earthwork after the road has gone out of use.

Conclusions

Comparison of the original known extent of the Roman road network of the study area with its modern survival reveals that significantly more remains in use today in Lincolnshire than in Norfolk. These differences are a direct result of the relative histories of the Roman road network in the two counties over the past sixteen centuries. Having established the maximum and minimum extents of the Roman road network in this chapter it is now possible in the following sections of the thesis, to examine its use and significance, and the processes affecting its survival and loss, since the end of the Roman period.

Part Two

Chapter 5: The Continued Use and Significance of Roman Roads in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period

Introduction

The early Anglo-Saxon period, broadly the fifth to mid seventh centuries, lies closest in time to the Roman period and consequently, as we have seen in Chapter Two, it is also the period for which the later history of Roman roads has most often been considered by archaeologists and historians. However, it is also the period for which there is the least direct evidence for the continued use and significance of the Roman road network. For the vast majority of this period no documentary sources are available describing journeys along identifiable routes and none that specifically indicate the use of the Roman road network within the study area. What little documentary evidence there is relating to the end of this period, was recorded in eighth-century sources and will be discussed in the following chapter.

The problem of the lack of contemporary documentary evidence is compounded by the fact that Roman roads do not in themselves provide much information about their continued use and significance since the end of the Roman period. Consequently, it is necessary to draw on archaeological evidence from locales on, and close to, the Roman road network and from this infer the importance of the roads in the fifth and sixth centuries. The locations best-placed to provide such information are those that already existed on the Roman road network at the end of the Roman period; essentially locales which were destinations at the time the roads were constructed. For the most part these 'existing locales' are former Roman nucleated settlements, ranging in size from small roadside villages like those at Hibaldstow and Sapperton, up to the major urban centres at Lincoln and Caistor St Edmund. If some form of activity was taking place at these existing locales in the fifth and sixth centuries it is very likely that the roads leading towards them also remained in use and significant as well.

Existing Locales and the Roman Road Network in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period

Typical of the archaeological evidence for the early Anglo-Saxon period as a whole the clearest evidence for activity at existing locales in the fifth and sixth centuries is provided by cemeteries rather than settlement remains (Lucy 1998, 2). Definite evidence for cremation-rite cemeteries has been recorded at several former Roman nucleated settlements within the study area.

At Ancaster, in Lincolnshire at least forty cremation burials of this period have been recorded from a cemetery located immediately adjacent to Ermine Street and approximately 100m south of the enclosed area of the settlement (Figure 18). There has been no modern excavation of the site and, although it lies within 25m of Ermine Street, the full extent of the cemetery and its exact relationship to the road are not clear. The close proximity of the cemetery to the Roman settlement has been considered as potentially being "evidence of virtual continuity of occupation" between the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods (Meaney 1964, 151). More recent metal detecting within Ancaster parish has produced artefacts of fifth to sixth century date suggestive of a second possible cemetery (Green 2012, 272-4) but it is impossible from the recorded information to determine whether or not it lies close to Ermine Street or the Roman settlement[12].

In Norfolk, two separate early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries are known from excavations at the major Roman settlement of *Venta Icenorum* at Caistor St Edmund: the Caistor-by-Norwich[13] site, and the Markshall cemetery (Myres and Green 1973). The excavations at the Caistor-by-Norwich cemetery revealed over 500 cremations adjacent to the Roman road leading southeast from the town (Figure 19). Although neither the full extent of the cemetery or the edge of the road were revealed in the excavation, comparison with cropmark evidence (Bales *et al.* 2010, Fig. 4.32) shows that the recorded burials extended to within at least 15m of the recorded course of the road. Although the Markshall cemetery does not lie immediately adjacent to any of

---

[12] It is suggested by Green (2012, 272-3) that these finds are from a different site to the cremation cemetery.

[13] This cemetery, which lies to the east of the town, is referred to by its published name of Caistor-by-Norwich to distinguish it from the Markshall cemetery. Both cemeteries now lie within Caistor St Edmund parish.

the recorded Roman roads leading into the former Roman settlement[14], its presence reinforces the evidence for activity at this locale in the early Anglo-Saxon period.
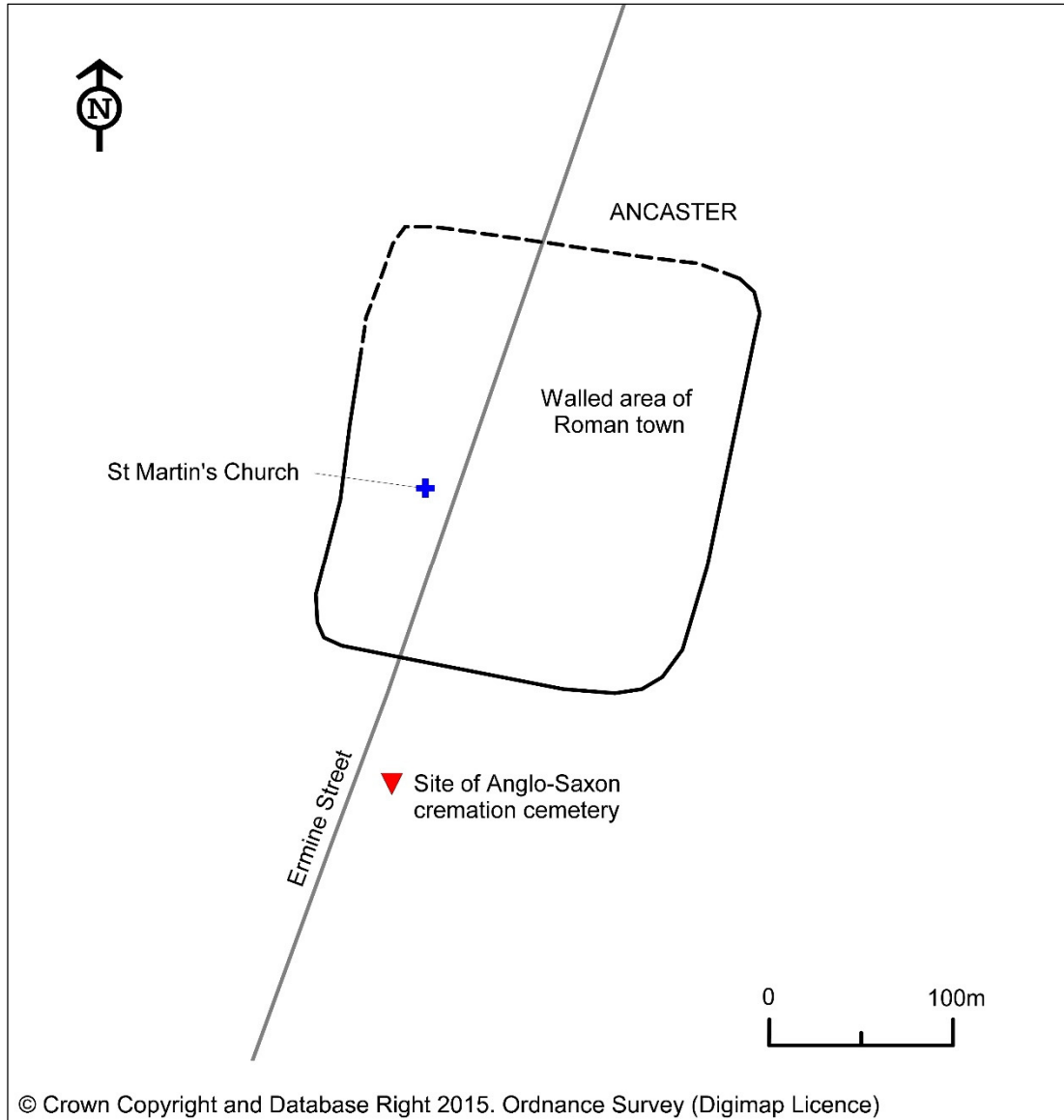
Figure 18. The location of the early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery and medieval St Martin's Church at Ancaster, Lincolnshire.

---

[14] The Pye Road is shown on Bryant's *Map of the County of Norfolk* (1826) continuing as a track along the north bank of the River Tas to Markshall Farm. There is no firm evidence to indicate that the track is a continuation of the Roman road and it was not included in the re-mapped road network of this thesis. However, if it was a Roman routeway of any sort it would pass within 90m of the site of the Markshall cemetery.
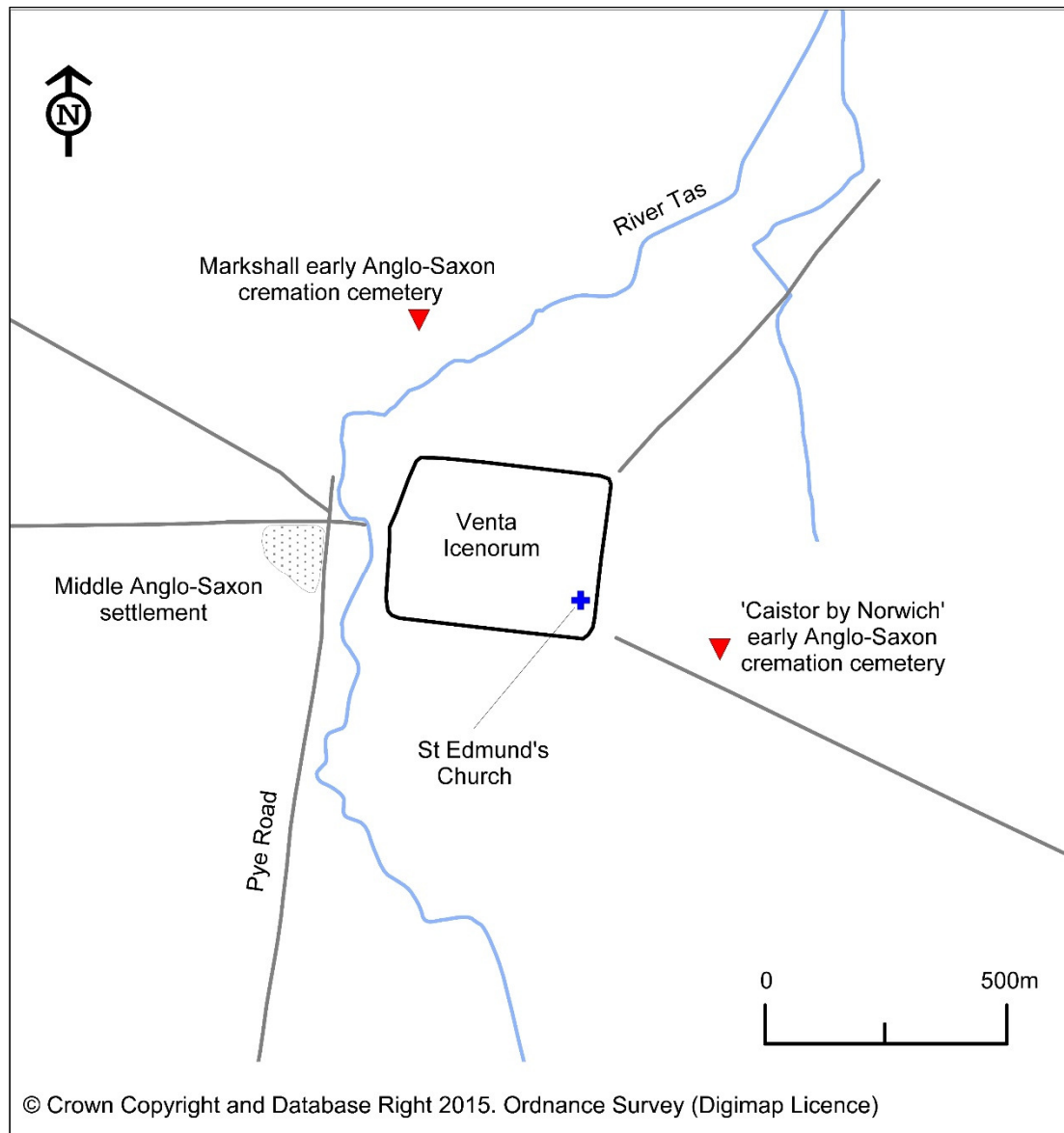
Figure 19. The location of the Caistor by Norwich and Markshall early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries at Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk.

Elsewhere, a further cremation cemetery is recorded approximately 700m to the west of Peddars Way at the former Roman nucleated settlement at Brettenham in Norfolk. However, the antiquarian accounts of discoveries at the site are confused, and the presence of several burials and early Anglo-Saxon brooches and other artefacts provide evidence for a second cemetery located adjacent to Peddars Way within the immediate area of the former Roman settlement (Meaney 1964, 169-70). W.G. Clarke described how these burials, "lay quite on the line of the Way" (1915, 56) indicating that they had a direct relationship with the Roman road.

The presence of known cemeteries at these three former Roman nucleated settlements in the fifth to sixth centuries provides clear evidence for activity at these existing locales on the Roman road network in the early Anglo-Saxon period. It is possible to infer from this that at least some of the Roman roads leading to these locales remained in use at this time. However, a more detailed examination of the relationship between the Ancaster and Caistor-by-Norwich cremation cemeteries and the Roman roads at these locations casts light on the potential significance, as well as the use, of the roads in the fifth and sixth centuries.

Both the Ancaster and Caistor-by-Norwich cemeteries are sited at extra-mural locations beside a main Roman road leading into the former Roman settlement. This positioning of the cemeteries is significant and is paralleled at other Roman urban settlements beyond the study area. For example, the sites of two cremation cemeteries at The Mount and Heworth at York lie within 40m and 270m of main roads leading into the Roman city (Tweddle *et al.* 1999, 167-71) and the Millgate cemetery at Newark on Trent in Nottinghamshire lies within 50m of the Foss Way just to the southwest of the Roman settlement underlying the modern town (Kinsley 1989). At Great Casterton, immediately outside of the Lincolnshire study area, early Anglo-Saxon inhumation burials have been recorded cut into the outer bank of the Roman settlement's defences (Whitwell 1992, 138). The extra-mural and roadside position of these early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries clearly echoes Roman burial practice (De la Bédoyère 1992, 116). It is noteworthy that the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Ancaster, Great Casterton and York lie on, or immediately adjacent to, Roman precursors and it has been suggested that Roman roadside funerary monuments may still have been extant at the York cemeteries during the fifth century (Tweddle *et al.* 1999, 167-71). Whether or not the close proximity of the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at these former Roman settlements represents actual continuity of funerary activity at the same site, but using changing mortuary practices and material culture, is impossible to determine from the available evidence. However, this apparent continuity of place strongly suggests that the extra-mural Roman cemetery sites and the roads to which they lay adjacent maintained a high level of significance, both separately and in combination, into the fifth, and possibly the sixth, centuries at these locales.

It has been suggested by Kevin Leahy that the wide spacing of large early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemeteries in the East Midlands implies that they each served 'folk groups' or communities living in the surrounding landscape (1993, 37). This hypothesis has implications for the contemporary use of the Roman road network. Centralised burial places require the movement of people through the landscape of the cemetery's hinterland, not just for the purpose of actually interring the dead but perhaps also for other ritual activity focussed on the site. Indeed, it has been suggested that large cremation cemeteries of this period may have functioned as more than just burial places. In a study of four sites in south Lincolnshire[15], Howard Williams argues that these and other similar cremation cemeteries may have acted as 'central places', akin to those identified in Scandinavia in the fifth to sixth centuries, evidence for which is otherwise absent in England. He observes that they, "were frequently in prominent and 'strategic' locations" and that;

> relationships identified with routes, Roman and prehistoric remains and distinctive topographic features may have encouraged and enhanced the cemeteries' roles as places where communal memories and identities were realised and reproduced (Williams 2002, 357-8).

If cremation cemeteries at former Roman nucleated settlements can be seen as central places this has implications for the continued significance of, not only the sites themselves in the fifth century, but also of the roads leading to them.

The interpretation of these cemeteries as central places also feeds into the debate about the continuity of political and administrative power in the Roman to 'Anglo-Saxon' transition period. As Williams outlines in his discussion of the Ancaster site, the positioning of these cemeteries has been seen by some as an indicator of continuity between the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods (e.g. Meaney 1964, 151) and by others as evidence for the presence of *foederati* – Germanic mercenaries brought in to protect the sub-Roman population (Williams 2002, 348). Alternatively, in light of Williams' work on the reuse of earlier monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial places (1997), the positioning of the cremation cemeteries could be seen as a later re-

---

[15] The sites that Williams considers are Ancaster, Baston, West Keal, and Loveden Hill.

appropriation of the site if there was a brief period of discontinuity between the end of Roman activity and the use of a site for further funerary activity in the fifth century.

Discussing the large cremation cemeteries as a whole, not just those at former Roman nucleated settlements, Williams suggested that the cemetery is perhaps just "the most archaeologically visible element of a much more complex set of sites which collectively constitute a central place" (2002, 358). Taking this approach, the former Roman nucleated settlements at which cremation cemeteries are located could perhaps themselves be seen as a key element, if not the principal element, of the central place, rather than just the cemetery fulfilling this role. The placing of the cremation cemeteries adjacent to the Roman roads at these sites could be purely practical, simply a product of ease of access. However, given that visiting these centralised locations would necessitate a journey to the site in the first place, pragmatism of burial place hardly seems to have been an over-riding concern in the fifth century. A more likely scenario whereby the cemeteries were deliberately and symbolically positioned beside the roads leading into, and out of, these locales can be suggested instead. In this model, the deliberate positioning of the cemeteries alongside the roads leading into the central place thus becomes all the more significant, in some cases referencing both the preceding Roman cemeteries and the approach to the central place itself. The cemeteries were intended to make a clear statement to travellers on the road, reinforcing the 'sense of place' and possibly marking the boundary of its core area. The prominence of the cemeteries at the approach to these locales may have deliberately held a range of meanings for different types of road-user: those who belonged to the central place's 'folk group', and those who were strangers passing through the area. In this context the Roman roads leading to these existing locales have to be seen as a highly significant element of the central places, connecting them, both physically and symbolically, with their hinterland.

By contrast with Ancaster, Caistor St Edmund, and York, no large early Anglo-Saxon cremation cemetery has been identified at Lincoln, or even within 25km of the city. This has been interpreted by Leahy as evidence for a sub-Roman power maintaining control of the city and its hinterland during the fifth and early sixth centuries (1993, 36; 2007a, 11). Whilst it does seem increasingly unlikely that a large cemetery at Lincoln would have escaped detection, this is still not impossible. However, from the perspective of this thesis its existence or not is somewhat academic. If Leahy's theory

is correct, then the presence of a sub-Roman centre at Lincoln during the fifth century would support the continued importance of the locale as a destination, potentially a central place, and the use and significance of the Roman roads leading into it at that time. Whatever the nature of the actual situation at Lincoln in the fifth to sixth centuries archaeological evidence for activity of this period both within, and immediately outside of, its walls is frustratingly sparse (Vince 2003a).

Although the presence of cemeteries at some former Roman nucleated settlements confirms that funerary practices were taking place at these locales in the fifth to sixth centuries, evidence of early Anglo-Saxon settlement activity at these sites is very limited. Billingford in Norfolk is a rare example of where direct evidence of settlement activity of this period has been excavated within the area of a former Roman settlement. Three post-built structures and one sunken-feature building were identified apparently respecting, if not actually fronting onto, a side-road within the Roman settlement (Wallis 2011, 31-5). Cropmark evidence recorded by the National Mapping Programme suggests that the side-road led towards a crossing over the River Wensum and possibly continued for a short distance to its south (*ibid*., Fig. 4) [16]. The full extent of the 'Anglo-Saxon' settlement evidence was not revealed within the excavation area and it may have continued closer to the main Roman road to Brampton which lay 300m to its north. Irrespective of how close it actually extended towards the Roman road, its presence at the former Roman settlement demonstrates continued, even if not necessarily continuous, settlement activity at this locale into the early Anglo-Saxon period.

The picture available for early Anglo-Saxon activity at other former Roman nucleated settlements within the study area is often very fragmentary, and in most cases comprises unstratified artefacts recovered by metal detecting. At Ancaster, artefacts of early Anglo-Saxon date have been found within the area of the Roman settlement, but no actual structural remains have been recorded. Artefactual evidence from the former Roman nucleated settlements at Burgh le Marsh, Navenby, and Hibaldstow in Lincolnshire and Brampton, Scole, and Long Stratton in Norfolk indicate some presence at these sites, but whether it relates to settlement activity, cemeteries, or

---

[16] Due to the short distance over which this side-road could be traced it was not considered to be part of the main Roman road network and was not included within the corpus of re-mapped roads in the thesis.

perhaps more likely both, remains uncertain. Even though modern archaeological excavations at some of these sites (e.g. Hibaldstow and Scole) have not revealed evidence of early Anglo-Saxon settlement activity this does not preclude its presence. Billingford may only be exceptional in that it has seen large-scale archaeological excavation in an area of former Roman settlement that contains early Anglo-Saxon settlement evidence, and not because the site continued to be occupied in this period. If the isolated early Anglo-Saxon finds known from former Roman settlements in the study area do relate to settlement activity of this period then there is perhaps a greater degree of continuity at these locales than has previously been thought to be the case (e.g. Rogerson 1996). Whilst this was certainly not urban in character, and cannot, based on current evidence, be considered to be representative of 'central place' activity, it nonetheless does suggest that these sites continued to function and have some significance into the fifth and sixth centuries. The status and political influence of any individuals or groups continuing to occupy these settlements is far from clear, and the extent to which they may have formed the seat of power for local elites in the early Anglo-Saxon period, as Davies has proposed for Caistor St Edmund (2001, 26), is open to debate. Nevertheless, if these places continued to be occupied in the early Anglo-Saxon period it is highly likely that the Roman roads leading to and from them also remained in use and retained their significance. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suggest that there is a direct correlation between the significance of the activity at the locales and the continued significance of the Roman roads. The more significant the locale, the greater the significance of the roads leading towards them was likely to have been.

'New' Locales on the Roman Road Network in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period

Evidence for the continued use and significance of the Roman road network in the early Anglo-Saxon period is not restricted to the immediate environs of former Roman nucleated settlements. Archaeological evidence of activity at 'new' locales along the corridors of Roman roads is also present in the form of cemetery evidence (Figures 20 and 21).
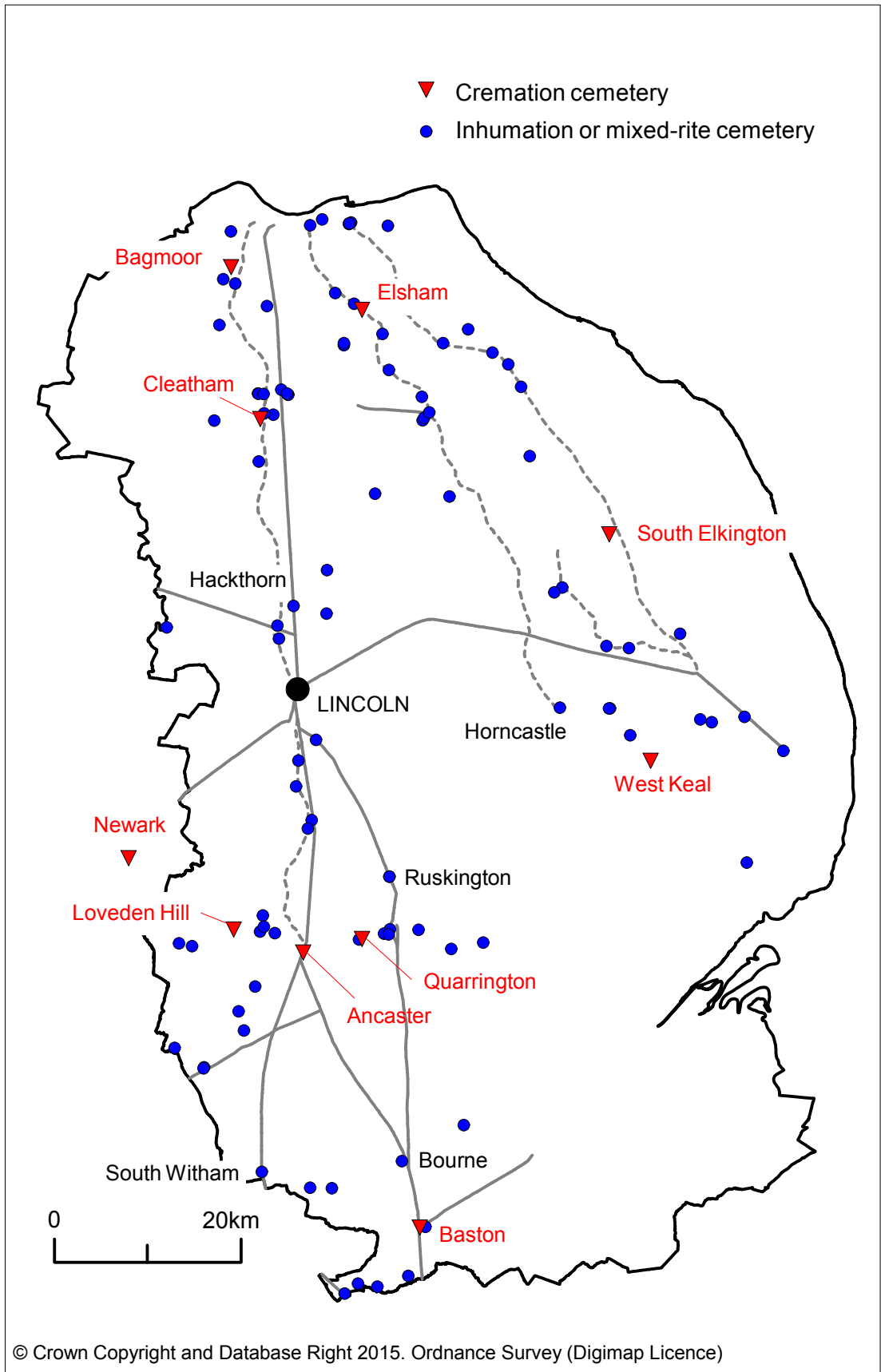
Figure 20. Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Lincolnshire.
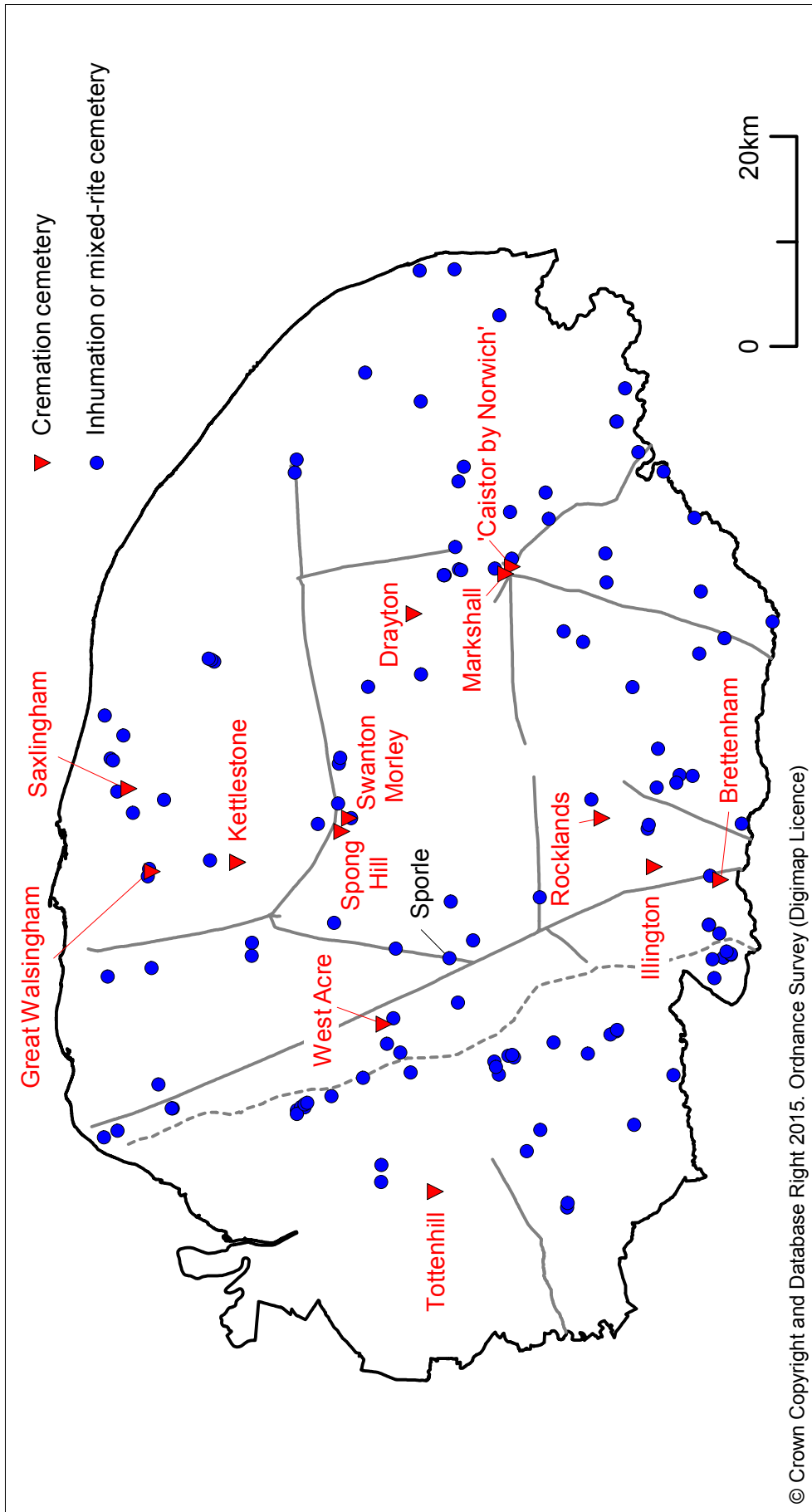
Figure 21. Early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Norfolk.

In addition to Ancaster, a second cremation cemetery in Lincolnshire with a close relationship to a Roman road is present at Baston in the south of the county. This cemetery was also discovered in the mid nineteenth century and over fifty cremation urns have been recovered from the site, mostly during the 1966 excavations (Mayes and Dean 1976). The site is located 130m to the south of the Baston Outgang road, 280m to the east of its junction with King Street Roman road. King Street here forms an important north-south route along the western fen edge and at this location also runs broadly parallel to the Car Dyke, a major Roman drainage channel. The position of the cemetery lies between a significant crossing point over the River Welland 5km to its south and the crossing of the River Glen 1km to the north. Whether the putative Roman settlement at Spalding, the probable eastern destination of the Baston Outgang, had already been abandoned by the fifth century due to marine transgression is not known and the significance of this road in the early Anglo-Saxon period is difficult to assess. However the partial survival of the Baston Outgang in the modern landscape at its western end closest to the cemetery suggests some continuity of use.

Unlike Ancaster, the Baston cemetery had no immediately adjacent Roman settlement, with that at Bourne lying 6km to the north and the one at Spalding 15km to the northeast, and appears to have been a deliberately selected 'new' locale. If, as Williams (2002, 358) suggests, cremation cemeteries of this period are associated with, but represent just the most visible element of, central places there is no reason why the Baston cemetery should not be seen in this way. Given the movement of people through the landscape implicit in centralised burial places, the positioning of the Baston cemetery at the junction of two Roman roads strongly suggests the continued use and significance of these routes in the fifth century irrespective of whether the site formed part of a central place or not.

A small number of early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries can be identified at new locales adjacent to Roman roads in both parts of the study area. The cemetery at Sporle in Norfolk was discovered when at least six inhumations were found during the levelling of three barrows in 1813 (Ashley and Penn 2012). A contemporary description of the location of the barrows by Goddard Johnson junior, accompanied by a sketch plan (Figure 22), noted that they lay adjacent to a, "road or bank about 12 feet wide on the top, raised three or Four feet above the level of the land, and is known, here by the name of the Walsingham way" (quoted in Ashley and Penn 2012,

Appendix 1)[17]. The Walsingham Way at this location followed the line of the North Pickenham to Toftrees Roman road and both its course and the location of the barrows are visible as soilmarks and cropmarks (*ibid*., 287; Fig. 2; Pl. 4).

The cropmark evidence suggest that at least one, if not all, of the barrows were Bronze Age monuments reused for secondary burials in the sixth century (*ibid*.), in which case the cemetery fits comfortably into the confirmed pattern of the re-use of existing monuments as burial places in the early Anglo-Saxon period (Williams 1997). Whilst, in this context the existing barrows might have been the primary reason for the selection of this location as a burial site in the sixth century, the relationship to the adjacent Roman road is not irrelevant. Although, the recent synthesis of the antiquarian discoveries focuses on the small group of burials found within the barrows,
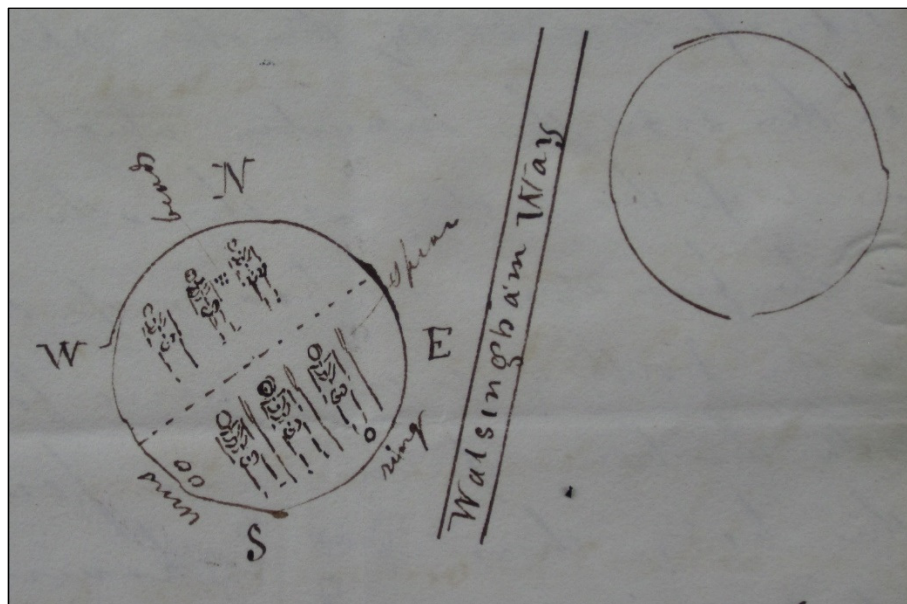
Figure 22. Samuel Woodward's copy of the sketch plan made by Goddard Johnson in 1814 showing the barrows and Anglo-Saxon burials adjacent to the Walsingham Way Roman road at Sporle. (Norwich Castle Museum, Woodward Corr. Vol. IV, 61. Photograph by Steven Ashley).

---

[17] The original manuscript is held by the Society of Antiquaries of London (MS Primeval Antiquities 55.1 p.107) but is fully transcribed in Ashley and Penn (2012).

it is clear from the contemporary accounts that these were part of larger cemetery. In his letter about the discoveries at Sporle, Goddard Johnson junior noted that;

> …about 9 or 10 years since, a Farmer in an adjoining village (Holme Hale) carted away some of this bank called Walsingham way, and in it was found a large quantity of Human Bones which were deposited in the Churchyard; I can't learn that any urns, coins or weapons were found with them (quoted in Ashley and Penn 2012, Appendix 1)[18].

The absence of any recorded grave goods from these burials doesn't mean that they were not present, and it is plausible that they too were early Anglo-Saxon and formed part of a related cemetery[19]. The important point here, however, is their relationship with the Roman road. The burials are described as having been found *in* the bank (i.e. the *agger*) of the Walsingham Way, a stratigraphic relationship that implies an Anglo-Saxon date, and one that is paralleled at other sites within the study area and beyond.

The cemetery at Ruskington in Lincolnshire, which lies immediately adjacent to Bloxholm Lane, has produced over 180 early Anglo-Saxon inhumations since the nineteenth century (Atkin and Healey 1995). The road is no longer extant but its course to both the north and south of the site has been recorded from cropmark evidence by the National Mapping Programme (Winton 1998, Fig. 11). A possible Roman roadside ditch, cut by burials, was identified during excavations at the cemetery site in the 1970s but no evidence for the *agger* was present (Atkin and Healey 1995). However, the additional information about the alignment of the road provided by the National Mapping Programme suggests that this may have been an outer ditch and that the *agger* lay slightly further to the west. It appears that burials were cut into the verge of the Roman road at this cemetery and it is probable, though unproven, that they extended westwards onto the line of the *agger*.

A further example of probable early Anglo-Saxon burials being found within a Roman road is recorded on Ermine Street at South Witham in Lincolnshire. Stukeley noted in

---

[18] Neither the Walsingham Way Roman road nor the medieval pilgrimage route pass through, or along the boundary of, Holme Hale parish and the implication is that it is broadly the same location as the barrows that is being referred to in this passage.

[19] However, as we have seen in Chapter Two, a later judicial cemetery at the same location as the early Anglo-Saxon barrow burials cannot be ruled out.

a letter in 1740 that burials had been found, "in digging up a bit of the Roman road on Witham Common" (cited in Meaney 1964, 165-6). In later correspondence he refers to other burials being found alongside Ermine Street at the same location. The nature of the artefacts recorded with these burials: long knives, spearheads, and urns strongly suggest an early Anglo-Saxon date. In light of these sites, it is likely that the burials at Brettenham, which Clarke had described as being, "quite on the line of the Way" (1915, 56), were actually also placed in the *agger*, but this cannot be confirmed.

Beyond the study area examples of early Anglo-Saxon burials within the *agger* of Roman roads have been recorded in the Foss Way at Cotgrave in Nottinghamshire (Meaney 1964, 200) and within Watling Street at Churchover in Warwickshire (*ibid*., 259-60). It is notable that, with the exception of Ruskington, in all of these instances where early Anglo-Saxon burials are recorded within the *agger*, the sections of Roman roads in question remained in use as some form of thoroughfare into the modern period. The section of Walsingham Way at Sporle was removed shortly after the enclosure of the parish in 1806 (Ashley and Penn 2012, 286; Pl. 3). The sections of Ermine Street, Foss Way, and Watling Street at South Witham, Cotgrave, and Churchover all remain in use today, albeit in a heavily modified form, as the A1, A46, and A5 trunk roads. Peddars Way at Brettenham also survives in use as a track and long-distance footpath.

The placing of burials within Roman roads that still remain in use has previously posed something of a conundrum. Some writers have taken these burials as evidence for the abandonment, or very minimal use, of Roman roads in the early Anglo-Saxon period prior to them returning to use as roads at a later date. Bruce Eagles considered that an instance of burials being cut in Ermine Street at Hackthorn in Lincolnshire, then believed to be of early Anglo-Saxon date[20], related to "a time when this part of the Roman road had been abandoned and was used merely as a boundary" (1979, 164). However, as we have seen in Chapter Two, the idea of roads going out of use for

---

[20] The burials cut into Ermine Street at Hackthorn have previously been considered to be of early Anglo-Saxon date because of their relationship with the Roman road (Eagles 1979, 164; Williams 1997, 9). However, a reassessment of the evidence in Chapter Ten below suggests they are more likely to relate to an execution cemetery dating from between the eighth and twelfth centuries.

significant periods and then being reinstated in this way has been soundly dismissed by Oliver Rackham (1986, 257) and is not a model that is accepted in this thesis.

What previous discussion of early Anglo-Saxon burials cut into Roman roads has failed to appreciate is that the *agger* was not the only part of the road that was used as a thoroughfare. As already outlined in Chapter Three, the *agger* was often flanked by verges or lanes, on one or both sides, with all parts of the road corridor being used. It is possible that in the early Anglo-Saxon period the *agger* was not always being used by travellers, but that traffic of all kinds was, at these locations at least, using one of the parallel side-lanes or verges in this period. In this scenario burials could be placed into the *agger* without impinging on the use of the roads and there is no reason to assume that these routeways had to have been abandoned in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

The placing of these cemeteries adjacent to, and within, Roman roads is highly significant and may have been used to send similar messages to those conveyed by the central place cremation cemeteries at former Roman settlements. It is possible that the positioning of the cemetery, and more specifically the placing of burials directly in the *agger*, was a symbolic appropriation of the road itself, with the ancestral dead controlling the road's use, or exercising spiritual control to protect, or ward off, those travelling along it. This accords well with Pauline Stafford's more general view of how "the dead and their ambiguous power were turned to the protection of the community" (1985, 172) and also with Williams' interpretation of the meaning of the re-use of earlier sites, such as Bronze Age barrows, as early Anglo-Saxon burial places (1997). In this context Roman roads have to be seen as active elements in the landscape of the period that were imbued with a range of different, symbolism rather than as just lines of communication that were travelled without any thought as to their meaning. As we have already seen in Chapter Two, it has been suggested that the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were placed on territorial boundaries (Bonney 1966; 1972; 1979; Goodier 1984) and that these land-holdings were sometimes defined by Roman roads. This aspect of the relationship between the cemeteries and roads is considered further in Chapter Ten, but it is worth noting here that it reinforces the significance of the Roman roads in this period with the placing of the burials on, and in, their line making a clear statement to road users, irrespective of whether or not they also acted as boundaries.

In addition to sites where multiple burials have actually been excavated, there are a number of cases where metal-detected finds or other chance discoveries suggest the presence of an early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemetery adjacent to a Roman road. For example, brooches and other artefacts found within 40m of Peddars Way at North Pickenham; a burial associated with a sherd of early Anglo-Saxon pottery found about 75m south of the Roman road through Watton; and brooches and beads found adjacent to Ermine Street at Welbourn in Lincolnshire (White 1988) probably all relate to cemeteries of this period but it is impossible to tell whether or not they too included burials cut into the *agger*.

A further type of early Anglo-Saxon burial site within the study area comprises single high-status graves. The evidence for these burials in Lincolnshire has been reviewed by Everson (1993, 93-8). One site, a barrow burial at Caenby, stands out both in terms of the quality of the evidence and its landscape setting. The Caenby barrow was excavated in 1849 and contained the fragmentary remains of a princely burial dating to the seventh century. The barrow mound is no longer extant but stood on slightly raised ground approximately 280m to the east of Ermine Street, from which it would have been clearly visible[21] (Figure 23). Everson has highlighted that the barrow was also located within sight of the junction of Ermine Street and another major long-distance route approximately half a kilometre to the northwest at Caenby Corner. This second route extends west to east from the River Trent at Gainsborough onto the watershed between the Ancholme and Langworth river systems although its exact date is uncertain (*ibid*., 93-4). It is very likely that the Caenby Corner junction represented the crossing of two major routes by the early Anglo-Saxon period, and it seems safe enough to conclude that the Caenby barrow was positioned to be visible to travellers using these two routes. Whether or not the crossroads already had significance as a central place akin to that represented by the large cremation cemeteries prior to the construction of the barrow is hard to ascertain. However, the position of the crossroads

---

[21] Although not specifically labelled as a barrow, the mound appears to be depicted on Bryant's *Map of the County of Lincoln* (1828). At the time of its excavation the barrow was recorded as being 110' (33m) in diameter and standing 8' (2.5m) high (Jarvis 1850 cited in Everson 1993).

St Edmund's Chapel

Spital in the Street

N

To Gainsborough

Caenby Corner

To Market Rasen

Ermine Street

Site of Caenby Anglo-Saxon Barrow

0   500m

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)
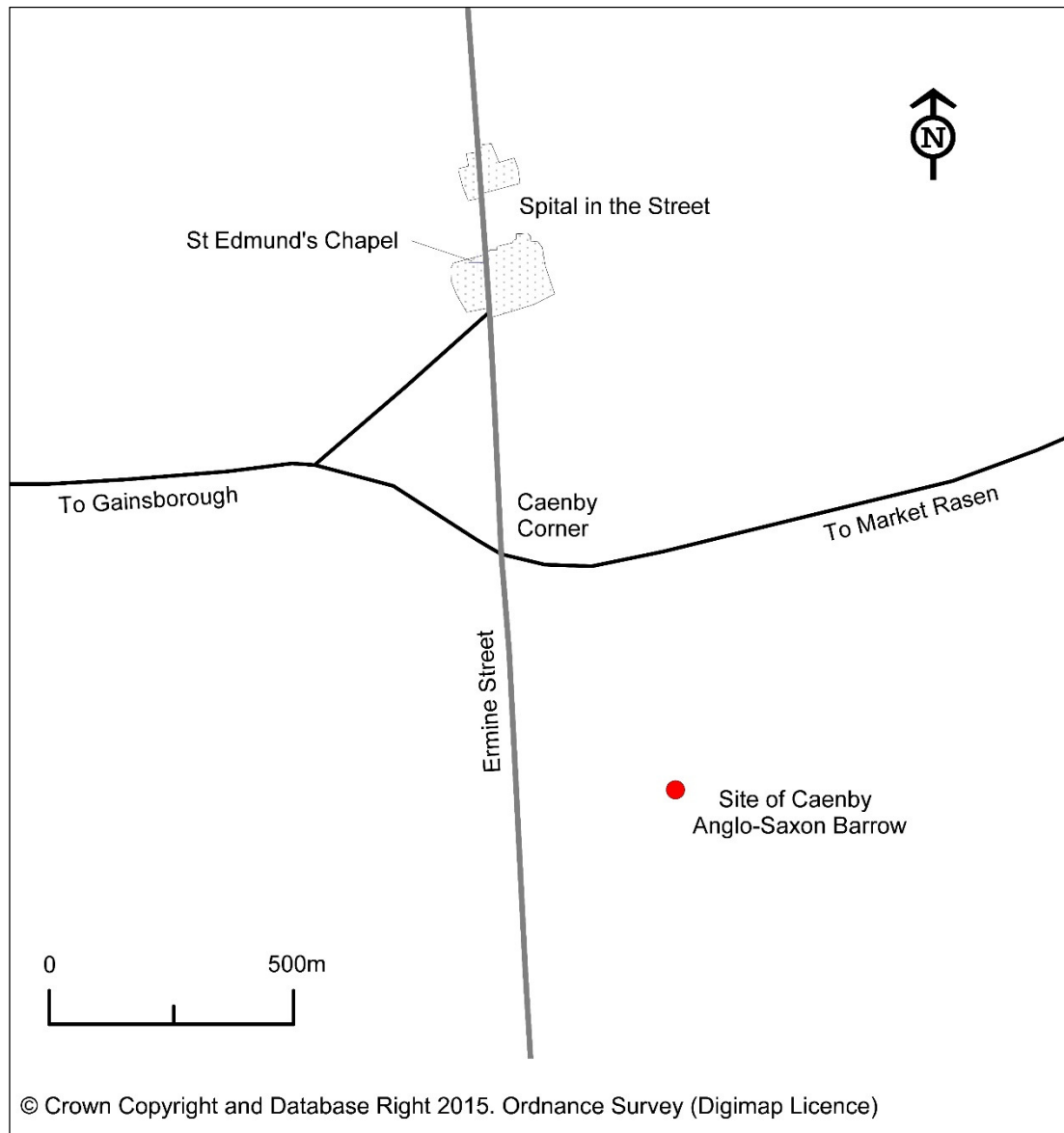
Figure 23. The location of the Anglo-Saxon barrow at Caenby, Lincolnshire.

at the centre of Aslacoe wapentake[22], and the later use of Spital as a meeting place for the West Riding, if not the whole, of Lindsey strongly indicate its continued use and significance and of the routes leading towards it (Everson 1993, 96).

Although new locations on the Roman road network were used as funerary sites in the early Anglo-Saxon period, away from former Roman sites this was not the case with the contemporary settlements. Wherever the communities who chose to bury their

---

[22] Like many wapentake and hundred names, Aslacoe refers to a barrow which is likely to have been the actual assembly place. In this case 'Aslak's Mound' (Cameron 2001, 133) may be a direct reference to the Caenby barrow.

dead alongside Roman roads at sites such as Ruskington and Sporle actually lived, it does not appear to have been in a location immediately adjacent to the road. On balance, this is perhaps not surprising. Excavated evidence from early Anglo-Saxon settlements indicates that they were agrarian in character and, as far as can be ascertained, they were probably operating on a largely subsistence basis (Fowler 2002). The factors determining settlement locations would be access to land, water, and other resources, not proximity to a long-distance communication route.

Somewhat ironically, given that he was misinterpreting the sites of medieval villages as having been established in the fifth and sixth centuries, E.T. Leeds was largely correct to observe that the reason why early Anglo-Saxon settlements were not located on Roman roads was because the roads were not favourably positioned in relation to the best agricultural land or natural resources (1913, 17). If anything, it is likely that there was even less advantage to be gained by a settlement location in close proximity to a Roman road in the fifth to sixth centuries than there had been in the Roman period. Without a market economy and agricultural surpluses to be disposed of at nearby towns through sale or taxation, access to Roman roads may have had little bearing on the day-to-day life of most early Anglo-Saxon settlements.

Other Evidence for Long-Distance Travel in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period

The evidence from existing and new locales on the Roman road network indicates that a variety of activities were taking place alongside the roads during the early Anglo-Saxon period. However, whilst these sites support the idea that Roman roads remained in use and significant during this period it does not in itself provide evidence of long-distance travel and communications. Such evidence would perhaps be recorded in documentary sources, but, as noted at the start of this chapter, as these do not exist for this period we have to look to the artefactual remains.

Evidence from furnished graves demonstrates that individuals in early Anglo-Saxon society had access to a wide range of imported artefacts. As outlined in a study by J.W. Huggett (1988) these included amber beads, ivory rings, rock crystal beads and balls, glass vessels, cowrie shells, and exotica such as 'Coptic' bowls. Whilst the

overall distributions of these artefacts across the country may provide some indication of variations in the accessibility of such material culture or social choices concerning their use, the items themselves are highly portable and do little to elucidate inland 'trade' routes. The items may have changed hands many times before they were finally buried as grave goods and it is impossible to suggest their movement along any particular routes, let alone Roman roads. As Huggett highlighted there is a broad spectrum of different mechanisms by which such goods may have been passed from one individual or group to another including "barter, gift exchange, marriage, warfare, alliance, diplomatic gifts, tribute, redistribution, peripatetic traders, prestige goods exchange, regularized long-distance trade and market exchange" (*ibid*., 89). Many, but by no means all, of these would have required travel with the potential for those involved to be using Roman roads.

Nevertheless, some artefactual evidence can be seen as providing a stronger case for long-distance travel in early Anglo-Saxon England and with it the use of the Roman roads within the study area. Analysis of the decorative styles of cremation urns and the stamps used to create some of the designs on them has resulted in the identification of a number of different stylistic groups that have been attributed to individual potters or workshops. One of these, the Sancton-Baston potter, is characterised by both a particular set of stamps used to decorate the vessels and similarities in their overall decorative scheme (Arnold 1983 cited in Arnold 1997). These cremation urns have a widespread geographical distribution suggesting contact and communication throughout the main cremation cemetery zone of eastern England. Sancton-Baston urns linked by the use of the same stamps have been found at Sancton, Elsham, Baston, and Cleatham (Arnold 1997, 128-30; Leahy 2007a, 128) with further links on stylistic grounds to urns found at Newark on Trent, Loveden Hill, Spong Hill, Illington, and possibly also Melton Mowbray in Leicestershire (*ibid*.; Hills and Lucy 2013, 321-2). Analysis of the pottery fabrics of these vessels has demonstrated that in a number of cases they were manufactured close to their place of deposition. Consequently it has been suggested that it was the potters who were moving around the country and manufacturing urns at different locations, rather than it being the finished vessels that were being traded or otherwise distributed. The trade or exchange of the dies used to make the stamped decorations independent of the potters could be used to explain the

spread of vessels linked by the use of the same stamps but does not account for accompanying stylistic similarities between urns in different cemeteries.

If then, it is accepted that the Sancton-Baston vessels were being made by the same individual, family, or group using the same set of dies, the wide geographical spread of their products necessitates long-distance travel and communication. In this context, the locations at which Sancton-Baston vessels have been found is particularly important. With the exception of Loveden Hill and Melton Mowbray, all of the cremation cemeteries at which the Sancton-Baston urns have been identified lie less than 2km from Roman roads or unimproved routeways. It is tempting to infer from this that the Sancton-Baston potter(s) may have travelled between these locations using the relatively direct connections that these roads and routeways provided. However, we have no clear idea of the timescale over which the urns were manufactured or deposited at different cemeteries nor whether they represent a single linear journey between all of the sites or multiple trips with return visits to individual locations. Whilst it is easy to see Roman roads or unimproved routeways as integral to long-distance travel of this kind, the same geographical area could easily have been covered by a series of short sequential journeys on minor routes over a period of many years, even decades. It also needs to be remembered that the cremation cemeteries lying close to the major routeways were not generally the same locations as the associated settlements, which might have provided better opportunities for itinerant potters or other craftspeople to engage with communities. If however, as has already been suggested, the large cremation cemeteries functioned as, or were associated with, central places, these sites may have provided a location at which such community-craftsperson interactions could indeed have taken place.

Unimproved Routeways in the Early Anglo-Saxon Period

One of the research themes examined in this thesis is the comparative histories of the main Roman road network and the identifiable unimproved routeways. Before concluding this chapter the evidence for activity along unimproved routeways during the fifth and sixth centuries will be compared with that along the main Roman road network considered in this thesis. As has already been noted, the majority of the

definable unimproved routeways within the study area are located in Lincolnshire and consequently the discussion here will focus mainly on the evidence from that county.

Former Roman nucleated settlements are present at a number of locations on unimproved routeways in Lincolnshire (Figure 9). Although none of these have a large cremation cemetery associated with them, there is evidence for activity at some of these locales in the early Anglo-Saxon period which is comparable with other sites in the study area. Two inhumations, one of which was dated to the sixth century, have been found within the walled area of the Roman settlement at Horncastle along with other burials recorded from in, and around, the town (White 1981; Leahy 1993, 40). A significant quantity of late Roman and early Anglo-Saxon metal artefacts have been recorded from the area of the Roman settlement at Kirmington, which lies close to Barton Street but whether these relate to settlement or funerary activity is unknown (Whitwell 1995, 102). Three penannular brooches, usually interpreted as being of British origin and dating to the fifth to sixth centuries, have also been recorded from Kirmington and it has been suggested that they could indicate sub-Roman survival of the settlement at this locale (Leahy 2007b, 84). However, as with the similar suggestion for Lincoln, the cultural identity of those present at the site in the fifth to sixth centuries is less important here than the fact that there was some activity taking place at the locale. Whether the occupants were culturally 'British', 'Anglo-Saxon' or a mixture of both, the continued use of the site supports the continued use of the routeways leading to it in this period.

Away from the former Roman nucleated settlements, two of the large cremation cemeteries in Lincolnshire also have close spatial relationships with unimproved routeways (Figure 20). The large cremation cemetery at Cleatham lies on the edge of the Lincoln Cliff escarpment 2.4km to the west of Ermine Street (Leahy 2007a). This distance is too great to suggest that there is any strong relationship between the location of the cemetery and the Roman road. However, the position of the cemetery on the edge of the escarpment places it on the Middle Street unimproved routeway. Although at Cleatham the modern B1398 road lies approximately 500m east of the edge of the escarpment, and also to the east of the cemetery, this does not necessarily represent the historic course of the routeway. It is possible that the course of this routeway at Cleatham lay on the edge of the escarpment in the early Anglo-Saxon period and that the cemetery was located immediately adjacent to it. The cemetery

also lies *c*.500m to the north of the Mount Pleasant Roman villa site, raising the possibility that smaller Roman locales such as this could have become the foci of central places in the same way that larger nucleated settlements appear to have done. If so, the proximity of both the villa and the cemetery to the unimproved routeway is highly significant and comparable to that of sites on main Roman roads.

The relationship of the Cleatham cemetery to an unimproved routeway is paralleled at the Elsham cremation cemetery on the western edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds. This site lies directly on the Caistor High Street unimproved routeway which at Elsham is called Middlegate Lane. During the rescue excavation of the site in 1976 the western extent of the cemetery could not be established as it appeared to continue beneath the modern course of Middlegate Lane (Webster and Cherry 1977, 209-10). At the time of the excavation it was hoped that the exact relationship between the cemetery and the extant course of the road would be established through further fieldwork. The excavation remains unpublished and it is unknown if any further clarification of this relationship was achieved. However, the evidence would strongly suggest that the cemetery was positioned to have a very close relationship with this routeway.

The cemetery at South Elkington on the eastern edge of the Wolds may lie within 800m of Barton Street but the exact course of this unimproved routeway is difficult to determine at this point. In any case, Barton Street appears to follow a route along the foot of the escarpment and would not necessarily have been inter-visible with the cemetery on the hilltop.

The cremation cemetery at Illington in Norfolk is also worthy of note in this context. Excavations at this site in the mid twentieth century revealed about 200 cremations although the total size of the cemetery was estimated to be double this (Davison *et al*. 1993). Peddars Way lies approximately 2km to the west of the cemetery, which, like Cleatham, is too far to infer any strong link between the two. However, the cemetery site is located adjacent to an extant west-east routeway through the parish which crosses Peddars Way. This road was known as *Buckenham Way* in 1577 (*ibid*., Fig. 6) but its antiquity is uncertain and it could feasibly have been in existence as a long-distance routeway when the cemetery was in use. However, the presence of only the Icknield Way as an acknowledged unimproved routeway in Norfolk, albeit with an uncertain course, means that the potential to identify relationships between early

Anglo-Saxon activity foci and such routes is very limited. An important multi-period site, including early Anglo-Saxon cemetery and probable settlement activity is known at Congham (Davies 2010). Whilst the scale and longevity of this site make it a strong candidate for a central place, its relationship to the line of the Icknield Way remains unproven. As has rightly been pointed out, beyond the Roman road network in Norfolk, the "other tracks or paths used in early Anglo-Saxon times are not known at all" (Chester-Kadwell 2013, 289).

As Figure 20 shows, inhumation cemeteries are present along all of the unimproved routeways in Lincolnshire. Whilst not all of these sites lie immediately adjacent to the course of the routeway in its modern form[23], some are sufficiently close to suggest an association. The cemeteries at Fonaby (Cook 1981) and Searby both lie immediately adjacent to Caistor High Street; those at Waddington and Wellingore are next to the southern continuation of Middle Street; and the Tetford cemetery lies alongside the Bluestone Heath Road (Leahy 1993; Green 2012). Whilst a string of inhumation cemeteries appear to follow the line of Barton Street on the eastern edge of the Wolds it is unclear whether any of these actually lie adjacent to the routeway.

Whilst our understanding of the form of these unimproved routeways would suggest that there was never an *agger* present into which burials could be placed, it is possible that they may have acted as boundaries and that these cemeteries also represent boundary burials. If the routeways did act as boundary features in the early Anglo-Saxon period, this may have implications for their original form, perhaps suggesting that they were present in the landscape as clearly defined routes rather than the broad corridors of communication as Harrison has suggested for the Icknield Way (2003).

The uncertainty about their routes means that it is also difficult to determine the relationship between unimproved routeways and early Anglo-Saxon settlements. On the one hand their more organic form compared to engineered Roman roads means that they have potential to follow courses across the landscape between locations that were conducive to settlement activity in the pre-Roman, Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods. However, if their primary function was, for whatever purpose, as long-distance communication routes rather than a series of local inter-settlement links, there

---

[23] It should be noted that the scale of the map gives a slightly misleading impression of the proximity of some of these sites to the Romanised routeways. However the sites named above do all lie adjacent to the modern course of the roads.

may be no particular reason why they should connect minor settlements of any of these periods. Where a spatial relationship can be determined, unimproved routeways do not appear to have been any more attractive as locations for early Anglo-Saxon settlements than main Roman roads. Many of the routeways within the study area act as ridgeways following the line of a watershed, whereas settlements are located within the valleys closer to the water resources. This is the case with Middle Street, which follows the Trent-Ancholme watershed along the top of the Lincoln Cliff, where fieldwalking surveys have demonstrated that early Anglo-Saxon settlements are consistently located on the spring-line at the foot of the escarpment away from the unimproved routeway (Albone 2000).

Identifying Early Anglo-Saxon Road-Loss

Two of the principal research questions that this thesis seeks to address relate to why and when parts of the Roman road network went out of use. It has been argued above that continued activity at former Roman nucleated settlements and the placing of cemeteries at new locations on Roman roads indicates that they remained significant and in use during the early Anglo-Saxon period. However, it is not possible to identify such relationships for all of the roads within the study area, and it remains possible that some of those which no longer survive in use today did cease to exist in the fifth to sixth centuries. However, the absence of evidence from which their use can be inferred, does not necessarily mean that they did fall out of use during the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Conclusions

Despite knowing more about the early Anglo-Saxons in death than in everyday life, it is possible to deduce much about the significance and use of Roman roads in this period. If we accept that they did not go out of use and then later get reinstated, the fact that many Roman roads remained in use during the fifth to seventh centuries is incontrovertible and is attested by their survival to the present day. Even so, what we can conclude about the use and significance of Roman roads during this period is governed by the nature and type of the available evidence.

The overarching research theme most relevant to this period is that of change and continuity during the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition. As we have seen, there is evidence for 'non-urban' settlement and funerary activity at some former Roman nucleated settlements in this period suggesting a degree of continuity at these locales. Some of these sites may effectively have functioned as ordinary 'rural' settlements whilst others, such as Ancaster and Caistor St Edmund, appear to have maintained, or achieved, greater significance as central places. The extra-mural roadside location of the cemeteries at these central place sites strongly supports continuity of place, if not some continuity of activity, at these locales. These cremation cemeteries demonstrate most clearly that the Roman roads leading into these destinations were both still in use and significant in the fifth to sixth centuries, a pattern that can be extrapolated to other sites. The overall picture is one of 'continuity of place' at former Roman nucleated settlements during the early Anglo-Saxon period, rather than abandonment. Moreover, it is a continuity that involved the ongoing use of the Roman road network and which thus extended beyond the settlements into the surrounding countryside. As a consequence, Roman roads have to be seen as a key element within any models of the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition period.

The placing of cemeteries on Roman roads at locations away from former Roman settlements demonstrates that the continued significance of the roads was not restricted to the immediate environs of these locales. Roman roads were just as significant as routeways, and potentially also as boundaries[24] to some rural communities in this period as they were to the activities taking place at the former Roman nucleated settlements. The discovery within this thesis that the placing of burials within the *agger* of Roman roads was a more widespread practice than has hitherto been recognised makes an important contribution to our understanding of the landscape setting of early Anglo-Saxon period burial sites; a theme that is identified within the East Midlands archaeological research agenda (Knight *et al*. 2012).

Although it can be concluded that Roman roads were significant in the wider landscape, the available evidence does not allow a clear picture of rural settlement patterns in the fifth to sixth centuries to be established in relation to the Roman road network. However, what evidence there is suggests that settlements of this period were

---

[24] See Chapter Ten.

not attracted to locations adjacent to Roman roads. Nor were settlements particularly drawn to unimproved routeways either. The pattern of relationships, and inferred use of, unimproved routeways is broadly comparable to that of the main Roman roads and, as far as can be ascertained, it is likely that they shared a similar status as long-distance routeways in the landscape of this period.

Chapter 6: The Continued Use and Significance of Roman Roads in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period

Introduction

The two hundred or so years of the middle Anglo-Saxon period saw significant changes in the politics, religion, economy, and settlement patterns of the study area. Small political units coalesced into large kingdoms through both peaceful means and military action. The conversion to Christianity brought with it churches and monasteries and the abandonment of earlier religious practices and funerary sites. The reintroduction of a monetary economy and commercially produced goods provided an increased impetus for long-distance trade and exchange in this period evidenced in the archaeological record. Changes in the pattern of settlements occurred as farmsteads shifted from existing sites to new locations and became more stabilised in the landscape. All of these different interconnected processes resulted in changes in the landscape and all had potential to be influenced in some way by the surviving Roman road network.

Evidence for Long-Distance Travel and the Use of the Roman Road Network in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period

From the early seventh century onwards documentary sources provide some indication of long-distance travel taking place both within and beyond the study area. Despite the vast majority of surviving documentary sources from this period having been produced for ecclesiastical purposes, and thus providing a somewhat biased view of middle Anglo-Saxon life, they cast an important light on events and journeys, both religious and secular. Whilst the sources do not make any direct references to travel on Roman roads the use of these can in some cases be inferred, taking us some way towards an understanding of how, and by whom, the Roman road network was being used during this period.

However, the information contained within the surviving sources for this period is by no means evenly spread across both parts of the study area. Although only limited mention is made of events and places in Lincolnshire in early sources, these references are far more numerous than for Norfolk which, along with East Anglia in general, suffers from a paucity of documentary evidence (Hoggett 2010a, 22-3). Consequently much of what we can conclude about the use of the Roman road network during the middle Anglo-Saxon period from the documentary sources relates to the Lincolnshire part of the study area.

The geographical location of the kingdom of Lindsey in the northern part of Lincolnshire placed it at the heart of one of the major political events of the seventh century, namely the power struggle between the adjacent kingdoms of Mercia and Northumbria. These events are documented in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and have been discussed in detail in previous works covering the northern part of the study area (e.g. Stafford 1985, 96-7; Sawyer 1998, 56-8). Although the recorded events of the seventh-century wars were largely played out to the north, west, and southwest of the Lincolnshire study area, they have much to contribute to the discussion about the use and significance of Roman roads at this time.

The kingdom of Northumbria had been formed by the merging of at least two smaller kingdoms; Deira, which lay immediately to the north of the Humber and thus effectively bordered onto Lindsey, and Bernicia which lay to the north of the Tees. Bede recorded that Edwin, the exiled son of the previous Deiran king, "wandered secretly as a fugitive for many years through many places and kingdoms" before arriving at the court of King Raedwald in East Anglia (HE II.12). Raedwald subsequently accompanied Edwin in a successful battle against Northumbria in 616 in which its ruler Æthelfrith was killed. The battle itself is believed to have taken place just to the west of Lindsey near the River Idle and close to the continuation of the Tillbridge Lane Roman road to the west of the River Trent, beyond the study area, towards Doncaster. The following six decades witnessed a series of battles between Northumbria and Mercia at locations as far afield as *Haethfeld* (usually associated with Hatfield Chase in South Yorkshire), Hexham in Northumberland, Oswestry in Shropshire, near a river called *Winwaed* (believed to be the River Went in West Yorkshire) and finally a battle in the north Midlands near the River Trent in 679 (Stafford 1985, 96-7; Sawyer 1998, 56-8).

Through the accounts of the conflict between Northumbria and Mercia it is possible for the first time to see the movement of individual kings and their followers, messengers and armies in a way that is simply not available for the less well-documented events of the preceding two centuries. The first thing to observe is the amount of long-distance travel that these royal journeys and military campaigns represent. Even allowing for ecclesiastical hyperbole the prospect of journeys such as those undertaken by Edwin whilst in exile must, in principle at least, have been acceptable to Bede's early eighth-century audience. It is possible that as a member of a royal elite, even in exile, Edwin would have travelled with a retinue rather than alone and whilst some of his journeys may have been made by river or sea, many would undoubtedly have been over land.

We do not know how or from where Edwin arrived in East Anglia and it is possible that he arrived by sea rather than along Roman roads. However, Edwin's in-exile journeys represent only a very small part of the story and it is the movement of kings, supporting elites, and armies over long distances that the accounts of the wars themselves most clearly demonstrate, and which are most important to our understanding of the use of Roman roads in this period. Whilst some of these journeys might also have been partly undertaken by river or sea, and that is plausible in the case of the army of led by Edwin and Raedwald in 616, there is reason enough to suspect that many of the military movements were overland and, more importantly, that they utilised the surviving Roman road network. As already noted, the first battle of the seventh-century wars in which Edwin and Raedwald defeated Æthelfrith took place close to the Roman road between Lincoln and Doncaster. It is tempting, although unprovable, to see the attacking army as having landed at Littleborough, where this road crosses the Trent, and then having advanced northwest along its course until they engaged the Northumbrian forces. Similarly, if the identification of *Winwaed* as the River Went, the site of Penda's defeat in 655, is correct, it potentially places that battle further up the same Roman road between Doncaster and Castleford. The close correlation between the locations of many of these battles and Roman roads led Higham to conclude "that early Anglo-Saxon kings had considerable interest in the Roman road system" (1993, 122).

Further evidence for long-distance travel, albeit once again outside of the study area is provided by the late-seventh-century Kentish and Wessex law-codes. These

demonstrate that travel off the highway outside of one's own kingdom was likely to be a risky proposition. The Kentish king Wihtred's twenty-eighth law-code states that, "If a man from afar, or a stranger, quits the road, and neither shouts, nor blows a horn, he shall be assumed to be a thief, [and as such] may be either slain or put to ransom" (Attenborough 1922, 31). The wording of the twentieth law-code of the Wessex king Ine is almost identical except that instead of simply 'quitting the road' it was passing "through a wood off the highway" which required the traveller to announce their presence (*ibid*., 43). In both cases the reference to 'a man from afar, or a stranger' reinforces the presence of long-distance travellers in the middle Anglo-Saxon landscape.

The religious nature of the majority of the documentary sources for this period mean that they also provide relevant details of non-secular journeys. One such religious journey in the Lincolnshire study area which is of relevance is that of the Northumbrian Queen Æthelthryth. The *Liber Eliensis* records how in 673 she travelled south across the Humber into Lindsey, landing at Winteringham with her companions Sewenna and Sewara (LE I.13). Æthelthryth and her party later travelled south through Lincolnshire before settling and founding the important monastery on the Isle of Ely. The *Liber Eliensis* relates that on this journey, Æthelthryth rested in a certain place and her staff took root and sprouted into an ash tree. The place became known as *Ædeldrethestowe*, which, as we shall see later in this chapter, has been identified as Stow Green at Threekingham (Roffe 1986). If correct, this identifies a specific location on Æthelthryth's way to Ely and, more importantly in the context of this thesis, it is a location that lies on King Street Roman road within the study area. This perhaps suggests that her journey south through Lincolnshire involved the use of at least part of the Roman road network along Mareham Lane. It would theoretically have been possible to travel directly from the Humber to Ely entirely along Roman roads by following Ermine Street to Lincoln, and then Bloxholm Lane, Mareham Lane and King Street south through Lincolnshire to re-join Ermine Street at Water Newton and then skirt the southern fen-edge via Godmanchester and Cambridge before heading back up Akeman Street to Ely. Such a route would be entirely plausible for Æthelthryth's journey were it not for the fact that the *Liber Eliensis* tells us that, "she did not walk on the direct highway towards her destination: rather, she made her journey aside from the road, and so that she would not be caught by the would-be

captors in pursuit of her she made her way clandestinely" (LE I.13). In the light of the contemporary law codes concerning travel away from the highway discussed above, such a furtive journey would not have been without its risks especially as she was travelling in "humble attire" (*ibid*.). This passage does however provide some evidence of the primacy of the main, presumably mostly Roman, road network in this period implying that the use of these routes for long-distance travel would have been both expected and conspicuous.

The extent to which Roman roads were used as long-distance trade routes during the middle Anglo-Saxon period can tentatively be inferred from the distribution of some imported goods and artefacts. One of the most important types of artefact for the study area in this period is Ipswich ware pottery. This was the first pottery to be produced on an industrial scale after the Roman period and its manufacture has now been dated to between 720 and 850 (Blinkhorn 2012, 8). It is frequently found at sites across East Anglia and, as will be discussed below, its presence is one of the primary indications of middle Anglo-Saxon settlement sites in the region. Whilst it is very likely that it was, at least in part, traded along the Roman roads and Romanised routeways of the Norfolk study area, Ipswich ware pottery is so ubiquitous within East Anglia that it is not possible to identify any obvious concentrations along the corridors of these routes.

Lincolnshire lies within the 'Secondary Zone' of Ipswich ware use where the pottery was an imported item either in its own right or as a container for produce. In his analysis of its distribution, Paul Blinkhorn (*ibid*., 81-3) has shown that sites in Lincolnshire at which Ipswich ware has been found are all located close to the coast, rivers or Roman roads. The vast majority of these sites are located within 5km of these communication routes suggesting, in the case of the Roman roads, that they had wide corridors of influence in this period, at least as far as access to imported goods was concerned. He draws particular attention to the concentration of sites with Ipswich ware along the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road compared to the paucity of sites along the River Witham immediately to its south. Based on this distribution he suggests that Burgh le Marsh may have been a point at which the pottery was imported and then distributed along the Roman road rather than travelling along the river to Lincoln. The Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road he notes, "is likely to have been a bustling highway for people and goods at that time and the settlements along it would have had easy access to trade (*ibid*., 89). Whilst some caution obviously needs to be

exercised in making such interpretations, if correct they provide evidence for the continued use and significance of particular roads during the eighth and ninth centuries.

Evidence from Former Roman Nucleated Settlements in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period

Despite the clear evidence for long distance travel in the middle Anglo-Saxon period provided by the documentary sources, we can still look to the locales on the Roman road network to enhance our understanding of the significance and use of the Roman road network in the seventh to ninth centuries. As with the preceding period, the existing destinations on the Roman road network – the former Roman settlements – are best-placed to provide this insight.

Lincoln

By contrast with the fifth and sixth centuries, the available documentary and archaeological and evidence means that there is little doubt that there was some form of settlement and a significant ecclesiastical centre at Lincoln in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Although no direct evidence of domestic structures has been excavated, pottery and other artefacts have been recorded from at least thirty locations within and around the walled area of the city (Vince 2003a, Fig. 8.5). Of particular note is a group of pottery finds from excavations immediately outside the west gate of the upper city that includes Maxey ware dated to the late seventh or early eighth centuries. These finds have been interpreted as part of an extra-mural settlement which appears to have shifted its focus to a new location inside the walls by the mid to late ninth century (*ibid*., 147). The road passing out through the west gate of the upper city does not continue as an engineered Roman road, instead it joins onto the Middle Street unimproved routeway along the edge of the Lincoln Cliff escarpment.

Bede recorded the visit of the Northumbrian missionary Paulinus to Lincoln in 627 (HE II.16). However, as is usually the case with such references, no details are given of how or by what route he travelled. Whereas it is very likely that he would have used one of the Roman roads leading into the city, it is also possible that he may have

arrived by water along the River Witham. Paulinus converted Blaecca, the reeve of the city, and his family and also built "a stone church of remarkable workmanship" (*ibid*.). The site of an early church has been excavated at St Paul in the Bail, although whether or not this was the location of Paulinus' church or whether that was elsewhere in the city is open to debate (Vince 2003a, 144-51). The church at St Paul in the Bail was located in the centre of the Roman forum and appears to have overlain a late Roman Christian church that has been proposed as one of the episcopal churches in the city (Jones 2003, 128-9). Whilst the site's existing religious significance may have been the main reason for the placing of a church at St Paul in the Bail in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, its location in the forum positioned it at the crossing point of the main roads passing through the upper city. Such a central location would not only have been significant within the city walls, but meant that the church was ideally placed to spread its influence out into the surrounding countryside along the Roman roads and routeways that led away from it in all directions.

Bede also tells us of a man known to the Abbott of Partney who, "had been baptised at noon by Bishop Paulinus, in the presence of King Edwin together with a great crowd of people, in the river Trent, near a city which the English call *Tiowulfingacaestir*" (*ibid*.). The location of this settlement is not known with any certainty. It is usually associated with the former Roman fort and town at Littleborough on the River Trent in Nottinghamshire, although Marton on the Lincolnshire bank of the river might be an equally strong candidate. These sites occupy an important location where Tillbridge Lane, the Roman road from Lincoln to Doncaster, crosses the River Trent. It is tempting to see the participants in the baptism travelling in procession from Lincoln along Ermine Street then along Tillbridge Lane to the Trent. If the identification of Littleborough/Marton as *Tiowulfingacaestir* is correct, the choice of location for the baptism, at a significant crossing point of the Trent, on a boundary of the Northumbrian territory, and perhaps in full view of onlooking pagan Mercians, is likely to have been a very deliberate statement. It was surely to have been more than mere pragmatic ease-of-access which resulted in the event taking place close to a major Roman road connecting the two kingdoms. It was after all only a short distance further west into Mercian territory and close to this same Roman road that Edwin had defeated Æthelfrith just over a decade previously to gain control of Northumbria. It is not implausible to suggest that Edwin and Raedwald's army had passed this way *en*

route to the battle in 616 and that, in light of his victory, the Trent crossing at Marton-Littleborough perhaps held some special significance for the Northumbrian ruler.

It is possible that Lincoln also functioned as an important trading site during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Finds of eighth-century coins and other artefacts mean that it can potentially be viewed as a 'productive' site[25] (Ulmschneider 2000a). The presence of a *wic* at Lincoln is suggested by the place-name Wigford, a suburb which lies along Ermine Street on the south side of the city and whose extra-mural location can be compared with the *Lundenwic* at London and *Eoforwic* at York. However, there is only very limited archaeological evidence of middle Anglo-Saxon date in this part of Lincoln, with apparently no significant activity occurring until the early or mid tenth century (Vince 2003a, 156). The fact that the artefacts of middle Anglo-Saxon date that have been recorded lie at the southern edge of the suburb may indicate that the *wic* actually lay slightly further away from the city than the later suburb which bears its name, and that further evidence of this period is yet to be discovered. Irrespective of whether a *wic* was actually present at Lincoln the evidence for economic activity based on coin finds supports the continued significance of the locale in this period, and thus also the Roman roads leading towards it.

Caistor St Edmund

The medieval parish church at Caistor St Edmund is located in the southeast corner of the walled area of *Venta Icenorum* (Figure 19). The presence of medieval churches within the walls of subsequently abandoned Roman towns can be paralleled elsewhere at sites such as Silchester and Wroxeter (Morris and Roxan 1980) as well as examples within extant settlements in Lincolnshire that will be discussed below. It has been suggested that the positioning of the church within the Roman enclosure at Caistor St Edmund makes it a strong candidate for an early monastic site dating to the middle Anglo-Saxon period (Hoggett 2010a, 66). Excavations in 2009 produced a small quantity of Ipswich-type ware pottery from the churchyard, albeit as residual finds in later deposits. Late ninth- to early-eleventh-century charnel deposits were also revealed, pre-dating the present mid-eleventh- to mid-twelfth-century church and suggesting that it had an earlier, perhaps even middle Anglo-Saxon, predecessor

---

[25] See Chapter Two for a definition of 'productive' sites.

(Percival 2009, 10-12). The apparent alignment of the present church with the Roman street grid has also been seen as a possible indicator of earlier churches on the site which had been erected when the layout of the Roman settlement and its buildings would have still influenced their construction (Davies 2001, 27). Although the presence of an early church at the site seems likely direct evidence for its existence is still elusive.

The location of the church in the southeast corner of the walled area of *Venta Icenorum* also places it close to the possible continuation of the Roman road approaching the former Roman settlement from that direction. Whilst it must be noted that the exact route of this road into the walled area in the late Roman period is uncertain, let alone three centuries later, it approaches what is now a large gap in the walled circuit suggesting a possible entry point in the 'Anglo-Saxon' period at least. It is also the same road beside which the fifth-century Caistor by Norwich cremation cemetery is located. If the cemetery is seen as part of a 'central place' at Caistor St Edmund it is possible that the positioning of the church might represent some continued significance of both this location within the former town and also of the Roman road leading into its southeast area. Despite the uncertainties about the existence of an early church, the evidence from the churchyard excavations are the first instances of 'middle' or 'late Anglo-Saxon' pottery being recorded from within the walls at Caistor St Edmund (Percival 2009, 10). Given the very limited extent of the excavations at the site, it provides important evidence that some activity was taking place at in this part of the former Roman settlement during the 'middle Anglo-Saxon period', even if we do not at present know exactly what form it took.

Definite evidence of middle Anglo-Saxon settlement has, however, been recorded immediately to the west of the walled area of the town on the opposite side of the River Tas (Figure 19). Metal detecting in this area, prior to the field being protected as a scheduled monument, revealed a significant quantity of artefacts including middle Anglo-Saxon brooches and coins dating from the seventh and eighth centuries leading to its classification as a 'productive site' (Blackburn 2003, 35). Interpretation of cropmarks at the site by the National Mapping Programme revealed the presence of possible *grubenhauser* and post-built structures of 'early' to middle Anglo-Saxon date (Bales *et al*. 2010, 71). Subsequent excavation of one of these cropmark features as part of the Caistor Roman Town Project confirmed its identification as a *grubenhaus*

and recovered middle Anglo-Saxon pottery and an early-eighth-century coin from its fill (Bowden 2014).

Whilst the position of this middle Anglo-Saxon settlement west of Caistor St Edmund perhaps parallels the extra-mural setting of the settlement outside the west gate at Lincoln, its location appears to have been much more strongly influenced by the position of the Roman roads leading into the former town. The middle Anglo-Saxon settlement at Caistor St Edmund is positioned immediately to the southwest of the junction of the Pye Road and the road leading west from the town towards the former Roman settlement at Crownthorpe. Consequently it was well-connected with central Norfolk to its west and both local sites and wider contacts to the south via the Pye Road's junction with the River Waveney at Scole and its continuation into southern East Anglia. The extent to which the site was connected with the area to its north is less clear. The Roman road leading to the northwest of the town can only be traced for a short distance and the continuation of the Pye Road along the north bank of the River Tas has not been confirmed.

Although cropmarks of possible *grubenhauser* are located immediately beside the Pye Road the settlement does not appear to cross either of the main roads to which it lies adjacent. This may indicate that the choice of location to the south and west of the Roman roads was very deliberate. However, the absence of cropmarks between the Pye Road and the river immediately to the east of the settlement may simply indicate that this area was too wet for occupation in either the Roman or Anglo-Saxon periods. Analysis of pollen from palaeoenvironmental samples taken from former river-channel deposits at Caistor just upstream from the middle Anglo-Saxon settlement has shown that the river became increasingly slower and shallower in the centuries after the Roman period (Green 2014, 13). Unless the character of the river changed significantly within a short distance downstream from this point it is unlikely that it would have been usefully navigable in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Consequently the location at which the settlement developed was probably not influenced by the proximity to a navigable watercourse and its inhabitants may have relied principally on overland communication along the Roman roads for their wider contacts.

The extra-mural locations of the *wic* at London, York, and potentially Lincoln raises the possibility that the middle Anglo-Saxon settlement at Caistor St Edmund might

also be seen as a *wic*. Its position in relation to the walled area of the Roman settlement and to the Roman road network would certainly seem to fit the pattern shown by these other sites. Given the early date at which the extra-mural settlement at Caistor St Edmund appears to have failed, the absence of any recorded place-name evidence for a *wic* need not preclude its former existence. It has been suggested that Norwich may have been the 'north wic' relative to Ipswich (Williamson 1993, 80) but if the site at Caistor St Edmund was a *wic*, it is possible to speculate that it was this site which was actually Norwich's nominal southern counterpart[26].

Evidence from Other Former Roman Nucleated Settlements

As with the preceding centuries, the evidence for activity at other former Roman nucleated settlements in the study area during the middle Anglo-Saxon period is patchy. Billingford again stands out as an excavated example where furnaces and pits containing iron smithing waste dated to the seventh to eighth centuries provide some indication of activity at the site (Wallis 2011, 76). Although no domestic structures were present within the excavated area to suggest a continuation of the 'early Anglo-Saxon' settlement, the evidence suggests that a middle Anglo-Saxon settlement is likely to have been located elsewhere within the former Roman settlement. A small quantity of Ipswich ware pottery which has been found close to the Roman road at the western edge of the settlement may hint at its location.

Artefacts of middle Anglo-Saxon date have been recorded within, or just outside of, the Roman settlements at Burgh le Marsh, Scole, Brettenham, Brampton, Crownthorpe, Toftrees and Long Stratton. Whilst the amount of finds from these sites do not necessarily indicate activity on the same scale as that at Caistor St Edmund they nevertheless suggest that settlements are likely to have been present at these former Roman settlements in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Building on the evidence from the 'early Anglo-Saxon' period, this could tentatively be used to argue for continuity of some form of settlement activity at these sites from the fifth to the eighth centuries. Once again it can be inferred that if the existing locales remain in use during this

---

[26] The alternative interpretations that Norwich may be seen as being north of other smaller settlements in its immediate area (Williamson 1993, 80) or simply as north of the River Wensum (Watts 2004, 444-5) remain equally valid options.

period, then it is highly likely that the Roman roads leading to them continued to function as well.

The medieval parish church at Ancaster is located within the walled circuit of the Roman settlement and, as with Caistor St Edmund, this could be seen as being indicative of an early foundation date. However, no other evidence of middle Anglo-Saxon activity has been recorded from within or immediately around the former Roman settlement at Ancaster and, as we shall see in the next chapter, a tenth- or eleventh-century foundation date for the church seems more likely.

The medieval parish churches at the former Roman settlements of Caistor and Horncastle on unimproved routeways in Lincolnshire are also located within their walled circuits. However, in contrast to Ancaster, there is more evidence to indicate middle Anglo-Saxon activity at these locales. At Caistor is there some evidence to support an early foundation date for the church in the form of a fragment of an inscribed stone slab found in 1770 at Castle Hill, just to the west of the walled area of the town. This has been interpreted as an eighth- or early ninth-century dedication slab indicating the presence of a stone church or monastery at the town (Everson and Stocker 1999, 121-5). Excavations at another extra-mural site within the town, identified an inhumation cemetery containing at least seventy-four burials, two of which were radiocarbon dated to the early eighth century (Savage and Sleap 2012, Appendix 5). A single mid-eighth-century coin has been found from the area just west of the town close to the Roman road leading to South Kelsey and other middle to late Anglo-Saxon coins and artefacts have been recorded from elsewhere in the parish (Ulmschneider 2000a, 134-5). The findspots of these other artefacts are imprecisely recorded, but their recovery by metal detecting suggests that they are from outside of the Roman, and modern, town. A small quantity of Ipswich ware pottery (Blinkhorn 2012, 82), apparently from near to the site of the early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fonaby, hints at middle Anglo-Saxon settlement activity close to Caistor High Street in the northern part of the parish. Whilst the evidence for an important religious site at Caistor in the form of the lost slab, "does not thereby automatically guarantee its pre-eminent status in Lindsey or its identification as the see of Lindsey" (Everson and Stocker 1999, 124) it does confirm the continued significance of the former Roman town and the routes leading to it in this period. At Horncastle small quantities of Ipswich ware have been found to the south of the Roman town suggesting some

eighth-century activity there and artefacts of ninth-century date have been found just to the east of the church within the walled area (Blinkhorn 2012, 82; Ulmschneider 2000a, 139). Whilst these finds do not suggest the level of activity or religious significance which can be attributed to Caistor, they do at least indicate that there was probably some settlement in or around Horncastle in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. It is clear that the continuation of activity at these locales on unimproved routeways was not significantly different to that at the former Roman settlements located on the main 'engineered' Roman roads.

One possible interpretation that can made for the extra-mural settlement at Caistor St Edmund, and for middle Anglo-Saxon settlements at other former Roman nucleated settlements, is that they were royal or aristocratic estate centres. The rise of estate centres in the middle Anglo-Saxon period can be attributed to the development of kingdoms and an elite hierarchy. Kingship is likely to have been peripatetic and Stuart Brookes has considered this would have been, "the only way of collecting subsistence goods and concomitant gifting and receiving of loyalty" (2007, 74). Consequently there was a need for a network of centres from which control could be administered and which could function as temporary bases for rulers travelling around their kingdoms. Implicit within a model of peripatetic kingship is the notion of movement through the landscape between multiple seats of power. As a result of this estate centres are likely to have developed at important locations within the network of land, riverine and maritime communications, including on Roman roads and other routeways.

'Productive' Sites and the Roman Road Network in the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period

As outlined in Chapter Two, 'productive' sites have played a prominent role in the study of the middle Anglo-Saxon period for the past three decades. These sites - so-called because of their high numbers of coin finds – have been interpreted as markets and fairs, or monastic, ecclesiastical or royal estate centres. Despite the debate surrounding their function or whether they even represent a coherent site-type, the term 'productive' site is nevertheless useful in the context of this thesis in grouping these potentially disparate sites together. Irrespective of any differences in their exact

forms or functions 'productive' sites represent important activity foci, potentially even 'central places', within the middle Anglo-Saxon landscape where coin-use, and coin-loss, was occurring. As activity foci, and therefore potential destinations, their relationship to the Roman roads and unimproved routeways has potential to elucidate at least one aspect of the use and significance these lines of communication in the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

In a detailed study of the evidence from Lincolnshire, Ulmschneider has shown that the majority of 'productive' sites in the county are, "situated along the most important routes and lines of communication, such as the Rivers Humber, Trent and Witham, and prehistoric and Roman routes, especially Barton Street, High Street and the route along the Lincoln Cliff" (2000b, 63). Sites located on, or at least close to[27], Roman roads include Stow/Sturton by Stow on Tillbridge Lane, Winteringham on the Humber at the northern end of Ermine Street, and a site at Burgh le Marsh at the Wash end of the Roman road to Lincoln (Figure 24). Small numbers of middle Anglo-Saxon coins have also been found at Sleaford which lies at the junction of Mareham Lane and Bloxholm Lane, at Stamford on Ermine Street in south of the county, and, as previously mentioned, in Lincoln itself. The site at South Ferriby lies close to where the unimproved routeway Caistor High Street meets the Humber and further south another 'productive' site is recorded in Caistor parish. More significant sites, in terms of the numbers of recorded coin finds, such as Riby Cross Roads, Louth, and Keelby all lie on Barton Street and the site 'near Skegness' may also lie close to the southern end of this routeway (Ulmschneider 2000a, Appendix. 1). With the coastal marshes preventing direct access to maritime trade routes along much of the east coast of Lindsey, Barton Street is seen to have, "gained importance as a major trade route", a point that is reinforced by finds of Frisian sceattas along its course (Ulmschneider 2000b, 67-9).

Whilst the distribution of recorded 'productive' sites in Lincolnshire does show a correlation with major lines of communication there appears to be a preference for locations on unimproved routeways in the east of the county rather than the main

---

[27] As Ulmschneider acknowledges (2000b, n17) most of the coin finds were, at the time of her study, only recorded at parish level. Consequently determining exact relationships to Roman roads or other routeways is not possible.
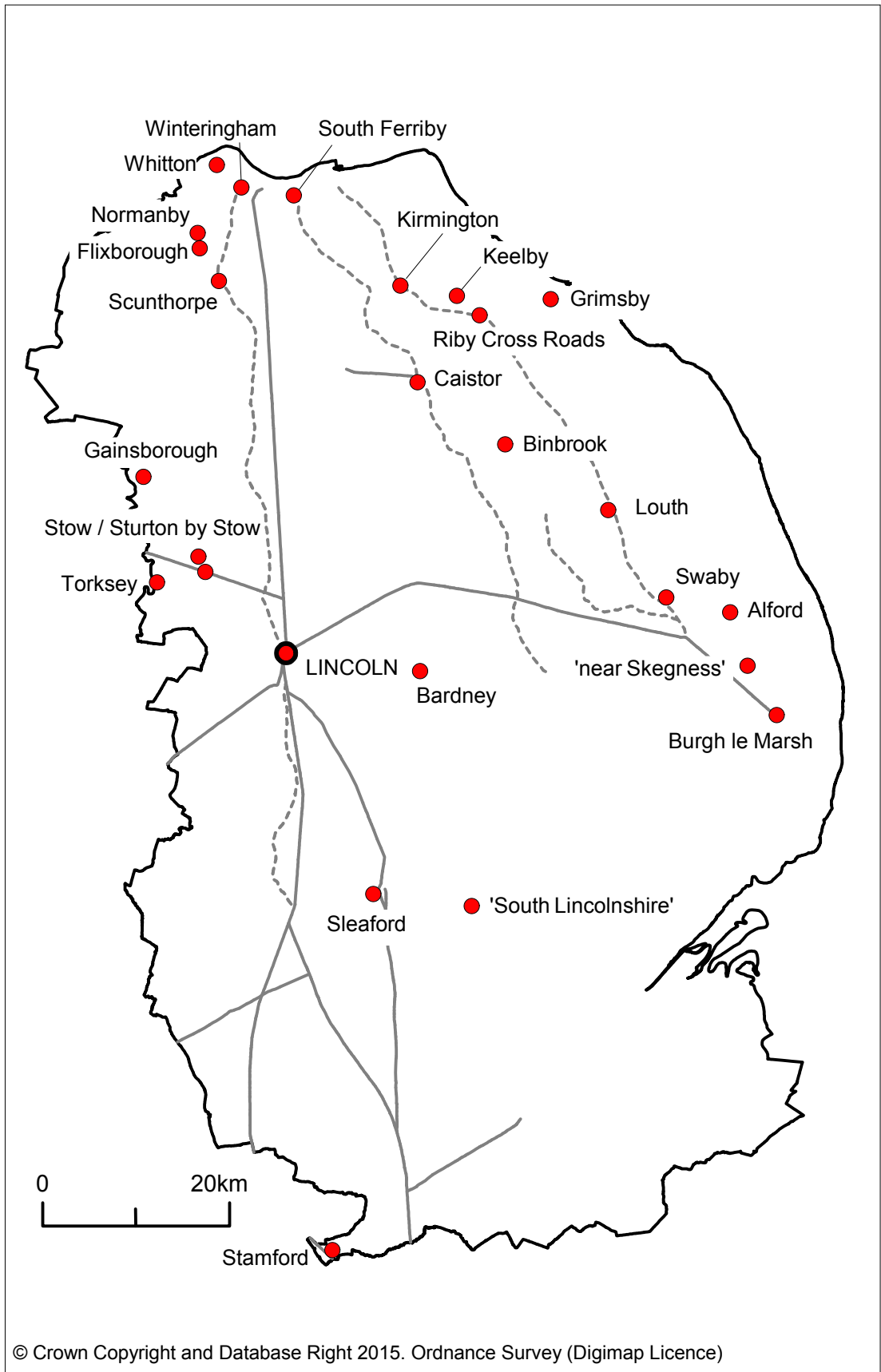
Figure 24. Middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive' sites in Lincolnshire.

'engineered' Roman road network. The strong link between Barton Street and 'productive' sites supports the suggestion that at least some unimproved routeways may have held greater significance than the main Roman roads in this period. Whilst the sites at Winteringham and Burgh le Marsh are located on Ermine Street and the main Roman road from the Wash to Lincoln they also respectively lie on the major unimproved routeways, Middle Street and Barton Street. The coastal location of these two sites is also likely to have influenced their development in combination with their landward connections. Nevertheless, with the exception of the site at Stow/Sturton by Stow and the small numbers of coin finds at Lincoln, Sleaford, and Stamford there does not appear to have been a significant amount activity taking place at other locations along the main Roman road network in Lincolnshire that can be defined in terms of 'productive' sites. Given the inferred evidence for the continued use and significance of the Roman road network in this period the lack 'productive' sites in connection with them might seem surprising. However, given that at least some former Roman nucleated settlements appear to have continued to function into this period, it is possible that they fulfilled whatever role 'productive' sites had rather than new locations developing on the Roman road network.

The relationship of 'productive' sites in Norfolk to the pattern of land communications in the middle Anglo-Saxon period is less straightforward than in Lincolnshire (Figure 25). Only one of these, the extra-mural site at Caistor St Edmund, actually lies directly on a main Roman road. Only one 'productive' site in Norfolk lies on an identifiable unimproved routeway. This is the site at Congham which lies within the suggested corridor of the Icknield Way. With evidence of Roman and 'early Anglo-Saxon' activity at the site as well, it is a strong candidate for a 'central place' (Davies 2010), but the lack of a defined course of the Icknield Way at this location means that no precise relationship can be determined. Elsewhere in Norfolk the 'productive' sites at Middle Harling (Rogerson 1995a) and Quidenham in the south of the county lie just over a kilometre away from the Roman road to Hargham and do not appear to have any direct association with it.

If anything it is the lack of evidence for a strong link between the 'productive' sites and Roman roads or other recognised routeways in Norfolk that is most informative. Rogerson (2003, 121) wondered if, "a more complete knowledge of the Roman road
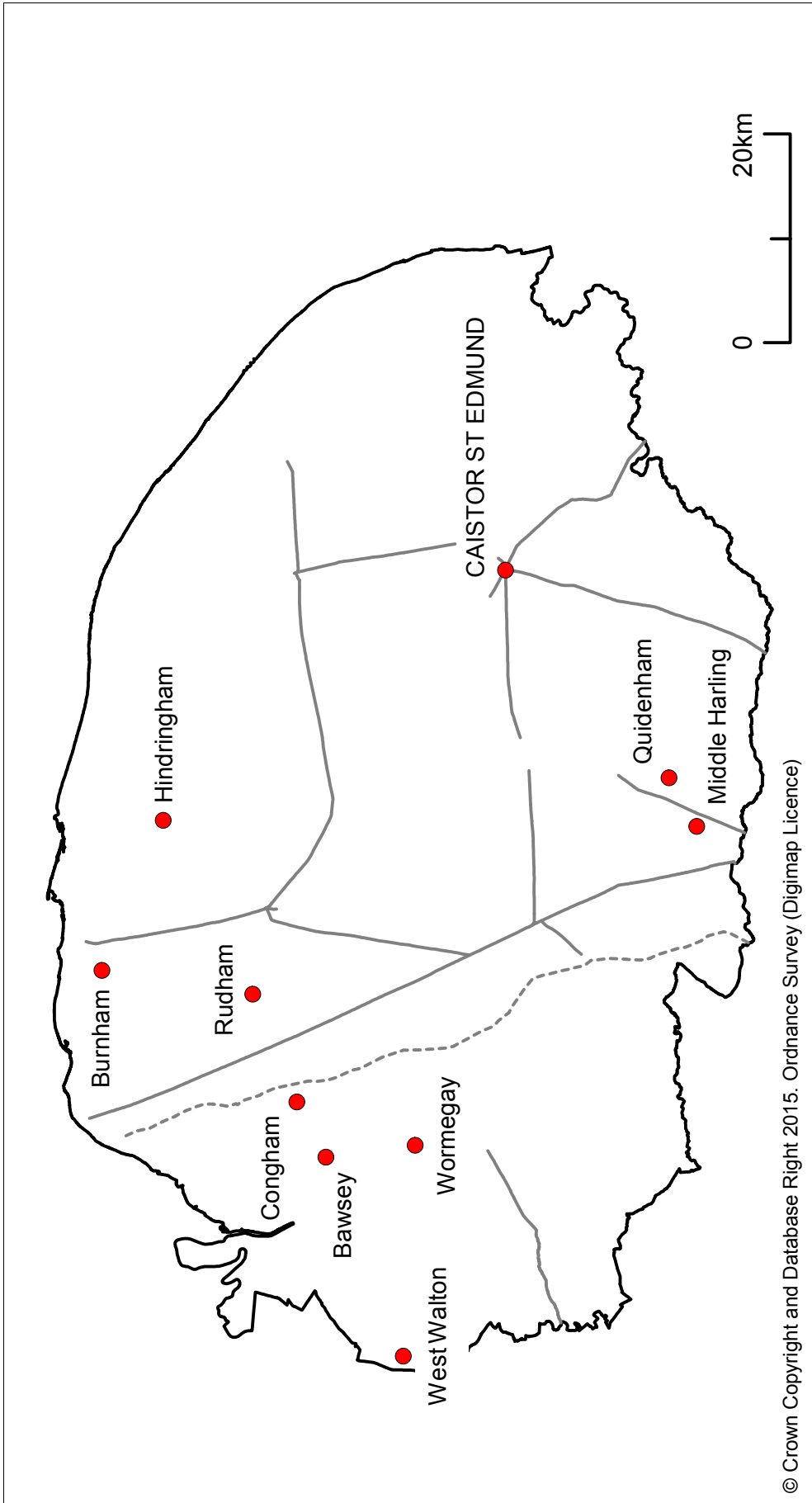
Figure 25. Middle Anglo-Saxon 'productive' sites and Roman roads in Norfolk.

CAISTOR ST EDMUND

Hindringham

Quidenham

Middle Harling

Burnham

Rudham

Congham

Bawsey

Wormegay

West Walton

20km

0

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

148

network" in the area of the Rudham sites might help to explain their location. However, given the detailed analysis undertaken for this thesis the extent of the main Roman road network in Norfolk can be considered to be fairly well understood and it is unlikely that any new Roman roads await discovery close the site. In this context the absence of productive sites close to main Roman roads in the county appears to be a genuine one comparable with the evidence from Lincolnshire. Chester-Kadwell has pointed out that fields close to Roman roads are seen by metal detectorists as favourable locations (2009, 142). Even allowing for any land-use or access constraints affecting artefact recovery at least some 'productive' sites adjacent to Roman roads might reasonably be expected to have already been discovered if they were present. Based on the current evidence it appears that activity foci of the type that might be interpreted as 'productive' sites were not at locations on the main Roman roads in Norfolk.

Whilst the relationship to unimproved routeways is far from clear either, it must be remembered that only one such routeway, the Icknield Way, has been identified in the Norfolk study area and even that without much certainty. With this in mind the absence of obvious land communication routes associated with the majority of the Norfolk 'productive' sites might be seen as a reflection of our lack of understanding of the network of routeways being used it the study area in the 'Anglo-Saxon' period rather than non-existence of such connections.

Middle Anglo-Saxon Rural Settlement, Churches and the Roman Road Network

One of the potentially significant types of new locales to develop on the Roman road network during the middle Anglo-Saxon period were rural settlements associated with churches. As has been outlined in Chapter Two, this period saw a change in the dispersed pattern of settlements that had existed in the early Anglo-Saxon period, with these either ceasing to shift around the landscape or becoming more fixed in their locations. Although the distribution of early Anglo-Saxon settlement sites is poorly understood, as discussed in the previous chapter, it appears that away from former Roman settlements they were not located directly on Roman roads. Consequently, key questions for understanding the relationship between middle Anglo-Saxon rural

settlements and the Roman road network are whether the locational shift that occurred in this period resulted in a move towards sites on Roman roads, and, if so, how those new locales contributed to the continued use and significance of the Roman road network.

In Norfolk the evidence indicates that some settlements drifted away from their churches towards the edges of commons and greens by the eleventh to thirteenth centuries leaving the churches isolated in the landscape (Williamson 2014). As outlined in Chapter Two, extensive fieldwalking surveys in Norfolk (Wade-Martins 1980; Davison 1988; 1990; Rogerson 1995a; 1995b; *et al*. 1997) have produced significant for middle Anglo-Saxon settlement activity in the form of Ipswich ware pottery scatters. These surveys revealed that many of the finds of this middle Anglo-Saxon pottery type were located around parish churches. However, the range of pottery types recovered from around some isolated churches showed that Ipswich ware was present but that late Anglo-Saxon pottery types, such as Thetford ware, were not. This indicates that the settlements were present at these sites during the middle Anglo-Saxon period but that the process of settlement shift away to common-edge locations had occurred by the ninth century. As churches would not have been established at abandoned settlement sites, it has been concluded that the churches at these locations must also have been present in the eighth century (Hoggett 2010b, 209).

Although it is by no means suggested here that all parish churches were established in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, the evidence from the fieldwalking shows that this date must at least be considered possible for other sites in the county where no survey work has taken place. Medieval churches, particularly those now occupying isolated locations, can therefore be used, albeit somewhat cautiously, as a possible indicator of middle Anglo-Saxon settlement activity.

In Norfolk 14 medieval church sites can be identified as being located within 100m of Roman roads and a further four are sited within 200m of a Roman road (Table 1 and Figure 26). Of the first group, seven have churchyards that are immediately adjacent to a Roman road and a further three churchyards lie directly across the line of former Roman roads. Where the churchyard overlies the line of the Roman road it is possible that the road may originally have formed the boundary but that the burial
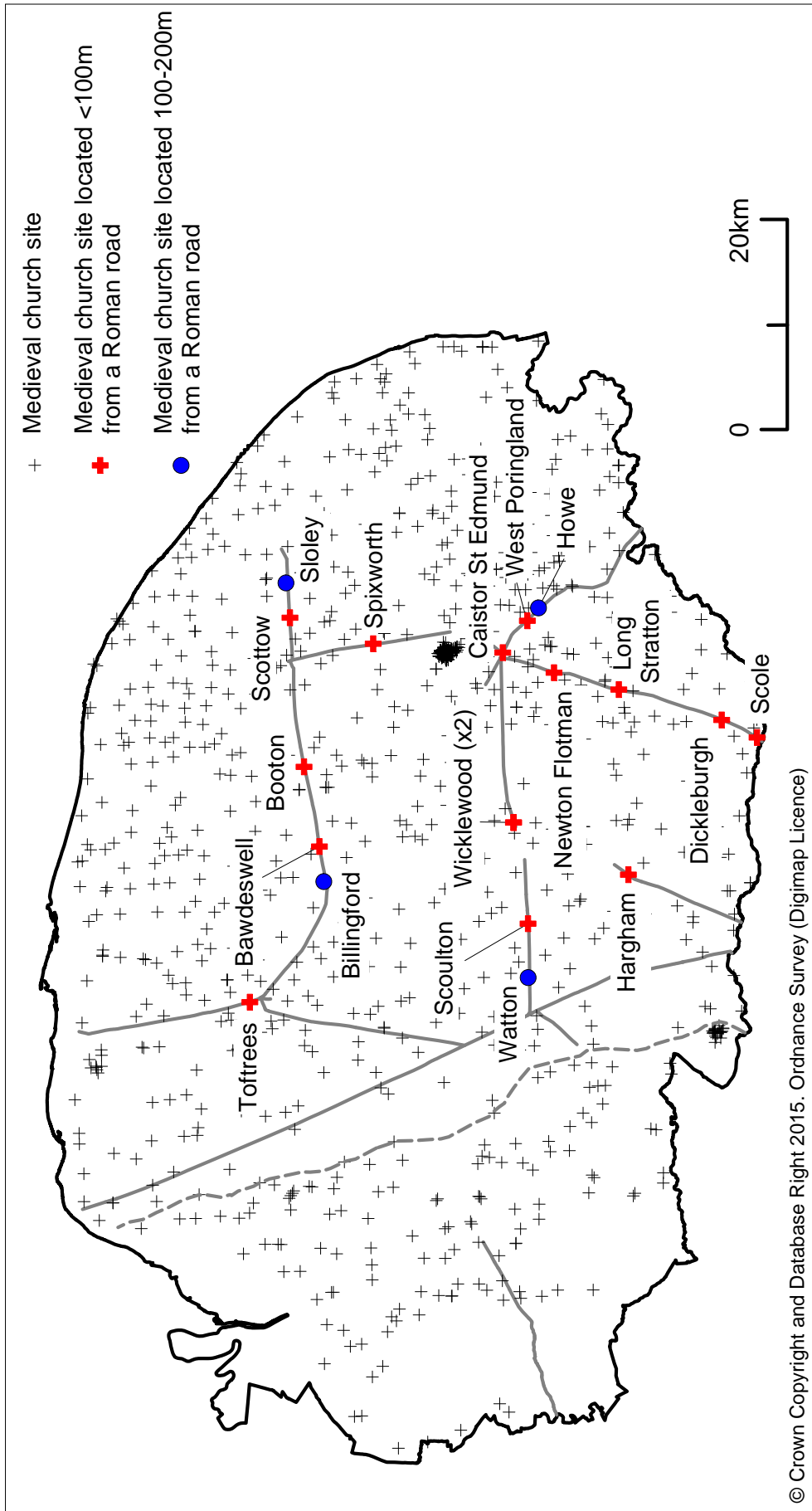
Figure 26. Medieval churches and Roman roads in Norfolk.

Legend:
+ Medieval church site
+ Medieval church site located <100m from a Roman road
● Medieval church site located 100-200m from a Roman road

Labels: Sloley, Scottow, Spixworth, Caistor St Edmund, West Poringland, Howe, Long Stratton, Booton, Wicklewood (x2), Newton Flotman, Scole, Bawdeswell, Billingford, Scoulton, Dickleburgh, Toftrees, Watton, Hargham

Scale: 0 — 20km

ground has since encroached into the highway or, alternatively, that the road had already moved from its original course prior to the establishment of the church.

Church location and dedication	Relationship between the churchyard and Roman road			
	Overlying	Adjacent	<100m	101 - 200m
Bawdeswell, All Saints	●			
Billingford, St Peter				●
Booton, St Michael and All Angels	●			
Caistor St Edmund, St Edmund			●	
Dickleburgh, All Saints		●		
Hargham, All Saints		●		
Howe, St Mary				●
Long Stratton, St Mary		●		
Newton Flotman, St Mary		●		
Scole, St Mary		●		
Scottow, All Saints	●			
Scoulton, Holy Trinity		●		
Sloley, St Bartholemew				●
Spixworth, St Peter			●	
Toftrees, All Saints		●		
Watton, St Mary			●	
West Poringland, St Michael (demol. c.1540)			●	
Wicklewood, All Saints			●	
Wicklewood, St Andrew (demol. 1367)			●	

Table 1: The relationships between the churchyards of medieval church sites and Roman roads in Norfolk.

Cartographic sources indicated that only three of the recorded church sites in Norfolk close to Roman roads - Scole, Dickleburgh and Bawdeswell - lay within settlements in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Although the church at Long Stratton is now within the modern extent of the village, at the end of the nineteenth century it lay at the southern end with the settlement having apparently shifted northwards along the Pye Road away from it. By contrast the church sites at Scoulton, Booton, Newton Flotman, Hargham, Sloley, Billingford and Watton occupied genuinely isolated locations away from any surviving settlement in the late nineteenth century. The majority of the other sites sat within very small settlement foci often comprising only a hall, rectory and farm as at Toftrees and Spixworth.

Although a systematic field survey has been carried out around only one of these isolated church sites it did produce some evidence of middle Anglo-Saxon activity. Fieldwalking at Hargham under the supervision of Alan Davison identified multi-period pottery scatters, which included Ipswich ware, in areas to the west of the church and to its south along the line of the Roman road. Metal detecting in the field to the south of the church has also recovered a middle Anglo-Saxon strap end about 50m from the Roman road. Viewed in the context of the other fieldwalked sites around isolated churches in Norfolk these finds tentatively suggest that a middle Anglo-Saxon settlement may have been present around the church adjacent to the Roman road at Hargham.

Evidence for middle Anglo-Saxon settlement activity around the other church sites on Roman roads in Norfolk is very limited. At Scoulton a middle Anglo-Saxon gilded pin has been found in the field immediately to the northwest of the church, a middle to late Anglo-Saxon pin and hooked tag have been found within a large area of metal detector finds to the north of Newton Flotman church and a single sherd of Ipswich ware has been recorded just to the west of Sloley church. A further example which fits this pattern is the isolated church located just outside of the study area at Knettishall in Suffolk. A middle Anglo-Saxon pin and caterpillar brooch have been recorded from the area to the southeast of the church which sits adjacent to the Roman road leading to Ixworth[28]. Whilst the sparse finds from these sites in Norfolk and Suffolk probably

---

[28] The finds are recorded under Suffolk HER reference 10898. The exact line of the Roman road is uncertain at this point but may pass through the former churchyard (now a garden), perhaps originally forming its eastern boundary.

do indicate the presence of middle Anglo-Saxon settlements associated with the churches concerned it would be stretching the evidence to say that this is definitely the case. Targeted field surveys around these and other church sites located adjacent to Roman roads in the study area would no doubt provide further evidence one way or the other.

Metal detected finds of middle Anglo-Saxon artefacts have been recorded from locations adjacent to Roman roads but away from churches at several sites in Norfolk. Whilst some of these may represent settlement sites without supporting pottery finds it is difficult to confidently interpret them in this way. The only possible exception is the site of Great Palgrave deserted medieval village which lies on Peddars Way. Several middle Anglo-Saxon dress fittings and strap ends have been recorded from the site which may indicate that the late Saxon and medieval settlement at the site had its origins in this period (Figure 27).
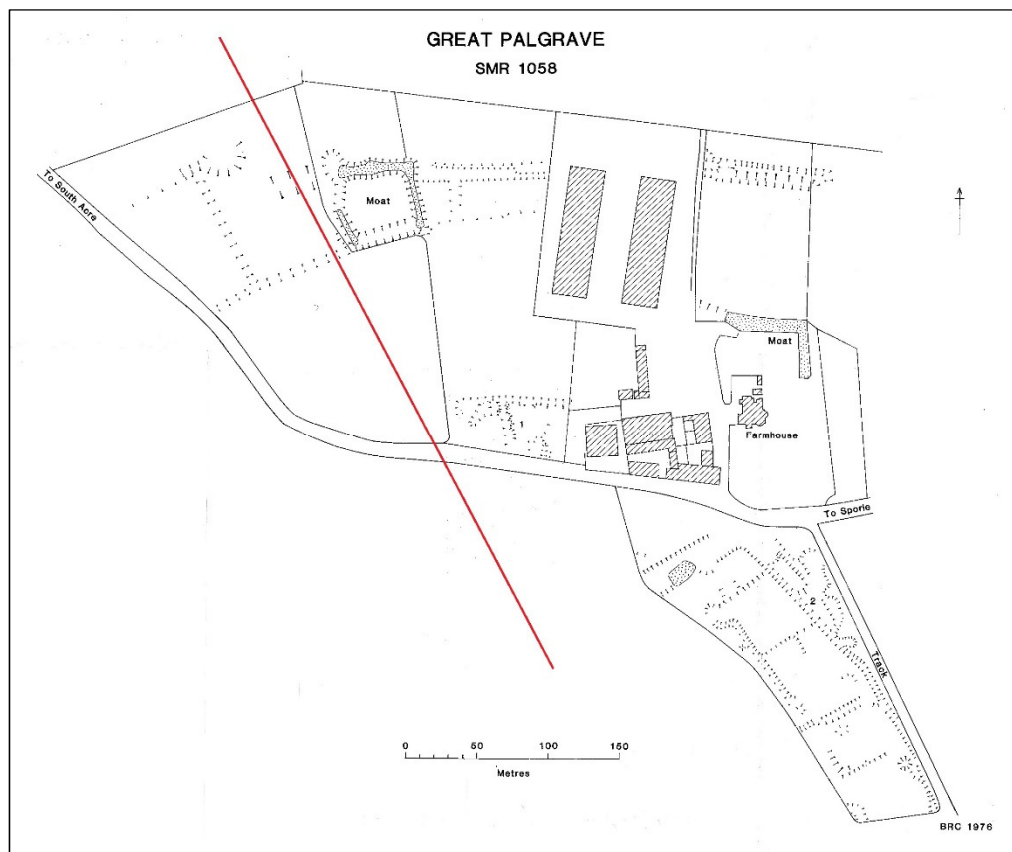
Figure 27. The earthworks of Great Palgrave deserted medieval settlement with the projected course of Peddars Way added in red (Cushion and Davison 2003, Fig. 26 with annotations. Reproduced with permission of Norfolk County Council Historic Environment Service).
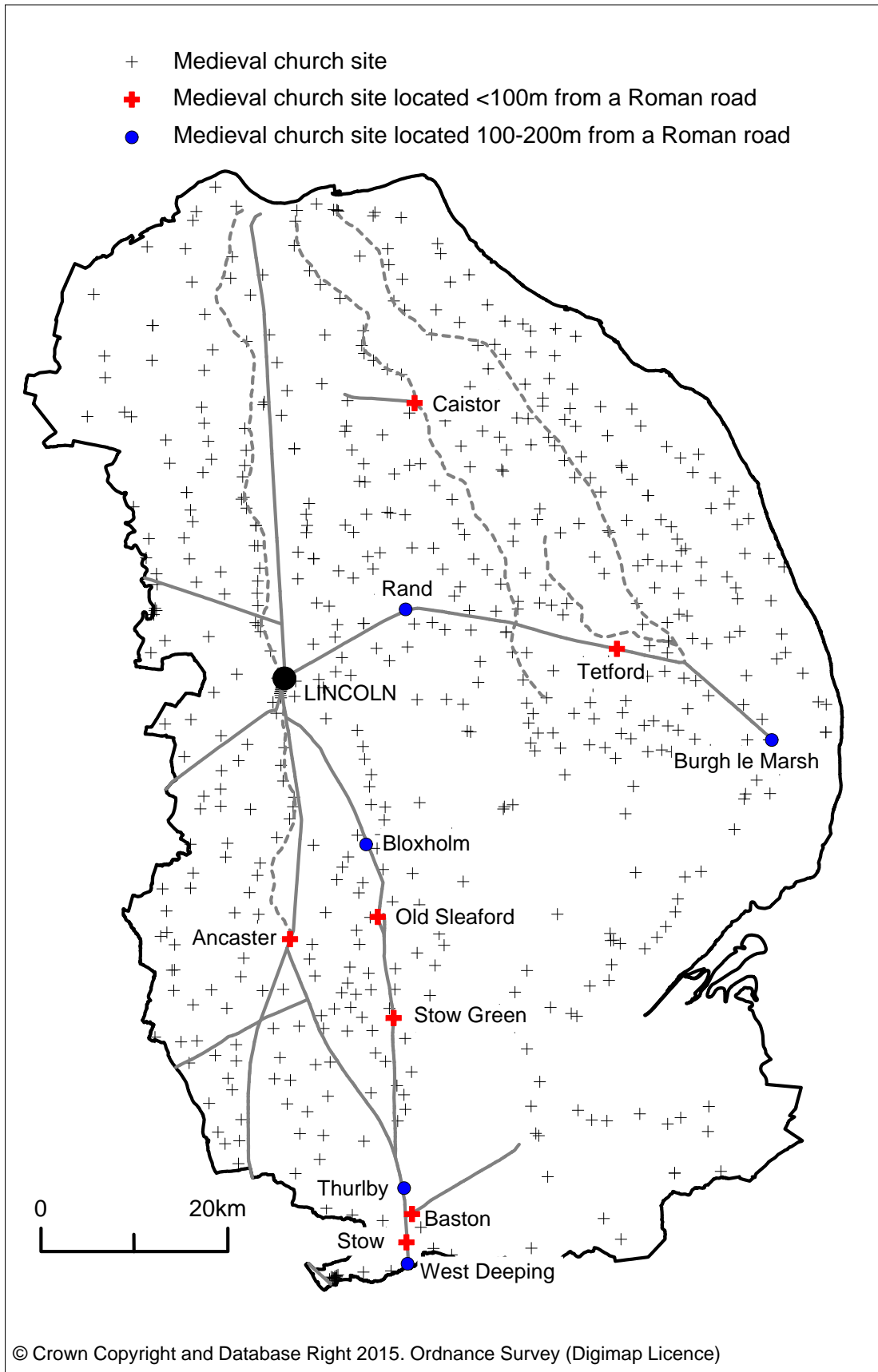
Figure 28. Medieval churches and Roman roads in Lincolnshire.

Lincolnshire does not benefit from the same level of extensive fieldwalking surveys that have been carried out in Norfolk and direct evidence for middle Anglo-Saxon settlement adjacent to Roman roads is very sparse. Even if similar processes of settlement shift are assumed to have occurred there are fewer medieval churches located on Roman roads to use as the starting point of any analysis. Seven medieval churches are located within 100m of a Roman road and a further five lie within 200m (Table 2 and Figure 28). However, these include Ancaster, Caistor and Burgh le Marsh which lie within former Roman settlements. It has been suggested that the church at Stow by Threekingham may have early monastic origins, which are discussed in more detail below, and it therefore may be atypical. Thurlby church lies on the opposite side of the Car Dyke to King Street and consequently a suggestion that it had a direct

Church location and dedication	Relationship between the churchyard and Roman road			
	Overlying	Adjacent	<100m	101-200m
Ancaster, St Martin		●		
Baston, St John			●	
Bloxholm, St Mary				●
Burgh le Marsh, St Peter and St Paul				●
Caistor, St Peter and St Paul			●	
Old Sleaford, St Giles			●	
Rand, St Oswald				●
Stow (Barholm), St John (demol. 1781)		?		
Stow Green (Threekingham), St Etheldreda		●		
Tetford, St Mary	?	●		
Thurlby, St Firmin				●
West Deeping, St Andrew				●

Table 2: The relationships between the churchyards of medieval church sites and Roman roads in Lincolnshire.

association with the Roman road might be tenuous. The church at Tetford is still located within part of the modern settlement and is a potential candidate for a middle Anglo-Saxon foundation, but no fieldwork has been carried out to establish the origins of the settlement. Evidence for middle Anglo-Saxon activity has been recorded in the vicinity of only two of the remaining church sites. The church at Rand lies within the earthworks of the deserted medieval settlement just to the north of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road and a small quantity of Ipswich ware pottery recorded from its vicinity suggests an eighth- to mid-ninth-century date for the settlement (Everson *et al*. 1991, 153-5; Blinkhorn 2012, 82). Excavations in an area to the south of Baston church also found a small quantity of residual middle Anglo-Saxon pottery and evidence of a possible cemetery of this date lying just beyond the investigated area (Taylor 2003, 5-7).

The evidence for middle Anglo-Saxon settlements on Roman roads at rural locations away from former Roman settlements within the study area is sparse and inconclusive. If isolated churches are accepted as a possible indicator of middle Anglo-Saxon settlement activity it can be suggested that at least some settlements were established at locations on, or close to, Roman roads during the process of settlement shift that occurred during the 'long eighth century'. However, even based on the evidence of the churches, relocation of settlements to sites on Roman roads does not appear to have been a widespread occurrence.

Assuming that some settlements did shift to new sites on Roman roads in this period, it is reasonable to ask why this might have been the case. The presence of a Roman road was clearly not, in itself, enough of a factor otherwise more middle Anglo-Saxon settlements - and indeed later medieval settlements - would be located on the Roman road network. Early churches, particularly ministers, might have benefited from locations on major communication routes as these would have assisted with their engagement with the surrounding population. However, unless they were initially monastic foundations, and as we shall see that is probably unlikely, it might be wrong to assume that the churches on Roman roads were established prior to their accompanying settlements. The middle Anglo-Saxon period also saw the growth of a monetary economy, and there may have been resulting benefits for settlements located on Roman roads, particularly those leading to former Roman settlements that continued to function in some form at that time. However, given the apparent lack of

correlation between 'productive' sites and the main Roman road network, it is difficult to see how 'ordinary' settlements might have seen locations on Roman roads as any more advantageous. It is possible that more of the former Roman settlements on the main road network fulfilled the same roles as 'productive' sites, but that the evidence for this is yet to become apparent. If so, settlement on Roman roads may have benefited from the direct communication links with these and the economic engagement with travellers using the roads towards them. The choice of locations on Roman roads might, however, be largely coincidental with indeterminable environmental factors influencing the siting of these and other settlements in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. The problem of determining the reasons for settlement locations is not restricted to those on Roman roads. Just as the function(s) of many middle Anglo-Saxon sites, whether excavated or known from metal detecting, is poorly understood, so too is the rationale behind their choice of location. Ultimately the paucity of the data relating to the possible middle Anglo-Saxon settlements on Roman roads within the study area makes it impossible to do more than speculate as to why they may have been sited where they are.

Roman Roads in the Monastic Landscape of the Middle Anglo-Saxon Period

Religion, and more specifically the conversion to Christianity, played an important role in middle Anglo-Saxon society and the development of the landscape during this period. The foundation of ecclesiastical and/or monastic centres at some former Roman urban settlements and the possibility that at least some rural churches were established in this period have already been discussed. However these represent only one part of the religious landscape of the period.

It is likely that some of these early churches, established in the seventh or eighth centuries, functioned as what have been referred to as minsters, although there is significant debate about the meaning of the term in this period and how they differ from tenth- and eleventh-century minster churches (e.g. Pestell 2004, 21-2). These early minsters appear to have been closely tied to royal vills and provided pastoral care over areas that were much larger than later parishes (Ulmschneider 2000a, 66). If this

was the case, then it may have been advantageous for minsters to be located on or close to significant roads and routeways.

Identifying these early minster sites with any certainty is very difficult although the churches established within former Roman centres such as Caistor St Edmund in Norfolk and Horncastle, Ancaster, and Caistor in Lincolnshire have to be considered as strong candidates along with the monastic sites discussed below. Whilst the presence of large endowments, sizeable parishes, or dependant churches recorded in the Domesday Survey have been seen as indicators of possible early minster sites the hiatus caused by the Danish invasions, particularly in Lincolnshire, means even this is not straightforward (*ibid*., 67). However, in Norfolk some possible minsters can be identified in this manner. Evidence from an early charter and the thirty acres of land held by Dickleburgh church at the time of the Domesday Survey combine to suggest that it may have been an early minster church located on the Pye Road (Williamson 1993, 150-1). It is also possible that Thetford may have been an important centre on the Icknield Way in the middle Anglo-Saxon period and the forty acres of land and dependent churches recorded for St Marys church in the Domesday Survey would seem to support its identification as an early minster site (*ibid*., 151-2). It is possible that some of the other suggested early church sites on Roman roads within the study area were also minsters. However, there is no evidence to support their identification as such and there is no clearly definable relationship between early minsters and the Roman road network within the study area.

The association of the site at Stow Green in Threekingham parish with *Ædeldrethestowe* has already been mentioned earlier in this chapter. Following the miracle of Æthelthryth's staff taking root and sprouting into an ash tree "a church was constructed there in honour of the blessed virgin" (LE I.13). Some form of monastery appears to have existed at Threekingham by the end of the seventh century and a church dedicated to St Etheldreda at Stow Green was in existence by the twelfth century (Roffe 1986). An important fair associated with nearby Sempringham Abbey was also being held there by the thirteenth century[29]. The site of the medieval church

---

[29] It is considered likely that Stow Green would have been recorded as part of Threekingham in early documentary sources. Unusually the dedications of the two churches at Threekingham are recorded in the Domesday Survey. St Peter's church is likely to represent the surviving parish church in Threekingham but the site of St Mary's church, presumably that founded by Æthelthryth, is unknown. The fair may in fact have been established at a

at Stow Green dedicated to St Etheldreda is likely to have been the rectangular enclosure called 'Chapel Yard' shown on a 1769 survey of the fair site (White 1979, 2)[30]. This survey shows that the church was located directly on the frontage of the Mareham Lane Roman road, making it one of the few in the county to be so positioned. However, whether this was also the site of the middle Anglo-Saxon monastery is open to debate and its relationship to the Roman road can be examined in more detail once the context of other early monastic sites in the study area have been considered.

In a study of the early church in Lincolnshire, Stocker (1993) identified nine monastic sites which are either known, or are presumed, to have been established by the early eighth century. These were at Crowland, Bardney, Partney, South Kyme, Hibaldstow, Barrow, Louth, West Halton, and Stow Green. That only one of these sites, Stow Green, lies directly on a Roman road might not be seen as surprising. The traditional view of the location of early monastic sites is one of, "physical isolation or enclosure, the desire to separate the spiritual life from the sins of the world" (*ibid*., 106). Sites were separated from the outside world by a physical enclosure ditch, the *vallum monasterii*, although many monasteries were founded on islands or peninsulas with the natural topography performing this function instead (Morris 1989, 104-115; Stocker 1993, 106). In this context, isolation from the land communication network provided by the Roman roads would no doubt seem desirable. However, only three of the nine Lincolnshire sites, Crowland, Bardney, and South Kyme, might be considered to be genuinely remote from known Roman roads or unimproved routeways. Of these Bardney lies the closest to a Roman road at just under eight kilometres from the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road.

Closer examination of the other early monastic sites in Lincolnshire show that they are not as isolated as might first be thought. Partney is located less than 3.5km from the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road, which when placed in context as under an hour's walk does not seem particularly remote. The unlocated site of *Cecesey* which Bede tells us was the burial place of St Hygbald (HE IV.3) is very likely to have been located in the Ancholme valley close to Hibaldstow (Stocker 1993, 113). As such it would

much earlier date. It is considered possible that the fair recorded at Threekingham in the Domesday Survey is actually Stow Green fair (Roffe 1986).

[30] The site is protected as a scheduled monument (22610) on the basis that the site of the later chapel overlies the middle Anglo-Saxon monastery.

have lain within a few kilometres of Ermine Street or the western end of the Roman road between South Kelsey and Caistor, albeit on the opposite side of the river. The monastery at Barrow would have been situated close to where Barton Street, the unimproved routeway along the eastern edge of the Wolds, reached the Humber. Further south on Barton Street the monastic site at Louth would have been located in close proximity to this major communication route, particularly if it lay at the site of the later Cistercian Abbey at Louth Park as Stocker has suggested (*ibid*., 114). Finds of eighth-century coins in the vicinity of Louth have been interpreted as possible evidence for a fair or market perhaps associated with the monastery (Ulmschneider 2000b, 68). The site at West Halton, also associated with Æthelthryth, lies only a kilometre to the west of Ermine Street.

Although the context of Christianity in early medieval Norfolk has been examined in detail in recent studies (Pestell 2004; Hoggett 2010a) definite evidence for early monastic sites is sparse. This can mainly be attributed to the lack of references to East Anglian events, places, and individuals in the surviving documentary sources. However, neither of the two recorded early monastic sites in the county, that established by Fursa at *Cnobheresburg* (HE III.19) – usually associated with the former Roman shore fort at Burgh Castle[31] and Wihtburh's foundation at East Dereham (Pestell 2004, 89), lie close to Roman roads. The 'productive' sites at Bawsey and Wormegay have also been considered to have a possible monastic function based on a combination of artefactual evidence and their topographic locations, but once again the problems of interpreting the function(s) of such sites must be kept in mind (Rogerson 2003, 112-14, 119-20; Hoggett 2010a, 73-74). Whilst both sites were undoubtedly connected to riverine and maritime communication routes their overland links are almost impossible to establish and did not immediately involve known Roman roads or unimproved routeways.

The interpretation of Bawsey and Wormegay as monastic sites is part of a wider trend that has closely linked religious and economic activity in the middle Anglo-Saxon period (e.g. Ulmschneider 2000a; 2000b). Indeed far from being isolated and conforming to the traditional view of early monastic sites, some communities appear to have had strong links to the outside world. Whilst isolation was no doubt

---

[31] This association has, however, been questioned (Campbell 1979, 36 n6; Hoggett 2010a, 45-6).

fundamental to the eremitical approach of, for example, Guthlac in founding the site at Crowland (Stocker 1993, 101-6) it was not necessarily such a priority for early religious communities of a more cenobitic nature. Bede complained of "many such places…that only in the most foolish way deserve the name of monastery, having absolutely nothing of real monastic life about them" (EE). Cast in this light, monastic sites founded within a short distance of major communication routes such as Roman roads were well-placed to quite literally enjoy the best of both worlds. They were sufficiently far from the roads to ensure a degree of isolation yet close enough to take advantage of the opportunities for external interaction and acquisition of material culture that the roads provided if they so chose. Even for sites of a more devout persuasion access to communication routes would have been highly beneficial. As Ulmschneider observes, "in Middle Saxon times the church had started to evolve as a great owner of land, thanks to large and continuous grants from kings" (2000b, 72) and consequently its needs were not dissimilar to those of royal and aristocratic estates. The already noted difficulty of distinguishing monastic and secular activity in the archaeological record is partly due to the similarity in the material culture expected to be found at these types of site. Certainly the need to acquire imported goods and potentially to sell agricultural surpluses, along with the ability to host fairs and markets would have made relatively close proximity to major communication routes a distinct advantage for religious foundations. Close ties between different individual monastic sites would also have been important and as Morris points out, "the linear disposition of some monastic places, and their proximity to old Roman roads and trunk roads, remind us that communication within the federation, and obligations of hospitality, could be further factors which might influence a decision as to where a monastery should stand" (1989, 113). Even so, sites located immediately adjacent to Roman roads seem to have been avoided by early monastic foundations both within the study area and beyond.

Having considered the context of middle Anglo-Saxon monastic sites in the study area and beyond, it is now possible to examine the identification of Stow Green as *Ǣdeldrethestowe* in more detail. Whilst proximity to trade and communication routes would have been beneficial to monasteries which were also functioning as farms and estates, Stow Green appears to be the only site within the study area to be positioned directly on a Roman road at a rural location (i.e. excluding those at former Roman

settlements). Its apparently anomalous location raises questions about the identification of the site of the medieval church at Stow Green as that of the seventh-century monastery. It is difficult to see why the potential benefits that a location on a Roman road provided would have been more influential in the choice of site at Stow Green than at other early monastic sites in the study area.

Whilst Roffe (1986, 31) considered that it was "not impossible" that the site of the medieval church at Stow Green represented a vestige of the early monastery which "had survived the Danish invasions" there is no reason to assume that it does. Other important medieval monasteries in Lincolnshire, such as Bardney and Crowland, appear to have been re-established close to, but not directly on, the site of their middle Anglo-Saxon predecessors (Stocker 1993, 101-10). The 'Chapel Yard' and fair site are located on a hilltop, but whilst this forms part of a small spur of land extending to the east it is by no means topographically isolated in the manner of other early monastic sites, especially given its relationship with the Roman road. The surrounding landscape could not have provided a natural *vallum monasterii* and if positioned there the site would have required a more traditional form of physical enclosure. It might then be reasonable to suggest that, given its anomalous setting, the site of the medieval church at Stow Green is not that of the seventh-century monastery and that the middle Anglo-Saxon foundation actually lay further east in the parish. The site at Stow Green, immediately adjacent to Mareham Lane, looks to be a far more favourable location for the administration of the medieval fair than for the site of a seventh-century monastery and it is possible that a new chapel was founded there in the medieval period specifically to oversee Sempringham Abbey's interests in the fair.

Conclusions

In contrast to the preceding two centuries, documentary evidence from the middle Anglo-Saxon period provides evidence for contemporary long-distance travel and with it a strong case for the continued use of the Roman road network. At former Roman settlements on the Roman road network, the documentary sources are supplemented by archaeological evidence for religious, elite and economic activities born out of the wider societal changes which occurred during this period. Although the lines between the different functions of these sites is often blurred, with them

163

potentially fulfilling multiple roles concurrently, it is their very existence at destinations on the Roman road network that is of importance as evidence of the continued use and status of the surviving roads.

However, not all economic activity appears to have been focussed on the Roman road network. Whatever, their exact functions the distribution of identified 'productive' sites in Lincolnshire shows a stronger correlation with unimproved routeways than the main Roman road network. This demonstrates that, in this respect at least, unimproved routeways had a significance equivalent to, if not greater than, the main Roman road network during the middle Anglo-Saxon period. It is likely that this had also been the case in preceding periods and means that we need to revise our assumptions about the relative importance of different types of long-distance routeways in the Anglo-Saxon landscape.

The process of rural settlement shift and stabilisation that occurred towards the end of this period appears to have resulted in some settlements becoming sited on Roman roads. However, the evidence for this is largely inferred, and it is not possible to ascertain the reasons why these locations were selected, if indeed they were. The suggestion that some settlements did relocate to, or became established at, locations on Roman roads during the eighth century, fits into existing models of settlement evolution during this period. However, the paucity of data available for these sites means that at present they have little to directly contribute to wider debates about settlement change in the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

The development of monastic sites within the middle Anglo-Saxon landscape provided further potential for engagement with the Roman road network. However, examination of the locations of known monastic sites of this period suggests that they avoided major land communication routes such as Roman roads, by and large favouring more remote settings instead.

The increased requirements for long-distance trade, travel, and communication which emerged during this period means that the Roman road network is likely to have been of greater importance by the eighth and ninth centuries than it had been at any point since the end of the Roman period. The evidence suggests that most of the Roman road network probably remained in use during the middle Anglo-Saxon period and that unimproved routeways also continued to be used at they had done throughout

preceding centuries. The use and increasing significance of long-distance communication routes in this period reinforces the point that, in order for it to have survived into the seventh to ninth centuries, and beyond, the Roman road network must have remained in continuous use since the end of the Roman period.

Chapter 7: The Continued Use and Significance of Roman Roads in the Late Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Periods

Introduction

The importance of the Roman road network in the medieval period is highlighted by references to the roads in contemporary legal documents such as the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris* and in the Four Highways story. Three of the named routes to which the laws applied were, at least in part, Roman roads and the fourth was a Romanised routeway. David Harrison describes the Four Highways as, "the backbone of a national road system" but points out that the routes described only very loosely followed the Roman roads with which their names were later more firmly associated (2004, 51-4). Be that as it may, the Four Highways story does reinforce the concept of long-distance routes in the medieval landscape. It was at least conceivable to travel from one end of the country to the other in the twelfth century, even if no one actually ever undertook these specific journeys.

The wide range of documentary, cartographic and archaeological evidence available for the later Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods[32] means that it is possible to piece together a much more comprehensive picture of the significance and use of the Roman road network in the ninth to sixteenth centuries than for the preceding periods. Indeed, the level of information available, particularly for the end of this period, is such that our knowledge of some aspects of road-use is considerably greater than for any point in the preceding eight centuries, including during the Roman period itself. Whilst the evidence for medieval journeys provided by the documentary sources means that there is less need to infer the use and significance of the Roman road network from the archaeological evidence, the information from the locales on the road network still provide useful supporting details about the influence and pattern of use of Roman roads during this period.

---

[32] Although this chapter encompasses the late Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods, for convenience the term medieval will be used to describe the whole period from *c*.850 to *c*.1540 unless otherwise stated.

It has long been suggested that much of the medieval and later road network of England was firmly established by the eleventh century (Stenton 1936; Taylor 1979, 110). Significant parts of the Roman road network survived in use into the medieval period but the date of many other main roads is unknown. It is very likely that some of these new roads evolved between the fifth and tenth centuries as settlements developed at new locations in the landscape, but it is equally possible that others may have unrecognised Roman or even pre-Roman origins, either wholly or in part. Whilst assigning absolute dates to the origins of many roads is impossible it is clear that by the eleventh century the pattern of land communications in England was very much a composite of pre-Roman, Roman and Anglo-Saxon routes.

The Use of the Roman Road Network in the Medieval Period

The range of documentary evidence available for the medieval period means that it is possible to start to understand more fully the range of people who were travelling on Roman roads and for what purposes. Inevitably though, the documentary evidence is biased towards the upper levels of society and only rarely do the routine journeys made by ordinary people appear in the historical record. Even where individual journeys can be identified, at all levels of society, the use of the Roman road network often still has to be inferred from the places mentioned and the order in which they were visited. The roads themselves are very rarely mentioned in these accounts and some caution needs to be exercised when identifying Roman roads as the routes that were actually travelled.

One of the best sources for road travel during the medieval period are royal itineraries. Although, as Stenton (1936, 5 n.2) pointed out, the itineraries are not representative of the majority of journeys undertaken by ordinary travellers, they do provide some reliable evidence for the use of the Roman road network for long-distance travel. Among the most comprehensive of those available are those of King John who travelled almost continuously at all times of year throughout his fifteen-year reign. The analysis of King John's travels published by Hardy (1835) shows that he made fifteen separate journeys into Lincolnshire and three into Norfolk - including the ill-fated crossing of the Wash in 1216. Although only the places visited by King John are
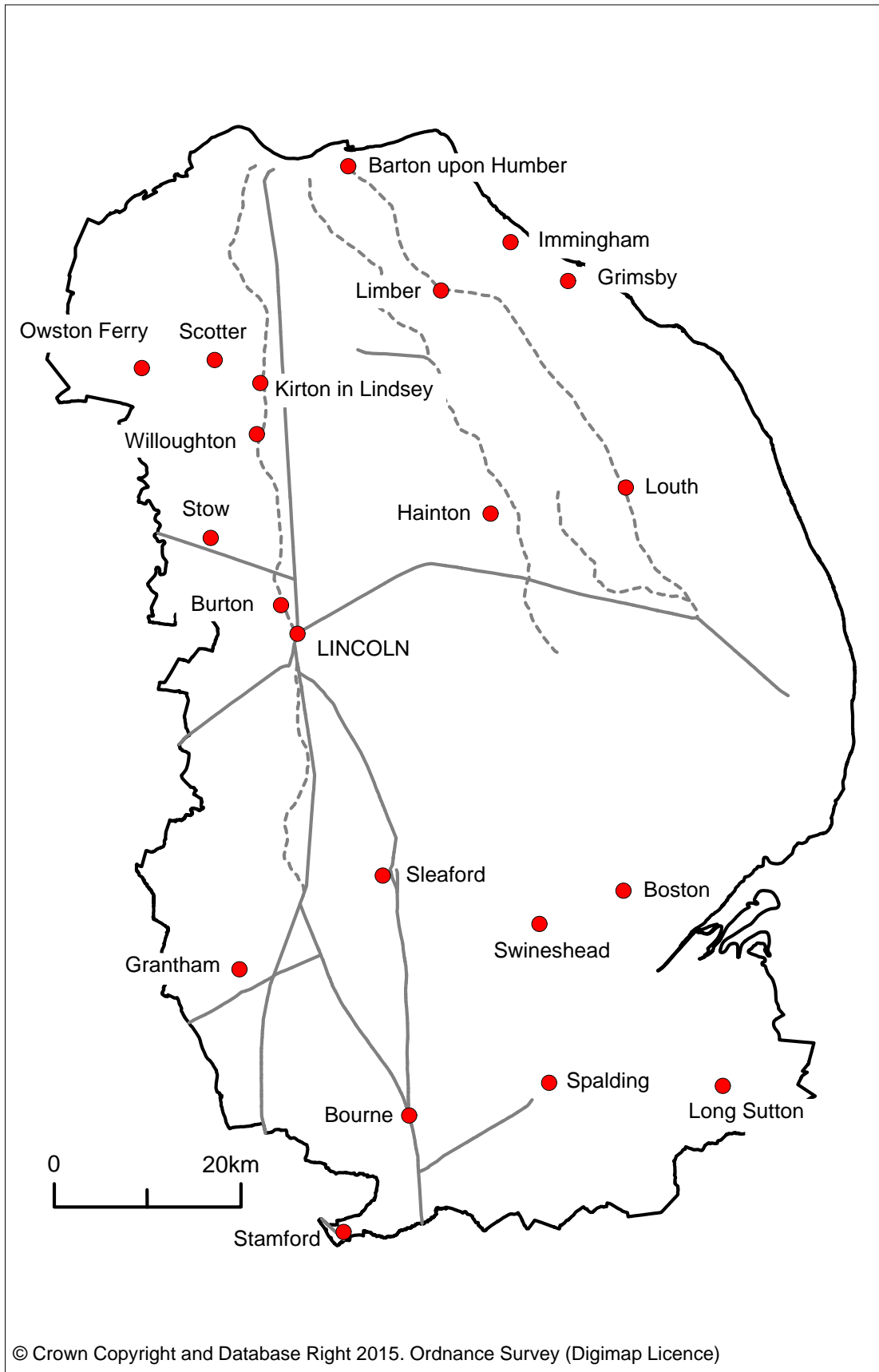
Figure 29. Places in Lincolnshire visited by King John.

recorded and not the precise routes taken, many of these lay within easy reach of the Roman road network (Figure 29). For example, the several journeys between Lincoln and Newark would almost certainly have followed the most direct route along the Foss Way. Ermine Street, and perhaps also Middle Street, would have been used for journeys both to the north and south of Lincoln, along with Mareham Lane and King Street to Sleaford and Bourne. Journeys undertaken to locations such as Louth, Limber and Hainton in the Lincolnshire Wolds also suggest at least partial use of unimproved routeways of Barton Street and Caistor High Street.

Even taking account of the low number of journeys into Norfolk made by King John, he does not seem to have made extensive use of the Roman road network in the county. The Billingford to Bawdeswell section of Roman road appears to have formed part of the main west to east route across the county and it is likely that King John used this road for the North Elmham to Horsford stage of his journey between King's Lynn and Norwich in 1205. More certainty can be attached to the use of the Pye Road for the onward continuation of this journey to Eye in Suffolk. The route that he followed between Chelmsford and Norwich in 1211 is not clear but it too could have included use of the Pye Road.

In addition to the peace-time movements of kings there would also have been journeys undertaken in times of unrest. Recent work by Bishop has shown that the locations of medieval battles frequently lie close to known Roman roads (2014, 74-98). This, he argues, demonstrates that the movement of armies was predominantly taking place along the surviving Roman road network. Whilst our poor understanding of the rest of the medieval road network means that the case made for the preferential use of Roman roads for the movement of armies might be overstated, it is clear that Roman roads did play a role in medieval military movements.

This relationship can be demonstrated by the two battles at Lincoln during the medieval period. The first of these occurred as part of the Anarchy in the mid twelfth century when Lincoln Castle was besieged by King Stephen. A relieving force loyal to Empress Matilda and commanded by Robert, first Earl of Gloucester, approached Lincoln with the intention of breaking the siege. On the second of February, 1141 they met Stephen's forces in battle just to the west of the city capturing the King in the process. Although the forces approaching Lincoln did so along the Foss Way from

Newark they did not follow the Roman road the whole way into the city as this would have, "made it necessary for them to fight their way through [the suburb of] Wigford and the walled city to the castle" (Hill 1948, 201). Instead Gloucester's army branched off from the Roman road to the south of the city to attack from the west, even though this would have necessitated crossing the Foss Dyke.

The second battle at Lincoln occurred in 1217 during the First Barons' War. Lincoln Castle was held by forces loyal to the young King Henry III and was under siege by Louis VIII of France who had the support of the majority of the citizens of Lincoln. A large force loyal to Henry was assembled at Newark under the control of William the Marshal and travelled around Lincoln to Stow prior to attacking the city from the north. It is possible that the Marshal's force travelled along the Foss Way for part of the journey before skirting around the west side of the city to Stow via Torksey (Hill 1948, 201). Whatever their route north, after departing from Stow the relieving army is likely to have approached the north gate of Lincoln along Tillbridge Lane and either Ermine Street or Middle Street.

Sections of the surviving Roman road network in Lincolnshire, particularly Ermine Street and Foss Way, formed part of the main corridor of north-south communication in England. Ermine Street in the southern part of Lincolnshire formed part of the Great North Road; a major route which had developed by the twelfth century (Harrison 2004, 44). As part of such long-distance routes, these Roman roads would, as Bishop (2014) has argued, have often been used by armies travelling to and from battles. Such use of Roman roads for the movement of armies can be demonstrated by two late medieval battles that occurred immediately outside of the Lincolnshire study area. The Battle of Losecoat Field took place on Ermine Street at Tickencote Warren in Rutland on the twelfth of March, 1470. From his estates in Lincolnshire, Robert Welles, eighth Baron Willoughby de Eresby, had instigated an uprising against King Edward IV and gathered together a force to engage the royal army sent to quash the rebellion. Welles' force positioned themselves on the Great North Road to the north of Stamford where it follows the line of Ermine Street. The rebel forces were attacked from the north by the royal army and quickly routed (Matthews 2013). Less than two decades later the Battle of Stoke Field took place on the sixteenth of June, 1487 immediately adjacent to the Foss Way just southwest of Newark. The rebel forces led by the Earl of Lincoln

which had crossed the River Trent at Fiskerton were met and defeated by King Henry VII's army as it advanced northwards along the Roman road (Warner 2002, 135-41).

A different type of medieval journey for which there is also good documentary evidence is the pilgrimage. The most famous of all pilgrimage routes in the country, from London to Canterbury and, immortalised in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, largely followed the line the Watling Street Roman road between those two cities. Arguably the second most important pilgrimage destination in the country was Walsingham in north Norfolk. A chapel was established at Walsingham in the eleventh century, but it was probably after the foundation of St Mary's Priory in the twelfth century that it became a pilgrimage destination. Whilst pilgrims came to Walsingham from various directions, including from Norwich and via the abbey at Crowland in Lincolnshire, the most important route was that from London (Whatmore 1973, 2; 19-20).

The route from London to Walsingham entered the study area from Brandon in Suffolk and proceeded north through the county via Pickenham to its destination. The northern section of the route appears to have mainly followed the line of the Roman road that branches off from the Peddars Way at North Pickenham and leads towards Toftrees (Figure 30). This association is confirmed by contemporary documentary sources such as the letter from Sir John Paston in 1472 relating to the felling of part of his wood at Sporle which lay adjacent to the Walsingham Way (Gairdner 1983, v.167) which can be associated with the Roman road through the parish. However, evidence confirming that the Roman road was actually known as Walsingham Way comes mainly from post-medieval sources. A mid-eighteenth-century map showing the course of the Roman road to the north of the River Nar at Litcham (NRO: C/Ca 3/8) shows it clearly labelled as *Walsingham Way* and, as already discussed in chapter five, the section at Sporle was known as *Walsingham Way* when the remains of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery were discovered adjacent to it in 1813 (Ashley and Penn 2012).

The earlier use of the route is attested in several itineraries in the late medieval and early post-medieval period. King Henry VI went via Pickenham (*Piknamwade*) and Litcham on his pilgrimage to Walsingham in 1447. Slightly later, in 1517, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk records in a letter to King Henry VIII how he had met Queen Catherine of Aragon at *Pykenham Wade* and accompanied her on her journey to Walsingham (Whatmore 1973, 56-7).
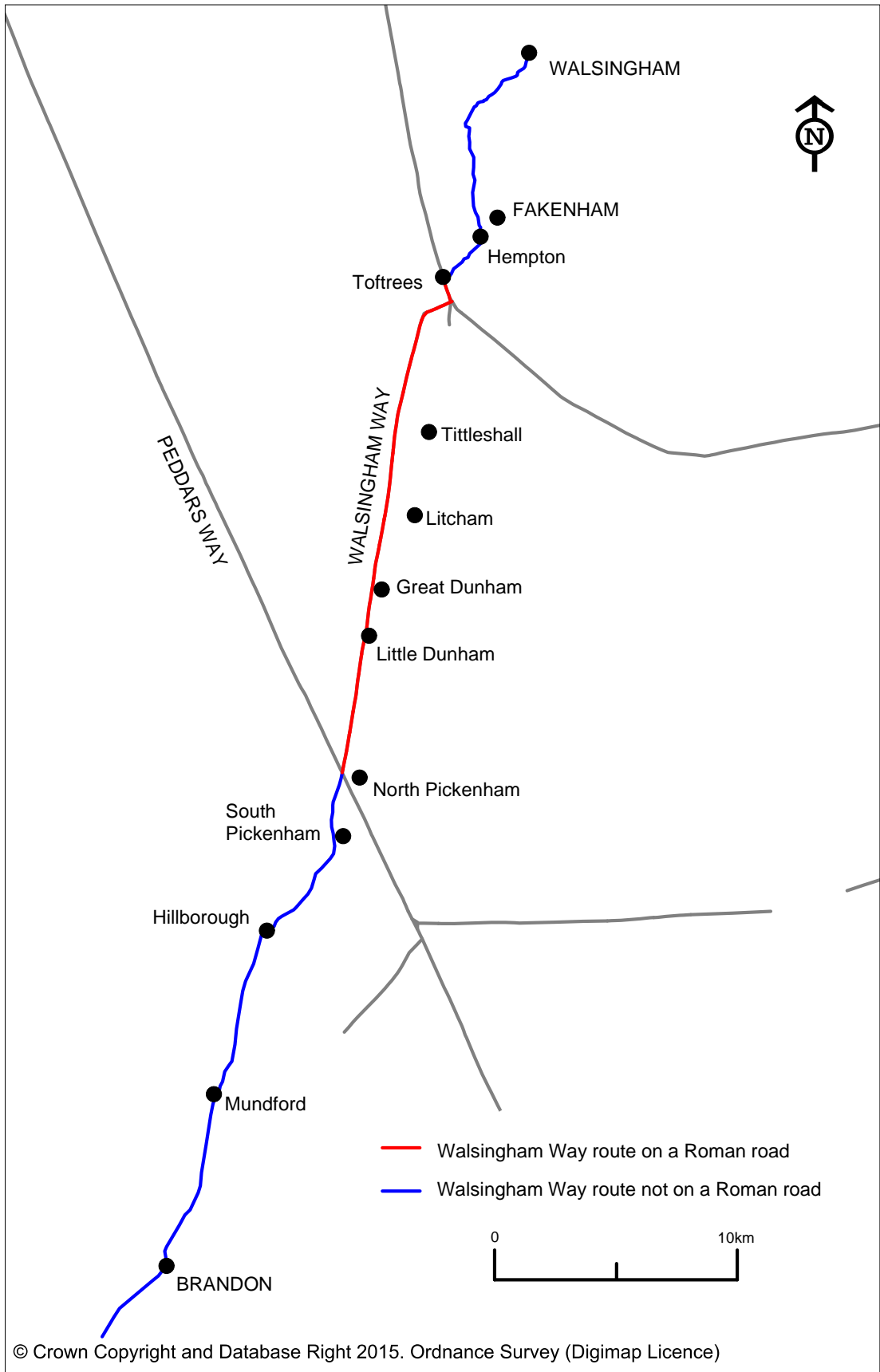
Figure 30. The route of the Walsingham Way through Norfolk.

Evidence for the use of the Roman road network in the medieval period for journeys undertaken for administrative, commercial, or agricultural purposes along Roman roads within the study area is more elusive. Analysis of the accounts for the provisioning the parliament held by King Edward I in Lincoln in 1301 sheds some light on the transport of livestock, meat, and grain in the medieval period (Pelham 1951). The large quantity of goods required were sourced from all over the county and the accounts show that they were transported to Lincoln by both road and river. Road transport appears to have been favoured even in some cases where an alternative river route was available. Given that most of the roads leading into Lincoln in the medieval period were of Roman origin it is likely that the Roman road network was used for at least the final stages of the overland movement of goods and livestock into the city, and most probably also from further afield.

Several of the examples of long-distance journeys cited by Stenton (1936) provide evidence for the use of the Roman road network in the fourteenth century. In the winter of 1324-5, Robert of Nottingham travelled into Lincolnshire and Yorkshire for King Edward II to oversee the purchase of wheat for export to France (*ibid*., 13-14). Starting from Nottingham he rode to Lincoln via Southwell, almost certainly using the Foss Way for the latter part of the journey. He then went along Ermine Street or Middle Street for part of the route to Burton upon Stather to cross the Humber. On his return journey from Yorkshire he came to Lincoln from Doncaster crossing the River Trent at Littleborough thus using Tillbridge Lane and either Ermine Street or Middle Street back to the city. He then left Lincoln for London, travelling via Grantham where he would have picked up the Great North Road and followed it along Ermine Street south out of the county.

A rare medieval account of the use of a Roman road as part of the route for droving livestock is also quoted by Stenton (*ibid*., 17-19). In May 1323 John the Barber set about droving a large flock of well over six hundred sheep and cattle from Long Sutton, through Lincolnshire to Tadcaster. Additions made *en route* at Bolingbroke and Waithe more than doubled the size of the drove to approximately fourteen hundred and fifty animals. After nine days the party had reached Barlings just east of Lincoln and the following day crossed the River Trent at Littleborough. The route between Barlings and Littleborough can be ascertained with some certainty and would have
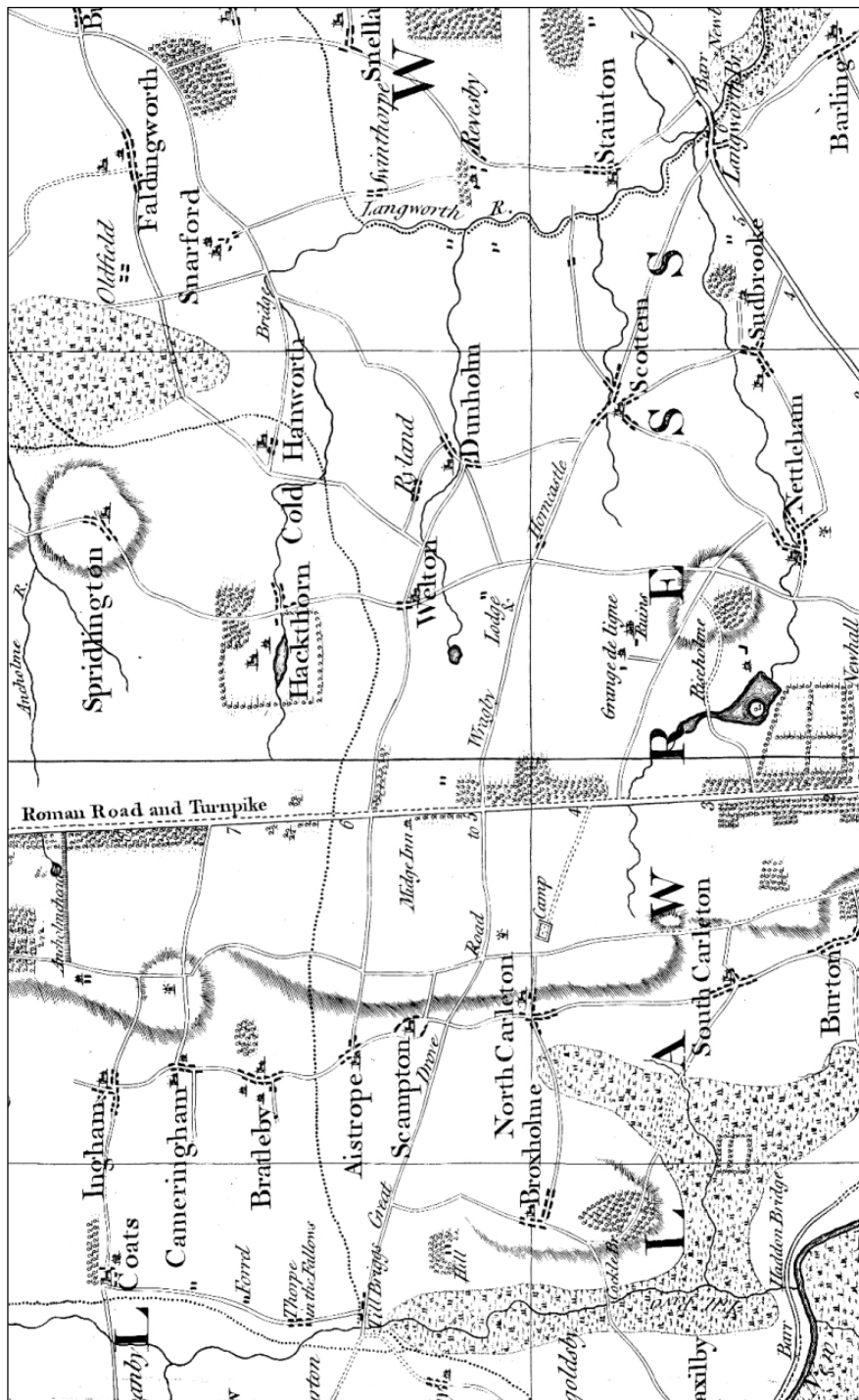
Figure 31. Extract from Armstrong's *Map of Lincoln-Shire* (1778) showing Tillbridge Lane as part of a 'Great Drove Road' between the River Trent and Langworth. The road extends from left to right across the image. Ermine Street is also shown running from top to bottom and is labelled as 'Roman Road and Turnpike'.

included the use of Tillbridge Lane Roman road. A drove road, called Horncastle Lane, leading from close to Barlings and incorporating the Roman road was still extant in the late eighteenth century (Figure 31).

Further evidence for the movement of goods and people along parts of the Roman road network in the medieval period can be inferred from the names given to some of the roads. The primary function of the east-west Saltersway leading from the fen-edge in Lincolnshire to join the Foss Way in Leicestershire is usually interpreted as having been the transport the produce of coastal salterns inland during the Roman period, if not before (Margary 1973, 222-3). However, the existence of the road-name, and the accompanying settlement name of Saltersford where the route crossed the River Witham, indicate that the road was still being used for the transport produce from salterns on the Wash in the medieval period.

The recorded course of the Icknield Way in Beachamwell parish was called *Pedderysty alias Saltersty* in 1399 (Watts 2004, 464), suggesting that it too was perhaps being used for the movement of salt in the medieval period. The mapped course of the Icknield Way lay broadly parallel to, and 7km to the west of, the line of Peddars Way Roman road at this point and it is possible that the names of the two routes were to some extent interchangeable, or that there was simply some confusion between them in this late fourteenth-century source. Margary interpreted this as evidence that these were, "just generic names for an ancient trackway" (1973, 263). However, recent analysis of medieval routeway names has shown that the terminology used to describe and name routes was actually very specific (Cole 2013). Consequently, leaving aside scriptorial errors, it is likely that the names applied in the medieval period reflected how the roads were used, or at least how they were perceived to be used.

The exact meaning of the name *Peddars Way* is uncertain but the generally accepted interpretation is that it is derived from the Middle English *peddere* meaning pedlar (Watts 2004, 464). However, given that *ped* was a Middle English term for a pannier (Bristow 1994, 146) the road-name might also be descriptive of a route used to transport goods by packhorse as well as by a traveller on foot. In addition to the Peddars Way Roman road and the use of this first element for the routeway at Beachamwell, other examples of *Peddars/Pedlars* road-names can be found

throughout East Anglia. At least some of these relate to long-distance routes but the Peddars Way itself is the only identified example of a main Roman road. It is possible that the direct association with pedlars is correct, but it is difficult to see how the Peddars Way Roman road with its lack of settlements along its course would have been a suitable route for the itinerant traveller selling goods. Given the presence of a port at Holme/Hunstanton at the northern end of Peddars Way in the medieval period the use of the route to transport goods by packhorse seems more plausible.

From the late medieval period onwards the existence, and by inference the use, of Roman roads in the landscape can be supported by cartographic evidence. One of the primary sources for understanding the complex pattern of land communications in this period is the Gough map. Dating to the mid fourteenth century it is the earliest surviving map to show a network of roads and settlements across England and Wales. However views differ as to what the Gough map actually tells about survival of the Roman road network in the medieval period. On the one hand, Hindle (1993, 55-6; 1998b, 31) has suggested that about 40% of the routes shown follow Roman roads and he has seen this as evidence that the Roman road network continued to form a significant part of the main communications network in the medieval period. By contrast, David Harrison (2004, 49-52) has argued that most of the Roman road network had fallen out of use by the medieval period and been replaced by a fresh pattern of routes linking new and different destinations. The reality is likely to lie somewhere between these two standpoints. However, an important consideration here is what the Gough map does, or more importantly does not, actually depict. The omission of some major Roman roads which remain in use today, such as the Foss Way and Pye Road leading to important medieval cities including Lincoln and Norwich, clearly demonstrates that the Gough map does not show the main road network of the medieval period in its entirety (Millea 2007, 28). Consequently it is not a reliable indicator of the extent of the survival and loss of the Roman road network in the fourteenth century and adds little to the evidence provided by other sources.

Whilst the documentary sources discussed above provide evidence for the continued use of the Roman road network, the journeys that they describe were not undertaken for their own sake; they were in all cases associated with destinations or locales lying on, or beyond, the Roman roads being travelled. As with the preceding centuries, these

locales included former Roman settlements along with new and varied foci that became established on the Roman road network during the medieval period.

Roman Roads and Medieval Urban Settlements, Fairs and Markets

Whilst the trade and exchange activities postulated for some of the 'productive' sites of the middle Anglo-Saxon period might suggest that they were proto-urban in character, it was not until the late ninth and tenth centuries that there was a widespread revival of towns as such. This included the re-establishment of former Roman urban centres or, as the evidence presented in the preceding chapters suggests, more probably the re-expansion into an urban form of the settlements that had probably continued to exist at, or adjacent to, these sites since the end of the Roman period. However, the rebirth of towns also involved the foundation of many new settlements without a direct Roman predecessor at the same site, some of which had direct, or indirect, relationships with the Roman road network. The two largest urban settlements within the study area, Lincoln and Norwich, fall respectively into these two different categories of existing and new locales.

Lincoln was re-established as an urban centre in the late ninth century and by the end of the twelfth century it was by far the largest town in the East Midlands with a population perhaps five times that of each of the neighbouring major urban centres of Stamford, Leicester, and Nottingham (Vince 2003b, 159-61; Stocker 2006, 72). The city prospered and rapidly developed new suburbs beyond its Roman walls. Its success undoubtedly owes much to its geographical position acting as a hub within the regional Roman road network at an important point on the riverine and maritime communication network, via the Witham and Foss Dyke.

The later survival of the Roman roads leading into Lincoln indicates that they were all in use during the medieval period, providing the city with excellent overland communications to both the other main urban centres in the region and the smaller market towns in the county. These routes were supplemented by the Middle Street/Pottergate unimproved routeway along the Lincoln Cliff, and a route of uncertain date extending northeast from the city towards Market Rasen, Caistor and
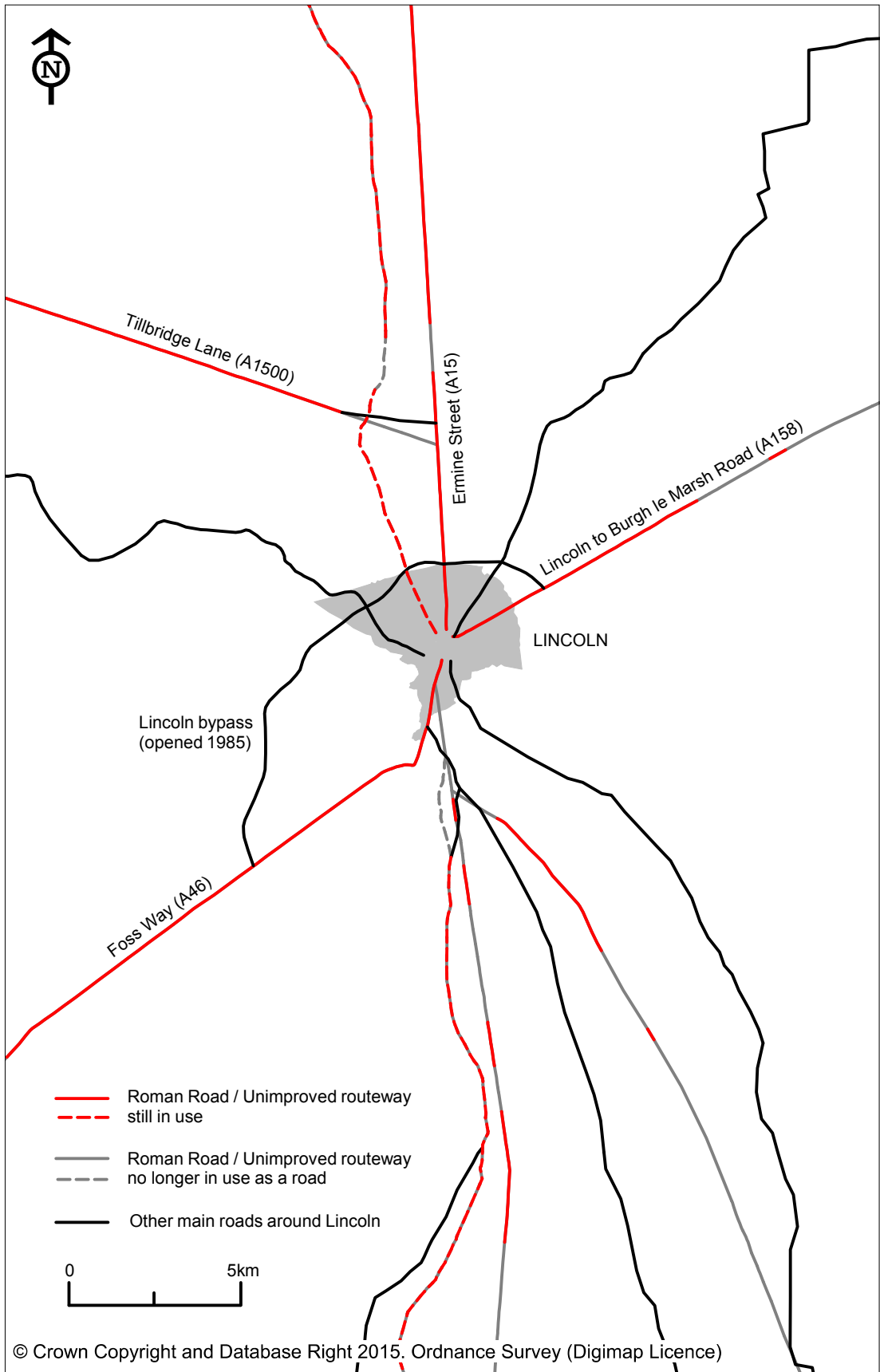
Figure 32. The survival of Roman roads around Lincoln.

Legend:

— Roman Road / Unimproved routeway still in use (red solid)
- - - Roman Road / Unimproved routeway still in use (red dashed)
— Roman Road / Unimproved routeway no longer in use as a road (grey solid)
- - - Roman Road / Unimproved routeway no longer in use as a road (grey dashed)
— Other main roads around Lincoln (black)

Tillbridge Lane (A1500)
Ermine Street (A15)
Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Road (A158)
LINCOLN
Lincoln bypass (opened 1985)
Foss Way (A46)

0 5km

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

Grimsby (Figure 32). In addition to the documentary evidence for travellers visiting the city, further evidence for the significance and continued use of the Roman roads leading into Lincoln can be inferred from the survival of all four gates of the upper city at this time. All of these gates appear to have been used throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, with three of them being restored in the early Norman period (Vince 2003a, 147). The same can be said for the south gate of the lower city as well, the site of which, at the Stonebow, remains in use today.

The late Anglo-Saxon and medieval development of Caistor St Edmund, the principal former Roman settlement in the Norfolk study area, could not have been more different. Whilst Caistor St Edmund was clearly an important centre in the middle Anglo-Saxon period its significance does not appear to have continued into the later ninth and tenth centuries. The recorded finds suggest that the extra-mural settlement to the west of the walled town had probably disappeared by the late Anglo-Saxon period and whatever settlement had existed near to the church, either inside or outside of the walls, had probably also drifted away from the former Roman town by the thirteenth century at the latest. Caistor St Edmund was well-connected by the road network to its south, west and east but its relationship to the area to the north is less clear. Whilst its lack of navigable river didn't prevent it becoming, or remaining, an important centre in the middle Anglo-Saxon period it is likely that this is what ultimately caused, or at least contributed to, its demise. Compared to the setting of Lincoln with its radial road network and navigable waterways, it is easy to see why Caistor St Edmund may have presented a less-favourable candidate for late Anglo-Saxon urban revival.

A more suitable site for a late Anglo-Saxon town evidently existed on the banks of the River Wensum 6km to the north of Caistor St Edmund and it was at that location that Norwich developed. The town rapidly expanded becoming one of the most populous urban centres by the eleventh century and the largest walled city in the country by the fourteenth century. Its importance is confirmed by the fact that it is often considered to have been England's 'second city' after London until the eighteenth century. Although Norwich's development and success owes much to its position on the navigable Rivers Yare and Wensum it was not placed directly on the main Roman road network. Although Roman roads have been suggested as running through Norwich (Ayers 1994, 19-21) none of these have been confirmed and they are not

included within this thesis. However, Norwich was not entirely divorced from the Roman road network. Its location almost due north of Caistor St Edmund meant that it was well-placed to join up with and take advantage of the long-distance connections provided by the Pye Road to the south of the former Roman settlement, particularly to Ipswich and Colchester.

Compared with Lincoln the modern survival of the Roman roads leading to Caistor St Edmund is very poor. As we shall explore in more detail in the following chapter, the high level of road-loss associated with Caistor St Edmund can be directly attributed to its failure to develop into an urban centre in the medieval period.

The abandonment of the Roman town at Caistor St Edmund by the late Anglo-Saxon period appears to be a common feature of many former Roman nucleated settlements. Very few Roman small towns went on to become medieval settlements and an even smaller number achieved the status of what might be considered to have been a town. Medieval and later towns developed directly on the site of only three of the twenty-six Roman nucleated settlements (excluding minor roadside settlements) within the study area. These were at Caistor, Horncastle, and Burgh le Marsh in Lincolnshire, the first of which at least was evidently already an important centre in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Caistor and Horncastle both lie on the unimproved routeway of Caistor High Street and only Burgh le Marsh lies on a main 'engineered' Roman road. The development of a medieval town at Burgh le Marsh may have as much to do with the site's maritime connections as its position on the overland communication network[33]. Although the site of the Roman nucleated settlement at Ancaster also became a medieval settlement it does not, as we shall see below, appear to have achieved the status of a town.

The majority of medieval towns appear to have developed at sites away from the Roman road network. Of the five places in Lincolnshire with burgesses recorded in the Domesday Survey (Darby 1971, 78-82) only Lincoln itself lay on the main Roman road network. Of the new settlements without direct Roman precursors, Stamford lay

[33] The silting up of the channel leading to Burgh le Marsh and its increasing distance to the sea due to medieval land reclamation may account for why the settlement did not develop into a more significant one in the late medieval and post-medieval periods.
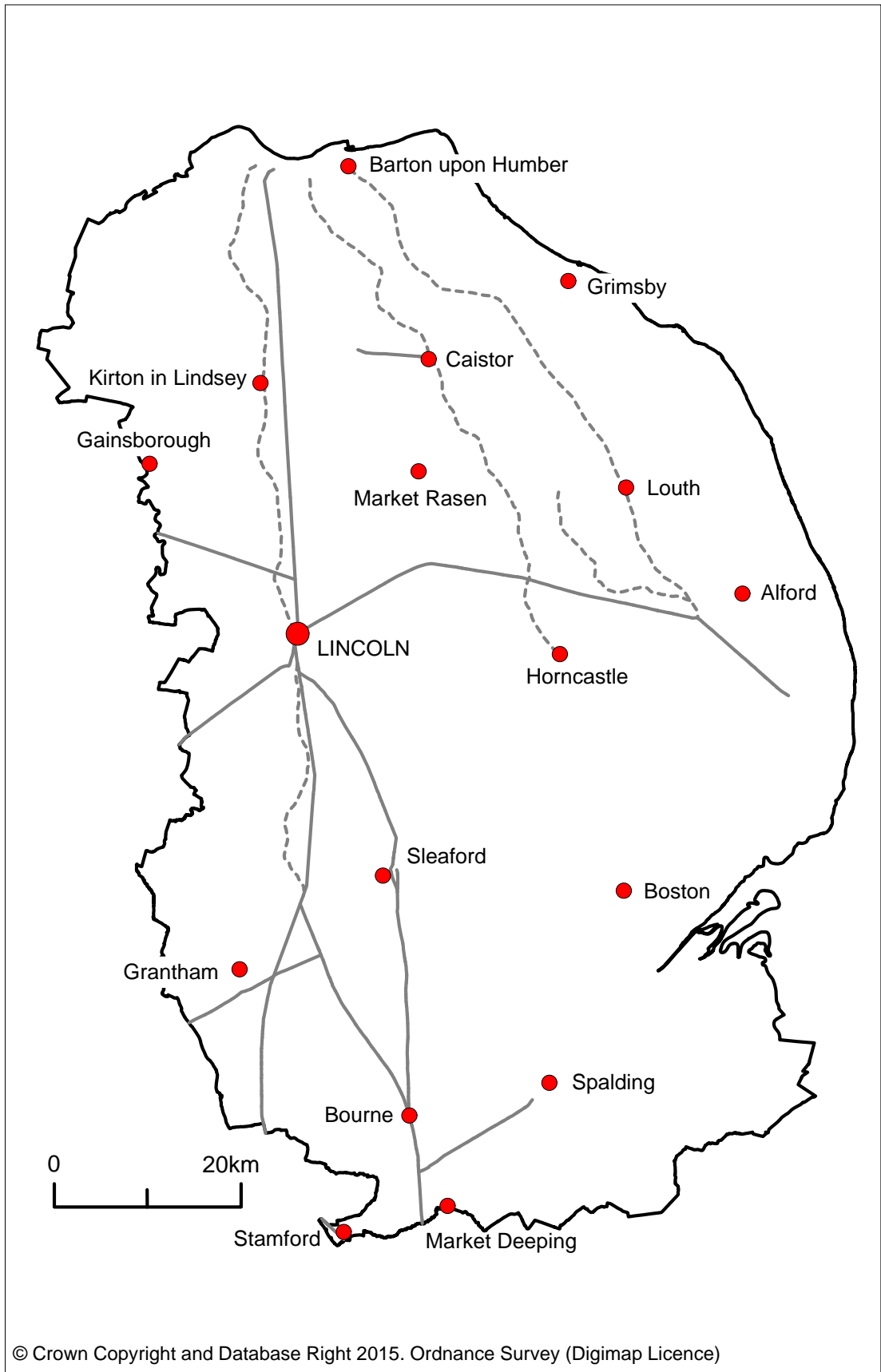
Figure 33. Medieval towns and Roman roads in Lincolnshire.
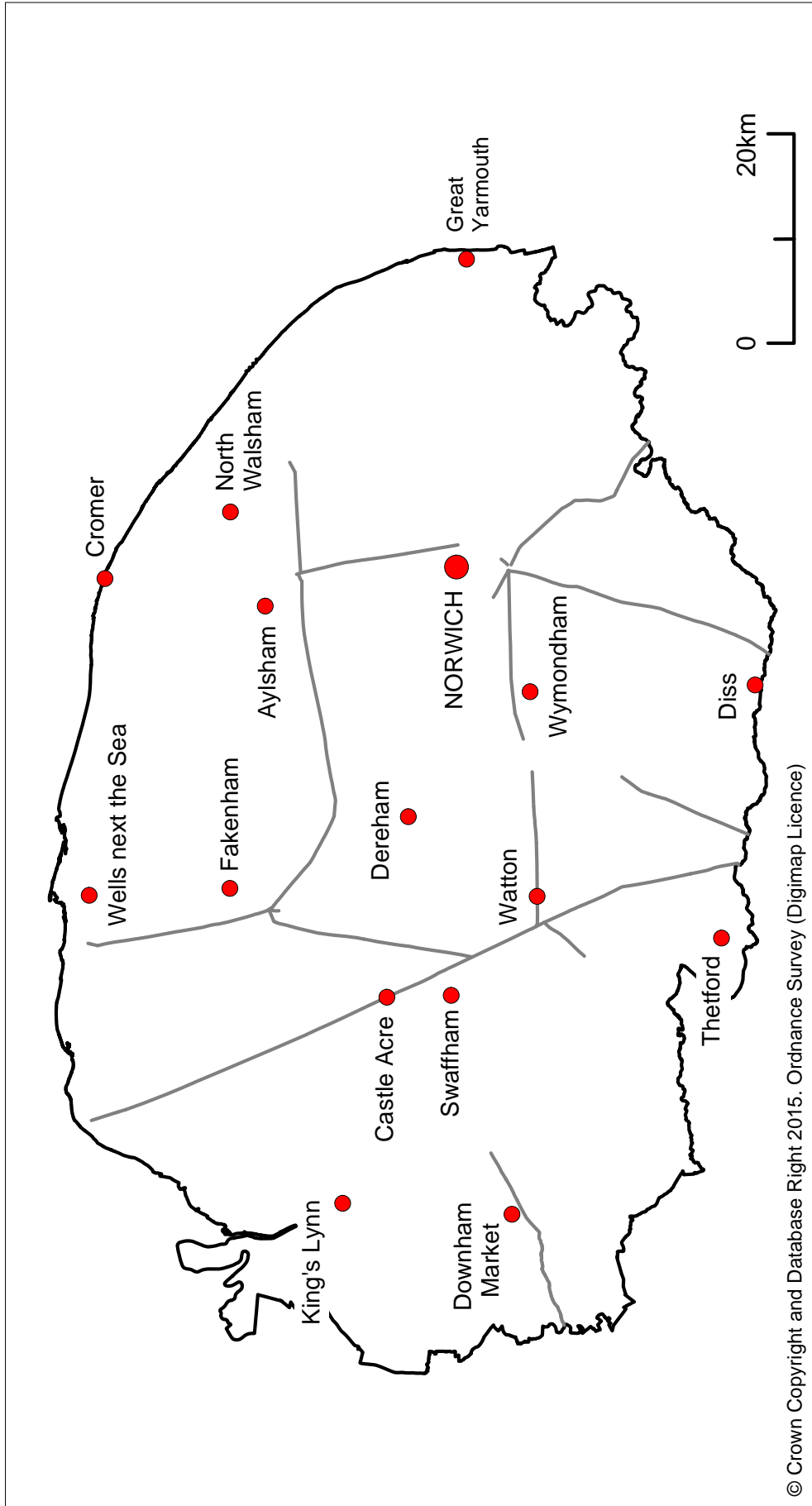
Figure 34. Medieval towns and Roman roads in Norfolk.

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

adjacent to, but not directly on, Ermine Street, Louth lay close to the Barton Street unimproved routeway and Grantham and Torksey were both located away from Roman roads (Figure 33). A similar picture exists for the three places with Domesday burgesses in Norfolk (*ibid.*, 139-42). Thetford may have lain on the course of the Icknield Way unimproved routeway, but neither Norwich nor Great Yarmouth were located on the Roman road network (Figure 34). However, these and other medieval towns obviously did not exist in isolation away from any main roads. As Harrison (2004, 50-1) has pointed out the positions of many eleventh- and twelfth-century towns away from the Roman road network supports Stenton's (1936) suggestions about the origins of the modern road network and provides clear evidence that other major routes must have been firmly established by that date.

However, some medieval towns did evolve, or were deliberately planned, at new sites on the Roman road network in the study area. In Lincolnshire the medieval town at Bourne developed directly on the line of King Street immediately to the north of the Roman settlement. Watton in Norfolk is located on the Roman road leading eastwards from the former Roman town at Saham Toney. It appears to have been a 'new town' which developed around a market, established in 1204 (Dymond 1985, 157-9). As noted in the previous chapter, the medieval parish church at Watton lies away from both the Roman road and the medieval town suggesting that the latter was deliberately established at a new location. Watton was established in direct competition to an existing market in the adjacent parish of Saham Toney. The medieval settlement at Saham Toney, and presumably also its market, lay away from the site of the former Roman settlement on the Peddars Way. Consequently, the ultimate success of the Watton market over its neighbour may have been partly due to the better connections provided by its position directly on the Roman road which formed part of the route to Norwich.

Another example of a medieval planned town on a Roman road is Castle Acre in Norfolk which was established where Peddars Way crossed the River Nar. A castle was constructed immediately to the east of the Roman road by William de Warrene in the decade after the Norman Conquest and a Cluniac priory was founded a short distance to its west in *c*.1090. The planned town was laid out in the twelfth-century filling in most of the space between the priory precinct and Peddars Way (Ayers 2005, 74). Although the castle sat immediately adjacent to the line of Peddars Way its

boundary does not appear to overlie the road and did not necessarily prevent its continued use in the late eleventh century. By contrast the planned town was placed across the line of the Roman road, emphatically controlling its use and displacing the route through the town slightly westwards along what is now Bailey Street. The town was most likely established to exploit what was possibly already a successful, but unrecorded, market site at the river crossing, but probably also acted as a symbol of seigneurial power (Liddiard 2000, 58). As we shall see below, it is likely that a port existed at the northern end of Peddars Way throughout the medieval period. Although Castle Acre lies 30km from the sea it is very likely that Both Peddars Way and the port played an important role in the town's wider connections. However, the establishing of a new town on a Roman road was in itself no guarantee of its future success and despite being well-connected Castle Acre failed to develop into a significant town in the post-medieval period. Changes of owners and their interest in the site meant that the castle itself was probably derelict by the end of the fourteenth century, but it was probably the loss of the priory at the Dissolution that forced the town into decline (Coad 1984, 17-8).

Another example of a failed attempt to establish an urban, or at least commercial, centre on a Roman road may be Ancaster in Lincolnshire. As noted above, the modern village of Ancaster is located on the site of the Roman settlement but there is only scant evidence for middle Anglo-Saxon activity at the site, and it effectively needs to be seen as a new settlement in the medieval period. The settlement is not recorded in the Domesday survey and is first mentioned in the mid twelfth century (Cameron 1998, 3). Ermine Street, which passes straight through the middle of the walled area of the former Roman settlement, forms the eastern boundary of the parish, dividing it between Ancaster and Wilsford parishes. The division of former Roman settlements between two parishes along the line of their central road in this way is also seen at abandoned settlements such as Brettenham and Owmby where there is no medieval settlement focus and church around which the parish could have lain on both sides of the Roman road. At Ancaster this division between two parishes, the lack of evidence for middle Anglo-Saxon activity, and the absence of any pre-twelfth-century reference to the medieval settlement suggest that the site of the Roman settlement had been abandoned long before the start of the late Anglo-Saxon period. St Martin's church at Ancaster is located directly adjacent to Ermine Street within the core of the former

Roman settlement (Figure 18). This means that it is positioned in an exceptionally unusual location directly on the boundary of its parish. A reused fragment of a late-tenth- to eleventh-century grave cover built into the fabric of the church provides a likely date for its original foundation (Everson and Stocker 1999, 97). Rather than its position within the former Roman walled circuit indicating a middle Anglo-Saxon foundation, it would appear that the church relates to a deliberate re-founding of the settlement on Ermine Street at a point after the parish boundaries had become established. Given its lack of entry in the Domesday Survey this may have been in the later eleventh century. The medieval settlement which subsequently developed within the former Roman town lay on both sides of Ermine Street and, until boundary changes in the twentieth century, was divided between Ancaster and Wilsford parishes.

Ancaster had a fair in the medieval period although there is no surviving record of a market (Ambler 1993). This does not necessarily mean that a market did not exist and it is likely that the motivation for the re-establishment of a settlement on Ermine Street was commercially driven. It is possible that the intention had been to establish a market to take advantage of increasing levels of traffic on Ermine Street and perhaps also to exploit a new source of wealth from the local quarrying and stone-working industry. However, the reasons why Ancaster did not flourish and become a town on the scale of its near-neighbour Grantham are unclear. One possibility is that there was a decline in the amount of passing trade after a bridge was constructed over the River Trent at Newark in the second quarter of the twelfth century (Harrison 2004, 44). It is likely that this new crossing diverted traffic away from this section of Ermine Street and onto what became established as the route of the Great North Road; a shift that favoured Grantham at Ancaster's expense.

The establishment of a new market centre in the medieval period could also be sufficient to divert a road away from its original Roman course. In the later twelfth century Nicholaa de Haya gifted the hunting park at Barlings in Lincolnshire to the Premonstratensian abbey in the same parish. This extended the abbey's estate up to the parish boundary with Sudbrooke and Scothern on the line of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road. The abbey exploited the opportunity that this road frontage had to offer and a new market town was established at Langworth by 1270 (Everson and Stocker 2011, 154-161). However, the new town was positioned just to the south of,
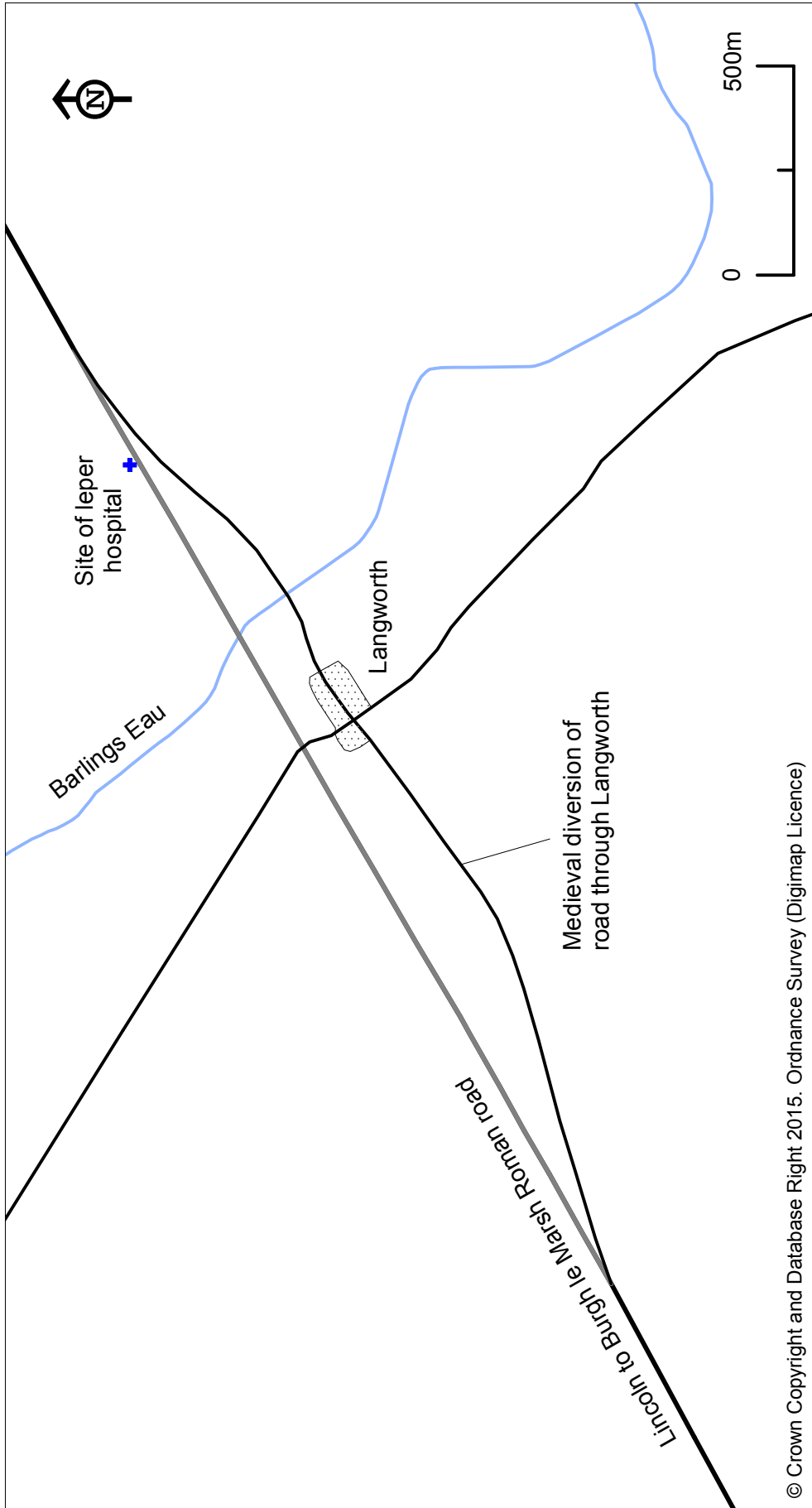
Figure 35. The diversion of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road at Langworth (after Everson and Stocker 2011).

Labels on map:
- N
- Site of leper hospital
- Barlings Eau
- Langworth
- Medieval diversion of road through Langworth
- Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road
- 0 500m

rather than directly on, the line of the Roman road so that it lay entirely within the abbey's estate, where they had complete control over its development. This resulted in the diversion of the road away from its Roman course to run through the new settlement and its market place (Figure 35). Whether this change was organic, with travellers choosing to divert through the new settlement and gradually abandoning the original route, or whether the road was physically re-routed by the abbey is unclear. However, there is no record of complaints against the abbey for stopping up the King's Highway and diverting it through their new town which would most likely have been the case had this occurred. Although the settlement at Langworth still exists, its significance as a market centre seem to have declined after the Dissolution (*ibid*.), and it is now little more than a hamlet.

Roman Roads, River Crossings, Ferries and Ports

As outlined in Chapter Three, the boundaries of both Lincolnshire and Norfolk are largely defined by rivers and the North Sea (Figures 3 and 4). Consequently long distance travel along many of the routes out of the study area would involve either crossing a river, or connecting with maritime communication networks. Whilst these locales are not necessarily destinations in their own right they act as important nodal points in the communications network and were therefore able to influence the continued use and survival of the Roman roads that led towards them.

The Domesday Survey for Lincolnshire lists ferries at five locations in the county and it is likely that others also existed but were unrecorded (Darby 1971, 83-4). Three of those named were located in the north of the county where major routes reached the Humber[34]. The ferry at Winteringham lay at the northern end of both Ermine Street and Middle Street; South Ferriby at the end of Caistor High Street; and Barton upon Humber on Barton Street. The presence of ferries at the northern termini of these routes provide evidence to support their continued use and importance in the eleventh century. A further river crossing of importance on the Roman road network in Lincolnshire existed where Tillbridge Lane crossed the River Trent between Marton and Littleborough. As noted in the previous chapter this river crossing may be been

---

[34] The other two Domesday ferries were at Great Grimsby, also on the Humber; and Lea on the River Trent.

used by King Edwin during military campaigns and may also have been the location of a mass baptism by Paulinus. The crossing, and the Roman road leading towards it, appear to have remain part of significant route north from Lincoln well into the post-medieval period. The ferry was mentioned by William Stukeley in his description of Tillbridge Lane (1776, 93) and, although its significance diminished after the construction of bridges at Gainsborough and Dunham in 1791 and 1832 it remained in use into the early twentieth century (Mee 1938, 161).

No ferries are recorded in the Domesday Survey for Norfolk and there is no evidence to demonstrate that the ferry across the Wash postulated for the Roman period continued in use at that date. However, later documentary sources provide interesting evidence for the existence of a port, or ports, at Holme next the Sea and Hunstanton at the northern end of Peddars Way, potentially continuing the use of the location of the southern terminus of the Roman ferry. The Close Rolls for 1297 mention two individuals as the "keepers of the port of Holme and Hunstanton" (cited in Lewton-Brain 1965, 408) and Holme was also among the ports ordered to send ships to Berwick on Tweed in 1301 (Rutledge 2005, 79). The Holme/Hunstanton ports were evidently still operational into the early post-medieval period as they were assessed as having shipping of over sixteen tons in the Elizabethan survey of 1580 (*ibid.*). The relationship between the Holme and Hunstanton ports and Peddars Way is highly significant. Although there is no clear documentary evidence to indicate the use of Peddars Way for the movement of goods and people to and from the port in the medieval period, it is highly likely that this was the case. Indeed, the near-complete survival of the northern section Peddars Way might be attributed to its use as a route to the port throughout the medieval period, providing a link between the coast and Castle Acre amongst other localities in west-central Norfolk.

Roman Roads and Medieval Rural Settlement

As already discussed in the previous chapter, some settlements may have been established adjacent to Roman roads in the middle Anglo-Saxon period with their locations potentially being indicated by the presence of later medieval parish churches. Whilst the suggestion that the foundation dates of the churches and their accompanying settlements were as early as the eighth century must remain speculative

due the limitations of the available evidence, these sites can be more confidently seen as having been established by the tenth or eleventh centuries. This is confirmed by the dates of the surviving churches as indicated by their fabric and references to them in documentary sources such as the Domesday Survey[35].

Establishing how medieval settlements evolved and their relationship to a Roman road is far from straightforward. This is particularly the case where the medieval settlement focus now lies beneath a modern village. The medieval settlements whose development is perhaps easiest to understand are those where the site has been partially or completely abandoned and their extent is revealed as earthworks, cropmarks, or artefact scatters. However, these sites represent only a small number of the settlements on Roman roads within the study area. For the majority of the other settlements, it is possible to gain some indication of their medieval layout from their plan in the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries as indicated on historic maps. Using this approach it is possible to suggest that a small number of rural settlements located on Roman roads in the study area appear to have remained largely focussed on both their churches and the road throughout the medieval period. Examples of this apparent continuity of location include Baston and Old Sleaford in Lincolnshire, and Bawdeswell, Dickleburgh, and Toftrees in Norfolk. However, settlements of this type, which remain focussed around the church on a Roman road, are comparatively few in number within the study area.

Most settlements associated with churches located on Roman roads within the study area underwent a partial or complete shift away from the church site during the medieval period. Those that underwent a complete shift are, as previously discussed, likely to have origins between the eighth and tenth centuries. However, in some cases the amount of shift that occurred was relatively minor, with the settlement developing along the line of the Roman road leaving the church at one end of the village. West Deeping in Lincolnshire drifted northwards along King Street away from its church resulting in a linear settlement form, although with the River Welland to its south there was perhaps limited scope for expansion along the road in both directions. The church

---

[35] However, it must be remembered that only a small number of churches that were extant in the mid eleventh century were recorded in the Domesday Survey. Consequently the absence of a church in a Domesday Book entry cannot be used as evidence that one did not exist at that time (Morris 1989, 141).

at Long Stratton in Norfolk lies within the modern settlement boundary but in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the main focus of the village lay further to the north along the Pye Road. The place-name prefix *Long-* is recorded as early as 1275 (Watts 2004, 585) suggesting that the settlement had already adopted a linear form along the Roman road by that date. A more subtle example of partial settlement shift can be seen at Scole in Norfolk, where by the late eighteenth century the settlement had drifted both north and south along the Pye Road leaving an unoccupied area around the church. In the case of Newton Flotman in Norfolk the extent of settlement shift was greater, with the focus moving south along the Pye Road towards the crossing over the River Tas leaving the church completely isolated. Although the settlement focus had shifted away from the church in these cases, it remained on the Roman road suggesting that relocation along the road itself was more desirable than expansion onto the land to either side.

The process of settlement drift that occurred by the tenth to twelfth centuries frequently saw the focus moving away from the churches towards new sites on the edges of greens and commons elsewhere in the parish (Williamson 2014). The process did not always result in the complete relocation of the settlement. At Tetford in Lincolnshire part of the village remained along the slightly altered course of the Roman road with the church at its eastern end, but the majority shifted to new sites south of the River Lymn and to the settlement of Little London to the north of the Rase Beck. Even at Dickleburgh in Norfolk, where the majority of the settlement remained focussed on the church and the Pye Road, a separate area of settlement developed on the common edge at Dickleburgh Moor.

Elsewhere in Norfolk the process of settlement shift towards the edges of commons was more complete with medieval churches left in isolation on the former courses of Roman roads. At both Scoulton and Booton the churches lie in genuinely isolated locations with the settlement foci in the parishes located on the edges of former commons away from both the churches and the Roman roads. Whilst the shift of these settlements away from their churches is part of a wider pattern present across the Norfolk study area, in these cases the shift was also away from the Roman road on which the church was located. This might suggest that the advantages of the common-edge locations to which the settlements migrated outweighed those of their original site on the Roman road. Both of these isolated churches in Norfolk lie on sections of

Roman road that no longer survive in use as a road or track in the modern landscape. The relative chronology of the settlement shift and road loss is not clear in either case. It is possible that the significance of these roads and the extent to which they were being used had already declined or that they were completely out of use by the time the process of settlement shift was occurring. If this was the case and the benefits of the location on the Roman road had already waned, it is easy to see why the common-edge sites would have had more to offer and why the settlements moved completely away from the line of the roads.

Whilst it is clear that some settlements shifted away from Roman roads during the medieval period, in other cases the opposite process was taking place with the principal settlement focus within a parish moving towards a Roman road. The relocation of settlements onto main roads in the medieval period is a phenomenon that has been recognised elsewhere. An oft-cited example is that of Caxton in Cambridgeshire which shifted to a new position on Ermine Street to take advantage of increased traffic on the road in the thirteenth century, leaving the church and former village site abandoned (Taylor 1979, 129-30).

A similar pattern of settlement shift towards Roman roads can be seen in the study area. Where the church and original settlement were located close to the Roman road, often within a few hundred metres, it was possible for the settlement to expand towards the road without the complete abandonment of its original focus. This appears to have been the process at Appleby in Lincolnshire, where the church lay 400m east of Ermine Street and the settlement evolved towards the Roman road. Where the distance between the church and Roman road was greater it was sometimes possible for the original settlement focus to survive whilst a new secondary settlement became established on the road. This was the case at Tasburgh where a separate settlement of Upper Tasburgh developed around a crossroads on the Pye Road. The hamlet of Saxlingham Thorpe, which is first recorded in 1254 (Ekwall 1960, 406), developed on the south side of the Pye Road crossing of the River Tas as one of several dispersed settlement foci in the parish. Such settlements can have undergone an organic evolution or in some cases appear have been more deliberately planned. The latter was probably the case with the small settlement of Spital in the Street which grew up on Ermine Street just to the north of Caenby Corner. Its focus was a *hospitium* established

in the mid twelfth century which by the fourteenth century was accompanied by a chapel and market (SCTSE nd).

In some cases the settlement shift towards the Roman road left the church completely, or almost completely, isolated. At Billingford and Stratton St Michael in Norfolk the majority of the settlement had migrated onto the nearby Roman roads by the late eighteenth century, leaving the churches detached with only a small number of dwellings remaining at the original site. The settlement shift at Keswick and Gasthorpe in Norfolk was comprehensive with the churches becoming completely isolated and ruinous as the settlements moved towards the Roman roads. There is insufficient evidence to determine whether or not the settlement shift in these cases was towards the edge of a common as well as the Roman road. As the Roman roads did define the limits of some commons and greens it is entirely possible that this was the case. A more certain case is that of Thelveton in Norfolk which migrated away from its church towards two separate areas of common land in the parish, one of which was located adjacent to the Pye Road. Also in Norfolk is the settlement of Kirstead Green which lies on Stone Street approximately a kilometre from the extant St Margaret's Church and the demolished St Stephen's Church, and now forms the principal settlement focus in Kirstead parish. Although the original extent of the green itself is not known, the linear plan of the settlement of Kirstead Green which lies along Stone Street, suggests that it too probably had an elongated form along the Roman road.

Not all medieval settlement activity on Roman roads existed in the form of towns, villages, or hamlets. The sites of individual farms, manorial centres, and granges can also be identified as lying on, and close to, the roads. Although moated enclosures be of a variety of different dates and functions they are most frequently associated with the sites of medieval manor houses, substantial farms, and granges and can be a good indicator of this type of settlement. In some cases the names of post-medieval houses which include the element hall, manor, or grange also provide evidence for a medieval predecessor on, or immediately adjacent to, their site[36].

---

[36] Sites named 'Hall Farm' or 'Manor Farm' have generally been omitted due to their potential to be 'the farm belonging to the hall/manor' rather than the site of the hall/manor itself. A further caveat is that some properties were renamed as manors, halls, or granges in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries purely as an affectation.
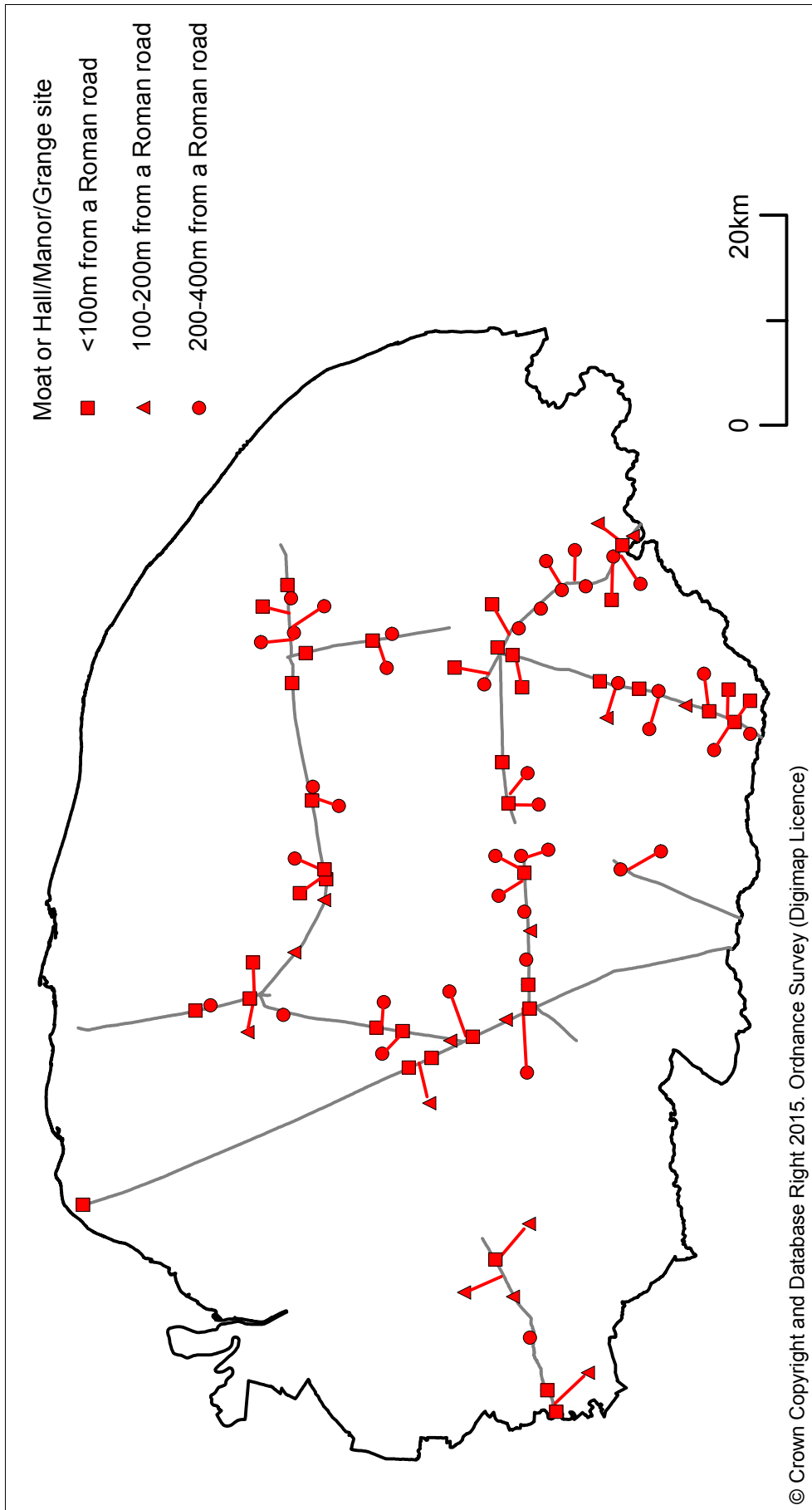
Figure 36. Moat, hall, manor, and grange sites close to Roman roads in Norfolk.

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

Moat or Hall/Manor/Grange site

■ <100m from a Roman road

▲ 100-200m from a Roman road

● 200-400m from a Roman road

20km
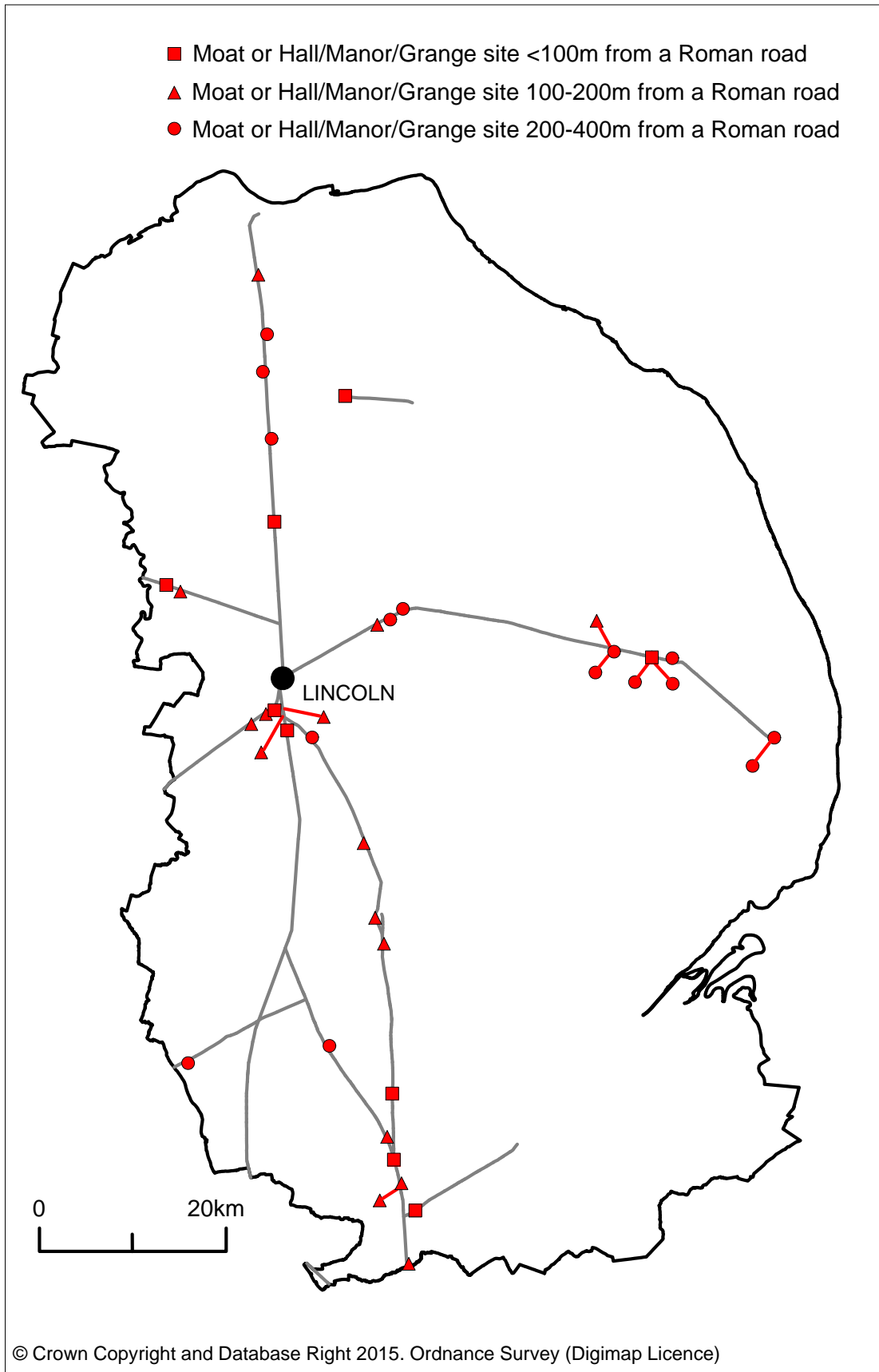
Figure 37. Moat, manor, hall, and grange sites close to Roman roads in Lincolnshire.

194

Small settlement foci of this type are widely distributed across both parts of the study area and it would not be expected that their overall county-wide distributions would show any correlation with the Roman road network. However, when the sites lying within 400m of Roman roads in Norfolk are examined it appears that there was a clear preference for locations lying close to, but not necessarily on, Roman roads. A total of 95 moats and hall/manor/grange sites lay within 400m of a Roman road in Norfolk with 39 of these (41%) located less than 100m from the road itself (Figure 36). In Lincolnshire only 39 moats and hall/manor/grange sites can be identified within 400m of Roman roads. Of these, only nine (23%) were located less than 100m from the road but a total of 24 (61.5%) lay within 200m (Figure 37). This suggests that there was still a slight preference for sites of this type to be positioned close to the roads but that they were generally set further back from the road frontage than their Norfolk counterparts.

With many such manors and farms held by absentee lords, both secular and ecclesiastical, locations close to the main road network would have enabled their administration to have been carried out with greater efficiently than if they were more-remotely positioned. Proximity to the road network would also have been advantageous for the sending of goods and produce to local markets and beyond. However, unlike commercial properties in the purpose-built roadside market settlements like Langworth, the manors, farms, and granges were not primarily engaged in the selling of goods directly to passing travellers. Consequently they did not necessarily have to be located on the road frontage itself to benefit from the road's communication and trade links. Indeed, the majority of these sites in both counties appear to have been set slightly back from the road, perhaps to afford them a degree of security from less-desirable road-users. The tendency of moat and hall/manor/grange sites to be positioned slightly back from the roads mirrors that of high-status farms/villas in the Roman period[37]. This may reflect a basic similarity in the function of the sites of both periods in their role as agricultural estate centres requiring links to local markets.

Some of the moat and hall/manor/grange sites are located within existing settlements, as at Toftrees in Norfolk where the moat lies adjacent to both the medieval church and

---

[37] For example, the Roman villas at Fring and Ashill in Norfolk are set back from Peddars Way by a few hundred metres rather than lying immediately adjacent to it.

195

the site of the Elizabethan hall. This was, however, by no means always the case and some sites occupy isolated locations on Roman roads away from even very small nucleated settlement foci, as is the case at Brinkhill in Lincolnshire (Figure 38).

Figure 38, Earthworks of a medieval moated site adjacent to the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road at Brinkhill. The Roman road is visible as an earthwork and soilmark extending from the corner of the moat towards to top left corner of the image. (Historic England Archive PLE 2940/33 ©Everson Collection).

Despite this variety, the overall distribution of moats and hall/manor/grange sites along the Roman road network in both counties is broadly similar to that of the nucleated settlements which also lie on the roads. There are clear gaps in both distributions and long sections of Roman road exist where neither villages, hamlets, or individual manors or farms are located on the roads (Figures 36 and 37). This is particularly apparent in Norfolk with long stretches of Peddars Way, the Gasthorpe to Hargham road, and the Toftrees to Holkham road among others being devoid of any form of settlement activity of medieval date. In Lincolnshire the same pattern can be

observed on sections of almost all of the county's Roman roads. These gaps suggest that the location of smaller medieval settlements was primarily driven by environmental factors rather than a desire for strong communication links. Access to resources such as water supply and soils suitable for cultivation were more important factors than the presence of a Roman road. However, where it was possible for a location to fulfil the necessary environmental criteria and also to lie close to a major communication route such as a Roman road, there was a tendency for settlements to gravitate towards the road. The gaps demonstrate that the presence of a Roman road was not in itself enough of a reason for settlements to evolve on the road network in the medieval period, or indeed for many former Roman settlements to continue to function. Nevertheless, it would appear that there were sufficient advantages to be gained from a location on, or close to, a major communication route such as a Roman road for rural settlements of all sizes to be drawn towards them where circumstances permitted.

Medieval Religious Houses and the Roman Road Network

Religious houses were another important element of the medieval rural landscape. Aspects of their relationship with the Roman road network have already been discussed; the use of the North Pickenham to Toftrees road as part of the pilgrimage route to Walsingham and the diversion of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road by Barlings Abbey to establish the market at Langworth. However, outside of urban centres such as Lincoln and Stamford very few religious houses were located close to Roman roads and almost none were positioned directly on them. As discussed in the previous chapter the liminal context of early monastic establishments meant that there was no desire for them to be positioned close to the Roman road network. In many cases the re-foundation of new religious houses on or close to these sites in the Post-Conquest period perpetuated this isolation, as was the case with sites in the Witham Valley in Lincolnshire. However, even new foundations were rarely located on sites lying close to the Roman road network and to some extent this must reflect the location of the land granted to religious houses and the specific choice of site within those allocations for the establishment of a monastery.

The exception to this pattern are the religious houses of the military orders of St John of Jerusalem, and the Knights Templar in particular[38]. Prior to their suppression in 1312 the Templars had five preceptories in Lincolnshire along with a number of associated hospitals and *camerae*. Four of the five preceptories lay in parishes containing Roman roads with the fifth site, at Eagle, located just 3.4km from the Foss Way (Figure 39). The preceptory at Willoughton lay a similar distance from Ermine Street, albeit within the same parish, and only 700m from Middle Street unimproved routeway. Hospitaller foundations are fewer in number in the study area with only one non-urban site recorded in each county. In Lincolnshire a Hospitaller preceptory was established at Maltby near Louth before 1153 at a site close to Barton Street, whilst in Norfolk an important commandry was located at Carbrooke just to the north of the Roman road running east from Saham Toney.

Given the lack of correlation between the establishments of other religious orders and the Roman road network, the relationship shown by the Templar and Hospitaller sites is striking. However, one of the functions of both of these military orders was to provide hospitality for travellers on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. In this context the proximity of their sites to the road network can be seen as an essential part of their *raison d'être*. The Templars' relationship with travel and roads is also demonstrated by several of their smaller Lincolnshire holdings. A hospital and chapel were established at Mere immediately adjacent to Bloxholm Lane before 1244. The history of the site is obscure but it appears to have been associated with the preceptory at Willoughton. Its presence suggests that Bloxholm Lane was probably still the main route leading southeast from Lincoln in the mid thirteenth century. The hospital and chapel on Ermine Street at Spital in the Street north of Lincoln, which was present by 1166, also appears to have been administered from Willoughton (SCTSE nd).

It is also likely that the placement of Templar and Hospitaller preceptories close to Roman roads reflects an awareness of the value of major communication routes in the administration of their orders. As Mick Aston has pointed out, the establishments of the military orders were more like large farms than the proper monasteries of, for example, the Benedictines and Cistercians (2000, 121). They effectively functioned as

---

[38] The only significant Templar site in Norfolk, at Haddiscoe, does not lie close to any known Roman road.
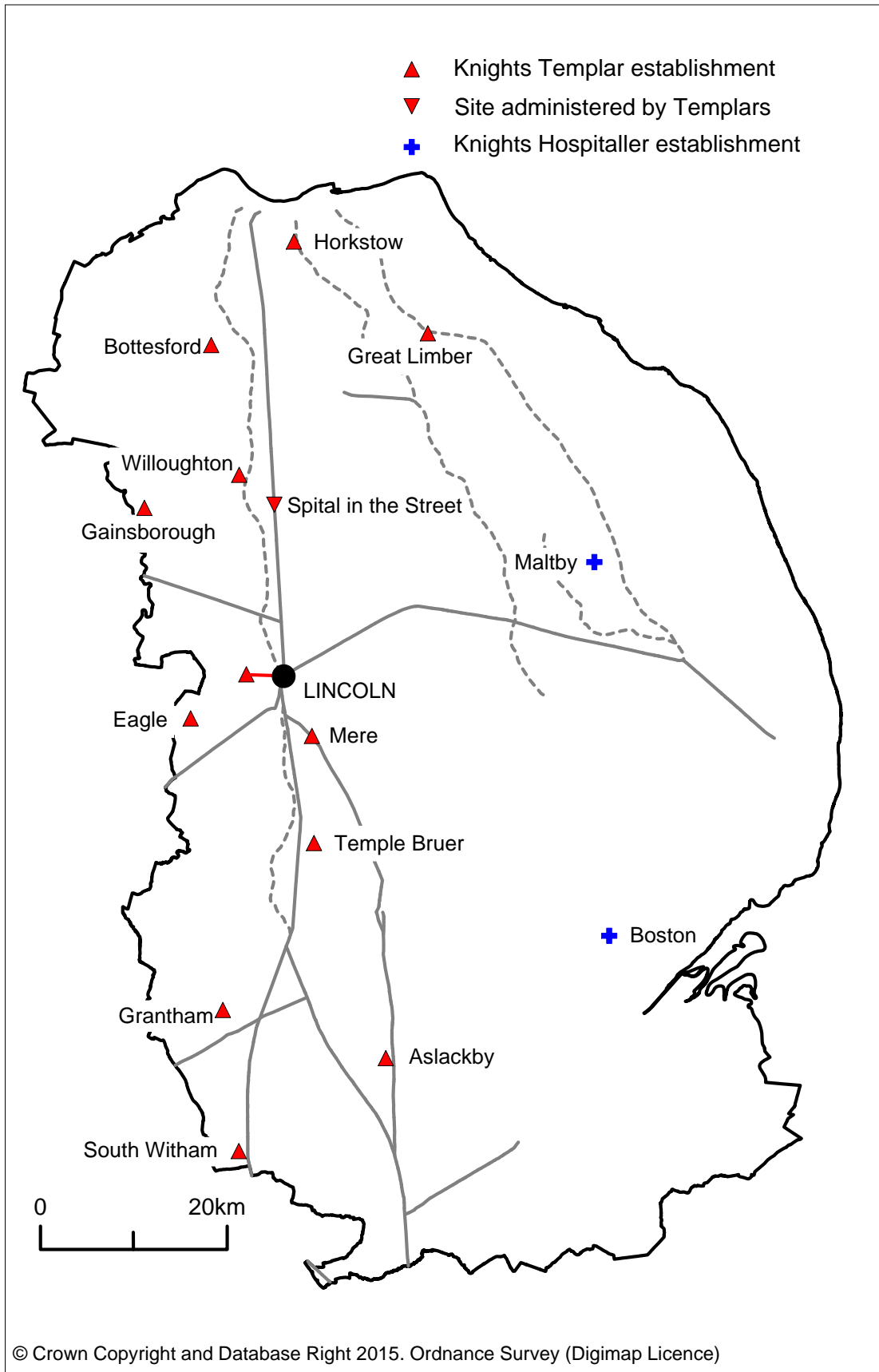
Figure 39. Knights Templar and Hospitaller sites and Roman roads in Lincolnshire.

estate centres and it is perhaps unsurprising that their locations relatively close to Roman roads to some extent mirror those of the hall/manor/grange sites already discussed. This view is supported by Eileen Gooder's observation that the preceptory at South Witham would have been conveniently located for the collection of revenues from Templar properties in Leicestershire and Rutland (2002, 81). It is very likely that the other establishments of the military orders in the study area would have been well-placed to take advantage of the surviving Roman road network in the administration of their dispersed holdings.

Other hospitals not associated with the military orders also occur close to Roman roads in both rural and extra-mural urban locations. Whilst by no means all hospitals were so located, they were generally positioned on major routes making them easily accessible in their primary role as facilities for travellers on pilgrimage, the poor, and the sick. The Hospital of the Holy Innocents, a leper hospital also known as *La Maladerie*, was located adjacent to the course of Ermine Street as it crossed South Common on the outskirts of Lincoln (Elspeth 1906, 230). An earthworks survey by English Heritage has shown that remains associated with the hospital lie parallel to the line of Ermine Street. This demonstrates that the alignment of the Roman road was still an important landscape feature in the medieval period (Bowden *et al*. 2009, 15) and in all probability that the road was still in use at that time. Elsewhere in Lincolnshire a leper hospital and its cemetery are also recorded adjacent to the Langworth Causeway on the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road (Figure 35). The hospital was established before 1313 and lay just to the east of the planned market settlement at Langworth. It is likely to have come under the care of Barlings Abbey and it is possible that the monks saw the establishment of an institution such as this as part of their responsibility as the custodians of this section of the road and causeway (Everson and Stocker 2011, 164-6). In Norfolk, a hospital was established at Beck Hall near Billingford in the early thirteenth century. The site lay just over 300m north of the Billingford to Brampton Roman road but it is its proximity to the pilgrimage route between Norwich and Walsingham which has been seen as a more significant factor in the choice of location (Cox 1906, 438).

Conclusions

The combined documentary and archaeological evidence available for the ninth to mid sixteenth centuries shows that many Roman roads remained in use as significant routes during this period. Most notably, it is possible to identify with reasonable confidence actual journeys undertaken by named individuals at various levels of society, along surviving parts of the Roman road network in this period.

The continued use and significance of many Roman roads is also supported by the evidence from the locales on the road network. The growth of urban and economic centres during this period, whether at existing or new locations, provided an additional impetus for long-distance travel. However, it is clear that Roman roads were only a part, and by the end of the period probably only a small part, of the overall pattern of land communications in England. Whilst they had always existed alongside other long-distance routeways, surviving Roman roads these were by the sixteenth century supplemented by many new routes established in the late Anglo-Saxon or medieval periods linking new locales in the landscape.

Whilst some rural settlements may have started to shift to sites on Roman roads in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, evidence from archaeological fieldwork, churches, and documentary references to fairs and markets, means that their presence at these locations can be demonstrated with more confidence from the eleventh century onwards. The attraction of locations on the Roman road network at this time was likely to have been primarily economic, with settlements so positioned able to take advantage of passing trade as well as themselves being better-connected to market towns located further along the roads. Such a pattern of attraction to Roman roads is very likely to have been just as applicable to other main routes of non-Roman origin in the medieval period. However, it can be concluded that where settlements did shift to locations on Roman roads, it is likely that the road remained in use a significant long-distance route at that time, rather than just having local significance.

The shift towards, or at least the stabilisation of, settlement locations on Roman roads was not universal. Some settlements, particularly in Norfolk, appear to have drifted away from church sites on Roman roads during the tenth to thirteenth centuries towards new common-edge locations. This shift demonstrates that in some cases access to local resources was a more significant factor in settlement location than

wider communication links. However, it is significant that in a number of cases where such shift away from a Roman road occurred (e.g. Scoulton, Booton) the road no longer survives in the modern landscape, and it is possible that it had already ceased to function as a long-distance route when the settlement relocation occurred. Indeed, the failure of the road as long-distance route could have partly precipitated the shift, as without the road and its wider connections the location of the settlement may no longer have been advantageous.

Locations on the Roman road network were not necessarily seen as desirable within all parts of society. Much as they appear to have done in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, the majority of rurally located religious houses continued to be sited away from the Roman road network. The only exception to this pattern were the military orders, who were inherently connected with long-distance travel, and to whom locations close to major routeways were beneficial.

In this, and the preceding two, chapters we have examined the evidence for the continued use and significance of the Roman road network of Lincolnshire and Norfolk in the twelve centuries between the end of the Roman period and the end of the medieval period. Much of this evidence has been drawn from locales on the Roman road network demonstrating their important role in its continued use. The following chapter will now conclude Part Two of the thesis by considering the other side of this relationship; the way in which the changing significance of these locales contributed to the survival and loss of the Roman road network.

Chapter 8: The Role of Destinations in the Survival and Loss of Roman Roads

Introduction

Throughout the previous three chapters it has become clear that locales functioning as destinations on the Roman road network, be they former Roman settlements or new activity foci, have considerable potential to inform us about the continued use and significance of Roman roads during the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods. Indeed, the existence of such destinations, it is argued, was essential for the continued use of the Roman road network after the end of the Roman period.

Drawing Part Two of the thesis to a conclusion, this chapter will demonstrate how the continued existence and importance of these locales was crucial to the survival of Roman roads and will explore what happened when these destinations ceased to be significant. As well as examining some of the principal factors affecting the survival and loss of Roman roads and the date at which some road-loss occurred - and in doing so address one of the key themes of this thesis - this chapter will also feed into wider debates about landscape change in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods.

Destinations and the Survival and Loss of the Roman Road Network

As we have seen, the most significant destinations in the later history of the Roman road network are undoubtedly former Roman nucleated settlements and it to these that we can look first to provide information about the survival or the roads and the processes of road-loss. Lincoln in particular, as a destination, exhibits a very high level of Roman road survival in the modern period. Three of the four Roman roads and two unimproved routeways leading directly into the city still remain in use (Figure 32). Lincoln had acted as a hub for the Roman road network within the Lincolnshire study area during the Roman period, a role that was to be reprised through its urban revival in the ninth and tenth centuries. Its high level of in-use road-survival can be directly attributed to the continued significance of the city since the late ninth century. Once Lincoln had achieved and sustained its status as an important urban centre, it is easy

to see how the Roman roads leading towards it have remained in use. However, for the Roman roads around the city to have still been present and acquire this new significance in the ninth century they must also have survived in use throughout the preceding four and a half centuries since the end of the Roman period. In this context, the archaeological and documentary evidence for Lincoln as an important centre during the seventh and eighth centuries is particularly important. Although archaeological evidence for activity at Lincoln in the fifth and sixth centuries is largely absent, its role as a destination during this period is supported by the continued survival of the road network. The preferential survival of Roman roads around Lincoln is a pattern that can also be seen further afield at other regenerated former Roman urban centres such as Colchester, York, and Winchester.

The situation at Lincoln can be contrasted with that at Caistor St Edmund where only one of the five Roman roads leading towards *Venta Icenorum* remain in use up to the town walls, and that only for a short distance to its northeast. Away from the immediate surroundings of the former Roman settlement, only the Pye Road survives in use for a long distance on the approach to Caistor St Edmund (Figure 40). However, the modern A140 road which follows its course branches off towards Norwich at Swainsthorpe 2.5km to the south of the Roman town. The Pye Road has the greatest length surviving in-use of any of the Roman roads in the Norfolk study area. That this road should remain largely intact whereas the others did not is highly significant. As we have seen, *Venta Icenorum* did not survive to become an urban centre in the medieval period and was superseded in that role by Norwich. The fact that Norwich developed immediately to the north of Caistor St Edmund ensured that the Pye Road, approaching from the south as it does, formed part of one of the principal routes to the new urban destination from Ipswich, Colchester and London. Consequently, the Pye Road still fulfilled a useful role as an important long-distance route within the region's communications network whereas the other Roman roads in the immediate vicinity of the Roman town either disappeared or were reduced to just short routes of local significance.

The archaeological evidence shows that the former Roman settlement at Caistor St Edmund remained an important activity focus, potentially a central place, from the fifth to eighth or ninth centuries. The timing of its decline as an important centre

NORWICH

Venta Icenorum

Norwich - Ipswich Railway (1849)

Pye Road

Roman road survives in use as a road

Roman road does not survive in use as a road

Present day route extending Pye Road to Norwich

Pre-Railway route of Pye Road extension

0   2km
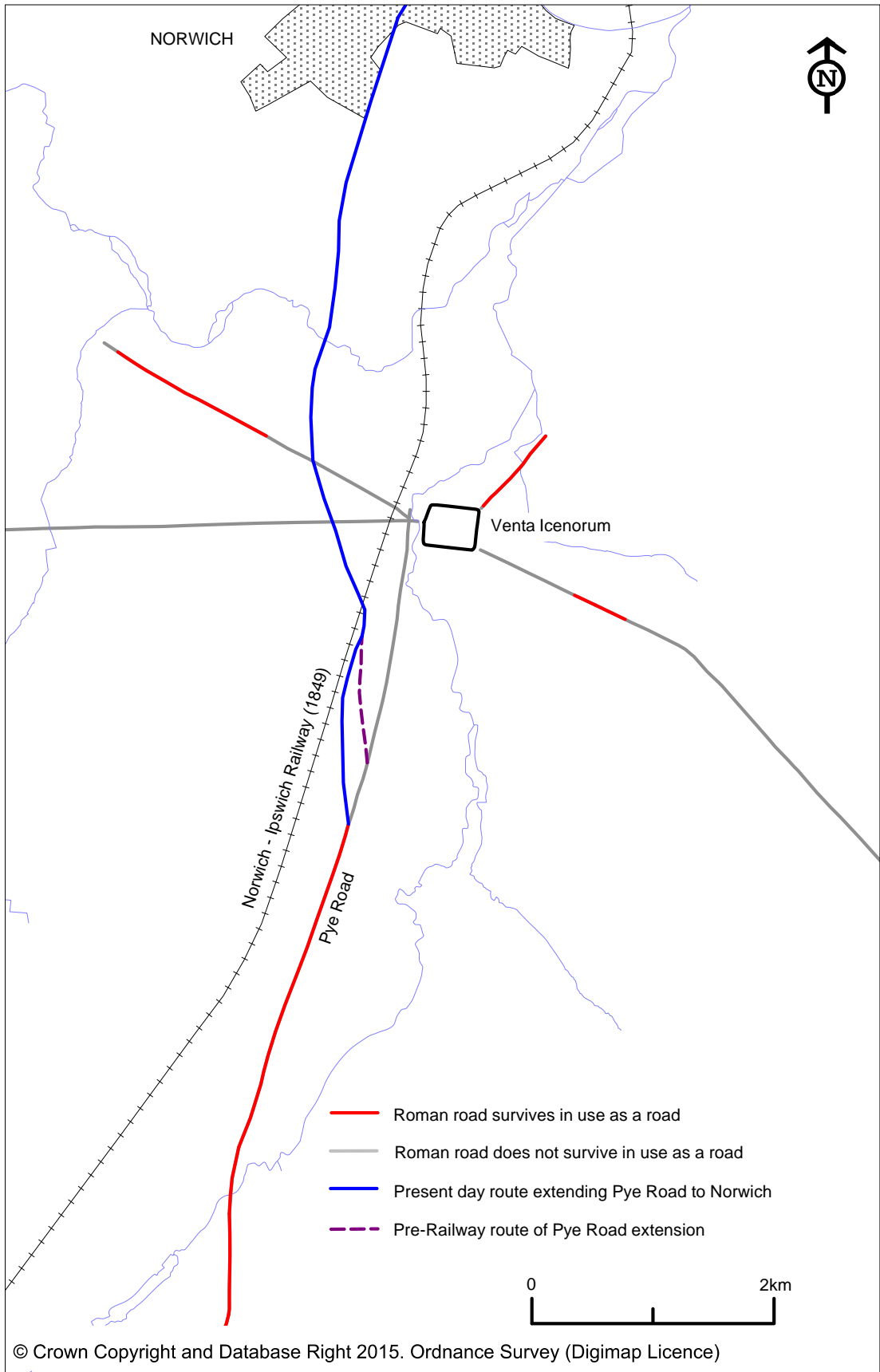
Figure 40. The continuation of the Pye Road to Norwich.

appears to be broadly contemporary with the development of Norwich as a new urban centre. Aside from the obvious potential for these two events to be directly connected, from the perspective of this thesis it also suggests that there was no major hiatus between the use of the Pye Road as a route to *Venta Icenorum* and its continued use as a route to Norwich.

It is unlikely that the Pye Road alone survived in use during Caistor St Edmund's period of significance in the fifth to eighth centuries and most probable that all of the main Roman roads leading into the former Roman settlement continued to be used at that time. Indeed, as already discussed, the positioning of the Caistor-by-Norwich cemetery, St Edmund's Church and the extra-mural settlement to the west of the town, support the continued use of the roads leading to its southeast and west during the Anglo-Saxon period. It can be argued then, that the other Roman roads leading to Caistor St Edmund only went out of use and disappeared from the landscape *after* the former Roman settlement had ceased to function as a central place and fewer people needed or wanted to go there. In other words, only once the site no longer featured as a significant destination did its influence over the roads leading towards it diminish to the extent that they fell out of use. The pattern of road survival and loss at Caistor St Edmund demonstrates that where a destination was no longer significant it is likely that the Roman roads towards it will have ceased to function as long-distance routes.

This model has implications for the survival and loss of Roman roads leading to other former Roman nucleated settlements, particularly those where the site is no longer occupied by a sizeable settlement today. As outlined in the preceding chapters, finds from other former Roman settlements provide evidence for some activity at these sites in the fifth to eighth centuries, but also shows that only in a handful of cases did they carry on to become medieval settlements at the same location. This pattern of continued occupation at, or immediately adjacent to, former Roman nucleated settlements through to the eighth century accords well with the general picture of rural settlement in the early- to middle Anglo-Saxon period. It supports the model of some settlements undergoing relatively little shift in the fifth to eighth centuries, but then a more substantial locational change occurring in the late eighth to ninth centuries. If the apparent final abandonment of many former Roman settlement sites in the eighth century is real, the pattern of Roman road survival and loss at Caistor St Edmund can also be extrapolated to these other sites. It can, therefore, be tentatively suggested that

the roads leading towards former Roman nucleated settlements such as Brampton, Toftrees and Crownthorpe also remained in use until the around the eighth century and that these routes only declined and disappeared after that date. The important wider implication of such a hypothesis, is that the shifting pattern of settlement in the 'long eighth century' precipitated major changes in the pattern of land communications that would have affected not just the surviving main Roman roads but the overall road network of the Anglo-Saxon period.

Conversely, the pattern of Roman road survival and loss at Caistor St Edmund also shows that even where the original destination has ceased to be significant, Roman roads could in certain circumstances still survive as long-distance routes if they could usefully form part of a route towards a new destination, such as one of the new urban centres that developed in the ninth to twelfth centuries. This important aspect of the road survival and loss also has wider parallels within the study area. Where new urban centres lay directly on the Roman roads, as with Castle Acre on Peddars Way or Bourne on King Street, it is likely that the location at which the settlement developed had, either organically or through deliberate planning, been influenced by the presence of a major communication route. Nevertheless, once the settlement had become established its relationship with the road was symbiotic, with the town supporting the continued use and significance of the road and *vice versa*. However, as with the Pye Road and Norwich, Roman roads also continued in use as a part of a routes to new locations lying of off the original Roman road network. In many cases the use of a Roman road to a new locale can only be inferred from their proximity to each other, but some more definite examples can be identified. Ordnance Survey maps show that the section of the Toftrees to Holkham Roman road at Sculthorpe was still known as 'Old Wells Road' in the late nineteenth century. Even though the road's original destination at Holkham lay 5km to the west of the medieval town and harbour it evidently served as part of a main route leading towards it at some point during the medieval or post-medieval period.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, it was not just former Roman settlements that served to keep Roman roads in use. It is likely that the revival or continued use of a harbour at Holme and Hunstanton on the north Norfolk coast ensured that the northern section of Peddars Way remained in use during the medieval period. Similarly, river crossings served as important nodal points on the communications

network, and provided that they continued to function, the roads leading to them were also likely to survive.

Whilst the fortunes of some urban centres within the study area fluctuated during the medieval and post-medieval periods, once established the vast majority of such locales remained important enough to continue to function as destinations within the wider pattern of land communications. This overall stability within the pattern of major settlements and destinations has significant implications for the survival of the Roman road network. Although minor changes will have occurred on many routes, where a Roman road had survived long enough to serve as a long-distance route to either a regenerated former Roman settlement or a newly established medieval urban centre, it is very likely that it will have remained in use through to the present day. If the destinations have remained significant, so too will the roads, both Roman and otherwise, that serve them. By implication this means that there will have been little change in which of the surviving Roman roads have functioned as long distance routes since at least the twelfth century.

This stability of the most significant surviving Roman roads can be demonstrated for the post-medieval period by comparing the routes described by John Ogilby in his *Britannia* (1675) with the roads that were improved by the turnpike trusts in the eighteenth to mid nineteenth centuries.

Ogilby's *Britannia* described and depicted a network of routes or 'principal roads' connecting the majority of large towns and cities across England and Wales. Although, it is not an entirely comprehensive account of the late-seventeenth-century road network (Delano-Smith and Kain 1999, 167-71) it is a useful record of what were perceived to be the 'principal roads' of the day. Turnpike roads were established from the late seventeenth century in response to the poor condition of the country's main roads and the inefficient arrangements for their maintenance. Practically all routes where the levels of traffic were sufficiently high for the charging of tolls to support road improvement became turnpike roads and by their peak in the first quarter of the nineteenth century they connected all major towns and many large villages. Although not officially designated as such, turnpike roads were by this date the *de facto* main road network of Britain. The extent of the turnpike road network within the study area is well-documented (Cossons 1952; Albert 1972; Wright 1993; Davison and Joby

2005). Comparison of which Roman roads feature among Ogilby's 'principal roads' and those that were late improved as turnpike roads shows broad similarities in both parts of the study area. In Lincolnshire the Foss Way and Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln stand out as important long-distance routes along with the sections of Ermine Street lying on the Great North Road further south in the county (Figures 41 and 42). In Norfolk only the Pye Road leading to Norwich features as a long-distance route throughout the period (Figures 43 and 44). Whilst it is clear many other sections of Roman road also remained in use, both in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries and today, the major long-distance routes depicted by Ogilby and those that were subject to Turnpike Acts compare favourably with the modern survival of the Roman road network discussed in Chapter Four (Figures 11 and 12). Indeed, parts of these routes are among the only sections of the Roman road network of the study area to be classified as 'A' roads in the early twenty-first century (Highways England 2015).

There is however, one exceptional example of post-medieval road-loss within the Norfolk study area which relates to the demise of a non-urban destination. This is the Roman road between North Pickenham and Toftrees which formed part of the Walsingham Way pilgrimage route during the medieval period. Only a single section of the Roman road at its northern end survives in use a road today where it forms part of the A1075 Swaffham to Fakenham road and only two short sections between Great Dunham and Litcham survive as farm tracks (Figure 12). Although the line of the Roman road is marked by an unusually high proportion of field boundaries, the significance of which will be explored in Chapter Nine, evidence of its existence as an important medieval routeway has almost completely disappeared from the modern landscape.

The importance of Walsingham as a medieval pilgrimage destination, second only to Canterbury in this country, is without doubt. Whilst the survival of the North Pickenham to Toftrees Roman road can be attributed to its use as part of the pilgrimage route, it must have still survived in a useable form when the shrine as established in twelfth century for this to be the case. It is possible that it survived initially due to continued activity at the former Roman settlement at Toftrees before its destination shifted to the newly developed town at Fakenham and then gained further significance as the route to Walsingham. If so, its survival would in part mirror that of the Pye Road's evolution as a route to Caistor St Edmund and then Norwich.
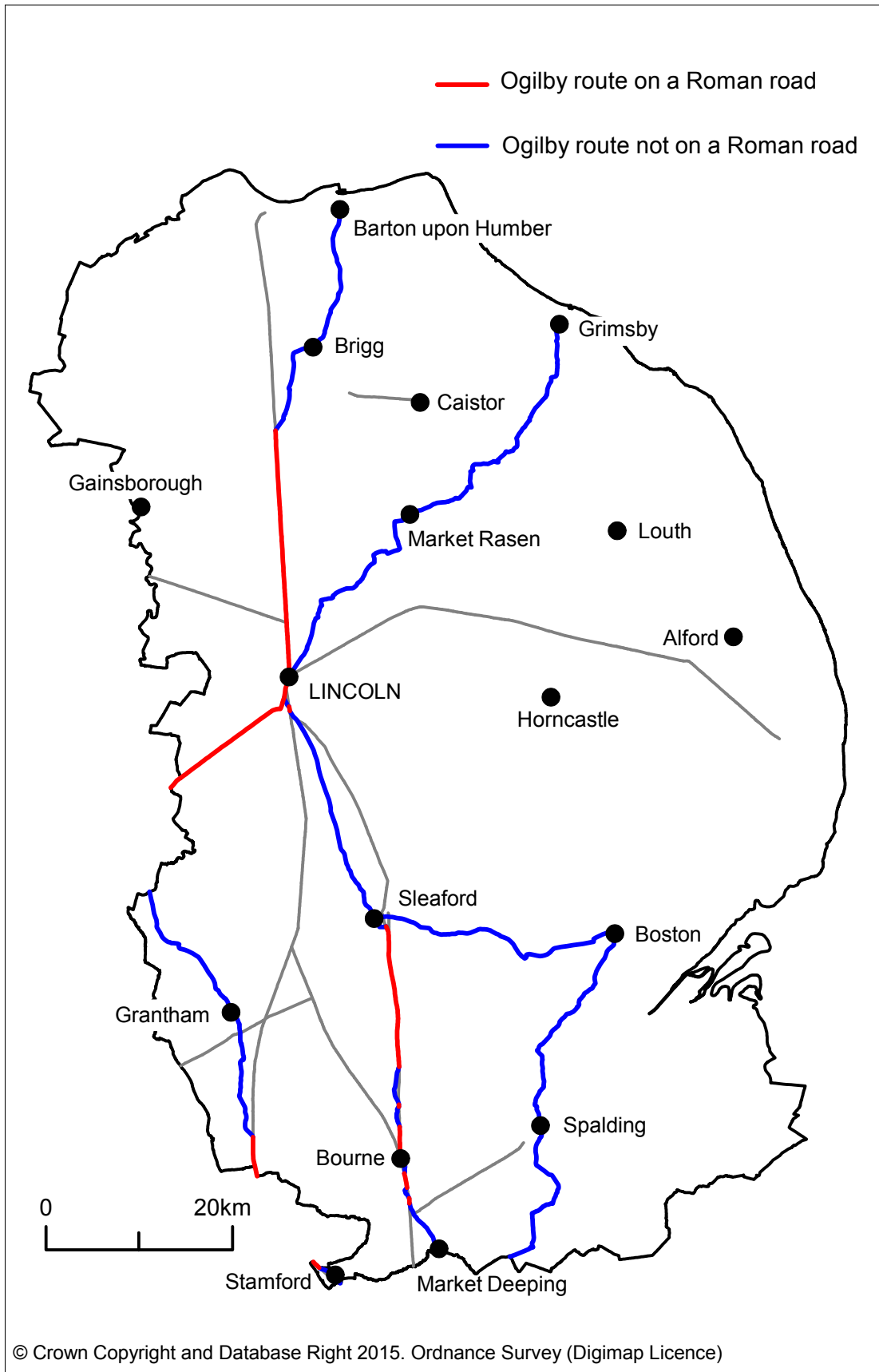
Figure 41. Routes in Lincolnshire described in Ogilby's Britannia (1675).

Legend:
- Ogilby route on a Roman road
- Ogilby route not on a Roman road

Places labelled on map: Barton upon Humber, Grimsby, Brigg, Caistor, Gainsborough, Market Rasen, Louth, Alford, LINCOLN, Horncastle, Sleaford, Boston, Grantham, Spalding, Bourne, Stamford, Market Deeping.

0   20km

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)
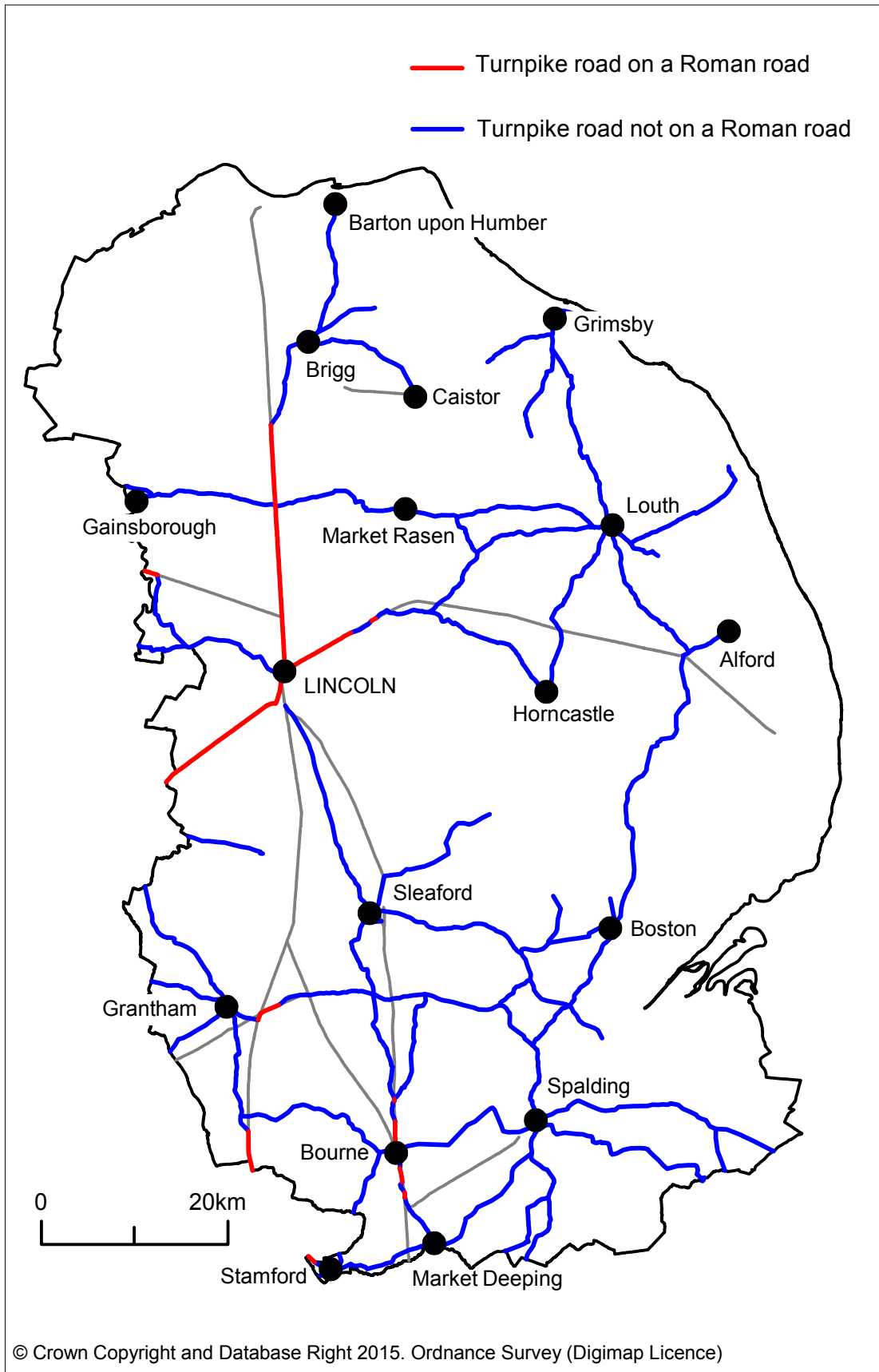
Figure 42. The turnpike road network of Lincolnshire (after Wright 1993).
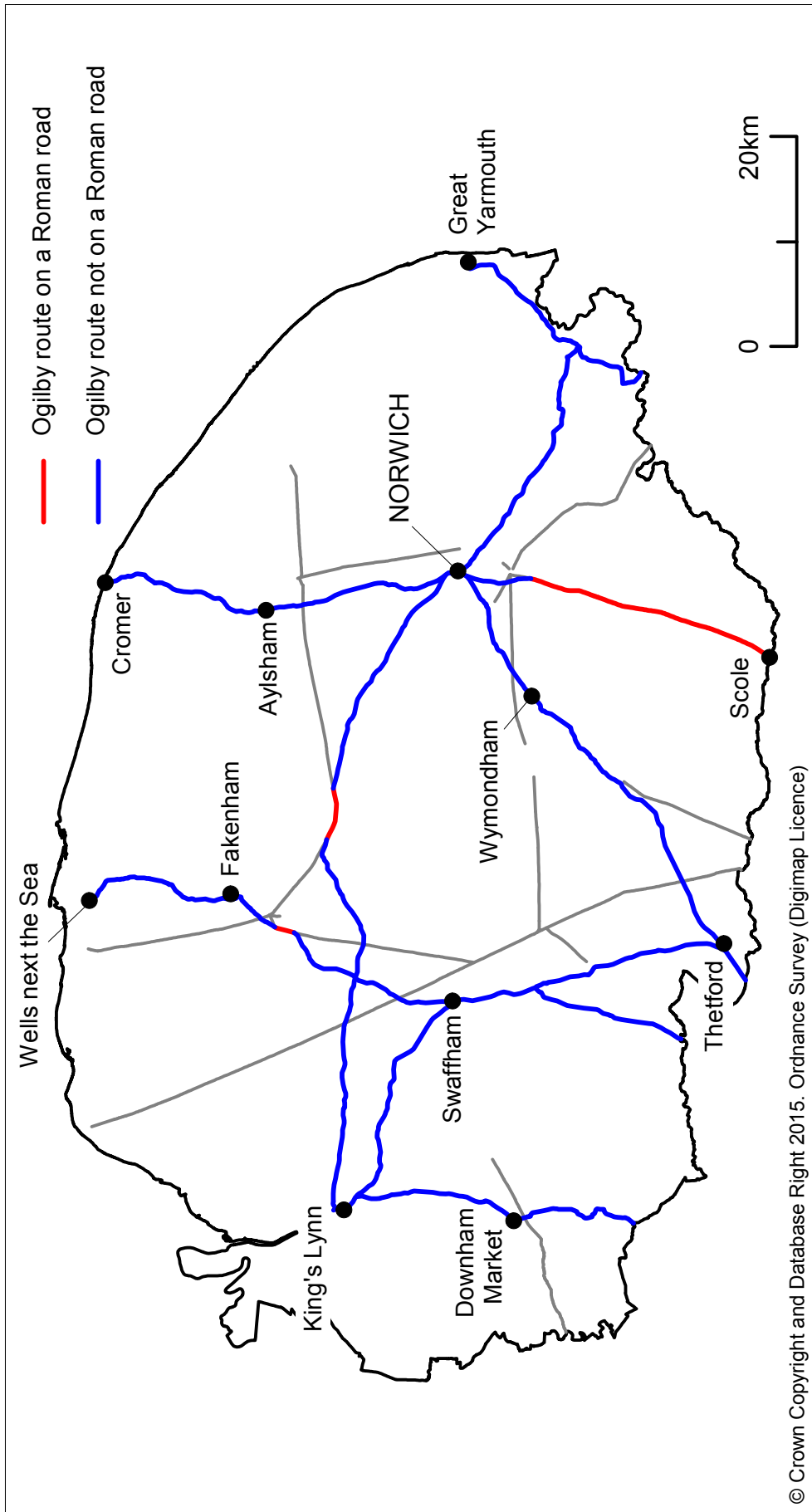
Figure 43. Routes in Norfolk described in Ogilby's Britannia (1675).

212
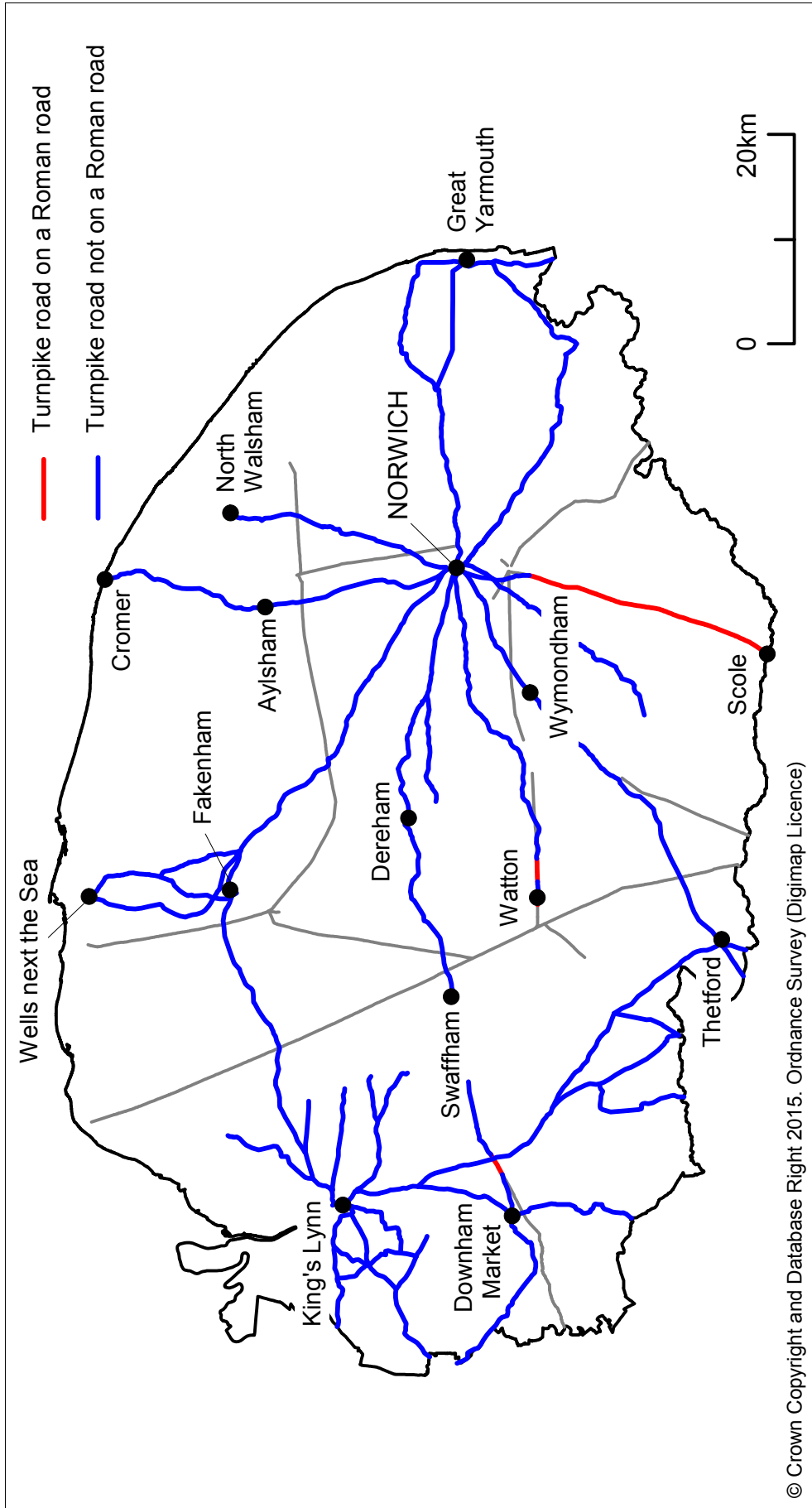
Figure 44. The turnpike road network of Norfolk (after Davison and Joby 2005).

Turnpike road on a Roman road
Turnpike road not on a Roman road

20km
0

Great Yarmouth
North Walsham
NORWICH
Cromer
Aylsham
Wymondham
Fakenham
Scole
Dereham
Watton
Wells next the Sea
Swaffham
Thetford
King's Lynn
Downham Market

As Leonard Whatmore has pointed out, "without the shrine, Walsingham was nothing" (1973, 3) and after its suppression in 1538 the Roman road must have seen a very sudden drop in its levels of use. Whilst there is evidence for the Roman road being called *Walsingham Way* at several points along its length, late medieval accounts of pilgrimages indicate that multiple routes were being used by travellers. Nevertheless, it appears that the alternative routes had not resulted in the loss of the Roman road prior to the suppression of the shrine.

The speed with which the Roman road fell out of use as a long-distance route after it stopped being used as a pilgrimage route is difficult to gauge, but may have been remarkably quickly. Only the northern part of the road, which remains in use today, formed part of a major long-distance route in Ogilby's *Britannia* (1675) but this is merely a reflection of the lower significance of the rest of the Roman road, not necessarily its lack of survival. The southern end of the road, near Petygards Hall at Sporle was both out of use and apparently removed from the landscape by 1728 (NRO: MC2482/1, 971x2). If the section immediately to its north was also out of use by that date, the accounts of the discovery of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sporle show that its *agger* was still being removed in the first decade of the nineteenth century (Ashley and Penn 2012, 308). Further north at Litcham a section of the Roman road was both extant and labelled as the *Walsingham Way* on a mid-eighteenth-century plan (NRO: C/Ca 3/8) (Figure 45). However, it had either disappeared by the end of the century or was too insignificant to be shown on Faden's 1797 county map. A plan of Great Dunham parish also dating from 1797 shows that the majority of the road no longer existed through the parish by that time, despite passing directly through the village, although its course was almost continuously marked by field boundaries at that time (NRO: PD 684/121). Some sections of the Roman road did, however, still remain in use in the late eighteenth century. Faden's map shows surviving lengths of the road along the Sporle and Necton parish boundary to the north of the Swaffham to East Dereham road and along the Litcham, Tittleshall, and Wellingham parish boundary towards Wellingham Common[39]. However, even these sections of the road had disappeared from the first edition one inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps in the first half of the nineteenth century (1824; 1838).

---

[39] The significance of Roman roads on parish boundaries will be discussed in full in Chapter Ten.
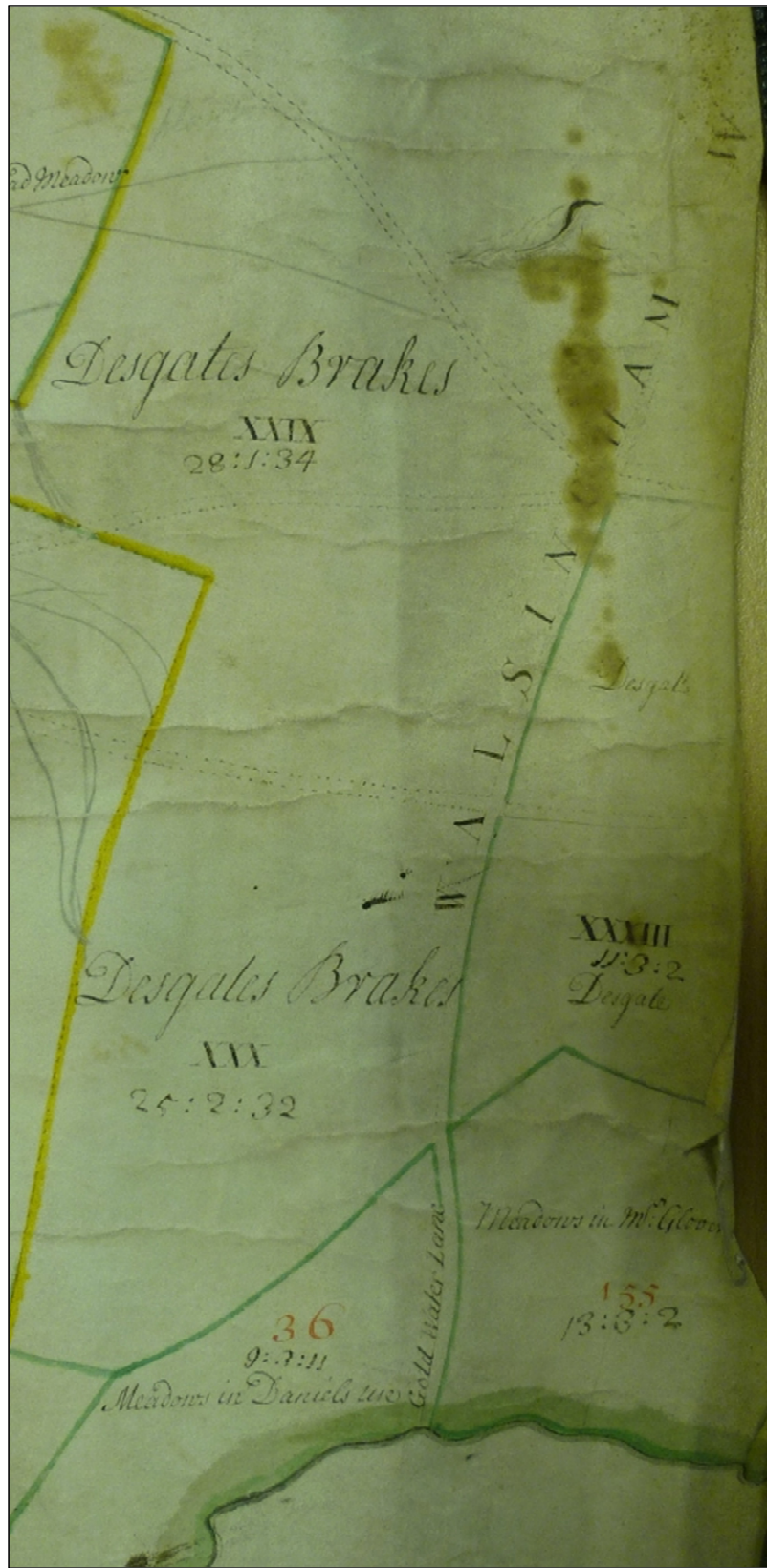
Figure 45. Extract from a mid-eighteenth-century plan showing the Walsingham Way at Litcham. North is to the top. (NRO: C/Ca 3/8).

The most striking thing about the loss of the Walsingham Way Roman road is the contrast between its existence as part of a major routeway at the end of the medieval period and its almost complete absence from the modern landscape. Although the historic map evidence is patchy in its coverage, it shows that the road had ceased to function as a continuous long-distance route within two hundred years of the loss of its primary destination and had practically disappeared, even as local roads, a hundred years later. The Roman road had all but gone by 1840 and although the shrine at Walsingham was, from the early twentieth century, to develop once again as a place of pilgrimage (Whatmore 1973, 110-1) its revival came too late to reverse the fortunes of the traditional pilgrimage route along the Roman road.

Although the loss of the Walsingham Way is very unusual in that it occurred in the post-medieval period it clearly demonstrates the strong link between the survival of destinations and the continued existence of Roman roads leading towards them. As this and the other examples discussed above show, in order for Roman roads to survive as long-distance routes, their destinations must also remain significant. Once the destinations lose their importance, the roads become disused and prone to removal. Nevertheless, just because a Roman road ceased to function as a long-distance route did not necessarily mean that it would disappear completely from the landscape, many did and still do, remain in use as short sections, either as small parts of other routes or as roads of local significance. Having established the nature of this relationship it is now possible to examine in more detail what happened to Roman roads when they ceased to function as long-distance routes and the reasons why some remain in use at a local level.

The Fragmentation of Roman Roads through their use as only Local Routes

Having established that the use, and therefore survival, of Roman roads as long-distance routes is dependent on the continued existence and significance of their destinations, we can now consider the process of road-loss that occurs once this is no longer the case. Once a Roman road ceased to be used as a long-distance route its significance as part of the overall pattern of land communications was greatly diminished and its subsequent fate lay largely in the hands of the communities or land-

owning elites through whose land it passed. Only at this stage in a road's history would the route start to fragment and genuine gaps, rather than just deviations, appear along its length.

As discussed in Chapter Two, models for the local loss of the Roman road network have previously been proposed by Peter Warner (1987) and Sarah Harrison (2005). Warner observed a differential survival of Roman roads on the interfluves and in river valleys. In the river valleys where the survival of the roads was poor he concluded that they had been lost to intensive agricultural activity, whereas across the commons on the interfluves the pressure of land-use was lower and the roads survived on their original course. Harrison modified this approach, reasoning that the changes in the river valleys were due to the fact that, as we have seen in Chapters Five and Six, early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements were not located on the Roman roads. Whilst the Roman roads across the interfluves provided the shortest route between adjacent river valleys new routes developed linking them to the settlements. Implicit within both Warner and Harrison's models was the fact that the Roman road had ceased to function as a major long-distance route by the time that these changes occurred.

Finding examples of road loss within river valleys in the study area which clearly fit Warner or Harrison's models is however surprisingly difficult. This is principally due to the topography of the study area, with there being few areas where Roman roads repeatedly pass from valley to interfluve to valley in succession. One possible example is where the Toftrees to Holkham Roman road passes through the valley of the River Wensum at Shereford. Heading northwards the surviving road first diverts away from the Roman road to the west towards Shereford village before cutting back across its line to cross the river at Sculthorpe watermill which could, potentially, also be the site of a medieval mill. In this case the surviving road follows a direct route between the most important features in the valley: the settlement and the mill, and the course of the Roman road and its river crossing were abandoned. One problem with identifying road deviations of this type is that the position of the settlements in the modern landscape is not on the whole the same as those that existed in the early or middle Anglo-Saxon periods and there is no reason to expect that the road network would have been fossilised leading to settlements that no longer exist. Consequently changes to both the settlement pattern and road network mean that many deviations that may have

occurred as roads diverted to settlements in the past are now either no longer present or are completely unintelligible.

Despite the difficultly in identifying examples within the study area which fit the Warner/Harrison models, the fact that Roman roads do not pass directly through many early to middle Anglo-Saxon settlements is crucial to understanding their loss once they cease to function as long-distance routes. In the majority of cases a Roman road would cut across a community's land and resources as a chord does across a circle and would not provide a useful link between the settlement foci and resources. In these circumstances a Roman road would have been largely irrelevant to the day-to-day agrarian activities of the local communities living near, but not on, its course. When no longer functioning as a long-distance route there would have been little incentive for the local community to ensure its upkeep and without regular traffic it would, as we have seen above, quickly have become unusable. Although in some cases sections of disused roads were retained as boundary features, a relationship which is examined in the following two chapters, in many cases they would simply have become overgrown and then removed during a later expansion or reorganisation of cultivated land.

Minor Destinations and the Local Survival of Roman Roads

However, where even a relatively minor settlement lay directly on the line of a Roman road it could assume the role of a destination at a very local level once the road had ceased to function as a long-distance route. Sections of Roman road leading out of a settlement sited directly on a Roman road in one or both directions could still be useful in providing access to the land resources within the community's landholding. Consequently, where a settlement lies on the road it is possible for a short section of Roman road to survive in use as a road or track in one parish but not in adjoining ones where the positioning of the settlements away from the road meant that it was no longer useful in this way.

An example of this type of local survival can be found between the parishes of Belchford and Driby on the central section of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road, which overall exhibits a very high level of road loss (Figure 46). The clear
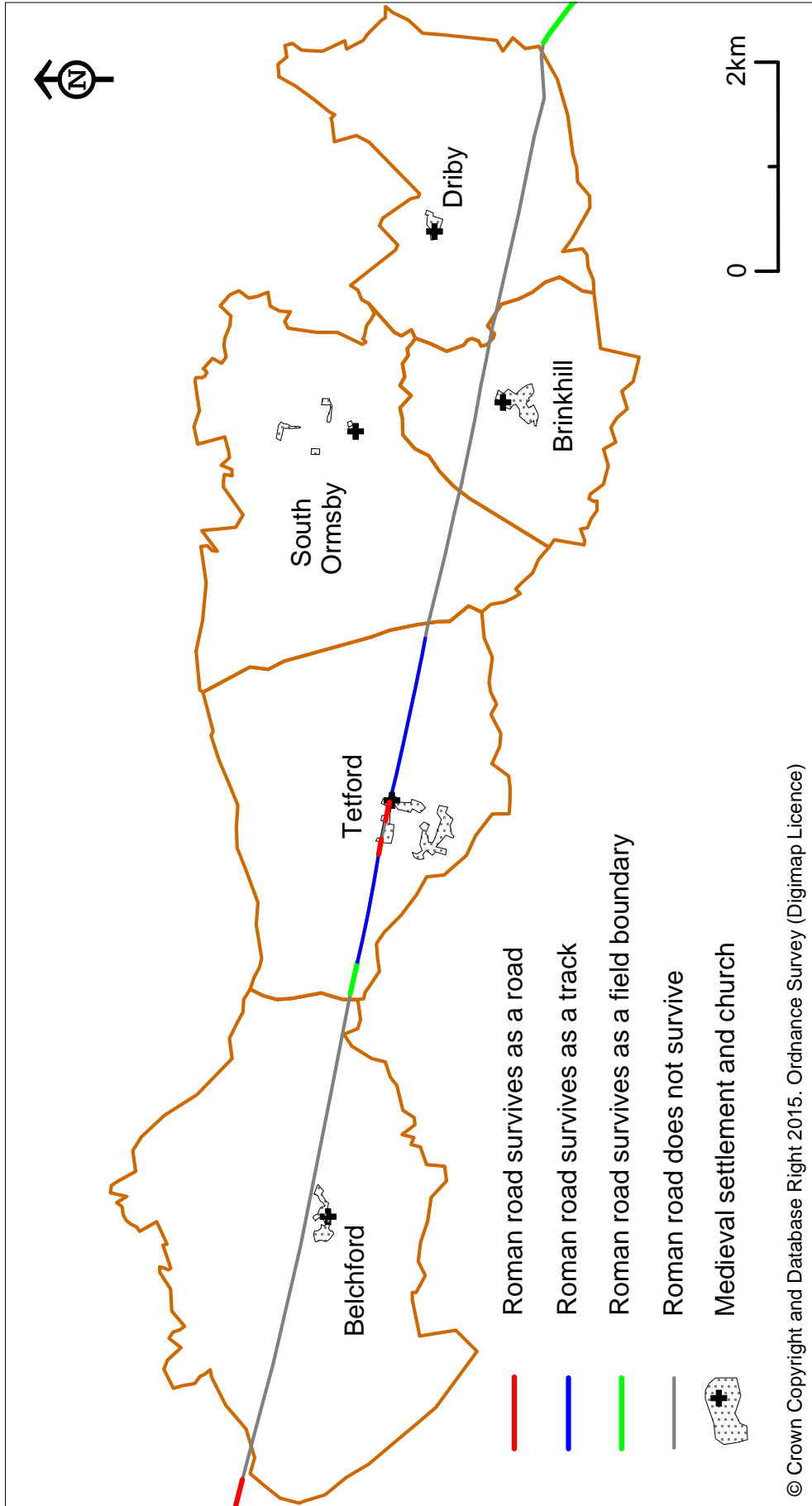
Figure 46. The central section of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road.

Roman road survives as a road

Roman road survives as a track

Roman road survives as a field boundary

Roman road does not survive

Medieval settlement and church

Belchford

Tetford

South Ormsby

Driby

Brinkhill

N

0   2km

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

exception to this pattern is in Tetford parish, through which the road survives almost completely in use as roads and tracks. Tetford village lies directly on the Roman road and the local survival of the Roman road can be attributed to its usefulness as a means of accessing land in the parish to the west and east of the village. By contrast there is no physical survival of the Roman road as roads, tracks, or boundaries in Belchford parish to the west of Tetford, nor in the parishes of South Ormsby, Brinkhill, and Driby to the east.

Whilst this model, does not by any means account for every short surviving section of in-use Roman road, it does demonstrate that destinations on the Roman road network can be just as important to its survival at a very local level as they are a regional one.

Conclusions

In addressing one of the key research questions of this thesis - that of why some Roman roads remain in use whilst others do not – it can be concluded here that locales functioning as destinations on the Roman road network are one of the principal factors involved in the survival and loss of the Roman road network. Ultimately, roads do not remain in use without traffic, and travellers must have destinations. For the vast majority of their history, unless Roman roads continued to serve destinations that people needed or wanted to go to they will have fallen out of use, and that this was a process which could happen relatively quickly.

What is also apparent when the example of Tetford is compared with that of Lincoln is that the extent of the influence of a destination along the Roman road network is proportionate to its significance. Regionally or nationally significant destinations had considerable 'reach' along the road network, ensuring that whilst they functioned as significant locales, the roads leading towards them also remained in use for considerable distances on their approaches. By contrast, minor destinations such as a small rural settlement located on a Roman road no longer functioning as a long-distance route, will only have generated sufficient traffic to keep the road in use within its immediate surroundings, potentially just that of its own parish.

Part Three

Chapter 9: Roman Roads in the Wider Landscape

Introduction

The discussion in Part Two of this thesis focused on locales (i.e. destinations) on the Roman road network and what they can tell us about the use, influence, and survival and loss of the Roman roads within the study area. Whilst, as we have seen in the previous chapter, the influence of these destinations could extend far along the Roman road network, for much of their length the roads lay in between the locales and had a more direct relationship with the wider landscape. It this aspect that will be considered in this, and the following, chapter which comprise Part Three of the thesis.

The wider landscape through which Roman roads pass is, and largely always has been, made up of a mixture of agricultural land - both arable and pastoral, uncultivated commons and wastes, and woodland. Each of these land-uses presents a variety of different spatial relationships with the Roman road network. Consequently they have potential to provide additional information about the use, influence, and particularly the date of loss of the road network as well as contributing to wider debates surrounding landscape change over time. The nature of the agricultural landscape of the study area during the Anglo-Saxon period cannot be reconstructed with sufficient detail to allow any meaningful analysis of its relationship to the Roman road network to be carried out. In view of this, the focus in the this chapter will be on the medieval and post-medieval landscape; a period for which there is a better understanding of the nature of the landscape and which included significant changes affecting the Roman road network.

Roman Roads and the Arable Landscape

The relationship between Roman roads and arable fields may seem straightforward as it might well be assumed that a metalled road is unlikely to exist within an area of ploughed land and still remain in use. However, as the discussion of the 'Scole-Dickleburgh' field system in Chapter Two highlights the relationship between fields and Roman roads is far from unambiguous.

Modern arable fields may, and frequently do, abut onto a road on either side but they do not as a rule overlie the carriageway itself. However, some early pre-enclosure maps[40] show in-use tracks, if not actual roads, cutting diagonally across extant arable strip fields, just as some footpaths still cross cultivated fields in the modern landscape. The practicalities of how the thoroughfare and the arable fields co-existed in these cases is far from clear, but it is possible that the use of these routes was reduced, or restricted, to pedestrian and equestrian traffic and that they were not used by vehicles.

Although this type of relationship between then-extant medieval strip fields and in-use thoroughfares cannot be demonstrated from the available cartographic sources for any of the Roman roads within the study area, there is some evidence that ploughing did occur across the line of extant Roman roads. Writing in the early eighteenth century, Stukeley noted how Ermine Street on the Lincoln Heath had been thus affected. The villages to its west on the Lincoln Cliff escarpment had, he described

"ploughed up this barren ground on both sides of the road, and basely lowered it for miles together, by dragging the plough a-cross it at every furrow; so that every year levels it some inches, and, was it not a public road, it would soon be quite obliterated" (Stukeley 1776, 87)[41].

What is important to note here is that, except where it has been overlain by RAF Waddington airfield in the mid twentieth century, this section of Ermine Street still survives as a road and track in the modern landscape. It is clear from Stukeley's description that the road was also still in use when he observed it being ploughed across in the early eighteenth century and that the two activities – the ploughing of the land and the use of the road - were not mutually exclusive. It is likely that the ploughing across the line of the Roman road was simply a matter of convenience on the part of the ploughmen, who wished to maximise the length of their furrows, rather than a deliberate attempt to bring the line of the road into cultivation - the *agger* would hardly have been conducive to successful crop growth. It is likely that this section the Roman road would have had little significance for the parishes through which it

---

[40] e.g. The 1631 L'Estrange estate map of Sedgeford (NRO: LEST OC/1).
[41] It is implicit in Stukeley's account that the ploughing-up of the Heath was a relatively recent occurrence and that it had not been under cultivation throughout the medieval period. This would accord with descriptions of the Lincoln Heath as a desolate, unenclosed landscape (Trollope 1872, 2-3).

passed. The villages to which Stukeley refers all lie detached from Ermine Street on the Lincoln Cliff escarpment and were linked to each other and Lincoln by the Middle Street unimproved routeway instead. The irrelevance of Ermine Street to these communities would, as we have seen in the previous chapter, have meant that there would have been little incentive for them to ensure its retention and maintenance.

Whilst the ploughing across Ermine Street did not prevent its continued use it does tell us something about the road's significance in the eighteenth century. Although Stukeley described it as a 'public road' it seems highly unlikely that ploughing over the *agger* would have occurred if the road remained in use as an important long-distance route. It had by this time been superseded as the principal route to Lincoln from the south by a later road on the eastern edge of the Heath which was improved as a turnpike road in 1756. Ermine Street south of Lincoln was by the early eighteenth century probably little more than a track across unenclosed heathland defined only by the presence of its *agger*. This did not, however, prevent its survival through to the present day; a point to which we will return later on.

The eighteenth-century ploughing across the line of Ermine Street in Lincolnshire might be somewhat exceptional, representing as it does a relatively late intake of heathland into cultivation. More frequently Roman, and post-Roman, roads might be expected to have formed the boundaries of separate blocks of arable land in the medieval landscape and they were often used to define the extents of these in contemporary documents (Rackham 1986, 264). In Norfolk medieval open fields were often divided into 'fields' or 'precincts', although these divisions had no specific cropping significance (Hall 2014, 64-5). Some were still present in the seventeenth century and contemporary maps show that extant Roman roads formed the boundaries of precincts. This was the case at Sedgeford in northwest Norfolk where Peddars Way divided the different precincts in the parish (NRO: LEST OC/1).

The relationship between medieval arable fields and Roman roads is particularly evident in Lincolnshire where earthwork and cropmark remains of ridge and furrow can be seen to lie parallel to, or butting up against, the line of extant roads. By contrast where the original course of a Roman road is overlain by earthworks or cropmarks of medieval ridge and furrow it can be suggested that the course of the road had either been diverted or abandoned by the late medieval period or that it had at least ceased

to function as anything more than a minor track. This relationship is of considerable value in establishing when some parts of the Roman road network ceased to be used as major long-distance routeways, which as has already been demonstrated was frequently a critical point in the history of their survival and loss.

In Lincolnshire where earthwork and cropmark evidence is available, the course of Roman roads that remain extant and in use appear to be respected by the ridge and furrow with the strips often running parallel or perpendicular to the line of the road. Sometimes, as is the case on Tillbridge Lane at Sturton by Stow curved or tapering strips were created to squeeze into narrow spaces alongside the road emphasising the influence that the extant road had on the layout of the cultivation strips (Figure 47).

Figure 47. Aerial image showing earthwork ridge and furrow at Sturton by Stow, Lincolnshire with tapering strips adjacent to Tillbridge Lane (mid left to bottom right across image). (Google Earth © Infoterra Ltd & Bluesky. Imagery date 17/04/2005.).

Despite the generally clear distinction between the roads and arable fields some encroachment did occur in the medieval period. Beyond the study area excavations on the Foss Way at Saxondale in Nottinghamshire noted medieval ploughing overlying the edge of the Roman road (Cooke and Mudd 2014, 460). If allowed to go unchecked such encroachments could over time have led to minor deviations in the course of the road resulting in it adopting a curving rather than straight appearance.

Figure 48. Earthworks of ridge and furrow at Belchford, Lincolnshire overlying the course of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road (with its course indicated by white lines). Part of the *agger* survives as an earthwork immediately to the west (left) of the ridge and furrow and faintly beneath it. (Original image © Chris, www.geograph.org.uk/photo/3800336 Reproduced under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 2.0 Generic Licence (http://creativecommons.org/licenses /by-sa/2.0/)).

More informative from the perspective of this thesis are the instances where ridge and furrow can be identified with the arable strips lying directly across the course of a Roman road. This is particularly the case where the ridge and furrow survives as earthworks but no trace of the *agger* is present. This relationship suggests that the course of the road had been under the plough during the medieval period, potentially since the open fields came into being in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Whilst such a relationship does not necessarily prevent the use of the road it does suggest that it was perhaps no longer functioning as a significant route for vehicular traffic. Examples of ridge and furrow earthworks overlying Roman roads can be found at several locations on the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road, which, as noted in the previous chapter, exhibits a very high level of road loss. Surviving earthworks of medieval ridge and furrow cutting across the line of the Roman road are present in at least five separate locations in South Ormsby and Belchford parishes (Figure 48). No obviously diverted route is present and the presence of ridge and furrow earthworks overlying the Roman road in these two parishes provides a strong indication that it must have fallen out of use as a continuous long-distance routeway by, or at least during, the medieval period.

Although the medieval landscape of Norfolk did contain open fields similar to those present in the Midlands, the process of amalgamation and enclosure of cultivation strips began at an early date meaning that their form and extent have rarely be mapped (Hall 2014, 182). In contrast to Lincolnshire, ridge and furrow is only present in a small part of West Norfolk (Martin and Satchell 2008, 30-3). However, the archaeological evidence from West Norfolk provides no opportunities for the physical relationship between surviving earthwork ridge and furrow and Roman roads to be examined. Because ridge and furrow does not appear to have existed, or survived, in other areas of Norfolk, direct relationships between arable cultivation strips and Roman roads cannot be ascertained for most areas of the county.

However, some information can be gleaned from cartographic sources, in northwest Norfolk at least. A late-seventeenth-century map of Holme-next-the-Sea (NRO: LEST/EH 8) shows that strip fields of probable medieval origin were then present overlying the extrapolated course of Peddars Way. The original course of the Roman road at this location is far from certain and it is not clear if the cartographic evidence really shows that it had been diverted or abandoned during the medieval period. The interpretation that the northwestern end of Peddars Way was out of use in the medieval

period would be somewhat contrary to the evidence for its overall survival as a long-distance route and it may be more likely that it actually lay on an alternative course through Hunstanton parish.

If the 'Scole-Dickleburgh' fields (but not necessarily the trackways) are taken to be of a later date than the Pye Road, it seems that the presence of a Roman road need not have had any influence on the development of such as pattern of land-division[42]. However, clear evidence of other such field systems cutting across Roman roads within the Norfolk study area is not forthcoming. Such field systems could theoretically have been lost through later landscape reorganisation, but evidence for this from historic cartography, cropmarks, or extant field boundaries is absent. It can tentatively be concluded that in most cases Roman roads did form the boundaries of arable land-units in the medieval open field landscape of Norfolk, just as they appear to have done in Lincolnshire. Many arable fields of presumed late medieval or post-medieval date do, of course, overlie the course of disused sections of Roman road and can potentially provide useful information about the date of road-loss – a point which will be discussed further below under the topic of parliamentary and private enclosure.

Roman Roads, Commons and Wastes

The relationship between Roman roads and areas of unenclosed land such as commons, heaths, and meadows was less rigid than that imposed by the arable landscape. Typically the presence of unenclosed common land on one or both sides of the road, and the manner in which it was used, would not have prevented the continued use of the road. Equally where a road crossed a common it would not necessarily have presented a barrier to the free movement of livestock and people from one side of the road to the other; a situation which can still be seen on many areas of unenclosed land today. However, this flexibility worked both ways; the routes taken by travellers across areas of open landscape were unconstrained leaving them considerably more

---

[42] It is worth noting here that the research for this thesis did not reveal any additional evidence to support the dating of either the trackways or fields of the 'Scole-Dickleburgh' system and cannot further the debate about its development or that of the landscape in which it sits.

freedom to deviate from the original course of a road than where they were hemmed in by arable fields.

Whilst our knowledge of the medieval arable landscape of Lincolnshire is more detailed than for Norfolk this situation is reversed with our understanding of commons and wastes. The distribution and extent of the commons surviving in Norfolk in the late eighteenth century is recorded in remarkable detail on the county map published by William Faden in 1797. Although some areas had already been enclosed by that date, the map shows the majority of commons just prior to the major landscape changes brought about by parliamentary enclosure in the early nineteenth century. Andrew Macnair and Tom Williamson (2010, 102-3) have observed that commons frequently lay on the edges of parishes, often extending up to their boundaries and sometimes abutting the common land of adjoining parishes. However, in many cases commons stopped at the parish boundary demonstrating that their extent was defined by human rather than environmental factors. The land on one side of the parish boundary was no more or less fertile than the other; it was simply that one community had taken the land into cultivation whereas their neighbours had not (*ibid.*). By the late eighteenth century the edges of the commons might best be seen as defining the boundaries of the surrounding cultivated land and the extent to which it had encroached upon the common land rather than the true limits of the areas of medieval waste.

In Norfolk 17% of the mapped length of the Roman road network had some relationship to an area of common or waste land in the late eighteenth century (Figure 49). This comprised 7% where the Roman road formed the edge of the common and 10% where its course cut across the common, irrespective of whether the road was actually still in use. Given the tendency for commons to be located close to the edges of parishes it is perhaps unsurprising that nearly half (43%) of the mapped length of the Roman road network with some form of direct relationship with of areas of common land also functioned as parish boundaries. This relationship was stronger where the Roman road formed the edge of an area of common with two thirds of such cases also forming the parish boundary. This supports the pattern of parish boundaries defining the edges of commons observed by Macnair and Williamson (*ibid.*), with one parish retaining their common land but the neighbouring parish on the opposite side
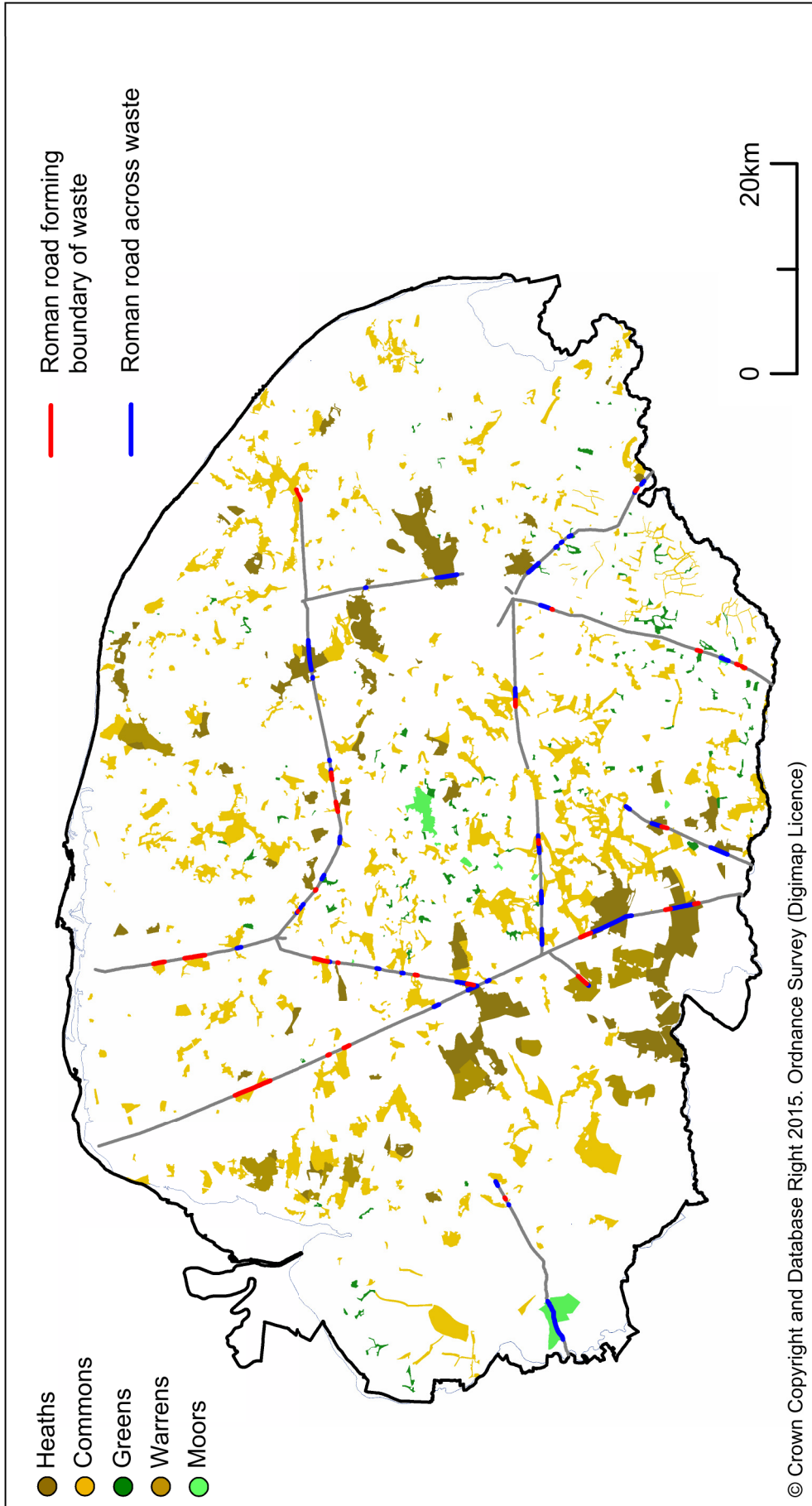
Figure 49. Roman roads and areas of waste shown on Faden's Map of Norfolk (1797).

Legend:
- Roman road forming boundary of waste
- Roman road across waste

Heaths
Commons
Greens
Warrens
Moors

© Crown Copyright and Database Right 2015. Ordnance Survey (Digimap Licence)

20km

0

of the Roman road having put theirs under the plough. The Roman road not only formed the boundary between two parishes, but also between two different types of land-use. A very good example of this can be seen on Peddars Way which forms the boundary of the adjacent commons in Anmer, Flitcham, and Harpley parishes.

Sometimes two or more parishes with their boundaries on a Roman road retained their common land so that it formed a large expanse lying on both sides of the road and parish boundary, but this was by no means the norm. Of the total length of mapped Roman roads running across commons in Norfolk only about a quarter (27%) were also a parish boundary. Those that were, mostly lay in Breckland where large areas of adjoining commons spanned several parishes, as at Thompson, Tottington, Breckles, and East Wretham along Peddars Way. In these cases the road would have functioned as more of a legal boundary than a physical one, defining limits of ownership and usage-rights rather than acting as a barrier to movement.

It was much more usual for areas of common crossed by Roman roads to lie entirely within one parish where the decision on how the land on either side of the road was used lay in the hands of a single community. This suggests that although Roman roads may have remained in use across areas of common land they were not necessarily perceived as boundaries within the confines of a single parish. As already noted, they would not have impeded the free movement of people and livestock across the common and there is consequently no reason why they would have been seen as an obstruction in that way. With Roman roads across commons not seen as a boundaries by individual communities their presence did not on the whole encourage the clearance on one side and retention of the common on the other. In most cases it was only where the Roman road formed a parish boundary that it was likely to be seen as dividing the common and the land on either side was treated differently.

There are exceptions and Roman roads did in some cases end up forming the edges of commons within the confines of a single parish. However, in almost every instance of a Roman road forming the edge of a common within a parish the road itself is no longer in use. It is possible, if not likely, in these cases that it was the earthwork of the *agger* rather than a functioning road which divided the cultivated land from the common. If a section of road passing through uncultivated land such as a common, heath, or woodland had fallen out of use at a relatively early date after the end of the Roman

period it is possible that its *agger* may have survived as a linear earthwork. The survival of earthworks of the *agger* on uncultivated land was noted by Camden in the early seventeenth century (1607, 44-5) and a small number of examples can still be found within the study area (Figure 17). When an area of uncultivated land was being cleared and taken into cultivation the *agger* earthwork would have presented itself as a ready-made boundary feature. Not only might the earthwork have provided a convenient limit for the new assart but the additional labour needed for its removal may also have discouraged expansion onto the land beyond unless there was a real need to do so. This may well have been the case with an enclosure present on Great Melton Common by the late eighteenth century which utilised the line of the disused Roman road between Caistor St Edmund and Crownthorpe as part of its southern boundary.

As noted in Chapter Three, Lincolnshire lacks a pre-enclosure county map of a quality comparable with Faden's map of Norfolk. Armstrong's *Map of the County of Lincoln-Shire* published in 1778 is frequently inaccurate and insufficiently detailed to allow precise observations to be made about the relationship between Roman roads and commons. However, it is likely that a similar range of relationships between the roads and commons existed in Lincolnshire as those that can be demonstrated more fully for Norfolk. Armstrong's map does label some areas of common or heath even if their boundaries are not depicted. As we have seen, Ermine Street crossing the substantial area of Lincoln Heath south of the city survived intact in the eighteenth century, as did the road leading north from Sleaford towards Ruskington across Sleaford Common. One of the few remaining areas of unenclosed common land in the county today is South Common at Lincoln. The line of Ermine Street approaches the city from the south across the common but, apart from slight earthwork traces of the *agger*, it is no longer extant with its course having been diverted at some point during the medieval period (Bowden *et al.* 2009, 15).

The available cartographic evidence for the study area suggests that the presence of commons and other unenclosed, uncultivated land did not have a significant influence on the continued use and survival of Roman roads. Whilst the roads sometimes acted as boundaries of commons, this was usually within the more significant context of their use a parish boundaries, a relationship that will be examined in the following chapter.

Roman Roads and Woodland

As with commons, Roman roads appear to have both formed the boundaries of woodland in the medieval landscape and also to have passed through areas where they were flanked by trees on both sides. However, where woodland was present on both sides of the road there would have been less scope for road users to deviate from its course than when crossing an area of open common and this may have helped preserve the original course of the road in such cases.

The Domesday Survey provides a useful indication of where the highest concentrations of 'woodland' existed in the eleventh century. However, the majority of woodland recorded at Domesday is likely to have been wood pasture rather than managed woodland (which appears to have developed mainly after the eleventh century) or existing wildwood (Barnes and Williamson 2015, 25-6).

In Lincolnshire three distinct areas of Domesday woodland can be identified. The largest of these was recorded in *c*.1000 as, "the wood called Kesteven by the common people" and gives its name to the southwest part of the county (Cameron 1998, 72). It has been suggested that the pattern of Roman roads in south Lincolnshire was influenced by the presence of the Kesteven forest, with their routes going around rather than through this block of wildwood (Roberts 2002, 82). The other two areas of Domesday woodland in Lincolnshire lay to the east of Lincoln along the northern side of the Witham valley and on the southeast edge of the Wolds. In Norfolk, the Domesday woodland formed a more contiguous group in what Rackham (2005) has described as the 'wooded crescent' extending from the Waveney valley through the centre of the county round to the area north of Aylsham. It is clear that in both counties Roman roads passed through areas with high concentrations of woodland (in whatever form) in the eleventh century. However, establishing the precise extent of individual blocks of woodland and their relationship to Roman roads at that time is practically impossible. Consequently the relationship between Roman roads and medieval woodland has to be inferred from occasional pieces of documentary evidence and post-medieval cartographic sources.

One such example is a reference in the Paston Letters dating from 1472 that relates to felling of part of a wood extending up to Walsingham Way at Sporle in Norfolk (Gairdner 1983, v.167). This has been identified as Sporle Wood part of which still

lies on the parish boundary along the former course of the Walsingham Way. Although, the position of the surviving woodland and parish boundaries lie slightly away from the original line of the Roman road, and may represent a deviation of its course earlier in the medieval period, it is likely that the area referred to in the letter lay immediately south of the surviving Sporle Wood where the parish boundary lies directly on the line of the Roman road.

Several adjoining blocks of ancient woodland in south Lincolnshire lie adjacent to King Street at Kirkby Underwood and Dunsby in the Kesteven woodland. The Roman road forms the majority of the western boundary of Callan's Lane Wood and Thorny Wood. Only where Pasture Wood lies to the west of the road does it form an internal division between the three woods. Where King Street forms the external boundary of Callan's Lane Wood and Thorny Wood it is also the parish boundary. The survival of Pasture Wood and Scollar Wood suggests that woodland had originally also been present to the southwest of King Street but that in Irnham and Edenham parishes it had been cleared up to the line of the road forming their boundary. As we shall see later in the next chapter, the presence of the parish boundary along King Street suggests that the road had most likely remained in use into the tenth to twelfth centuries. Historic map evidence (LA: 5ANC 5/B/1/5/1) shows that the road had fallen out of use by 1792 and that the boundaries of the woodland then remained largely unchanged into the late twentieth century.

This part of the Kesteven woodland was very probably much more extensive on both sides of King Street at the in the eleventh century. The presence of the parish boundary along the line of the road means that its fate may have been similar to that described above for the commons which lay in different parishes on either side of a Roman road. It is likely that in the parishes of Irnham and Edenham, lying to the southwest of King Street, the woodland was cleared all the way up to the parish boundary, whilst in the neighbouring parishes of Kirkby Underwood and Dunsby, to the northeast of the road, it was retained. Survey work within these woods has identified fragmentary remains of the *agger* (Cope-Faulkner 2001) and its earthwork would have continued to define the parish boundaries and function as a wood bank long after the road itself ceased to be used.

Figure 50. Earthworks of a possible medieval moated hunting lodge at Horningtoft. The Billingford to Toftrees Roman road forms the boundary of the complex and is visible as an earthwork and field boundary cutting across the top right corner of the image. (Photograph by Derek Edwards. © Norfolk County Council Historic Environment Service. NHER TF9423L (AWB22) 26-Apr-1984).

A further example of the use of the *agger* earthwork as a wood or boundary bank can be found at Horningtoft in Norfolk. The *agger* forms one side of a large earthwork enclosure containing an oval moat (Figure 50). The complex has been interpreted as a manorial site (Cushion and Davison 2003, 111) but is perhaps more likely to have been an elaborate hunting lodge (Williamson *pers. comm.*). Either way, the site appears to have fallen out of use in the later medieval period and woodland had been allowed to regenerate across the site. By the end of the eighteenth century the earthworks lay completely within what was referred to on the enclosure map of 1816 as 'The Great Wood' (Cushion and Davison 2003, 111). Although the section of *agger* within the surviving earthwork complex originally lay within the Great Wood, further to the southeast it formed the woodland boundary.

Early maps also provide evidence of areas of medieval woodland directly overlying the courses of abandoned Roman roads. This is the case at Cawston in Norfolk where "The Queenes Maties Wood called Southhawe Wood" (later surviving in part as Cawston Wood) is shown on a map of *c*.1600 (NRO: MS 4521) directly overlying the line of the Roman road between Billingford and Brampton (Figure 51). Early post-medieval evidence such as this for the relationship between Roman roads and woodland is exceptional and provides a valuable *terminus ante quem* for their loss a long-distance routes and subsequent removal at a local level.
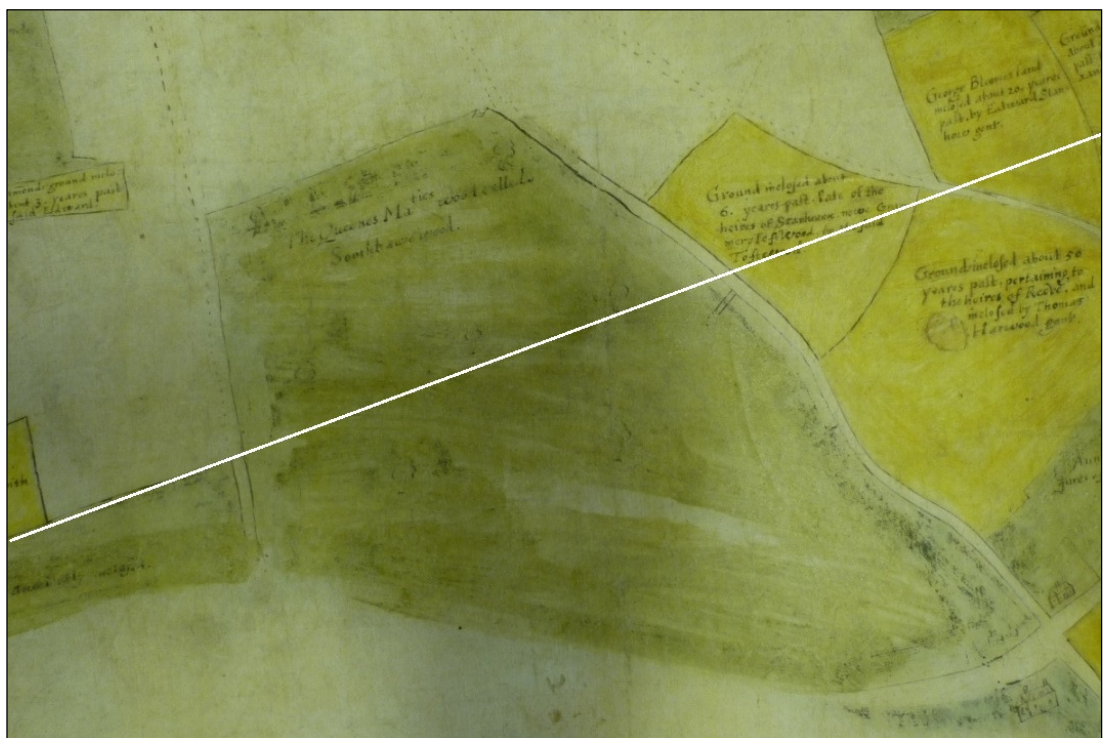
Figure 51. Extract from a map of Cawston parish dating from *c*.1600 showing Southhawe Wood (now Cawston Wood) overlying the course of the Billingford to Brampton Roman road (indicated by the white line. (NRO MS 4521).

The Impact of Private and Parliamentary Enclosure on the Survival and Loss of Roman Roads

The enclosure of the open fields, heaths, and commons was one of the most significant changes to occur in the landscape of the study area in the post-medieval period. The earliest enclosures, which in Norfolk occurred in the later medieval period, happened

in a piecemeal fashion with adjacent strips or blocks of land being amalgamated through exchange or unity of possession. These were followed by larger private enclosures, often at the instigation of a major landowner and, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, enclosure by Act of Parliament, both of which sometimes encompassed whole parishes[43].

The pattern of enclosure is by no means even across the study area. Parliamentary enclosure was the dominant form in Lincolnshire although much private enclosure also took place (Russell and Bennett 1993). In Norfolk the reverse was true, with enclosure more frequently bring a private undertaking than by Act of Parliament (Turner 2005). The dates at which parliamentary enclosure occurred also varied, with the number of Lincolnshire Acts peaking in the 1770s and the peak in Norfolk covering the Napoleonic War period of the 1790s-1810s.

One of the main problems with establishing the impact of enclosure on Roman roads is that it is necessary to have a clear understanding of the road network and landscape both before and after the process took place. In the case of parliamentary enclosure, the post-enclosure landscape is usually depicted on a map accompanying the enclosure award or on near-contemporary estate or tithe maps. Whilst early 'old enclosures' are sometimes depicted on parish or estate maps, rarely can these sources be related directly to the process of private enclosure. Very few maps exist for the study area that depict the pre-enclosure landscape in sufficient detail to be of use in determining whether or not Roman roads survived at that time. Where detailed early maps are available, they frequently show either Roman roads that are still in use today or that the Roman road had already disappeared by the time the map was produced. Only very rarely is a Roman road shown as being extant on a pre-enclosure map but not present on those produced at, or after, enclosure. Without a firm baseline for the pre-enclosure status of the Roman road network it is often impossible to determine the impact of enclosure on the roads within an individual parish.

Nevertheless, some observations can be made about the implications of both private and parliamentary enclosure for the survival and loss of Roman roads in the study area. The piecemeal nature of early private enclosure means that it operated largely within

---

[43] See Yelling (1977), Mingay (1997), and Williamson (2000) for discussion of the process of enclosure, and its impact on the landscape.

the structure of the existing landscape rather than making major changes to it. This, as Sarah Harrison (2005, 218) has pointed out, means there was little or no opportunity, or indeed reason, for such enclosures to affect the existing road network. Early enclosures can sometimes be identified alongside the course of Roman roads but this does not necessarily mean that the road was still in use as a road or track at the time of the enclosure, merely that its line was preserved as a boundary feature. This is the case with enclosures depicted on a map of Cawston dating to *c.*1600 (NRO: MS 4521). The boundary between '*Ground inclosed about 43 yeares* past' (i.e. in the mid sixteenth century) and '*groundes anciently inclosed*' (presumably at an even earlier date) lay directly along the line of the Roman road through the parish, but the road itself was no longer extant by that time (Figure 52). Other enclosed lands within the parish, with varying dates of enclosure, are shown lying directly over the line of the Roman road and it is unlikely that its loss was directly due to what was evidently a piecemeal enclosure process. As with the woodland in Cawston parish depicted on the same map, the presence of the enclosures overlying the line of the Roman road provide a date by which it must have disappeared.
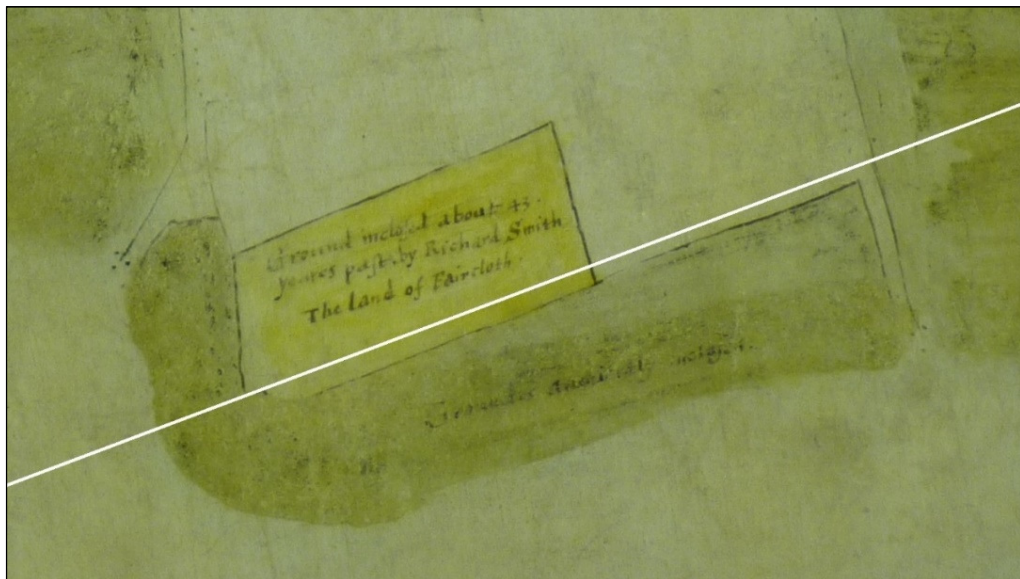
Figure 52. Extract from a map of Cawston parish dating from *c.*1600 showing old enclosures. The course of the Billingford to Brampton Roman road is overlain as a white line. (NRO MS 4521).

Later private enclosures had to respect certain legal requirements particularly after the General Highway Act of 1773 when it became necessary for a road order to be obtained if roads were to be diverted or closed (Harrison 2005, 218). Even so, there is little direct evidence for the loss of Roman roads in the study area due to the implementation of private enclosures.

Parliamentary enclosure has often been seen as a major cause of change to the rural road network in the post-medieval period. To some previous writers, the complex pattern and poor condition of the roads in many parishes meant that it was necessary for the enclosure commissioners to carry out wholesale changes to the road network in order to complete their task (Taylor 1979, 172; Mingay 1997, 48-9; Chapman and Seeliger 2001, 30). Prior to the General Enclosure Act of 1801 the commissioners could make minor amendments to the existing roads of a parish within the bounds of the highways legislation but couldn't completely remove them. However, after the 1801 Act they had greater powers to both divert or close existing roads and create new ones as part of the process of setting out the land allotments. Even so, it was not within their power to make changes to any turnpike roads that passed through the parish (Tomlins 1804, 213-4 cited in Harrison 2005, 218).

Harrison has questioned the extent to which the theoretical powers of the commissioners to close and divert roads was actually implemented in the majority of parliamentary enclosures, arguing instead for a general tidying up of the road network in many cases rather than outright change (2005, 217-8; 228-30). In this context she has highlighted the important distinction between local 'field roads' lying wholly within the parish and roads leading to other neighbouring settlements or forming parts of long-distance routes. Roads that provided a link to the next village were sometimes straightened and improved but were rarely removed completely unless they duplicated another road leading out of the parish. Long-distance routes passing through the parish that were not turnpike roads were also subject to minor changes but were invariably retained at enclosure (*ibid*., 251-3).

In this model any Roman roads that already existed as turnpike roads by the time of enclosure would obviously have remained unchanged as the commissioners were not empowered to alter them. Those that were not turnpike roads but which remained in use as long-distance routes are also likely to have been left largely unaltered. To some

extent the straightness of Roman roads must have discouraged the enclosure commissioners from making unnecessary changes. If a Roman road passed through the parish in a straight line it probably followed the shortest, most convenient route and therefore one that was also the cheapest to maintain. There would, therefore, have been little benefit in altering the course of any Roman roads that needed to be retained as through-routes. Certainly there would have been no scope to remove such roads, even if they had little relevance to the parishes through which they passed. A clear example of this is Ermine Street south of Lincoln. As we have seen, despite still existing as a long-distance route, albeit of reduced significance, the line of the Roman road was being ploughed across in the early eighteenth century. It might then be considered to have been at risk of being removed completely when the parishes laying across its course were enclosed later in the same century. Although these enclosures took place before the 1773 Highways Act came into force, none of the individual parishes lying across the route had the authority to break its continuity be removing a section of the road. As a result, far from being removed by the enclosure process, the line of Ermine Street was actually more formally defined with new hedgerows and verges, thus ensuring its survival in the modern landscape.

The greatest scope for change in the road network at parliamentary enclosure lay in the local 'field roads' that connected the settlement foci of a parish with its various landscape resources. The rationalisation of land-holdings that took place largely did away with the need for the complex pattern of roads and tracks that had previously existed across many parishes. Grouping allocations of land into discreet blocks meant that after enclosure many parishioners needed to access fewer parts of the parish than required by their previous widely-dispersed holdings. As a consequence of this many roads and paths within a parish would have been made redundant and were closed or diverted by the commissioners (*ibid*.). As we have seen in the previous chapter any short sections of Roman road that did not provide direct links between settlement foci and their fields, woods, meadows, or other resources would have been seen as having little value in the reorganisation of the landscape and were likely candidates for removal by the enclosure commissioners. It is very likely that this fate befell parts of the Walsingham Way that had survived as isolated sections of road in parishes such as Litcham, Tittleshall and Sporle. By contrast, Roman roads that did serve a useful function as local access roads within a parish, as we have seen was the case at Rand

and Tetford on the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road, survived the enclosure process. It is interesting to note that whilst Tetford was enclosed by an Act of Parliament in 1765 (LA: DIOC/LDAP/1/36), Rand was privately enclosed at an unknown, but probably much earlier, date. This suggests that the method of enclosure was not necessarily as significant a factor in the survival of a Roman road as its continued usefulness.

Roman roads that lay directly across areas of common within the confines of a single parish, rather than on its boundary, were also likely to have been particularly susceptible to removal when these areas were enclosed if the road no longer existed as part of a long-distance route. It is possible that the section of the Mareham Lane/Bloxholm Lane Roman road shown on Armstrong's county map (1778) crossing Sleaford Common was removed when the common was subsequently enclosed but, as is frequently the case, the cartographic evidence is insufficient for the road-loss to be definitely attributed to enclosure.

The Impact of Post-Medieval Landscape Parks on Roman Roads

The creation of landscape parks in the post-medieval period has been specifically identified within the revised regional archaeological research framework for the East of England as a contributing factor in the loss of some Roman roads in the region (Medlycott 2011, 48, 71). As with other land-use types discussed above, extant Roman roads presented themselves as an obvious boundary feature in the design and layout of new parks. This was the case at Holkham, Ditchingham, and North Elmham where extant Roman roads were used to define one of the boundaries of these large landscape parks. However, neither the creation nor any subsequent expansion of these particular parks resulted in the significant diversion or loss of the adjacent road. However, the relationship was not always so balanced and, as the research framework suggests, there were some instances where the development of landscape parks did directly impact of sections of Roman road.

Faden's Norfolk county map of 1797 shows that in the late eighteenth century the park at Dunston Hall to the south of Norwich occupied a relatively small area lying entirely to the east of the Pye Road. Although the creation of the turnpike road earlier that century had diverted the main road to Norwich further west, the Roman road was still

shown as extant on the first edition Ordnance Survey map of 1838 with the park still lying on entirely on its east side. The turnpike road was moved even further west when the Norwich to Ipswich railway line was constructed in the mid nineteenth century (NRO: DUN(B)66,496x7) and the park was also expanded westwards to meet the new line of the main road. It was at this point that the Roman road was subsumed into the park and was finally taken out of use.

The park at Spixworth Hall lay adjacent to the line of the Brampton to Thorpe St Andrew Roman road. Its development shows a slightly more gradual pattern of road loss. A plan accompanying a road closure order of 1776 (NRO: C/Sce2/1/11) shows that most of the eastern boundary of the park was at that time formed by the still-extant Roman road but that the northeast corner of the park already overlaid its former course (Figure 53). Faden's county map (1797) shows that this was still the case in the late eighteenth century but by 1814 (NRO: C/Sce2/4/16) the park had been expanded eastwards shifting the road away from the line of the Roman road onto its present course (Figure 54).

In Lincolnshire the effect of landscape parks on Roman road survival appears to have been less significant. There are no clearly identifiable examples within the county where the loss of a section of Roman road can be attributed to the creation or expansion of a post-medieval landscape park. Although the park at Burghley House adjacent to Stamford lies immediately outside of the study area it is worthy of a brief mention in the absence of any examples of road-loss in Lincolnshire itself. In the case of Burghley, the park that existed around the Elizabethan house lay entirely to the north of Ermine Street. It was this park that was improved by Lancelot 'Capability' Brown in the mid 1770s and which is depicted on Armstrong's 1778 *Map of Lincoln-Shire* still lying solely to the north of the Roman road. In 1796 the area of the park was more than trebled to 1400 acres taking in a large block of land to the south of Ermine Street and incorporating the Roman road into the park (Leatham *et al.* 2000, 60-1). However, a section of the Roman road still survives in use as a private road within the western part of the park.

Whilst the creation of landscape parks might have been a contributing factor in the loss of Roman roads elsewhere in the East of England, if its mention in the regional

Figure 53. Extract from a Road Order of 1776 showing the relationship of the Brampton to Thorpe St Andrew Roman road (indicated by the white line) to Spixworth Park. (NRO C/Sce2/1/11).

Figure 54. Extract from a Road Order of 1814 showing the expansion of Spixworth Park across the course of the Brampton to Thorpe St Andrew Roman road (indicated by the white line). North is to the right. (NRO C/Sce2/4/16).

research framework is seen as significant, it does not appear to had much influence with the current study area. Indeed, as example such as Burghley show, landscape parks could actually help preserve the line of Roman roads, albeit as private, rather than public roads. A further example of such survival can be seen in at Sculthorpe in Norfolk. A section of the Roman road between Toftrees and Holkham, then known locally as *Green Gate Way*, was among the public carriage roads, highways and footpaths stopped up as part of the enclosure of the parish in 1829 (NRO: C/Sce2/14/7). However, despite is 'closure' the Roman road actually continued to function as a track and was incorporated into Cranmer Park in the mid nineteenth century, only to be removed when the park was ploughed up a century later.

The Loss of the Roman Road Network since the Late Nineteenth Century

The first edition six inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps produced in the 1880s provide an invaluable overview of the surviving extent of the Roman road network in the late nineteenth century. Although all roads, tracks and paths are depicted on these maps it is not always possible to distinguish between these three different types of thoroughfare. The distinction is in any case a modern one and, as they all represent the survival and continued use of Roman roads, it is sufficient here to consider them together.

The evidence from the six inch to the mile Ordnance Survey maps shows that in Lincolnshire 207km of the Roman road network remained in use as roads or tracks in the 1880s. This amounts to just 5km more than survives in use in the early twenty-first century and represents 1.5% of the total mapped Roman road network of the county. In Norfolk 119km of Roman road survived in use as roads and tracks in the 1880s compared with 117km today. This change of only 2km represent less than 1% of the total mapped Roman road network in the county. If these figures are looked at in terms of loss rather than survival they show that just 1.5% of the total mapped Roman road network in Lincolnshire, and less than 1% of the total mapped road network in Norfolk, have gone out use since the 1880s. Given the amount of change that might be expected to have occurred in the landscape of the study area since the late nineteenth century the amount of loss experienced by the Roman road network is

surprisingly low and demonstrates a high-degree of stability in the overall road pattern in both counties.

The nature of twentieth-century road-loss in both Lincolnshire and Norfolk has been piecemeal. Short sections of Roman road in both counties have been lost to road improvements particularly where new junctions have diverted the line of the modern road. In Norfolk, a third of the total amount of Roman road loss in the county in the twentieth century can be accounted for by the construction of the Scole and Dickleburgh bypass in 1990. The creation of the new road resulted in three separate sections of the Pye Road, totalling 850m in length, going out of use.

In Lincolnshire, nearly a kilometre of Ermine Street south of Lincoln was lost when the main runway at RAF Waddington was extended to the southwest across its line in the early 1950s (Delve 2008, 295)[44]. Elsewhere in the county a number of short sections of road, which appear to have survived only as tracks in the 1880s, were removed in the rationalisation of the agricultural landscape during the twentieth century.

The Survival of Roman Roads as just Boundary Features: The Modern Evidence in Context

As discussed in Chapter Four, the courses of some sections of Roman road in the study area survive in the modern landscape as just field or other property boundaries with no extant road or track present. The survival of the line of Roman roads as field boundaries has often been cited as one of the useful means of tracing the courses of lost roads (e.g. Margary 1955, 19; Johnston 1979, 144). However, as we have seen, this form of evidence does not comprise a significant proportion of their modern surviving form within the study area with just 5% of the Roman road network in Lincolnshire, and 8% in Norfolk, recorded only as field or property boundaries.

---

[44] A similar runway extension occurred at RAF Scampton resulting in the diversion of the A15 away from Ermine Street. However, the line of the Roman road was maintained as a track within the airfield and technically remained in use. It therefore has not been considered as actual road-loss in this thesis.

Nevertheless, it is clear from the discussion above that during the medieval and post-medieval periods Roman roads have acted as boundaries defining the limits of areas of agricultural land, commons, woods, and landscape parks. This function has been fulfilled both where the roads remain in use as roads or tracks and also, in some cases, where the road has ceased to exist as any form of thoroughfare. It was noted in Chapter Three that there is no particular spatial significance to the survival of Roman roads as just boundary features in the modern landscape and that they occurred on both roads that exhibit high levels of in-use survival and those with high levels of loss.

Survival of a section of the line of a Roman road as just a boundary feature must by its very nature represent past road-loss. The presence of such boundaries in both the modern and historic landscape have, therefore, potential to inform us about the process and date of road-loss and in doing so to address several of the key research questions in this thesis.

Although there is no significance in the overall distribution of sections of boundary-only survival in the modern landscape of the study area, it is noticeable that many of the mapped sections of relate to relatively recent road-loss. These include sections mentioned above where the Roman road has been removed in the late twentieth century due to highway improvements and runway extensions. Evidence from seventeenth-century and later maps show that numerous other sections of boundary-only survival relate to instances where a Roman road has fallen out of use and been removed from the landscape in the late post-medieval or modern periods. The extent to which this is the case becomes apparent when the date of road-loss, where known, for each section of boundary survival is examined in more detail. In both parts of the study area a significant proportion of the recorded sections of boundary survival relate to identifiable post-medieval road-loss. This equates to 40% of those recorded in Lincolnshire and 43% of those in Norfolk. In both counties a single example of probable medieval road-loss can be identified among the sections of boundary-only survival. If these are included with the other dated examples it increases the amount of boundary survival associated with road-loss of known date to 43% in Lincolnshire and 45% in Norfolk. Although it needs to be remembered that just over half of the recorded sections of boundary-only survival are associated with road-loss at an unknown date, it is likely that at least some of are associated with medieval or early

post-medieval road-loss, but that there is insufficient evidence to confirm this due to the lack of available early cartographic sources.

The suggestion that modern survival of the line of a defunct Roman road as only a boundary may often be indicative of road-loss at a relatively late date is compelling. It is supported by the evidence from the South Pickenham to Toftrees road in Norfolk, which as we have seen in the previous chapter, remained in use as part of Walsingham Way pilgrimage route into the sixteenth century. It is telling that it this road, which can be demonstrated to have fallen out of use during the past four centuries, which has the highest proportion of recorded boundary-only survival (32% of its total length) of any of the Roman roads in the whole study area. This is not so say that survival of the course of Roman roads as only boundaries is just a modern phenomenon. Examination of historic maps reveal examples where the former line of a Roman road survived as just a field boundary in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, but where these boundaries have subsequently been removed (e.g. Great Dunham and Cawston). Clearly disused sections of Roman road were utilised as field boundaries in the medieval and early post-medieval periods, but it appears that the resulting boundaries were not particularly persistent landscape features and that in many cases they have been prone to later removal. It is possible that this occurred during the process eighteenth- and nineteenth-century private and parliamentary enclosure, but, once again, in most cases there is insufficient cartographic evidence to determine this. Cawston in Norfolk is a notable exception, where the availability of seventeenth-century maps showing a different field pattern to that of the 1843 tithe map (NRO: BUL 16/292). This strongly suggesting a replanning of the landscape at the parliamentary enclosure of the parish in 1800 with the removal of field boundaries along the line of the disused Roman road occurring at that time.

The fact that disused Roman roads were utilised as field and property boundaries, but that they do not in many cases have much longevity is informative. On the one hand it highlights that this form of survival is exceptional in the modern landscape and that where it occurs a relatively recent date for the actual disuse of the road should be considered possible. The failure of many examples of boundary-only survival evidenced on early historic maps to persist through to the late nineteenth century suggest that disused Roman roads were not particularly robust as landscape features. Whether during the process of enclosure in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, or

at other times, these boundaries were evidently subject to loss. It is possible that their apparently short-lived use as boundaries is a result of the artificiality of the line of Roman roads in the landscape. A disused road may not be ideally placed within the landscape but might conveniently serve as a boundary in the short-term. However, once an opportunity for re-organisation of the landscape presents itself the boundaries would be repositioned on a more favourable alignment. In this light, the truth of Della Hooke's (1998, 81), already quoted, observation that, "the existence of a Roman road might be totally irrelevant" in the positioning of boundaries, becomes all the more apparent.

Conclusions

Roman roads passed through, and adjacent to, a wide variety of different types of land-use units in the medieval and post-medieval landscape of the study area, such as fields, commons, woods and landscape parks. The relationship between these different elements of the landscape were far from fixed, with Roman roads sometimes forming their boundaries, whilst in other locations traversing, or being overlain by, them.

The relationship between Roman roads and arable fields is probably the least clear. Earthwork and cropmark evidence of ridge and furrow demonstrates that in some cases Roman roads formed the boundaries of arable land units in the medieval period. Although this may have been the norm, it appears to not always have been the case. Some Roman roads, may at some points in their medieval and later history have existed as in-use thoroughfares at the same time as they were being over-ploughed. However, the evidence for this is inconclusive and does not usefully advance the debate about the relationship between field systems such as that at 'Scole-Dickleburgh' with the Roman road network. Relationships with commons or woodland were more distinct with Roman roads both forming their boundaries and passing across or through them. Such relationships provide important evidence for the dates by which some Roman roads had ceased to function as major routes and, as will be discussed in the concluding chapter, make a significant contribution to the research aims of this thesis.

Although both in-use and disused Roman roads appear to have been utilised as land-use boundaries in the medieval period, the survival of those on defunct roads does not appear to have been particularly good. Evidence from the modern landscape and historic maps suggests that field boundaries on the line of Roman roads, where the road no longer remains in use, are not especially persistent features in the landscape. In a number of cases, where boundaries existed on the line of Roman roads in the early post-medieval period, they appear to have been removed during the re-organisation of the parish at enclosure. However, such changes are difficult to demonstrate due to a lack of appropriate historic maps, and the overall impact of private and parliamentary enclosure on the Roman road network is difficult to gauge. Major long-distance routes appear to have been largely unaffected by this process, but it is likely that further loss occurred on Roman roads that already existed in a fragmentary form as only local roads. Although the creation of landscape parks has been highlighted with the regional archaeological research framework as a factor in the loss of some Roman roads, it does not appear to have had a significance influence within the study area.

Chapter 10: The Use of Roman Roads as Administrative Boundaries

Introduction

In addition to defining the boundaries of small landscape units, such as the fields and woodlands discussed in the previous chapter, it has long been recognised that Roman roads also form the boundaries of larger administrative units. Within the scope of this study these larger landscape units range in scale from those of individual estates and communities through to the counties defining the study areas. The relationship between Roman roads and boundaries of this type is directly relevant to the research theme in this thesis which examines the influence of the Roman road network in the development of the Anglo-Saxon and medieval landscape, as well as feeding into wider debates about the origins and longevity of such boundaries.

Roman Roads, Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries and Boundaries in the Landscape

As has already been noted in Chapter Two, a potential relationship between early Anglo-Saxon burial sites and parish boundaries, some of which are defined by Roman roads, has long been suggested (e.g. Bonney 1966; 1972; 1979; Goodier 1984). The presence of early Anglo-Saxon burials on the boundaries of medieval parishes was, it was argued, evidence for the longevity of the boundaries, with land-holdings that they defined having Anglo-Saxon, Roman, or even prehistoric, origins. Desmond Bonney's theories have, as we have already seen, been reassessed by Simon Draper (2004) who suggested that it was the relationship between such burial sites and the routeways on which they were located that was more significant. In this model the establishment of the parish boundaries was secondary to the presence of the roads.

The analysis of the relationship between Roman roads and early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries presented in Chapter Five has shown that at least four cases can be identified within the study area where burials of this period were located immediately adjacent to, or within the *agger* of, a Roman road. Further examples are recorded from

elsewhere in the country. One of the issues raised by Draper was that the dating of a number of the early Anglo-Saxon burials cited by Bonney as examples of boundary burial could be drawn into question, with some instances being more likely to be execution cemeteries of late Anglo-Saxon date (*ibid*., 56)[45]. Whilst this is an entirely reasonable observation, all of the examples of cemeteries adjacent to Roman roads discussed in Chapter Five can be confidently dated to the early Anglo-Saxon period by the presence of diagnostic grave goods.

This juxtaposition of the cemeteries and Roman roads supports Draper's observation that the relationship between early Anglo-Saxon burial sites and routeways is significant. However, apart from at Sporle and Ruskington, at all of the locations within the study area where early Anglo-Saxon burials were cut into the *agger* of a Roman road the road also forms a parish boundary. This is also true of the examples cited in Chapter Five that lie outside of the study area. Whilst the presence of parish boundaries on the Roman roads does not mean that they were necessarily also utilised as boundaries earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period, or beforehand, it does not preclude this usage either.

Despite Draper's reanalysis of Bonney's hypothesis, it remains possible that some of the Roman roads within the study area had functioned as property or territorial boundaries in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon, and perhaps also Roman, periods. If so, the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries placed directly on Roman roads may indeed have been purposely positioned at boundary locations as Bonney's model would suggest. Establishing whether a landscape feature such as a Roman road really did function as a boundary at any given point prior to there being written evidence for its use as such is, however, almost impossible to confirm. Nevertheless, one aspect of their relationship that might provide some indication of whether Roman roads were boundaries at the time that early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were positioned on them is whether or not burials were placed on one or both sides of the road. If a cemetery lay entirely on one side of the road, with some burials extending on to the *agger*, the relationship could be used to suggest that the road did indeed represent a contemporary boundary feature. If on the other hand burials extended across both sides of the road the opposite situation could be inferred; that the Roman road held no significance as a

---

[45] The relationship between Roman roads, execution cemeteries and administrative boundaries is discussed later in this chapter.

boundary. However, even these physical relationships might be misleading. Conceivably two separate communities on either side of the road could choose to bury their dead at a single shared location on each side of a Roman road forming the boundary between their land-holdings giving the impression of single territorial cemetery straddling the road.

Unfortunately, the evidence from within the study area is insufficient to provide any clarity on this matter. The records of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries located on Roman roads in Lincolnshire and Norfolk are either not particularly detailed, having resulted from eighteenth- or nineteenth-century discoveries, or are from more recent investigations of limited extent. Consequently it is not possible to determine whether or not the cemeteries within the study area were positioned on one or both sides of Roman roads and draw any conclusions about the use of the roads as boundaries in the early Anglo-Saxon period from their mutual relationships. Without such detail, the presence of early Anglo-Saxon burials on Roman roads within the study area can contribute little to the wider debate about the longevity of boundaries in the landscape aside from raising the unconfirmed possibility that some of the Roman roads in the study area may have functioned as territorial boundaries in the early Anglo-Saxon period.

Late Anglo-Saxon Estate Boundaries

In many parts of England the earliest documentary references to Roman roads occur in land charters dating to the late Anglo-Saxon period. In the written description of the boundaries of these land-holdings Roman roads, whether still in use or simply surviving as a linear earthwork of the *agger*, provided a clearly identifiable and indisputable feature in the landscape, and it is easy to see why they were utilised in this manner.

However, as noted already in Chapter Three, few early charters relating to the eastern counties survive and none contain references to Roman roads in Lincolnshire or Norfolk. Charters for adjoining counties, such as the mid-tenth-century examples for Alwalton and Conington in Cambridgeshire which include references to Ermine Street, demonstrate that Roman roads were certainly being used in this way within the

wider region (Hart 1966, 23). It is a reasonable assumption that the Roman roads within the study area were also used to define estate boundaries during the late Anglo-Saxon period, but there is no surviving documentary evidence to confirm this.

Roman Roads and Parish Boundaries

Ecclesiastical parishes are the type of administrative unit whose boundaries have most frequently been examined in relation to the Roman road network. As we have seen in Chapter Two, the relationship between Roman roads and parish boundaries has been recognised for over a century and has often been used as a means of both tracing the courses of the roads and trying to date the origins of the boundaries. Understanding the origins of parishes and their boundaries has been highlighted as a question within the regional archaeological research frameworks and fits into the wider debate about the dating and longevity of boundaries in the landscape (Knight *et al*. 2012, 89-90).

Within the study area, parish boundaries are present along 105km (32%) of the mapped length of the Roman road network in Lincolnshire and along 59km (21%) in Norfolk (Figures 55 and 56). The nature of the relationship is highly variable with continuous sections of parish boundary on Roman roads ranging in length from a few hundred metres to over 20km[46]. By its very nature a section of parish boundary along a Roman road must have a relationship with at least two parishes: one on either side of the road. As the county maps show, the vast majority of the continuous sections of parish boundary along Roman roads in the study area are relatively short. Indeed, thirty of the thirty-eight separate sections in Lincolnshire (79%) and thirty-one of the thirty-five sections in Norfolk (88%) form the boundary of only two or three parishes.

Although fewer in number, the longer sections of continuous parish boundary on Roman roads clearly stand out. In Lincolnshire these include a 23km section of Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln and a 22km section along the same road further to the

---

[46] The boundaries considered here are those of the nineteenth-century ecclesiastical parishes presented in the GIS dataset created by Southall and Burton (2004) based on the work of Kain and Oliver (2001). Sections where a parish boundary crossing a Roman road briefly 'dog-legs' along the road for a distance of less than 100m have been omitted from the mapping and statistics.
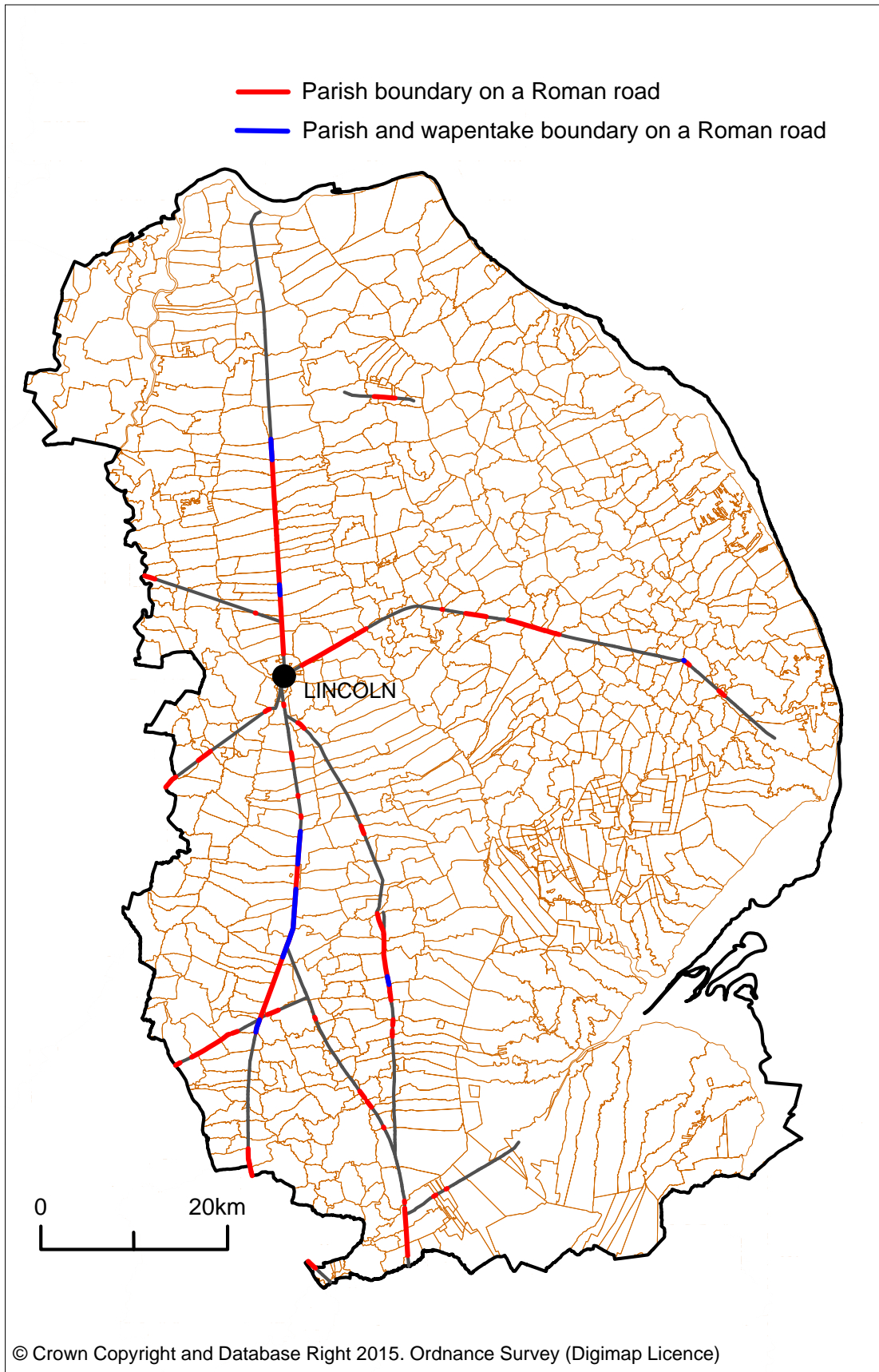
Figure 55. Parish boundaries and Roman roads in Lincolnshire.

The legend within the figure:
- Parish boundary on a Roman road
- Parish and wapentake boundary on a Roman road

LINCOLN

0   20km

Legend:
— Parish boundary on a Roman road
— Parish and hundred boundary on a Roman road

20km
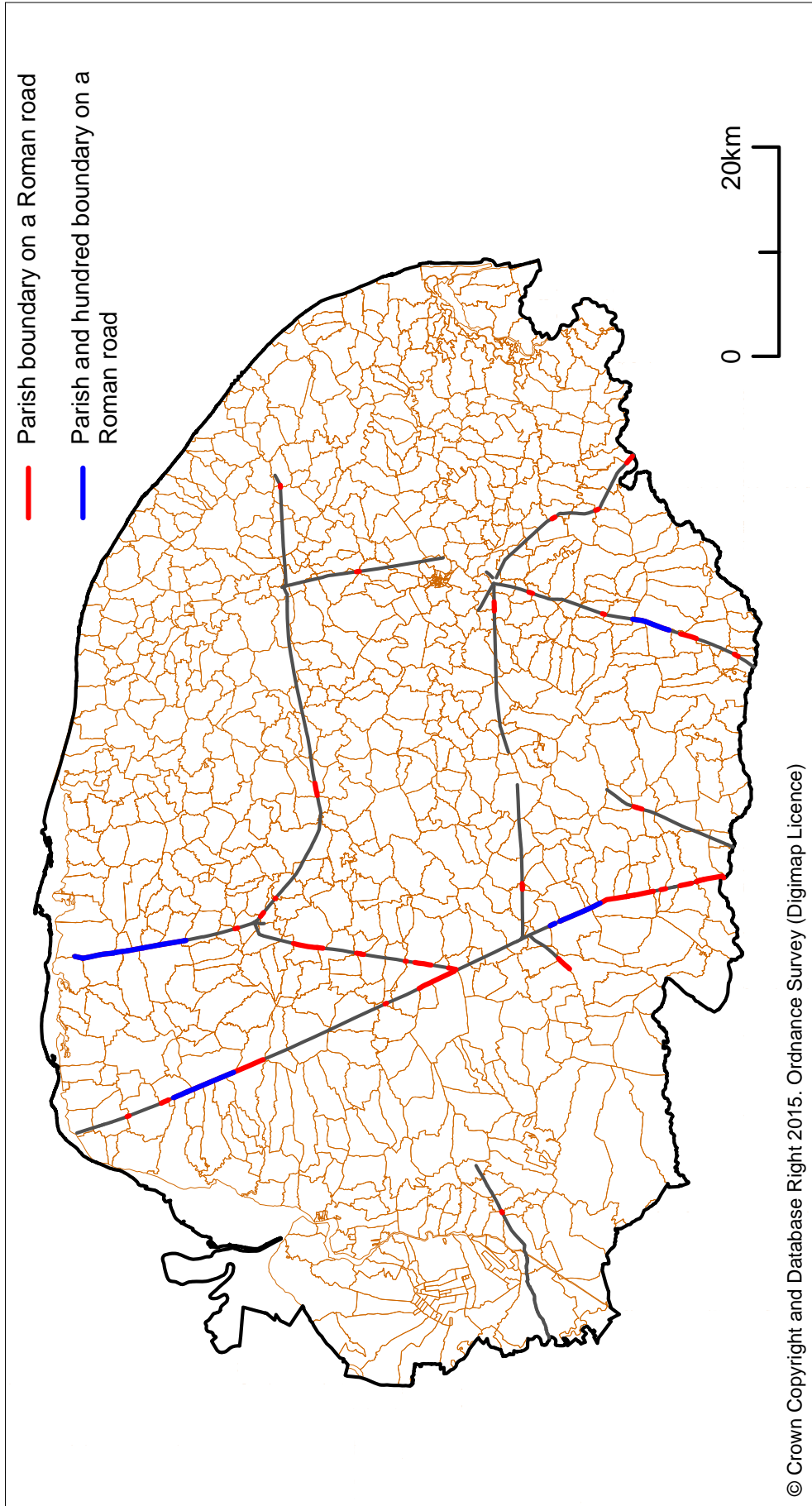
Figure 56. Parish boundaries and Roman roads in Norfolk.

south around Ancaster. These two groups of parishes which make continuous use of the Roman road as a boundary for exceptionally long distances provide ideal case studies for understanding the nature of their relationship between the roads and boundaries in the medieval and later landscape.

Ermine Street and the 'Lincoln Cliff Group' of Parishes

Ermine Street forms the boundary of a continuous block of thirty parishes extending for 23km to the north of Lincoln (Figure 57). Attention was first drawn to the remarkable pattern formed by this group of parishes by William Page in a discussion of the settlement pattern of the 'Saxon settlers' (1927, 454-61). However it was Dorothy Owen, who half a century later considered the significance of the pattern and saw it as an example of how a prominent landscape feature such as a Roman road "could determine the parish boundaries" (1971, 2-3). Ermine Street is here aligned almost exactly north-south and forms the central axis of the group of parishes. Their western and eastern boundaries also follow a north-south alignment at more or less equal distance to either side of the Roman road creating an impression of symmetry within the group.

The symmetry of the Lincoln Cliff parishes has led to the suggestion that are the result of a consciously planned landscape with its origins as a Roman *territorium* (Collingwood and Myres 1937, 415). However, Richard Morris (1989, 235-8) demonstrated that the position of the medieval settlements, and consequently the arrangement of their boundaries, is actually geographically determined. Except at Burton, which lies at the southern end of the group, Ermine Street is aligned broadly parallel to the edge of the Lincoln Cliff escarpment. The 'cliff villages' whose parishes lie to the west of the Roman road are all positioned on the spring-line on, or at the foot of, the scarp slope and their positions are indicted on Figure 57 by the locations of their medieval churches. The west-east aligned strip of land belonging to each of these parishes ensured that their settlements all had access to land in both the predominantly fine silty over clayey soils of the valley bottom and the fine loamy soils on the top of
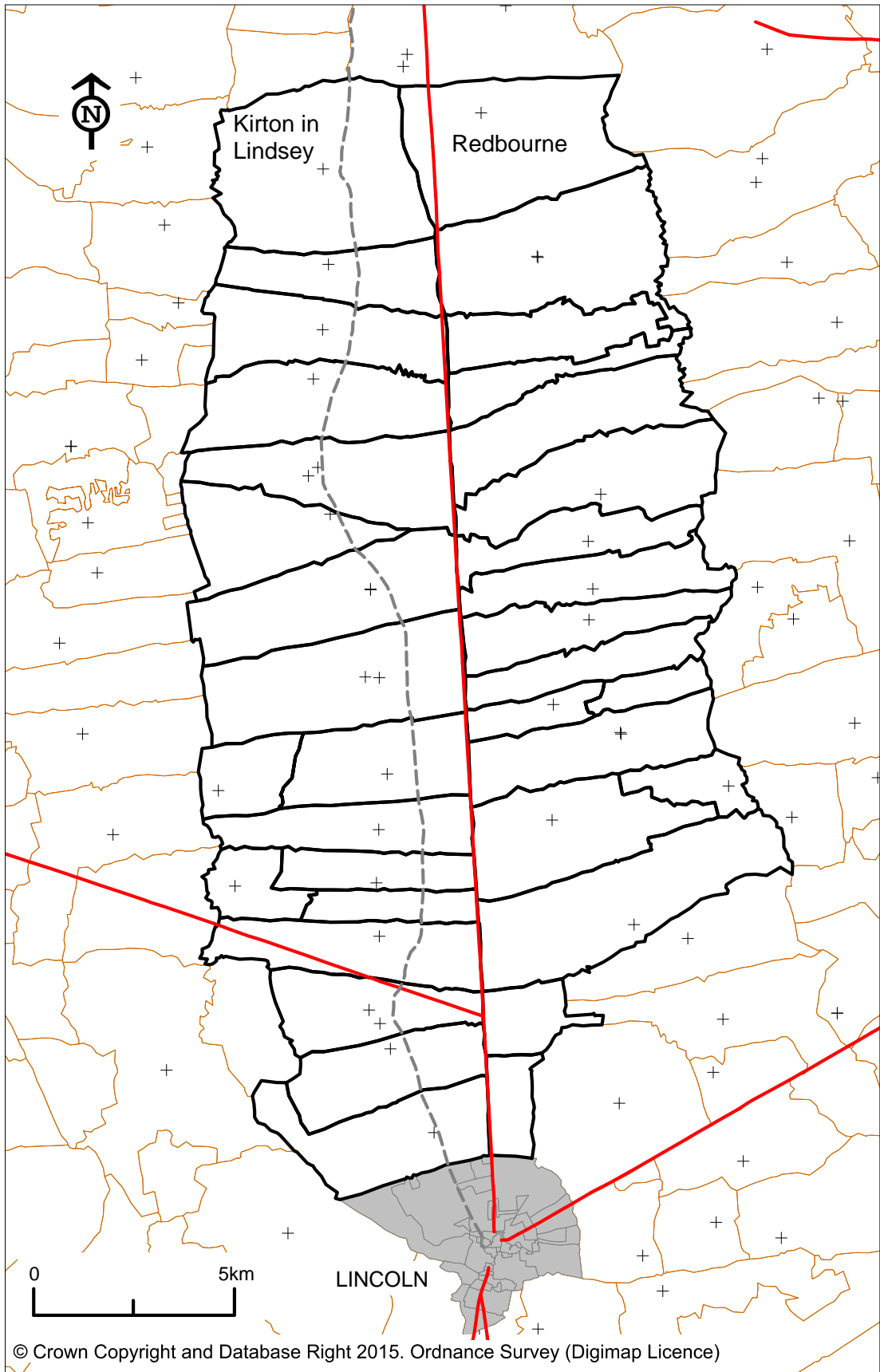
Figure 57. The 'Lincoln Cliff group' of parishes.

the escarpment[47]. The pattern of parishes on the Lincoln Cliff is mirrored by those to the east of Ermine Street. Here too, the position of the main settlements is largely governed by the spring-line along the escarpment's dip slope. These parishes are also arranged to have reasonably equitable access to the fine loamy soils on the dip slope of the escarpment to their west and the clay and peat soils within the valley floors of the River Ancholme and Barlings Eau to their east.

The pattern of boundaries formed by the parishes along Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln has then to be seen as the result of an exceptional set of circumstances. The north-south 'grain' of the underlying geology determined the topography, hydrology, and settlement pattern of the Lincoln Cliff. The landholdings of the parishes are arranged in a series of west-east strips to maximise their access to the resulting variety of north-south aligned landscape types and resources. Whether or not it was by coincidence or design that Ermine Street also followed this north-south pattern, its exact position on the dip slope meant that it provided a convenient division between the land-holdings of the medieval settlements that developed to its west and east.

However, as other sections of the Roman road network within the study area show, the presence of a Roman road did not automatically mean that it would be adopted as a parish boundary. Within the Lincoln Cliff group, Tillbridge Lane branches off from Ermine Street to the northwest but its presence in the landscape is ignored and it does not form the boundary between Scampton and North Carlton parishes. This is further usefully illustrated by the parishes lying along Ermine Street immediately to the north of the Lincoln Cliff group. Understanding the reasons why these parishes do not have their boundaries on Ermine Street is necessary in order to fully appreciate the significance of the Lincoln Cliff group and yet they appear to have been ignored by previous writers. The northernmost parishes in the Lincoln Cliff group which have a boundary on Ermine Street are Kirton in Lindsey and Redbourne. Their boundary only lies on the Roman road for a short distance[48] before branching off to the northwest. In a boundary dispute in 1735, Kirton in Lindsey tried to claim all of the land eastwards up to Ermine Street, presumably on the basis that all of the parishes to its south

---

[47] Some parishes were sub-divided as new townships developed and achieved parish status in their own right, as was the case at Aisthorpe, Brattleby, and Thorpe in the Fallows (Everson *et al.* 1991, 9). Soils information from (SSEW 1983; Hodge *et al.* 1984).

[48] Kirton in Lindsey 320m; Redbourne 170m.

extended up to the Roman road (N. Lyons *pers. comm.*). There is no evidence to indicate that the Kirton in Lindsey/Redbourne parish boundary had ever lain on Ermine Street for its complete length and the claim was unsuccessful. More importantly these two parishes are located at a point where the character of the landscape on either side of Ermine Street begins to change. To the west the escarpment is increasingly masked by wind-blown sand deposits and the position of the settlements is less consistent as a result. To the east the Ancholme valley becomes wider and the river itself lies closer to Ermine Street. As a consequence of this second factor, the settlements to the east of Ermine Street are positioned further west and closer to the Roman road. In order for these settlements to have access to adequate areas of land away from the Ancholme flood plain it was necessary for their parishes to extend across Ermine Street and consequently their boundaries lie to its west.

What these parishes to the north of the Lincoln Cliff group show is that Ermine Street was only utilised as a parish boundary where it was convenient to do so. The regular pattern of parish boundaries along the Lincoln Cliff only exists where the topography and distribution of settlements is similarly consistent. At the point along Ermine Street where the topography changed and circumstances dictated a different pattern of land division the line of the Roman road was no longer the most appropriate place for a parish boundary and it ceased to be adopted as one.

Ermine Street and the 'Ancaster Group' of Parishes

The second substantial group of parishes whose boundaries lie continuously on Ermine Street are located to the south of Lincoln where a group of twenty parishes lying either side of Ancaster follow the Roman road continuously for 22km (Figure 58). The topography of this 'Ancaster group' of parishes is more variable than that of the Lincoln Cliff group and as a result its relationship to Ermine Street is less consistent. Perhaps because of its comparative lack of symmetry, with parishes of varying sizes and shapes arranged along its length, it has received little attention, despite the boundaries lying on the Roman road for nearly the same length as the Lincoln Cliff group. Although the landscape is much more varied, four parishes at the northern end of the Ancaster group occupy a similar topographic position to those on

LINCOLN

Bracebridge
Heath

Waddington

Welbourn

Coleby

Boothby Graffoe

Navenby

Wellingore

Welbourn

Leadenham

Fulbeck

Caythorpe

ANCASTER

0   5km
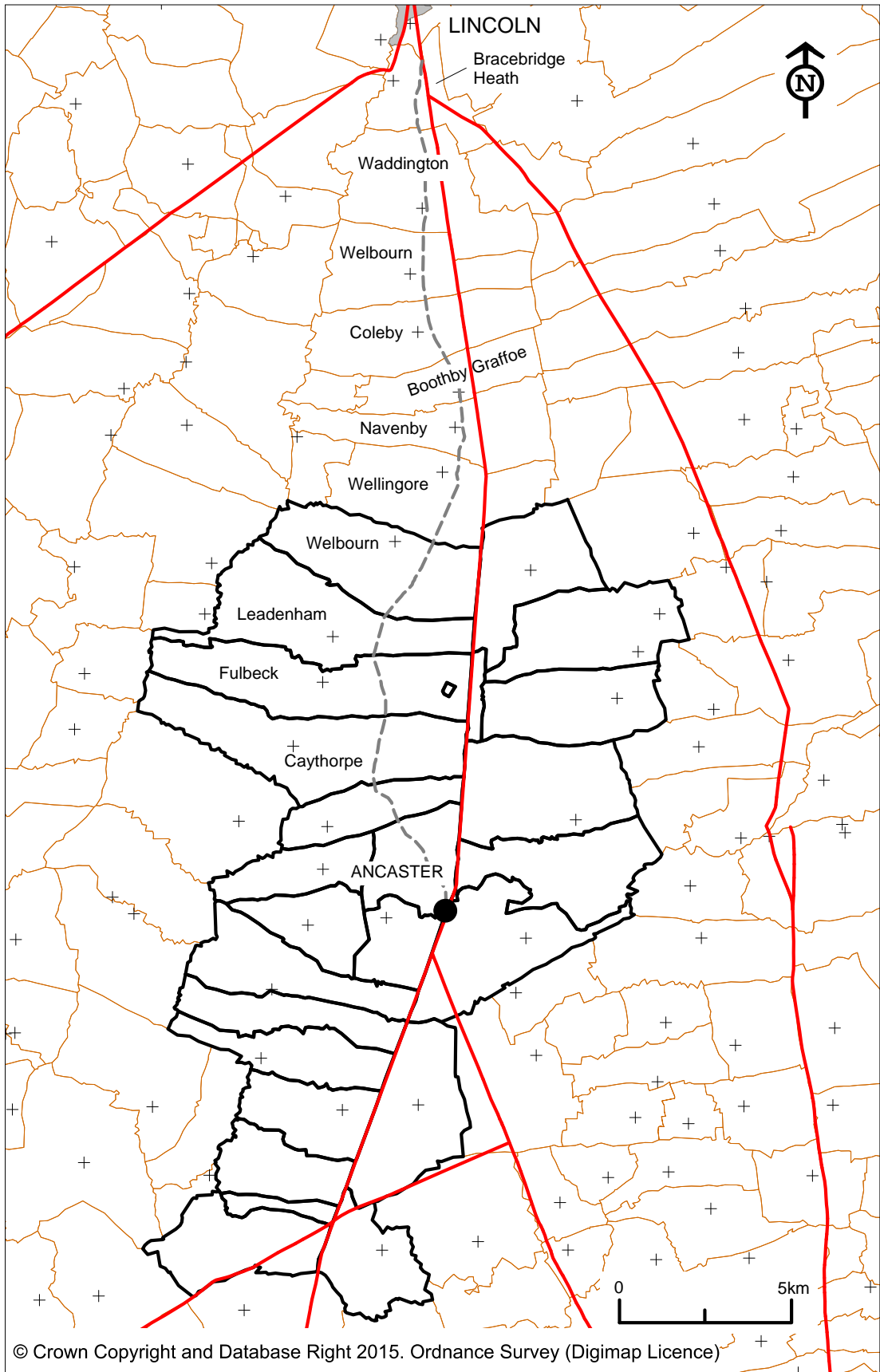
Figure 58. The 'Ancaster group' of parishes.

the Lincoln Cliff [49]. These settlements are positioned on, or at the foot of, the scarp slope and have roughly equal amounts of valley floor and heathland, with the latter extending eastwards up to Ermine Street. Although the seven parishes[50] between the Ancaster group and Lincoln to the north also straddle the escarpment, their parish boundaries lie to the east of rather than on Ermine Street. These parishes are located at a point where the edge of the escarpment curves eastwards and where Ermine Street makes a slight realignment to the northwest. As a result of this the edge of the escarpment and Ermine Street lie much closer together than they do further south; as little as 400m apart at Boothby Graffoe. The small area of heathland lying between the edge of the escarpment and Ermine Street was evidently insufficient for the needs of these settlements and consequently their landholdings extend to the east of the Roman road. As with the parishes immediately to the north of the Lincoln Cliff group, the parishes which lie across Ermine Street between the Ancaster group and Lincoln demonstrate that Roman roads were only adopted as parish boundaries where circumstances made it desirable, or practical, to do so. The area of land that the parish comprised, and the resources that it contained, was more important than the nature of the boundary which defined it.

The Relationships between Roman Roads and Parish Boundaries elsewhere within the Study Area

The situation of the Lincoln Cliff and Ancaster groups of parishes on Ermine Street can be contrasted with other extant Roman roads in the study area significant lengths of which were not utilised as parish boundaries. Tillbridge Lane has already been mentioned in this context, but elsewhere in Lincolnshire long sections of in-use roads such as the Foss Way and Ermine Street in the southwest of the county, are not followed by parish boundaries. In Norfolk this pattern is also true of much of the Pye Road as well as parts of Peddars Way and the Gasthorpe to Hargham road. Settlements, or at least their medieval churches, are rarely located directly on their

---

[49] Caythorpe, Fulbeck, Leadenham, and Welbourn.
[50] Wellingore, Navenby, Boothby Graffoe, Coleby, Harmston, Waddington, and Bracebridge Heath. It is within these parishes that Stukeley observed the ploughing across Ermine Street in the eighteenth century.

parish boundaries[51]. Consequently, where medieval churches were positioned on Roman roads - as is the case with Scole, Dickleburgh, Long Stratton, and Newton Flotman on the Pye Road – the boundaries of their landholdings, and later those of their parishes, were likely to lie on both sides of, rather than along, the road. However, as we have seen in Chapter Six, only a handful of medieval churches were located on Roman roads in the study area and this relationship by no means accounts for all cases of where the roads were not used as parish boundaries.

A further example which shows how access to resources was more important than having a boundary that rigidly followed a landscape feature such as a Roman road can be seen on the Peddars Way in Norfolk. The parishes of Roudham and Bridgham lie in the Breckland part of the county; an area which has the lowest rainfall in the country. As a result access to water resources in the form of meres was of particular importance, and Ring Mere formed the focal point for the boundaries of five parishes (Figure 59).
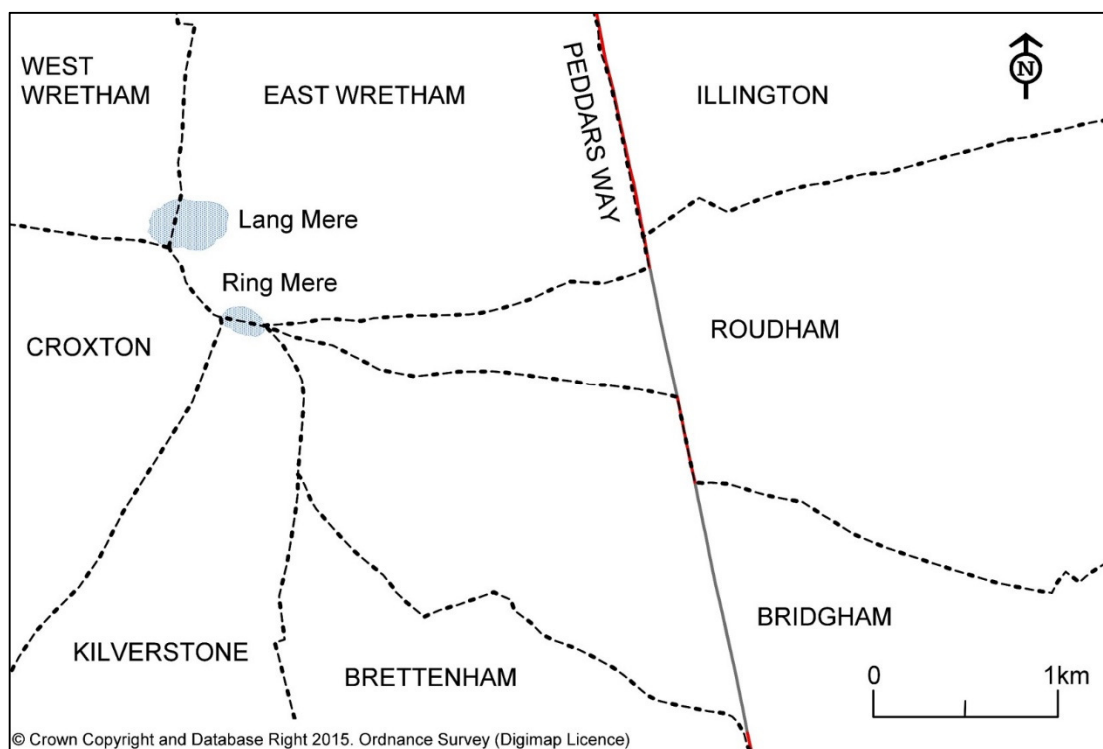
Figure 59. Parish boundaries in Breckland cutting across Peddars Way to ensure shared access to Ring Mere. Sections where the Roman road is used as a parish boundary are highlighted in red.

---

[51] Ancaster is a notable exception within the study area. See Tables 1 and 2 in Chapter Six for details of medieval church sites adjacent to Roman roads in Lincolnshire and Norfolk.

To its east the boundaries of Roudham and Bridgham both lie partly along the Peddars Way. However, the parishes extend across the Roman road with long wedges of heathland cutting across its line towards the mere to ensure access to the water resource.

A number of instances exist within the study area where a parish boundary follows another landscape feature almost adjacent to a Roman road rather than the road itself. Examples of this can be found on the Foss Way to the southwest of Lincoln. At Sheep Walks Lodge the boundary of Thurlby parish lies on linear earthwork just to the north of the Foss Way meaning that a narrow strip of land lay isolated from the rest of the parish by the Roman road. It has been suggested that this relationship could indicate that the linear earthwork, and its use as a boundary, pre-date the construction of the Roman road (Knight *et al*. 2012, 90).

A similar situation exists further southwest on Foss Way at Norton Disney where it also forms the county boundary between Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire for a distance of 840m [52]. However, to the northeast of this section the county boundary diverges from the road and continues for a further 710m leaving a narrow strip of North Collingham parish in Nottinghamshire lying to the south of the road. The line of the boundary continues for a short distance as a parish boundary after the county boundary turns sharply back across the Foss Way suggesting that it is, in its own, right defined by a feature other than the Roman road.

The adoption of a linear feature other than a Roman road as a parish, and indeed county, boundary in this way, where the Roman road might appear to be the more prominent feature in the landscape, mirrors the Wiltshire examples discussed by Bonney (1972). However, as Draper (2004) has demonstrated there is no reason to conclude from these relationships that just because the boundary does not follow the Roman road both it, and the land-holdings that it defines, must be of pre-Roman origin. Nevertheless, it does have to be acknowledged that this could still be the case. More significantly though, as discussed above Roman roads are only adopted as boundary features where their location and alignment is appropriate. Consequently the isolation of small parts of North Collingham and Thurlby parishes on what might be seen as the

---

[52] The relationship between Roman roads and county boundaries is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

'wrong side' of the Foss Way should not be seen as surprising. It does not necessarily mean that these boundaries pre-date the Roman road, just that no conclusions can be drawn about the phasing of boundaries at this location.

The Role of Parish Boundaries in the Survival of Roman Roads

Within the study area parish boundaries that lie on Roman roads are predominantly located on those roads that are still extant as roads or tracks in the modern landscape. In Lincolnshire 92km (88%) of the 105km of Roman road that define a parish boundary are still in use as roads or tracks. In Norfolk 45km (75%) of the 59km of Roman roads that are also parish boundaries remain in use. As we have seen in Chapter Four, the proportion of the Roman road network in Lincolnshire that survives in use as roads and tracks in the modern landscape is higher than in Norfolk (62% *vs* 41%). In view of this it is perhaps unsurprising that the percentage of Roman roads defining parish boundaries which remain in use in each county should also reflect this difference.

When the sections of Roman roads that define parish boundaries but which do not survive in use in the modern landscape are examined it is, in many cases, possible to demonstrate that the road only went out of use during the post-medieval or modern periods. This relationship is particularly clear in Norfolk where the greater availability of pre-enclosure maps means that is it possible to identify specific areas of road-loss that have occurred since the end of seventeenth century. In Norfolk 14km of parish boundaries on Roman roads lie on sections that do not exist as roads or tracks in the modern landscape. A total of 5.8km of these lie on the Walsingham Way Roman road which, as we have seen in Chapter Eight, is very likely to have remained in use until the mid sixteenth century but which has subsequently almost completely disappeared from the landscape. Examination of historic maps reveal that, in addition to the Walsingham Way, sections of Roman roads that form parish boundaries at Ringstead, Holkham, Shadwell and Eccles have all fallen out of use as roads during the last two centuries. Altogether, including the Walsingham Way, these sections total 7.6km in length; just over half of the total length of parish boundaries in Norfolk lying on Roman roads that no longer survive in use. So, whereas in the modern landscape 75% of the total length of parish boundaries on Roman roads in Norfolk are on in-use

sections of road, when the Walsingham Way and historic map evidence are included it is likely that in the early post-medieval period this figure was at least as high as 88%.

If, as Morris (1989, 235-7) suggested, parish boundaries were largely established in the tenth to twelfth centuries, it is clear from the above statistics that the vast majority of sections of Roman road that were utilised as parish boundaries were still extant and in-use as roads at the time that the boundaries became fixed. Defunct Roman roads were it seems rarely, if ever, adopted as parish boundaries. If disused sections of Roman road had regularly been utilised as parish boundaries, we would expect to see a greater proportion of parish boundaries that mark the line of former Roman roads without any surviving roads or tracks along their routes in the modern landscape; but this is not the case. The lack of use of defunct Roman roads as parish boundaries stands in contrast to Ivan Margary's suggestion that, "even if he could not use the road as a thoroughfare the Saxon often found the long straight line of the *agger* useful as a boundary bank" (1955, 17), and requires further explanation.

Although, as we have seen above, Roman roads were only adopted as parish boundaries where their alignment and position provided a suitable land-division, it is highly unlikely that this would account for the preferential selection of in-use, rather than defunct, roads as boundary features. Furthermore, it is also unlikely, given the wide range of landscape features that were used to define parish boundaries, that the linear earthworks of defunct Roman roads would have been deliberately ignored as boundary markers. A more plausible explanation for their lack of use in defining parish boundaries is that *agger* earthworks of disused roads were simply not a common feature of the later Anglo-Saxon and medieval landscape. Two different scenarios can be proposed for why that might have been the case. On the one hand it is possible that once Roman roads had ceased to function as routeways in the Anglo-Saxon landscape their physical traces were quickly erased leaving no 'ghost' landscape feature, such as an *agger* earthwork, along which a later boundary could be established[53]. An alternative explanation, and one that accords well with the conclusions of Chapter Eight, is that far more of the Roman road network survived in use in the landscape through to the later Anglo-Saxon period than might previously have been expected. In other words, when in-use Roman roads were utilised as parish boundary features it

---

[53] As discussed in the previous chapter, disused Roman roads do not appear to have had much longevity as boundary features in the landscape.

was simply because the majority of the Roman road network still remained in use at that time, not because they were deliberately selected in preference to the remains of defunct roads. Whilst it is impossible to quantify the true extent of the Roman road network that remained in use in the late Anglo-Saxon period a high degree of survival is strongly supported by a second aspect of the relationship between Roman roads and parish boundaries.

The strong correlation between parish boundaries and in-use Roman roads reveals that Roman roads which have parish boundaries located on them appear to have exhibited preferential rates of survival as in-use roads since the medieval period. Although, as discussed above, some road-loss has occurred during the post-medieval and modern periods[54], rarely have sections of Roman road that have parish boundaries on them gone out of use. Once a Roman road had a parish boundary established on it, it appears to have stood a very good chance of remaining in use until the present day. Once again the high proportion of sections of Roman road that define parish boundaries which also remain in use as roads indicate that this must be the case. If Roman roads defining parish boundaries were prone to normal levels of loss we would expect the proportion still remaining in use to be closer to the overall levels of in-use road-survival in each county (62% for Lincolnshire and 41% for Norfolk). Instead, the proportion of Roman roads marking parish boundaries that survive as in-use roads and tracks is significantly higher in both counties (88% for Lincolnshire and 75% for Norfolk).

Some sections of Roman road that define parish boundaries survive in use as parts of medium- to long-distance routes, as is the case with Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln. The survival of the road as an in-use thoroughfare in these cases undoubtedly owes more to the continued significance of the route rather than the presence of the parish boundary along the road. However, many sections of Roman roads defining parish boundaries, particularly in Norfolk, survive only as short, isolated sections of road and do not form parts of medium- to long-distance routes. As we have also seen in Chapter Eight, once Roman roads ceased to function as long distance routes and only served as local roads, they were prone to loss and removal from the landscape especially where they did not pass directly through a settlement.

---

[54] As noted in Chapter Eight, the near-complete loss of the Walsingham Way Roman road is exceptional.

As has already been noted, settlements are rarely located on the periphery of their parishes and consequently only in exceptional circumstances do Roman roads that form parish boundaries pass through the principal settlement in the parish. This means that, although they are invariably linked to them by side- or cross-roads, Roman roads on parish boundaries are largely divorced from the medieval settlements that lay to either side. Because roads on parish boundaries did not pass directly through settlements and thus serve to connect them to their surrounding agricultural landscape or their immediate neighbours they would, as we have seen in Chapter Eight, have had little, if any, significance in the day-to-day activities of these communities in the medieval period.

Whilst the presence of a long-distance route along the boundary of a parish may have been largely irrelevant to the everyday communication pattern of its inhabitants it was not necessarily within their power to remove it or divert its course, nor would it have been desirable to do so[55]. Although probably held as part of the common land of the manor (Rackham 1986, 265) a Roman road on a parish boundary that served as a long-distance route would in many cases have been considered 'the King's Highway'. As such any unauthorised encroachment or adverse impact upon it would most likely have resulted in complaints at regional or national courts.

Even if a Roman road on a parish boundary may not have been important as a thoroughfare for the adjacent communities its role in defining the limits of their, and their neighbours', land was highly significant. A Roman road would have formed a prominent and indisputable boundary feature and this was presumably a contributing factor as to why it would have been adopted as such in the first place. As Nicola Whyte (2009) has shown, disputes over the position of parish boundaries were a frequent occurrence in the post-medieval period. In this context, it is important to remember that before the introduction of detailed parish or estate maps, in many cases in the late eighteenth or nineteenth centuries, the position of boundaries was established by oral tradition, the practice of beating the bounds and also, though infrequently, by written descriptions. The practice of beating the bounds was undertaken at Rogationtide and involved a complete perambulation of the parish boundary with readings of the gospels and blessings being made at certain designated points (*ibid.*, 60-1). This method of

---

[55] An exception to this was the re-routing of the road at Langworth discussed in Chapter Seven.

annually reaffirming the position of parish boundaries meant that any road along a parish boundary would have held great significance by providing a physical manifestation of the boundary in the landscape.

Leaving aside minor changes to the course of Roman roads on parish boundaries that happened organically through the roads' use it is easy to see why it would have been undesirable for a community to remove or divert a road along its parish boundary. Even if the road had ceased to function as a long-distance route and could theoretically be removed without objection, doing so would have erased a feature from the parochial landscape that played an important role in the annual confirmation of its boundaries at Rogationtide. Diversion of the road would be equally undesirable. Any diversion into the community's own lands ran the risk of the neighbouring parish claiming the area of land between the old and new courses of the road because they would rightly argue that the position of the road defined the position of the parish boundary. Any attempt to shift the road into a neighbouring parish and annexe land therein would have been strongly contested. Because the position of the boundary was fixed by oral tradition and annual ceremony rather than cartography the physical position of the road in the landscape was also the *de facto* positon of the boundary. Consequently it was not in any parish's interest to see the position of the road move significantly - whilst the road remained in place so did the parish boundary. This mutual benefit of retaining a road along a parish boundary may go some way to explaining why so many short sections of Roman road that also form parish boundaries are still extant as roads and tracks.

An example of where a Roman road has survived in use due to the presence of a parish boundary can be found on Peddars Way at Swaffham. The Roman road survives in use as a road and track for its entire length within Swaffham parish and forms the parish boundary between Swaffham and Sporle parishes for all but its southernmost 250m (Figure 60). Most interestingly Peddars Way is here locally called Procession Lane; a name that makes a direct reference to the practice of beating the bounds. At the southern end, in an area of former heathland, the Roman road remains in use but a small part of Swaffham parish lies to its east and the parish boundary deviates away from its course. At the northeast corner of Swaffham parish, Procession Lane turns westward away from the line of Peddars Way but continues to follow the parish boundary. To the north of Swaffham parish Peddars Way does not survive in use as a
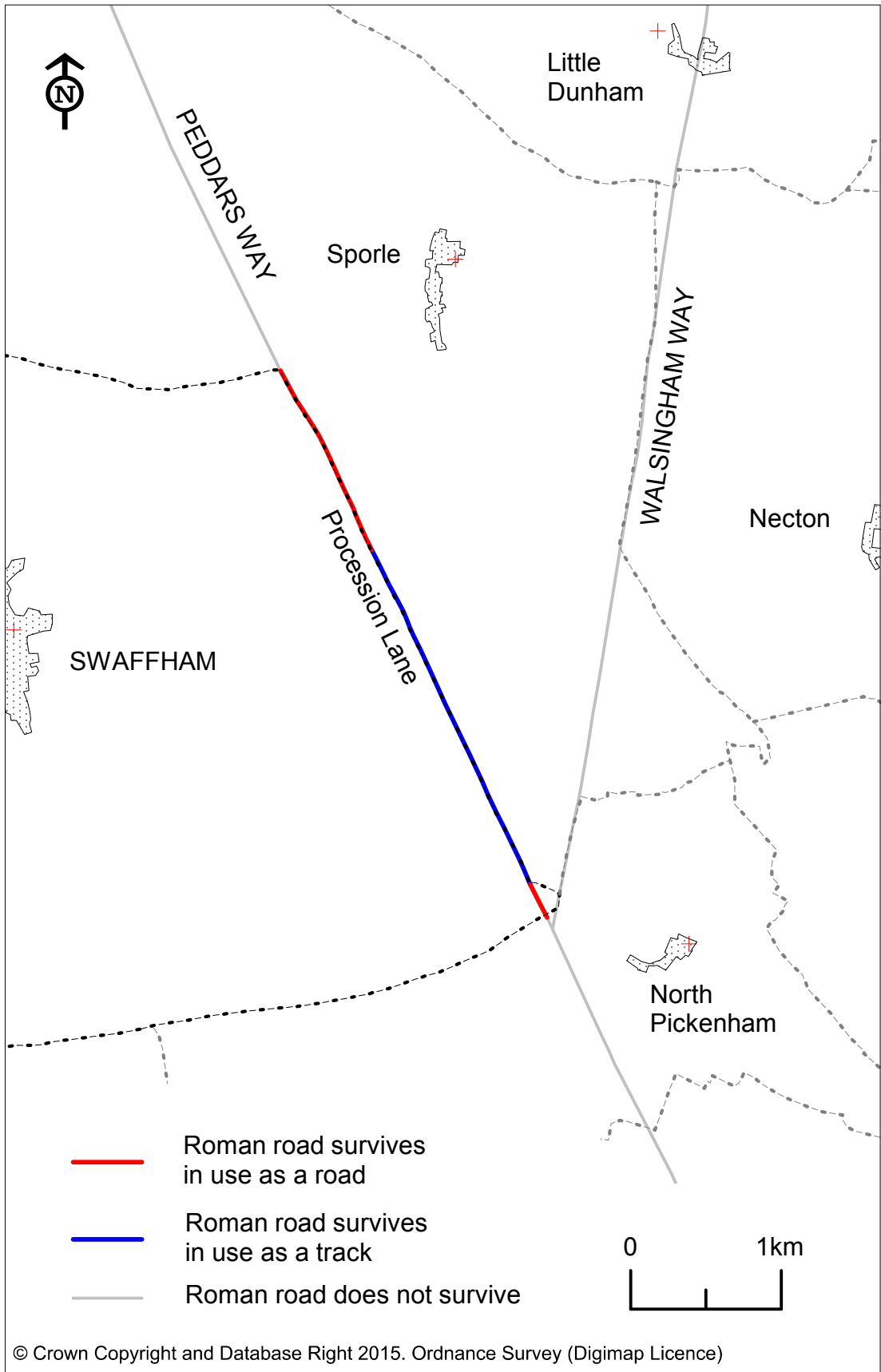
Figure 60. Roman roads and parish boundaries at Swaffham and Sporle.

road or track in the modern landscape until Castle Acre, a gap of nearly 5km, and to the south it is absent for a distance of nearly 11km. Peddars Way along the parish boundary between Swaffham and Sporle therefore survives as an isolated section of the Roman road. Faden's county map of 1797 shows that the road did not form part of a surviving long-distance route in the late eighteenth century and its local survival can be attributed to its usefulness in defining the parish boundary.

Whilst the presence of a parish boundary on a Roman road will have contributed to its continued survival as a thoroughfare, it did not necessarily prevent minor deviations occurring through the road's use as travellers picked their way around wet patches and other obstacles such as fallen trees. In the short-term the effect of such minor deviations of a road along a parish boundary might be minimal, but over time they could start to have an impact on the boundary itself. Because the position of the boundary and the position of the road were intrinsically linked, if the course of the road 'drifted' over time it would take the boundary with it. The road was the boundary and the boundary was the road – in oral tradition the two were inseparable. The effect of this can be seen on one surviving section of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road which forms the parish boundary between Great Sturton and Ranby. The modern course of the road follows a slightly sinuous route having shifted to either side of the presumed original Roman course but it is still consistently followed by the parish boundary. This does not mean that the road had necessarily undergone these minor deviations by the time the parish boundary was established in the tenth to twelfth centuries, simply that the road and boundary were so intrinsically linked that any minor changes to one affected the position of the other. These changes are likely to have occurred over centuries, but the accurate mapping of the position of the road and parish boundary by the Ordnance Survey in the nineteenth century has effectively frozen the process and fixed them both more permanently in the landscape.

Roman Roads and the Boundaries of Larger Administrative Units

Hundred and Wapentake Boundaries

The larger administrative units of the study area: the wapentakes, ridings, and parts of Lincolnshire; the hundreds of Norfolk; and the counties themselves are to varying

degrees comprised of groups of individual parishes. Consequently the extent to which Roman roads form the boundaries of these areas is to some extent governed by their use as boundaries at a parish level.

Wapentakes were established as new administrative units in the tenth century grouping townships, but not necessarily parishes, together for the purposes of taxation, law enforcement, and military service. Although some shared their extents with earlier sokes their development was not on the whole determined by the existing estate or parochial structure (Roffe 1993, 38). Only 16% (17 km) of the parish boundaries on Roman roads in Lincolnshire also form the boundaries of wapentakes (Figure 55). The longest sections of wapentake boundary on Roman roads in the county lie along Ermine Street in the 'Ancaster group' of parishes. There the Roman road intermittently forms the boundaries of five wapentakes: Boothby, Flaxwell, Loveden, Threo, and Winnibriggs, for a combined distance of 12.5km. Elsewhere in the county only short sections of Roman road of up to about a kilometre in length were utilised as wapentake boundaries.

In Norfolk, 34% (20km) of the parish boundaries on Roman roads also represent hundred boundaries (Figure 56). Although the boundaries of the hundreds in parts of the county have changed since those recorded in the Domesday Survey (Barringer 2005, 96-7) this had only a minor effect on their relationship with the Roman road network. The three longest sections of parish boundaries on Roman roads in the county all form, at least in part, the boundaries of hundreds. In northwest Norfolk Peddars Way forms the boundary between the Domesday hundreds of Docking (now subsumed into Smithdon) and Freebridge (now Freebridge Lynn). Further south on Peddars Way the road forms part of the boundary between the hundreds of Wayland and those of South Greenhoe and Shropham. In both of these cases the hundred boundaries are present along the Roman road for only part of the distance for which it is followed by parish boundaries. The third section where the parish boundaries following a Roman road also form a hundred boundary is along the northern part of the Toftrees to Holkham road. At Domesday the Roman road formed the boundary between Gallow and North Greenhoe hundreds. The later changes to the hundred boundaries meant that it subsequently formed a boundary mainly between Brothercross and North Greenhoe with a short section also separating Brothercross and Gallow. The only other significant section of hundred boundary on a Roman road in the county occurs on the

271

Pye Road at Pulham St Mary where the road divides Earsham hundred from those of Diss and Depwade.

The evidence from Lincolnshire and Norfolk shows that where parish boundaries followed Roman roads, even for long distances, they were not necessarily also used as wapentake or hundred boundaries. In the grouping of townships that took place to form these administrative units, extant Roman roads were clearly not perceived as divisions between the communities lying on either side. As with the parish boundaries themselves, there is no reason why a Roman road would have been adopted as a wapentake or hundred boundary if its position and alignment was inappropriate. This will have been particularly true where the wapentake or hundred meeting place itself lay close to a Roman road as was probably the case with Aslacoe wapentake on Ermine Street north of Lincoln. There the wapentake meeting place was almost certainly located at the Caenby barrow, which as we have seen in Chapter Five lay within 300m of Ermine Street close to its crossroads with another routeway in the centre of the wapentake (Figure 23). With the positon of the meeting place so close to the communications network, by which it was no doubt served, it would not be expected that the boundaries would lie on the roads.

Even where Roman roads were not used as wapentake or hundred boundaries, but cut across them instead, they still had a direct relationship with these administrative units. Execution cemeteries of seventh- to twelfth-century date have been shown to be almost exclusively located on significant territorial boundaries, including those of wapentakes and hundreds. The intersections of these boundaries with major routeways seems to have been particularly favoured and the presence of a gallows or other markers adjacent to the road would have left travellers in little doubt that they were crossing a territorial boundary (Reynolds 2011, 901-4).

One example of a middle to late Anglo-Saxon execution cemetery adjacent to a Roman road can be identified within the study area. Since the early nineteenth century inhumation burials have been recorded from within, or beneath, the *agger* of Ermine Street at Hackthorn in Lincolnshire, most recently during its levelling for the extension of the runway at RAF Scampton in 1956 (Eagles 1979, 164; LHER 51488). Eagles considered that the burials may have been of early Anglo-Saxon date and the site was included by Howard Williams in his discussion of the re-use of earlier monuments as

Anglo-Saxon burial places (1997, 9). However, none of the accounts of the Hackthorn burials mention any grave goods to date it to this period and it is the setting of the cemetery which allows its identification to be reinterpreted here. Hackthorn parish lies at the southern edge of Aslacoe wapentake and, where it is now overlain by the airfield, Ermine Street forms both the parish and wapentake boundary. The positioning of an unfurnished cemetery at this significant location on a major routeway provides compelling evidence for its interpretation as an execution cemetery, placed to have the maximum impact on travellers along Ermine Street.

It is noteworthy that, like some of the early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries discussed in Chapter Five, the evidence from Hackthorn suggests that burials were placed in the *agger*. As with the earlier cemetery sites on Roman roads, this potentially has implications for our interpretation of how Ermine Street was being used at the time of the cemetery's operation, with the verges rather than the *agger* forming the main part of the thoroughfare. However this does not necessarily have to have been the case and the placing of the burials within the road may have been just as symbolic as it was earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period. Unlike the reverential burial of one's ancestors so that they could appropriate the road for, or protect, the community, the burial of the executed dead within the road might have represented further punishment and ignominy, placing them where travellers would daily walk or ride over their graves.

County Boundaries

The relationship between the Roman road network and the boundaries of larger administrative units in the study area is even more limited. Roman roads do not form any part of the county boundary of Norfolk, nor do they form the division between any of the ridings or parts of Lincolnshire. They do, however, form part of the county boundary of Lincolnshire at three separate locations (Figure 55)[56]. It is noticeable that all of these sections are relatively short, with none extending for much over a kilometre in length, and all are located at 'corners' on the somewhat ragged land boundary of the county.

---

[56] These are shown as Wapentake boundaries located on the county boundary on Figure 55.

As we have seen above the Foss Way forms the county boundary between Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire for a short distance at Norton Disney, although it appears that another, perhaps earlier landscape feature is also being utilised. Both of the other sections of the Lincolnshire county boundary lying on Roman roads are located on Ermine Street. To the northwest of Stamford, Ermine Street forms the county boundary between Lincolnshire and Rutland for a distance of just over a kilometre. Further north, the former course of Ermine Street defines the county boundary with Rutland. The modern course of the A1 trunk road at this point lies slightly to the west of the Roman road but the original course is preserved in the line of the county boundary. As we have seen with the parish boundaries discussed above, the shifting of a road away from a boundary is an unusual occurrence. The position of the boundary along the original course of the Roman road suggests that the change of the course of the principal route occurred sometime after the administrative units at both parish and county level became established in the tenth to twelfth centuries. Cartographic sources, including Armstrong's 1779 *Map of Lincoln-Shire* show that the main road had moved away from the county boundary by the late eighteenth century. It is possible that the course of the modern road was created when this section of the Great North Road was improved as a turnpike road after an act of parliament in 1739 (Cossons 2003, 43).

Conclusions

The use of Roman roads as administrative and territorial boundaries has been recognised from the start of the modern study of the Roman road network. It is clearly evidenced by the continued use of some Roman roads as parish and county boundaries through to the present day. This relationship is important to both the research objectives of this thesis, in establishing the influence of the Roman road network in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods, and also to wider debates concerning the origins and longevity of parishes and boundaries in the landscape.

Early Anglo-Saxon burials are present at locations on Roman roads within the study area, some of which also function as parish boundaries. However, there is at present insufficient evidence to further the debate as to whether they indicate the use of the Roman roads as boundaries in the fifth to seventh centuries. It remains entirely

possible, though unproven, that they do. Nevertheless, as noted in Chapter Five, the presence of early Anglo-Saxon burials on Roman roads in the study area does at least contribute to our understanding of the landscape context of burial sites of this period, which is in itself a wider research question.

More certainty can be attached to the use of Roman roads as the boundaries of medieval administrative units such as wapentakes and hundreds, as the position of their boundaries are in any case better understood. Even so, the presence of execution cemeteries on these boundaries, as at Hackthorn on Ermine Street, serves to highlight the continued use and significance of the in-use Roman roads, and moreover the importance of locations where they also functioned as, or intersected with, administrative boundaries of this type.

By far the most significant aspect of the relationship between Roman roads and administrative boundaries is that which exists with those of medieval parishes. Although case studies, such as the Lincoln Cliff group of parish boundaries, have been examined before, there has been no systematic analysis of the relationship between Roman roads and parish boundaries. The mapping of parish boundaries on Roman roads for this thesis has revealed that these boundaries are mainly present on Roman roads that remained in use into the post-medieval or modern periods. Whilst in some cases this can be attributed to the continued use of the Roman road as a long-distance route this is not the case where the roads survive in short sections as only local routes. In these instances the survival of the Roman road as an in-use thoroughfare appears to be directly linked to its use as a parish boundary, specifically the practice of 'beating the bounds' at Rogationtide. Not only does this provide an explanation for the survival of some isolated sections of Roman road, but as we shall see in the concluding chapter to follow, it also has potential to inform us about the date of road-loss in some areas, and in doing so contribute to one of the key research themes of this thesis.

Part Four

Chapter 11: Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis set out to examine the continued use, significance, and survival and loss of the Roman road network after the end of the Roman period by analysing the evidence from two areas of eastern England, namely the historic counties of Lincolnshire and Norfolk. Key research questions were identified concerning how Roman roads were used, both as routeways and landscape features, how they influenced landscape change, and also the reasons for, and date of, the loss of some parts of the Roman road network. Comparison has also been made with other contemporary long-distance routeways, sometimes in the past called prehistoric or Romanised trackways, but in this thesis referred to as unimproved routeways.

These research questions complement wider themes and debates concerning continuity and change in the landscape, particularly with regard to evolving settlement patterns and the longevity of boundaries. The questions asked in the thesis also had potential to contribute directly to specific themes identified in the regional archaeological research agendas for the study area (Going and Plouviez 2001; Vince 2006; Medlycott 2011; Knight *et al.* 2012).

This closing discussion will summarize the findings of the thesis and show how these have addressed the five principal research questions set out at its start. It will consider how the results have contributed to the wider debates and themes set out within the regional research agendas. Potential avenues for further research that build on the results presented in this thesis will also be suggested.

The Continued Use and Significance of Roman Roads

The first of the research questions set out in this thesis asked how the Roman road network has been used since the end of the Roman period – a question which embraces both the continued use of the roads as thoroughfares, and their use as boundary features in the landscape. The use of Roman roads to define boundaries also relates to their influence on the development of the landscape and will be considered in the following sub-section of this concluding chapter. The use of Roman roads as routeways will be

discussed here. A related sub-question concerned the significance of the surviving Roman road network as part of the overall pattern of land communications throughout the past sixteen centuries.

Central to the arguments presented in this thesis is the principle that Roman roads have not at any point throughout their history fallen out of use for long periods and then been reinstated. Consequently, where Roman roads still remain as in-use thoroughfares today, their actual survival can be taken as evidence for their past use. For roads which no longer survive, their past use is not implicit and has to be established by other means. As outlined at the start of the thesis, roads do not in themselves provide much clear evidence for how and when they were used. The vast majority of the many thousands of individual journeys undertaken along the Roman road network during the past sixteen centuries have left no discernible archaeological trace. Although documentary and cartographic sources provide details of how some Roman roads were used in later periods, for much of their history, their use has to be inferred from archaeological evidence at locales on the road network. As we have seen, former Roman nucleated settlements – the original destinations of the road network – are best-placed to provide this evidence.

It has previously been recognised that, within eastern England at least, there is increasing evidence for sites which span the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition period (Medlycott 2011, 87). Although it was outside the scope of this thesis to make an in-depth analysis of the nature of activity at former Roman nucleated settlements in the Roman to early Anglo-Saxon periods, the available evidence supports this observation and, moreover, suggests a high degree of continuity of place.

Some former Roman nucleated settlements, such as Caistor St Edmund and Ancaster, maintained or achieved a position as high-status locales in the early Anglo-Saxon period and have been interpreted as central places (e.g. Williams 2002). Whilst these sites may be exceptional, other former Roman settlements, such as Billingford, seem to have continued to function in a manner akin to relatively ordinary rural settlements in the early, or early to middle, Anglo-Saxon periods. Although, in many cases, the archaeological evidence from former Roman settlements is limited to a handful of artefacts that do not allow a detailed picture of the activity at these sites to be established, it is clear that these locales were not completely abandoned in the fifth to

eighth centuries. If Roman nucleated settlements continued to function, whether as central places or ordinary settlements, during the early to middle Anglo-Saxon periods it means that they also still existed as destinations on the Roman road network. From this it is reasonable to infer that the Roman roads leading to these locales also remained extant and in use at that time.

The survival and use of former Roman nucleated settlements and their associated roads through to the eighth century has important implications for the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition debate. Far from there being a sudden cessation of activity at Roman settlements in the early fifth century, an argument can be put forward that there was considerable continuity of place between the Roman and early to middle Anglo-Saxon periods. Whilst the idea that these locales remained important after the fifth century is not necessarily new, the recognition that this continuity extended out into the surrounding countryside through the survival and use of the Roman road network is informative. This observation ties into specific questions identified in the regional research agendas concerning the continued use of Roman roads and the overall Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition debate (Vince 2006, 172). Whilst the use of Roman roads in this period can only be inferred, rather than directly demonstrated, the suggestion that a significant proportion of the Roman road network remained in use provides a platform for future research into Roman settlements and the rural landscape during the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition period.

Whilst we can conclude that many Roman roads remained in use during the early Anglo-Saxon period, it must be remembered that they existed alongside unimproved, and other, now lost, routeways. Although Roman roads are likely to have comprised a large part of the overall pattern of land communications at that time, our lack of understanding of the rest of the contemporary road network means their true significance is difficult to determine.

From the middle Anglo-Saxon period onwards evidence for long-distance travel is provided by documentary sources, although it is not until the medieval period that actual journeys utilising the Roman road network can be identified with any confidence. Consequently the evidence from former Roman settlements continues to be important in elucidating the use of the Roman road network in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Documentary and archaeological evidence highlights the continued

importance of Lincoln and Caistor St Edmund as locales in the seventh and eighth centuries, fulfilling new roles as elite, economic and/or ecclesiastical centres, as well as settlements, at that time. Although other former Roman nucleated settlements may have continued to function in a much more low-key way during the middle Anglo-Saxon period the continued existence of these sites can be used to argue for the ongoing use of the related parts of the Roman road network. The development of a monetary economy and new types of traded commodities, such as Ipswich Ware, in the middle Anglo-Saxon period may have provided a greater impetus for long-distance travel and communications, but as the individual journeys are unrecorded this is impossible to confirm.

However, it is also clear from the archaeological evidence that new locales were developing in the landscape from the middle Anglo-Saxon period onwards. The lack of correlation between the location of 'productive' sites and Roman roads shows that other major routeways, including Roman unimproved routeways, were already present and continuing to develop in the landscape by this time. Indeed, the relationship between 'productive' sites an unimproved routeways suggests that they were, and in some respects perhaps always had been, just as significant a component of the pattern of land communications as Roman roads.

Whilst the main Roman road network had only ever formed a part of the pattern of land communications, by the medieval period it is clear that surviving Roman roads were supplemented by a considerable number of other roads. Even so, some Roman roads did, and still do, remain in use as highly significant long-distance routes. Within the study area this is exemplified by the evolution of parts of Ermine Street into the Great North Road in the medieval period and the subsequent survival of this route as the A1 trunk road into the twenty-first century.

The majority of the journeys along Roman roads that can be identified in medieval documentary sources were along roads that still remain in use today; a point which highlights the long-term significance of the surviving routes. This is supported by cartographic and documentary sources, such as the Gough Map and Ogilby's Britannia, which indicate a degree of stasis in the main road network from the medieval period onwards. Once a Roman road had survived long enough to serve a new destination or a regenerated Roman centre in the ninth to twelfth centuries it is

very likely to have remained in use through to the present day. Whilst the failure of well-established routes along Roman roads in the post-medieval period was exceptional, it did sometimes occur. A fact which is most starkly illustrated by the loss of the Walsingham Way Roman road.

In addition to the continued use of Roman roads as long-distance routes in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods, short sections of the roads also remained in use as local roads where the overall route had ceased to function and started to disappear from the landscape. Whilst such use can reasonably be assumed to have occurred, it is significantly less well-represented in the documentary and archaeological record than long-distance journeys to major locales, and consequently cannot be demonstrated with any certainty until the post-medieval period.

The Influence of Roman Roads on the Development of the Landscape

The presence of Roman roads in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval landscape has influenced the location of various categories new sites and activity foci established during these periods. Roman roads have also acted as boundaries of land-use, territorial and administrative units and in doing so have helped to define the structure of the landscape. This aspect of the history of Roman roads was examined in the second of the principal research questions set out in this thesis. The findings presented here feed directly into related regional research agenda questions concerning the role of Roman roads in shaping the medieval landscape, the evolution of settlements (Medlycott 2011, 58) and their use as territorial and parochial boundaries (Knight *et al*. 2012 Objectives 6C, 6F and 6G, 86, 89-90).

The relationship between Roman roads and settlement sites is one of the most significant ways in which the Roman road network has influenced the development of the landscape through which they pass. Examination of whether new settlements were established at locations on, or away from, Roman roads and whether they then remained at, or moved from, these sites contributes to our understanding of evolving settlement patterns and process of landscape change.

In the early Anglo-Saxon period, Roman roads do not appear to have attracted new settlement activity at locations away from former Roman nucleated settlements. This

continues the pattern from the Roman period when farmsteads and villas were often positioned close, but not immediately adjacent, to Roman roads. Without a monetary and market-based economy, roadside locations were probably even less advantageous in the fifth and sixth centuries than they had been during the Roman period. In a predominantly agrarian society, access to workable land and resources was evidently a more important consideration in settlement location than proximity to long-distance communication networks.

Previous archaeological fieldwork in Norfolk has suggested that some settlement sites associated with later medieval churches appear to have been initially established in the Middle Anglo-Saxon period. Some of these sites carried on to become medieval and later settlements which remained close to their church. However, from perhaps as early as the ninth century some settlements began to shift to common-edge locations leaving the church site isolated in the landscape. A small number of medieval churches within the study area are located adjacent to Roman roads. It is considered possible that at least some of these could have eighth- or early-ninth-century foundation dates, and that their associated settlements may also have middle Anglo-Saxon origins. It can thus be suggested, albeit tentatively, that some rural settlements were established *de novo* at locations on the Roman road network in the middle Anglo-Saxon period. Whilst such a suggestion would fit well with existing models of settlement shift and nucleation in around the mid ninth century, the actual reasons behind the selection of roadside sites is unclear. If these communities were still essentially agrarian in character it is difficult to see why roadside sites were any more desirable for settlement in the eighth or ninth centuries than they had been in the sixth or seventh. One possibility is that the wider communication links that such sites provided may have been seen as advantageous as a monetary economy developed and access to traded goods became more important. However, given that location of 'productive' sites does not appear to have been particularly influenced by the Roman road network it is unclear what extra economic benefit apparently 'ordinary' settlements might have gained from roadside locations. Sites on Roman roads may have provided churches with access to the communities living in the surrounding landscape and opportunities to engage with passing road-users. However, the small number of churches located on Roman roads within the study area, whether middle Anglo-Saxon or later foundations, suggests that the presence of communication links was not a primary factor in their

choice of site. Ultimately, our understanding of the extent to which the positioning of some middle Anglo-Saxon settlements was influenced by Roman roads is limited by a lack of fieldwork at these sites.

Although it is not possible to confirm the existence of settlements on Roman roads in the middle Anglo-Saxon period, we can be more confident that they were present at these locations by the tenth and eleventh centuries. These medieval rural settlements exhibit a variety of different and changing relationships with the Roman road network as they developed throughout the period. As mentioned above, some settlements in East Anglia had shifted partially, or completely, away from their churches towards new locations on the edges of commons by the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. This included a handful of settlements within the study area whose locations had originally been on Roman roads. This shift away from a Roman road suggests that, in these cases at least, access to agricultural resources was more important than a site on a major communication route – to some extent echoing the rationale behind early Anglo-Saxon settlement locations. However, settlement shift away from in-use Roman roads appears to have been unusual. It is notable that the two clearest examples of isolated churches located adjacent to Roman roads, at Booton and Scoulton, both lie on roads that no longer survive in use today. In these two instances it is possible that the roads fell out of use as long-distance routes shortly after the initial establishment of the settlements and churches and that their loss provided further impetus for the shift to a common-edge location. If the Roman roads at Booton and Scoulton had remained in use it is unlikely that the shift away from their original foci around the churches would have been quite so complete.

The evidence from other rural settlements suggests that once they had been established on Roman roads in the medieval period they were likely to remain closely associated with them, provided that the road remained in use. Where settlement shift occurred, it was more often along, rather than away from the roads with ribbon development giving settlements such as Long Stratton a characteristic linear structure from as early as the thirteenth century.

Opportunities for commercial engagement with travellers and the benefits of easy access to market towns elsewhere on the road network made sites on Roman roads more desirable during the medieval period to such an extent that some rural settlements

shifted their focus towards locations on the roads. The commercial opportunities offered by major communication routes also saw new towns and markets established on the Roman road network at locations such as Castle Acre and Watton. The need for a better understanding of the role of fairs and markets in the medieval period has been highlighted in the East Midlands Research Agenda (Knight *et al*. 2012 Objective 7D, 99). Although the findings of this thesis can only make a limited contribution to this theme, it is clear that even relatively small market sites like Langworth could influence the course of a major routeway and, in that particular case, permanently divert it away from the line of a Roman road.

Not all aspects of society were necessarily attracted by the potential benefits of locations on Roman roads. The preference for isolated settings for monastic sites in both the middle Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods mean that most establishments appear to have deliberately avoided positions close to major routeways such as Roman roads. The exceptions to this pattern in the medieval period were urban and sub-urban monastic foundations, and those of the military orders such as the Knights Templar whose functions were, in any case, closely associated with travel and travellers.

The positioning of pre-Christian religious foci, in the form of cemeteries, was much more strongly influenced by the Roman road and unimproved routeway network. The placing of cremation cemeteries at extra-mural locations adjacent to Roman roads at Caistor St Edmund and Ancaster is seen as being particularly informative and has contributed to the interpretation of these sites as central places. The choice of the locations for the cemeteries was evidently influenced by the presence of the Roman road in both of these cases. The deliberately extra-mural and roadside location echoes Roman burial practice with the Ancaster cemetery lying adjacent to a known Roman precursor. Not only do these cremation cemeteries suggest a high degree of continuity at these locales - be it of place, population, practices, or all three - it further underlines the continued use and significance of the Roman roads leading into these former Roman settlements in the fifth and sixth centuries.

The positioning of some early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries adjacent to Roman roads at new locations away from former Roman settlements in the sixth century demonstrates that the continued significance of the roads also extended out into the wider landscape at that time. In these cases the presence of the Roman roads had also

clearly influenced the choice of the cemetery's location and in most cases we can confidently infer that the Roman roads were in use at the same time as the cemetery. It would appear that the roadside position of both these 'rural' cemeteries and those at former Roman settlements was being used to make clear statements to road-users in the early Anglo-Saxon period - even if we cannot now determine exactly what their messages were.

The recognition that burial within the *agger* of Roman roads was more widespread than previously thought (*cf.* Williams 1997) provides important new evidence about early Anglo-Saxon burial practices, as well as increasing our understanding of how Roman roads were perceived and used in this period. In doing so, it makes a direct contribution to Objective 6B of the Updated East Midlands Research Agenda which highlighted the need to "assess the landscape setting of Anglo-Saxon burial sites" (Knight *et al.* 2012, 85). The presence of burials in the *agger* of Roman roads also informs us about how travellers were actually using the roads in this period, suggesting that traffic of all kinds was probably mainly using the verges of Roman roads rather than the *agger* itself.

The use of Roman roads as boundary features is undoubtedly one of the most significant ways in which they have influenced the development of the wider landscape since the end of the Roman period. Despite Simon Draper's (2004) reanalysis of Desmond Bonney's work (1966; 1972; 1979) on Anglo-Saxon burials, boundaries and Roman roads, it remains possible that some Roman roads may have acted as territorial boundaries in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The recognition that positively identifiable early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries adjacent to Roman roads are a more frequent occurrence than previously thought, suggests that Draper's reassessment of the dating of some of Bonney's evidence may have swung the 'burials on boundaries' debate too far in the opposite direction. Whilst later execution burials were located on Roman roads used as late Anglo-Saxon and medieval boundaries, so too are some early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. Certainly, many of the examples of early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries on Roman roads noted within the study area and elsewhere are at locations where the roads were later adopted as parish boundaries.

The evidence from within the study area is, however, frustratingly inconclusive. Whether or not early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries on Roman roads marked territorial

boundaries, and the associated landholdings then continued to become medieval parishes, remains a moot point. Nevertheless, the importance of this relationship should not be underestimated. The findings in this thesis make a meaningful contribution to wider debates concerning the origins and longevity of territorial boundaries, not least by highlighting the potential for further research into the specific nature of the relationship between Roman roads, early Anglo-Saxon burials and boundaries across a wider geographical area.

Although little can be concluded with any certainty about the use of Roman roads as boundary features in the Anglo-Saxon period, their use in defining the boundaries of individual land-units, such as fields, and larger areas such as parishes, from the tenth century onwards can be discussed with much more confidence. Although the available evidence is not evenly spread throughout the study area there is sufficient information to refine our understanding of the ways in which existing infrastructure such as Roman roads influenced the development of the medieval landscape, and in doing so partly address the related research agenda topic (Medlycott 2011, 58).

There is evidence to show that in-use Roman roads defined the boundaries of areas of commons and woodland from the medieval period onwards, but also that in some places they also lay across or through areas of these land-use types. For the most part, Roman roads appear to have defined the extents of areas of arable land and there is evidence of them having formed the boundaries of some open fields identifiable within the study area. However, the relationship between Roman roads and arable fields is ambiguous. There is also some evidence to suggest that ploughing was, in some cases, taking place across the line of Roman roads whilst they were still in use. It is difficult to see how this relationship worked in practice and it may have been a relatively rare occurrence. Nevertheless, it highlights the fact that simple horizontal stratigraphy cannot necessarily be used to provide relative dates and phases for Roman roads and other features in the landscape. Although the available evidence is insufficient to advance our understanding of the phasing of complex landscapes such as the so-called 'Scole-Dickleburgh' system, it is clear that Roman roads were only used as boundaries of fields and other land-use areas where they lay in appropriate positions in the landscape.

In some cases the line of disused Roman roads survive as only field, or other property, boundaries with no thoroughfare remaining in the landscape. Examination of the occurrence of this 'boundary-only' survival of Roman roads within the study area revealed unexpected results. Although survival of the courses of Roman roads as just field boundaries has often been noted by previous researchers (e.g. Margary 1973; Johnston 1979) this was found to account for only a very small percentage of the mapped Roman road network of the study area. It was also apparent that a significant proportion of boundary-only survival in the modern landscape related to road-loss of identifiably post-medieval or modern date, with the boundaries having been established when the roads were still in use.

The evidence from the study area suggests that field boundaries on Roman roads that no longer remain in use are not particularly persistent features in the landscape. This transience of field boundaries on the line of disused Roman roads is supported by the high number of such boundaries that relate to comparatively recent road-loss. If boundaries on the line of disused Roman roads were long-lived features in the landscape a greater proportion relating to undated, earlier road-loss would be present within the mapped corpus of Roman roads in this thesis, but this is not the case. Early historic maps show that some boundary-only survival was present in landscape of the study area during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, most of these boundaries have since been lost, most probably during the process of enclosure; a point which only serves to reinforce their lack of longevity, during the post-medieval period at least. As already noted, Roman roads were generally only adopted as boundary features where it was advantageous to do so. Extant Roman roads may have presented a pragmatic, but less than ideal, boundary feature for some areas of arable land. However, once the road ceased to function as a thoroughfare, this constraint to landscape reorganisation was removed and the boundary on the former road line could then be shifted to a more suitable position when the opportunity arose.

The use of Roman roads in defining parish boundaries is one of the most important ways in which they have influenced the structure of the medieval and later landscape. This relationship has long been recognised and is directly relevant to several regional research agenda objectives (Medlycott 2011, 58; Knight *et al*. 2012 Objectives 6G, 90). Although it has been a popular topic for previous researchers (Codrington 1918; Margary 1973), the analysis in this thesis has revealed significant new information

about the nature of the relationship between Roman roads and parish boundaries. The comparison of large blocks of parishes whose boundaries continuously lay on Roman roads over long distances with adjacent areas where Roman roads are not used in this way revealed that, as with smaller land-units, Roman roads were only adopted as parish boundaries where they lay in an appropriate position in the landscape. This was particularly evident in the 'Lincoln Cliff' and 'Ancaster' groups of parishes on Ermine Street in Lincolnshire. Equitable division of, and access to, landscape resources was the overriding concern in the choice of boundary locations. The presence of a convenient linear landscape features such as a Roman road was irrelevant if it did not lie in a suitable position. This observation has direct implications for our understanding of why both Roman roads and other landscape features were, or weren't, utilised as parish boundaries. It feeds directly back into Bonney's work on boundaries (1966; 1972; 1979) and further highlights the problems with the uncritical use of simple horizontal stratigraphy as a landscape phasing tool. To reinforce Draper's (2004) observations, it can be concluded that, just because a linear earthwork feature was used as a parish boundary instead of a nearby Roman road it does not necessarily mean that the boundary and its associated land-holding pre-date the Roman road, just that they lay in a more appropriate location.

It has been established in this thesis that the majority of sections of Roman roads which form parish boundaries also remain in use as thoroughfares in the modern, or at least post-medieval, landscape. As with the smaller land-units such as fields, this suggests that it was predominantly in-use Roman roads that were adopted as parish boundaries. Defunct sections of Roman roads that only existed as linear earthworks of the *agger* were rarely, if at all, used a parish boundaries; otherwise we would see more examples of parish boundaries associated with boundary-only survival. The pattern of use of Roman roads as parish boundaries has several important implications. The lack of use of defunct sections of Roman roads in defining parish boundaries may imply that linear earthworks of the *agger* of Roman roads were not a common feature of the late Anglo-Saxon to medieval landscape. Potentially, more of the Roman road network survived in use during the tenth century than might previously have been considered to be the case (a point to which we will return in the following sub-section of this discussion) meaning that such linear earthworks were simply not present away from in-use roads. However, given the lack of persistence of former Roman roads as landscape features

288

demonstrated by the field boundary evidence, it may simply be that once they no longer functioned as thoroughfares all traces of many disused Roman roads were quickly removed from the landscape leaving no feature to later be utilised as a parish, or other, boundary. A further important conclusion about the correlation between parish boundaries and in-use Roman roads is that Roman roads with parish boundaries on them have experienced a preferential level of survival. Were this not the case, we would once again see a higher number of sections of parish boundaries associated with boundary-only survival. The reasons for this, which relate to the research questions concerning the survival and loss of the Roman road network, will be discussed in the following sub-section.

The Survival and Loss of Roman Roads

The question of why some Roman roads remain in use in the modern landscape whilst other have completely disappeared is central to the study of their long history. It is one of the five key research questions set out at the start of this thesis and is also specifically mentioned in the regional archaeological research agendas (Going and Plouviez 2001, 21; Medlycott 2011, 48; Knight *et al.* 2012, 82). Although it is a question that has often been considered by past researchers the emphasis has frequently been too focussed in the loss of specific sections of road rather than taking a broader view of overall routes. Indeed, it is important to consider the loss of Roman roads as a staged process involving their loss of function as long-distance routes, the subsequent loss of individual sections of road, and ultimately the removal of all physical traces of the road from the landscape.

Part Two of this thesis examined the relationship between the Roman road network and locales which lay on or close to the roads. It was concluded in Chapter Eight that there is a strong link between the continued existence of destinations on the Roman road network and the use and survival of the roads. As has frequently been stated throughout this thesis, roads, Roman roads included, only survive if they are used, and they only remain in use if they go to places that people need or want to travel to. This requires the existence of destinations on the road network. Consequently whilst locales continue to function as destinations roads will continue to be used and survive. Conversely once the destinations cease to be important and people no longer need or

want to travel to them, the roads will also cease to be used, at least as long-distance routes, and they will become prone to loss.

This is particularly well illustrated by a comparison of the former Roman nucleated settlements of Lincoln and Caistor St Edmund. On the one hand Lincoln evolved into an important medieval and modern city and most of its surrounding Roman roads survive in use. By contrast, Caistor St Edmund failed as a major locale sometime around the ninth century and essentially only one of its Roman roads survives in use, and that only because it went on to function as a route to Norwich. Ultimately the contrasting histories of these principal Roman settlements in Lincolnshire and Norfolk largely accounts for the different levels of modern survival of the Roman road network in the two counties. The percentage of the Roman road network that survives in use as some form of thoroughfare in the twenty-first century in Lincolnshire (62%) is one and a half times that which remains in use in Norfolk (41%) predominantly because of Lincoln's continued existence as a destination.

Nevertheless the loss of a Roman road's function as a long-distance route did not necessarily mean that all sections of the road would subsequently cease to be used and disappear. Many sections of Roman roads continued to be used either as parts of other newly-developed long-distance routes or as local roads. The same principles apply to the survival of Roman roads at a local level as for long-distance routes and they only remained in use where they continued to serve a useful function. Short sections of Roman road could be useful at a local level in two ways. Firstly, where a Roman road linked a community to its landscape resources it would continue to serve a useful function with the settlement and resources acting as reciprocal local destinations. This was particularly the case where a settlement lay directly on a Roman road as at Tetford in Lincolnshire.

However, short sections of Roman road also survive in use on some parish boundaries. As noted above a significant proportion of parish boundaries on Roman roads lie on sections of road that still remained in use into the post-medieval and modern periods. This includes short sections that otherwise serve no obvious function as they do not connect communities with their local resources. Analysis of this relationship in Chapter Ten showed that the preferential survival-in-use of Roman roads that have parish boundaries on them is directly linked to the way in which these boundaries were

defined during the medieval and post-medieval periods. Not only did the road present a tangible, and therefore largely indisputable, boundary feature, it was also important during the annual practice of 'beating the bounds' at Rogationtide. Consequently there was a strong incentive for communities to retain Roman roads on parish boundaries as the extant road helped to define and physically maintain the position of the boundary.

The second research question in this thesis relating to the survival and loss of Roman roads asked when parts of the road network had fallen out of use and disappeared from the landscape. Specifically, it sought to establish whether there were particular points during the past sixteen centuries at which road-loss had occurred or whether it had been a gradual process. Once again, a distinction needs to be made between the loss of a Roman roads as long-distance routeways and the subsequent loss and removal of individual short sections of the roads. Although our ability to identify when some Roman roads went out of use and were removed from the landscape is governed by the available evidence, be it archaeological, cartographic or documentary, important conclusions can be made about the periods in which road-loss occurred.

The traditional view of the ending of Roman Britain saw a rapid abandonment of its infrastructure with Roman roads ceasing to be used in the fifth century. Whilst some Roman roads may have become disused in the early Anglo-Saxon period there is no convincing evidence to show that this was the norm. What evidence there is, in the form of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries located adjacent to Roman roads and the continuation of activity at former Roman nucleated settlements points to continued use, rather than abandonment of the Roman road network in the early to middle Anglo-Saxon periods. Even the presence of early Anglo-Saxon burials cut into the *agger* of some Roman roads cannot be used to argue for their disuse as many of the roads where this has been recorded still remain in use today and must therefore, by implication, have also been in use in the fifth to seventh centuries.

By far the most significant conclusion in this thesis with regard to the date of loss of Roman roads is the observation that the continued use of the roads is fundamentally connected with the fate of their destinations. The recognition that activity at some former Roman nucleated settlements continued into the middle Anglo-Saxon period is highly significant and allows a hypothesis to be proposed for the date of loss of parts of the Roman road network. The example of Caistor St Edmund is of particular

importance to this argument. Archaeological evidence indicates that Caistor St Edmund continued to function as an important centre and destination into the eighth or early ninth centuries, but that it subsequently failed to develop into a medieval settlement of any significance. Its role as the principal settlement within the area was, at broadly the same time, assumed by Norwich directly to its north. Although the Pye Road to the south of Caistor St Edmund survived in use as a route to Norwich, all of the other roads leading to the former Roman settlement ceased to exist as continuous routeways. However, it is highly likely that they had all remained in use while Caistor St Edmund was an important destination, and only began to disappear once its importance had waned at the end of the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

This pattern of final abandonment of former Roman nucleated settlements during the middle Anglo-Saxon period can be paralleled at other sites within the study area, albeit from limited artefactual evidence. If these other Roman settlement sites also ceased to function as destinations in the eighth to ninth centuries, this period can be seen as a pivotal time for the continued survival of the Roman road network. The ultimate failure of these destinations at this point in time, making the roads leading to them prone to disuse and loss, coincided with, or more likely was part of, a wider set of changes. The middle Anglo-Saxon period witnessed significant societal, economic and religious upheaval, with elite and ecclesiastical estate centres, churches, economic activity foci and ordinary settlements developing at, or shifting to, new locations in the landscape. The Roman roads that fell into disuse at this time would have been especially susceptible to removal from the landscape as existing landholdings and boundaries were reorganised, and as open fields were established during the centuries that followed. The evidence presented in this thesis strongly suggests that some parts of the Roman road network that no longer remain in use today first fell out of use during the eighth to ninth centuries. The end of the middle Anglo-Saxon period can therefore be highlighted as the first period of major road-loss, or at the very least a period when the initial breakdown of parts of the Roman road network occurred, even if isolated sections of some of the roads affected continued to function throughout the centuries that followed.

It was discussed in Chapter Six how some isolated church sites in Norfolk are likely to represent early, probably eighth- to ninth-century, foundations, dating from a point in time before their associated settlements shifted away to new common-edge

locations by the thirteenth century. As noted already, the isolated churches on Roman roads at Scoulton and Booton in Norfolk are located on sections of road which no longer survive in use. If these Roman roads were still in use when the churches were established, this relationship provides an eighth- or ninth-century *terminus post quem* for the road-loss. The loss of these roads would, therefore, fit with the pattern of initial abandonment of Roman roads at the end of the middle Anglo-Saxon period that has been proposed above.

As already noted above and in the previous chapter, Roman roads that also function as parish boundaries exhibit an unexpectedly high level of survival in-use as roads in the modern landscape. On many sections with parish boundaries where the road no longer survives in use, the loss can be assigned to the post-medieval or modern periods indicating that these roads were also in use in the tenth to twelfth centuries when the boundaries were established. The fact that it appears to predominantly, even exclusively, have been in-use roads that were selected as parish boundaries is very informative. From this it can be hypothesised that the loss of Roman roads with parish boundaries on them (which no longer remain in use as roads or tracks) can be assigned a tenth-century *terminus post quem*.

Although Roman roads with parish boundaries located on them appear to have benefited from a high level of survival in-use, some early loss can be identified in exceptional cases. Barlings Abbey's new market at Langworth resulted in the diversion of the road away from the parish boundary separating Barlings from Sudbrooke and Scothern along the line of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh Roman road at, or shortly after, its establishment in the thirteenth century. The presence of parish boundaries on other isolated in-use sections of this particular Roman road supports its continued existence into the tenth to twelfth centuries. However, other parts of the route are overlain by earthworks of ridge and furrow indicating that it had ceased to function as a continuous long distance route by the early post-medieval period at the latest.

Although private and parliamentary enclosure is often seen as a major agent of change within the post-medieval landscape, its impact on the Roman road network within the study area, in terms of road-loss, is not particularly clear. It appears that it was only short sections of Roman roads on routes which had already fragmented in preceding

centuries that were affected by enclosure, and that well-established long-distance routes serving urban centres remained largely unchanged. However, with few maps available showing both the pre- and post-enclosure landscape in sufficient detail it is difficult to establish just how many sections of road were removed through this process and determine the true extent of road-loss at this time. When maps of appropriate dates are available they show that where short sections of road did not continue to serve a useful purpose they were often removed through the enclosure process, irrespective of whether it was carried out privately or under Act of Parliament. Although the process of post-medieval enclosure covers a broad timespan from the mid sixteenth to the mid nineteenth centuries this period can be seen as one in which the physical evidence of many surviving short sections of Roman road were finally removed from the landscape. However, with the exception of the Walsingham Way, it was not a period during which the initial breakdown of surviving long-distance routes occurred.

The loss of the Walsingham Way Roman road after it had ceased to function as a pilgrimage route in the mid sixteenth century further reinforces the strength of the relationship between the survival of Roman roads and the fate of their destinations. However, this level of road-loss and removal from the landscape during the post-medieval period is unprecedented elsewhere in the study area. As we have seen in Chapter Eight and above, once Roman roads served as long-distance routes to revitalised or newly-established urban centres in the ninth to twelfth centuries their routes are very likely to have remained in use through to the present day.

The speed with which the fragmentation of Roman roads occurred, and some sections disappeared from the landscape after they ceased to function as long-distance routes is difficult to gauge. The near-complete disappearance of the Walsingham Way occurred within three hundred years of the demise of its destination. However, its circumstances are exceptional and the speed with which the road was so comprehensively removed may have been helped by the ongoing process of enclosure during the post-medieval period. Other Roman roads, which initially ceased to function as long-distance routes in the eighth or ninth centuries may have taken longer to gradually fragment and for sections to completely disappear. However, once the process of fragmentation of Roman road had begun it was likely to continue. The more sections that fell out of use over time, the more the reinstatement of the route would

have become unviable. This underlines Rackham's (1989) view – and a key principle of this thesis - that roads do not fall out of use and then get reinstated.

To return to the research question posed in this thesis, it is likely that the loss of the Roman road network has in fact been a protracted process with sections falling out of use and being removed at various times throughout the past sixteen centuries. However, two important stages in this process can be identified. Firstly, in the mid to late Anglo-Saxon period when, after the loss of their destinations at former Roman settlements, some Roman roads ceased to function as long-distance routes. This can, it is argued, be highlighted as the period in which the breakdown of parts of the Roman road network truly commenced. The Roman roads on the affected routes were then subject to gradual loss and removal throughout the medieval and post-medieval periods in what formed the second stage of the process. Whilst the rate of loss during the medieval period is difficult to establish, it is very likely that the removal of sections of already fragmented routes accelerated during the process of enclosure in the post-medieval period.

Roman Roads and Unimproved Routeways

Unimproved routeways, also referred to by previous researchers as prehistoric trackways or Romanised trackways, are difficult to study in detail. By definition they lack the characteristics of main (engineered) Roman roads such as artificial straightness and the presence of an *agger*. Although archaeological evidence sometimes confirms that they were in use during the Roman period, as at Nettleton Top on Caistor High Street (Willis 2013), their actual courses are for the most part difficult to define with any certainty. Consequently, it is not possible to study their use and significance through time with the same level of confidence that can be applied to engineered Roman roads. Although these routeways feature within questions in the regional research agendas (Medlycott 2011, 71; Knight *et al*. 2012, 82) it was not a specific aim of this thesis to trace and remap their routes.

The final research question examined in this thesis sought, as far as possible within the available evidence, to compare the history of unimproved routeways with engineered Roman roads to see whether there are any similarities between them that

will assist with the identification or confirmation of their courses. Due to the problems with identifying surviving routes in the modern landscape of Norfolk, such observations were restricted to the Lincolnshire part of the study area. Unimproved routeways in the Lincolnshire Wolds appear to have continued to serve as routes to former Roman settlements, such as Caistor and Horncastle, that went on to become medieval settlements. As noted above, these routes continued to be used in the middle Anglo-Saxon period when their relationship with 'productive' sites suggest that they were at least as important as engineered Roman roads. More significant, however, in terms of confirming the courses of unimproved routeways, was the observation that some early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries lay adjacent to their suggested courses, just as they do with engineered Roman roads. This accords with Draper's (2004) view that some early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries were specifically sited on routeways rather than on boundaries. Consequently, the apparent relationship between unimproved routeways and early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries may be useful in confirming their presence or courses at other locations, although it is not a criteria that can be used in isolation.

Directions for Future Research

The broad theme of the use, significance, survival and loss, and influence of Roman roads since the end of the Roman period has a much wider geographical relevance than just the two eastern England counties that have been considered here. The results presented above to address the specific research questions set out in this thesis provide a platform for future study of Roman roads and landscape change, both separately and together.

The overall approach taken in this thesis - its scope, methodology, and specific research questions – could beneficially be applied to a wider study area. Comparable research focussing on other parts of the country could seek to establish whether or not the histories of the Roman road network of Lincolnshire and Norfolk are paralleled elsewhere. The contrasting fates of their principal Roman settlements was identified as an important difference between the two counties in the study area of this thesis. As this was a factor that significantly influenced the survival and loss of the Roman road network in each of the counties, it could provide a useful starting point for future

comparative research. This approach could also seek to further explore regional differences in the history of the Roman road network by comparing and contrasting new study areas in central and southeast England, as well as the north and west of the country. Studies of the Roman road network of other counties where major Roman settlements survive as modern urban centres could be usefully studied in comparison with Lincolnshire. This could include Leicestershire in the East Midlands and potentially Essex and/or Kent in southeast England. Similarly the loss of the Roman road network in Norfolk could be compared with other counties where no major former Roman settlement survives in the modern landscape - such as Suffolk in eastern England and Northamptonshire in the East Midlands.

Comparative studies of this type will help to elucidate how regional differences affected the survival and loss of the Roman road network. Even though a difference in the types of road construction materials used across the two parts of the study area was suggested (with limestone used in Lincolnshire and aggregate used in Norfolk), the current study did not seek to establish the extent to which this had influenced the survival and loss of the roads. This was principally due to the lack of detailed information about the constructed form of many of the Roman roads within the study area. Although road construction materials may have been a factor in the differential survival of the Roman roads in Lincolnshire and Norfolk, it is likely that the evidence for this would have been entirely masked by the greater factor of the contrasting fates of the principal Roman settlements in the two counties. Comparison with other counties such as Northamptonshire, where a similar limestone road construction to that in Lincolnshire can be expected, will clarify the extent to which the availability of raw materials, and ultimately variations in local geology, have influenced the survival and loss of Roman roads.

It must be remembered that a considerable amount of remapping of the Roman road network was carried out to establish the corpus of roads for this thesis. The quality of HER data in other counties is unknown, but it is likely that similar levels of work will be required to provide a baseline dataset for any future studies. Nevertheless, the remapping of the Roman road network in this way is a task that should be seen as a future research objective in its own right.

It was not the aim of this thesis to undertake a detailed analysis of the evidence for continued activity at former Roman nucleated settlements in the Anglo-Saxon period. However, during the data collection and analysis it became apparent that there is indeed (as suggested in the regional research agenda (Medlycott 2011, 87)) a growing body of evidence for sites that span the Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition period. There is considerable potential for further synthesis of this evidence[57]. Given the strong relationship between such locales and Roman roads suggested in this thesis, future studies need to consider how evidence for continuity at former Roman settlement sites relates to the Roman road network. This should in particular seek to establish whether evidence for the initial breakdown of the Roman road network in the eighth century that has been proposed in this thesis can be identified elsewhere.

Whilst more fieldwork is needed in general to advance the debates surrounding the form and origins of Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlements, a strand of this could be usefully focussed on sites located on Roman roads. Programmes of test-pitting within current settlement cores, fieldwalking and geophysical surveys of abandoned sites, and research or development-led excavations all have considerable potential to elucidate the origins and evolution of settlements located on Roman roads. Given the paucity of data available for many of the sites considered within the study area, this research can usefully be undertaken in Lincolnshire and Norfolk as well as elsewhere on the Roman road network. Such research would make a valuable contribution to Anglo-Saxon and medieval settlement studies and also advance our understanding of the roles and relationships of major routeways in this period.

One of the unexpected findings of this thesis was the discovery that the placing of burials in the *agger* of in-use Roman roads in the early Anglo-Saxon period was a more widespread practice than had previously been recognised. A wider review of the evidence for this practice is required, both within, and beyond, the parts of the country where 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture and burial practices are prevalent. Such research would make an important contribution to our understating of this aspect of early Anglo-Saxon burial practices and has potential to feed into the ongoing debates about the origins and longevity of boundaries in the landscape.

---

[57] It is noted that a contribution to this topic has been made in recent PhD research by Fiona Fleming (2016).

The research in this thesis has also revealed important new evidence about the relationships between Roman roads and parish boundaries. Comparison with other parts of England is required to establish whether the key elements of the this relationship (that it was predominantly in-use Roman roads that were utilised as parish boundaries, and that once they formed a parish boundary the roads were very likely to remain in use as a thoroughfare) are replicated elsewhere. Whether or not this proves to be the case, the resulting information will make an important contribution to our understanding of the factors affecting the survival or Roman roads and also the formation and longevity of parish boundaries.

Conclusion

Despite Roman roads having been the focus of academic study for over four hundred years very little attention has been paid to that part of their history which falls after the end of the Roman period. Although this aspect of the subject has been acknowledged since the start of this century (e.g. Harrison 2005) detailed studies specifically of Roman roads in the *longue durée* have been absent. This thesis set out to address this gap in the literature on Roman roads by examining their history in parts of eastern England between the fifth and mid nineteenth centuries.

The research presented in this thesis has shown that some Roman roads have retained their significance throughout the sixteen centuries since the end of the Roman period, and that their survival is linked to their use as long-distance routes to existing or new destinations. By contrast where destinations did not develop or survive Roman roads ceased to function as long-distance routes and became prone to fragmentation and loss – a process which began towards the end of the middle Anglo-Saxon period.

Extant Roman roads have, throughout all of the periods covered in this thesis, influenced the development of the landscape; acting as foci for burials (early Anglo-Saxon) and settlements, churches, and economic activity (middle Anglo-Saxon onwards). They have also acted as boundary features, most notably of parishes – a role that has influenced the survival of some short sections of otherwise defunct Roman roads. It can be concluded that the contribution of Roman roads to the development of

the landscape of Lincolnshire and Norfolk throughout the past one and a half millennia has been significant.

As set out in its opening paragraphs, this thesis has been a study of Roman roads as single monument type. They were selected for study because of their characteristic form which, for the most part, allows them to be distinguished from the thousands of other undateable roads in the landscape. However, in many respects their form is the only way in which Roman roads are remarkable. The manner in which they were used, their influence on landscape development, and the factors that affected their survival and loss are likely to have been the same for much of the rest of the road network.

By considering Roman roads in isolation it has been possible to examine the relationship between roads and the landscape in a way that would not have been possible for other routeways due to the uncertainty surrounding their dates of origin and historic courses. Consequently, although this thesis has focussed on Roman roads its findings have much wider implications for the study of roads of all periods. Other roads, particularly those forming major long-distance routes, are likely to exhibit relationships similar to those identified for the Roman roads in this thesis. This enhanced understanding of the history and influence of roads in the landscape can be applied to future studies in English landscape history and archaeology.

Bibliography and Sources

Bibliographic and Published Cartographic Sources

Åberg, N., 1926. *The Anglo-Saxons in England*. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells.

Albert, W., 1972. *The Turnpike Road System in England 1663-1840*. London: Cambridge University Press.

Albone, J., 2000. *The Archaeology and Landscape Development of Blyborough, Lincolnshire*. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Leicester.

-, Massey, S, and Tremlett, S., 2007a. *The Archaeology of Norfolk's Coastal Zone: Results of the National Mapping Programme*. Unpublished Norfolk Landscape Archaeology and English Heritage report.

-, Massey, S, and Tremlett, S., 2007b. *The Archaeology of Norfolk's Broads Zone: Results of the National Mapping Programme*. Unpublished Norfolk Landscape Archaeology and English Heritage report.

-, and Massey, S. with Tremlett, S., 2008. *The Archaeology of Norfolk's Aggregate Landscape: Results of the National Mapping Programme*. Unpublished Norfolk Landscape Archaeology and English Heritage report.

Ambler, R.W., 1993. Markets and fairs 1086-1792, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 54-5.

Aram, J., 1993a. Solid geology, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 4-5.

- 1993b. Drift geology, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 6-7.

Armstrong, A., 1778. *Map of Lincoln-Shire*.

Arnold, C.J., 1983. The Sancton-Baston potter. *Scottish Archaeological Review* 2, 17-30.

- 1997. *An Archaeology of the Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms*. Second edition. London: Routledge.

- and Wardle, P., 1981. Early medieval settlement patterns in England. *Medieval Archaeology* 25, 145-9.

ASC.   See Swanton (1996).

Ashley, S. and Penn, K., 2012. 'Contained the bones of horses': An early Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Sporle with Palgrave. *Norfolk Archaeology* 46, 281-310.

Ashwin, T. and Davison, A. (eds.), 2005. *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*. Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore.

Ashwin, T. and Tester, A., 2014. *A Roman Settlement in the Waveney Valley: excavations at Scole 1993–4*. (East Anglian Archaeology 152) Gressenhall: Norfolk Historic Environment Service.

Aston, M., 1985. *Interpreting the Landscape*. London: Routledge.

- 2000. *Monasteries in the Landscape*. Stroud: Tempus.

Atkin, M. and Healey, H., 1995. The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Ruskington, Lincolnshire. Unpublished Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire draft report.

Attenborough, F.L. (ed. and trans.), 1922. *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ayers, B., 1994. *Norwich*. London: Batsford.

- 2005. Medieval planned towns, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 74-5.

Ayres, P., 1997. *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bagshawe, R.W., 1977. A Roman road between Brisley and Terrington St Clement. *East Anglian Archaeology* 5, 5-8.

- 1979. *Roman Roads*. (Shire Archaeology 10) Princes Risborough: Shire.

Baldwin Brown, G., 1903. *The Arts in Early England.* Volume 1. London: John Murray.

302

Bales, E, Cattermole, A. and Horlock, S. with Tremlett, S., 2010. *The Archaeology of Norwich 'Growth Point' and Environs: Results of the Norwich Growth Point National Mapping Programme (NMP) Project*. Unpublished Norfolk Historic Environment Service and English Heritage report.

Barber, M., 2011. *A History of Aerial Photography and Archaeology.* Swindon: English Heritage.

Barber, P. and Harper, T., 2010. *Magnificent Maps: Power, Propaganda and Art.* London: The British Library.

Barnes, G. and Williamson, T., 2015. *Rethinking Ancient Woodland.* Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press.

Barringer, C., 2005. Norfolk hundreds, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 96-7.

Bede, (EE) See McClure and Collins (1999).

(HE) See McClure and Collins (1999).

Bennett, S. and Bennett, N. (eds.), 1993. *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire.* Hull: University of Hull Press.

Beresford, M., 1954. *The Lost Villages of England.* London: Lutterworth Press.

- and Hurst, J., 1990. *Wharram Percy Deserted Medieval Village.* London: Batsford.

Bishop, M.C., 2014. *The Secret History of the Roman Roads of Britain.* Barnsley: Pen & Sword.

Black, E., 2016. Roadside settlements and their defences. Paper delivered at, *Roadside Settlements in Roman Britain and Beyond* (Sussex Archaeological Society Conference), Lewes 09/04/2016.

Blackburn, M., 2003. 'Productive sites' and patterns of coin loss in England 600-1180, in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (eds.). Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 20-36.

Blinkhorn, P., 2012. *The Ipswich Ware Project: Ceramics, Trade and Society in Middle Saxon England*. (MPRG Occasional Paper 7) Dorchester: The Medieval Pottery Research Group.

Bonney, D., 1966. Pagan Saxon burials and boundaries in Wiltshire. *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 61, 25-30.

- 1972. Early boundaries in Wessex, in *Archaeology and the Landscape: Essays for L. V. Grinsell*, P.J. Fowler (ed.). London: John Baker, 169-86.

- 1979. Early boundaries and estates in Southern England, in *English Medieval Settlement*, P.H. Sawyer (ed.). London: Edward Arnold, 41-51.

Bowden, M., Brown, G. and Smith, N., 2009. *An Archaeology of Town Commons in England*. Swindon: English Heritage.

Bowden, W., 2012. The Iceni under Rome: excavating Caistor St Edmund. *Current Archaeology* 270, 28-35.

- 2013. The urban plan of *Venta Icenorum* and its relationship with the Boudican Revolt. *Britannia* 44, 145-169.

- 2014. Urban life in the *civitas* of the Iceni. Paper delivered at, *Recent Roman Research in the East of England* (CBA East Conference), Godmanchester 20/09/2014.

Bowman, P., 2004. Villages and their territories: Parts I and II, in *Leicestershire Landscapes*, P. Bowman and P. Liddle (eds.). Leicester: Leicestershire Museums Archaeological Fieldwork Group, 105-36

Bradley, R., 1993. *Altering the Earth*. (Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph Series 8) Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Bristow, J., 1994. *The Local Historian's Glossary and Vade Mecum.* Second edition. Nottingham: Continuing Education Press, University of Nottingham.

Brookes, S., 2007. *Economics and Social Change in Anglo-Saxon Kent AD 400-900: Landscapes, Communities and Exchange*. (BAR British Series 431) Oxford: Archaeopress.

Bryant, A., 1826. *Map of the County of Norfolk*. (Larks Press Edition. Guist: Larks Press).

- 1828. *Map of the County of Lincoln*. London

Camden, W., 1607. *Britannia or a Chorographical Description of Great Britain and Ireland*. London: Bishop and Norton. Seventh edition. www.philological. bham.ac.uk/cambrit/romanseng.html (Accessed 28/04/2015)

Cameron, K., 1998. *A Dictionary of Lincolnshire Place-Names*. Nottingham: English Place-Name Society.

- 2001. *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire. Part Six: The Wapentakes of Manley and Aslacoe*. (The Survey of English Place-Names LXXVII) Nottingham: English Place-Name Society.

Campbell, J., 1979. Bede's words for places, in *Names, Words and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement*, P. Sawyer (ed.). Leeds: University of Leeds, 34-54.

Cattermole, A., Ford. E. and Horlock, S. with Tremlett, S., 2013. *The Archaeology of the 'A11 Corridor': Results of the 'A11 Corridor' Study Area for the Norwich, Thetford and A11 Corridor National Mapping Programme (NMP) Project*. Unpublished Norfolk County Council and English Heritage report.

Chandler, J., 1993. *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*. Stroud: Sutton.

Chapman, H., 2006. *Landscape Archaeology and GIS*. Stroud: Tempus.

Chapman, J. and Seeliger, S., 2001. *Enclosure, Environment & Landscape in Southern England*. Stroud: Tempus.

Chester-Kadwell, M., 2009. *Early Anglo-Saxon Communities in the Landscape of Norfolk*. (BAR British Series 481) Oxford: Archaeopress.

- 2013. Spong Hill in its local context, in *Spong Hill. Part IX: Chronology and Synthesis* by C. Hills and S. Lucy. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research, 272-96.

Chevallier, R. (N. H. Field trans.) 1989. *Roman Roads*. London: Batsford.

Chowne, P., 1987. The excavation of Ermine Street at Coleby, Lincolnshire. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 22, 31-4.

Clarke, R.R., 1936a. Holkham Camp, Norfolk. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 2, 231-3.

- 1936b. The Roman villages at Brettenham and Needham and the contemporary road system. *Norfolk Archaeology* 26, 123-63.

- 1960. *East Anglia*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Clarke, W.G., 1915. Peddar's Way. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society of East Anglia* 2, 51-7.

Coad, J.G., 1984. *Castle Acre Castle, Norfolk*. London: English Heritage.

Codrington, T., 1903. *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: SPCK.

- 1918. *Roman Roads in Britain*. Third edition. London: Sheldon Press.

Cole, A., 2013. *The Place-Name Evidence for a Routeway Network in Early Medieval England*. (BAR British Series 589) Oxford: Archaeopress.

Collingwood, R.G. and Myres, J.N.L., 1937. *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. Second edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cook, A.M., 1981. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Fonaby, Lincolnshire*. (Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 6) Sleaford: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology.

Cooke, N. and Mudd, A., 2014. *A46 Nottinghamshire: The Archaeology of the Newark to Widmerpool Improvement Scheme, 2009*. (Cotswold / Wessex Archaeology Monographs 7/34) Cirencester/Salisbury: Cotswold Wessex Archaeology

Cooper, A., 2000. The King's Four Highways: legal fiction meets fictional law. *Journal of Medieval History* 26, 351-70.

Cope-Faulkner, P., 2001. *Forest Enterprise Woodlands in Lincolnshire: Callan's Lane Wood. Archaeological Survey*. Unpublished Archaeological Project Services report 61/01.

Copeland, T., 2009. *Akeman Street: Moving through Iron Age and Roman Landscapes*. Stroud: History Press.

Cossons, A., 1952. The turnpike roads of Norfolk. *Norfolk Archaeology* 30, 189-212.

- 2003. *The Turnpike Roads of Leicestershire and Rutland*. Leicester: Kairos.

Cox, J.C., 1906. Beck Hall, in *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk. Volume 2.*, W. Page (ed.). London: Constable, 438-9.

Cushion, B. and Davison, A., 2003. *The Earthworks of Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 104) Gressenhall: Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.

Darby, H.C., 1971. *The Domesday Geography of Eastern England*. Third edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dark, P., 2000. *The Environment of Britain in the First Millennium A.D.* London; Duckworth.

Davies, G., 2010. Early medieval 'rural centres' and West Norfolk: a growing picture of diversity, complexity and changing lifestyles. *Medieval Archaeology* 54, 89-122.

Davies, H., 1998. Designing Roman roads. *Britannia* 29, 1-16.

- 2002. *Roads in Roman Britain*. Stroud: Tempus.

- 2008. *Roman Roads in Britain*. Oxford: Shire.

Davies, J., 2001. *Venta Icenorum: Caistor St Edmund Roman Town*. Norwich: Norfolk Archaeological Trust.

- 2008. *The Land of Boudica*. Oxford: Heritage.

Davison, A., 1988. *Six Deserted Villages in Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 44) Gressenhall: Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

- 1990. *The Evolution of Settlement in Three Parishes in South-East Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 49) Gressenhall: Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

-, Green, B. and Milligan, B., 1993. *Illington: A Study of a Breckland Parish and its Anglo-Saxon Cemetery*. (East Anglian Archaeology 63) Gressenhall: Norfolk Museums Service.

- and Joby, R., 2005. Early roads and turnpikes, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 154-5.

De la Bédoyère, G., 1992. *Roman Towns in Britain*. London: Batsford.

Delano-Smith, C. and Kain, R.J.P., 1999. *English Maps: A History*. London: British Library.

De La Pryme, A., 1870. *The Diary of Abraham de la Pryme, the Yorkshire Antiquary*. (The Surtees Society 54). Durham: Andrews.

Delve, K., 2008. *The Military Airfields of Britain: East Midlands*. Marlborough: Crowood.

Department for Transport, 2014. *Vehicle Mileage and Occupancy Data (NTS09), Table NTS0906: Car occupancy by trip purpose: England.* www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/3364 87/nts0906.xls (Accessed 20/05/2015)

- 2015. *Traffic Counts*. http://www.dft.gov.uk/traffic-counts/index.php (Accessed 20/05/2015)

Draper, S., 2004. Roman estates to English parishes? The legacy of Desmond Bonney reconsidered, in *Debating Late Antiquity in Britain AD300-700*, R. Collins and J. Gerrard (eds.) (BAR British Series 365) Oxford: BAR, 55-64.

Drury, P. and Rodwell, W., 1980. Settlement in the later Iron Age and Roman periods, in *The Archaeology of Essex to AD 1500*, D.G. Buckley (ed.) (CBA Research Report 34) London: Council for British Archaeology.

Dyer, C., 2003. *Making a Living in the Middle Ages: The People of Britain 850 – 1520*. London: Penguin.

Dymond, D., 1985. *The Norfolk Landscape*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Eagles, B.N., 1979. *The Anglo-Saxon Settlement of Humberside*. (BAR British Series 68) Oxford: BAR.

EE.   See McClure and Collins (1999).

Ekwall, E., 1960. *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Fourth edition. London: Oxford University Press.

Elspeth, Sr., 1906. Hospital of Holy Innocents without Lincoln, in *The Victoria History of the County of Lincoln. Volume 2*, W. Page (ed.). London: Constable, 230.

English Heritage, 2013. *English Heritage Monument Type Thesaurus*. http://thesaurus.english-heritage.org.uk/thesaurus.asp?thes_no=1&thes_name =EH%20Monument%20Type%20Thesaurus (Accessed 18/11/13)

Environment Agency, 2016. *Lasers reveal 'lost' Roman roads*. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/lasers-reveal-lost-roman-roads (Accessed 04/02/2016)

Esmonde Cleary, (A.)S., 1989. *The Ending of Roman Britain*. London: Batsford.

- 2001. The Roman to medieval transition, in *Britons and Romans: Advancing an Archaeological Agenda*, S. James and M. Millett (eds.). (CBA Research Report 125) York: CBA.

- 2011. The ending(s) of Roman Britain, in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, H. Hamerow, D.A. Hinton and S. Crawford (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 13-29.

Everson, P., 1993. Pre-Viking settlement in Lindsey, in *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, A. Vince (ed.). (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 1) Lincoln: The City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit, 91-100.

- and Stocker, D., 1999. *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture. Volume V: Lincolnshire*. Oxford: The British Academy/Oxford University Press.

- and Stocker, D., 2011. *Custodians of Continuity? The Premonstratensian Abbey at Barlings and the Landscape of Ritual*. (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 11) Heckington: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

-, Taylor, C.C. and Dunn, C.J., 1991. *Change and Continuity*. London: HMSO.

Faden, W., 1797. *A Topographical Map of the County of Norfolk*. Digital redrawing by A. Macnair.

Fairweather, J. (trans.), 2005. *Liber Eliensis*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Faulkner, N., 2000. *The Decline and Fall of Roman Britain*. Stroud: Tempus.

FISH (Forum on Information Standards in Heritage), 2016. *Chronology*. http://heritage-standards.org.uk/chronology/ (Accessed 25/09/2016)

Fleming, F., 2016. *A Persistence of Place: A Study of Continuity and Regionality in the Roman and Early Medieval Rural Settlement Patterns of Norfolk, Kent and Somerset*. (BAR British Series 626) Oxford: BAR.

Foard, G., 1978. Systematic fieldwalking and the investigation of Saxon settlement in Northamptonshire. *World Archaeology* 9, 357-74.

Forbes, U.A. and Burmester, A.C., 1904. *Our Roman Highways*. London: Robinson.

Fowler, P., 2002. *Farming in the First Millennium AD*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Fulford, M.G., 2012. Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester, Hampshire, UK): an early medieval extinction, in *Urbes Extinctae. Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*, N. Christie and A. Augenti (eds.). Aldershot: Ashgate.

Funnell, B., 2005. Geological background, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 4-5.

Gairdner, J. (ed.), 1983. *The Paston Letters* (single volume reprint of the 1904 Library Edition). Gloucester: Alan Sutton.

Gerrard, C., 2009. The Society for Medieval Archaeology: The early years (1956-62), in *Reflections: 50 Years of Medieval Archaeology, 1957-2007*, R. Gilchrist and A. Reynolds (eds.). (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 30) Leeds: Maney, 23-45.

Going, C. and Plouviez, J., 2000. Roman, in *Research and Archaeology: A Framework for the Eastern Counties 2. Research Agenda and Strategy*, N. Brown and J. Glazebrook (eds.) (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Papers 8) Norwich: Scole Archaeological Committee, 19-22.

Gooder, E.A., 2002. South Witham and the Templars. The documentary evidence, in *Excavation at a Templar Preceptory. South Witham, Lincolnshire 1965-67*, P.

Mayes (ed.). (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 19) London: The Society for Medieval Archaeology, 80-95.

Goodier, A., 1984. The formation of boundaries in Anglo-Saxon England: a statistical study. *Medieval Archaeology* 28, 1-21.

Green, C. and Rahtz, P.A., 1959. Excavations of Ermine Street in Lincolnshire. *The Antiquaries Journal* 39, 77-86.

Green, F.M.L., 2014. Pollen and diatom analysis/sedimentology, in *Archaeological Excavation. New Footbridge, Caistor Roman Town, Caistor St Edmund*, H. Wallis. Unpublished report, 6-13.

Green, T., 2012. *Britons and Anglo-Saxons: Lincolnshire AD 400-650*. (Studies in the History of Lincolnshire 3) Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.

Guest, E., 1857. The four Roman road ways. *The Archaeological Journal* 14, 101-8.

Gurney, D., 1995. Small towns and villages of Roman Norfolk: the evidence of surface and metal-detector finds, in *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, A.E. Brown (ed.). (Oxbow Monograph 52) Oxford: Oxbow, 53-67.

- 2002. *Outposts of the Empire*. Norwich: Norfolk Archaeological Trust.

- 2005. *Roman Norfolk*, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 28-9.

Hall, D., 2014. *The Open Fields of England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- and Coles, J., 1994. *Fenland Survey*. (English Heritage Archaeological Report 1) Swindon: English Heritage.

Hallam, S.J., 1970. Settlement round the Wash, in *The Fenland in Roman Times*, C.W. Phillips (ed.). (RGS Research Series 5) London: The Royal Geographical Society, 22-113.

Hamerow, H., 1991. Settlement mobility and the 'Middle Saxon shift': rural settlement and settlement patterns in Anglo-Saxon England. *Anglo-Saxon England* 20, 1-17.

- 1993. *Excavations at Mucking*, *Volume 2: The Anglo-Saxon Settlement*. London: English Heritage.

Hardy, T.D., 1835. *A Description of the Patent Rolls in the Tower of London*. London: The Commissioners on the Public Records of the Kingdom.

Harper, C.G., 1922. *The Great North Road: London to York*. Second edition. London: Cecil Palmer.

Harrison, D., 2004. *The Bridges of Medieval England: Transport and Society 400 – 1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Harrison, S., 2003. The Icknield Way: some queries. *The Archaeological Journal* 160, 1-22.

- 2005. *A history of evolution and interaction: man, roads and the landscape to* c.*1850*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia.

Hart, C.R., 1966. *The Early Charters of Eastern England*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

HE.   See McClure and Collins (1999).

Hesse, M., 1992. Fields, tracks and boundaries in The Creakes, North Norfolk. *Norfolk Archaeology* 41, 305-24.

- 1998. Medieval field systems and land tenure in South Creake, Norfolk. *Norfolk Archaeology* 43, 79-97.

Haverfield, F., 1901. Romano-British Remains, in *The Victoria History of the County of Norfolk. Volume 1*, H.A. Doubleday (ed.). London: Constable, 279-323.

Higham. N.J., 1992. *Rome, Britain and the Anglo-Saxons*. London: Seaby.

1993. *The Kingdom of Northumbria AD 350-1100*. Stroud: Sutton.

Highways England, 2015. *Map of Highways England's motorways and A roads*. http://images.highways.gov.uk/wp-content/government-company/S140851_ underground_style-l.png (Accessed 18/05/15)

Hill, F., 1948. *Medieval Lincoln*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hills, C. and Lucy, S., 2013. *Spong Hill. Part IX: Chronology and Synthesis*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.

Hindle, (B.)P., 1993. *Roads, Tracks and their Interpretation*. London: Batsford.

- 1998a. *Maps for Historians*. Chichester: Phillimore.

- 1998b. *Medieval Roads and Tracks*. Third edition. (Shire Archaeology 26) Oxford: Shire.

Hingley, R. and Miles, D., 2002. The human impact on the landscape: agriculture, infrastructure, in *The Roman Era*, P. Salway (ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 141-72.

Hinton, D.A., 1997. The 'Scole-Dickleburgh field system' examined. *Landscape History* 19, 5-12.

Hodge, C.A.H., Burton, R.G.O., Corbett, W.M., Evans, R. and Seale, R.S., 1984. *Soils and their Uses in Eastern England*. (Soil Survey of England and Wales Bulletin 13). Harpenden: SSEW.

Hodges, R., 1982. *Dark-Age Economics*. London: Duckworth.

- 1989. *The Anglo-Saxon Achievement*. London: Duckworth.

Hodgkin, R.H., 1935. *A History of the Anglo-Saxons in England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hoggett, R., 2010a. *The Archaeology of the East Anglian Conversion*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

- 2010b. The early Christian landscape of East Anglia, in *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, N.J. Higham and M.J. Ryan (eds.) (Publications of The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 9) Woodbridge: Boydell, 193-210.

Hooke, D., 1998. *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Leicester University Press.

Hoskins, W.G., 1955. *The Making of the English Landscape.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Huggett, J.W., 1988. Imported grave goods and the early Anglo-Saxon economy. *Medieval Archaeology* 32, 63-96.

Jervoise, E., 1932. *The Ancient Bridges of Mid and Eastern England.* London: Architectural Press.

Johnston, D.E., 1979. *An Illustrated History of Roman Roads in Britain*. Bourne End: Spurbooks.

Jones, B. and Mattingly, D., 1990. *An Atlas of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Jones, D., 1998. Romano-British settlements in the Lincolnshire Wolds, in *Lincolnshire's Archaeology from the Air*, R.H. Bewley (ed.). (Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 11) Lincoln: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 69-80.

Jones, M.J., 2002. *Roman Lincoln*. Stroud: Tempus.

   - 2003. The colonia era (*c*.AD90-*c*.AD400). A: The archaeological account, in *The City by the Pool. Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln*, M.J. Jones, D. Stocker and A. Vince (eds.). (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 10) Oxford: Oxbow, 56-137.

Kain, R.J.P., Chapman, J.C. and Oliver, R.R., 2004. *The Enclosure Maps of England and Wales 1595-1918*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kain, R.J.P. and Oliver, R.R., 2001. *Historic Parishes of England and Wales: an Electronic Map of Boundaries before 1850 with a Gazetteer and Metadata*. Colchester: UK Data Archive, May 2001. SN: 4348, http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-4348-1 (Accessed 02/09/2014).

Kemble. J.M., 1849. *The Saxons in England*. London: Longman, Brown, Green & Longmans.

Kenny, E.J.A., 1933. A Roman bridge in the Fens. *The Geographical Journal* 82, 1-8.

Kerry, A.E., 1910. No.3282 – The Magpie Inn, Stonham. *East Anglian Miscellany*, 130.

Kershaw, A., 1998. The Lincolnshire National Mapping Programme Project, in *Lincolnshire's Archaeology from the Air*, R.H. Bewley (ed.). (Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 11) Lincoln: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 18-22.

Kinsley, A.G., 1989. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Millgate, Newark-on-Trent, Nottinghamshire*. (Nottingham Archaeological Monographs 2) Nottingham: University of Nottingham.

Knight, D., Vyner, B. and Allen, C., 2012. *East Midlands Heritage: An Updated Research Agenda and Strategy for the Historic Environment of the East Midlands*. (Nottingham Archaeological Monographs 6) Nottingham/York: University of Nottingham and York Archaeological Trust.

Knowles, A.K., 1977. The Roman settlement at Brampton, Norfolk: interim report. *Britannia* 8, 209-21.

Lane, T. and Morris, E.L., 2001. *A Millennium of Saltmaking: Prehistoric and Roman Salt Production in the Fenland*. (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 4) Heckington: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

LE.   See Fairweather (2005).

Leahy, K., 1993. The Anglo-Saxon settlement of Lindsey, in *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, A. Vince (ed.). (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 1) Lincoln: The City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit, 29-44.

- 2007a. *'Interrupting the Pots' The Excavation of Cleatham Anglo-Saxon Cemetery, North Lincolnshire*. (CBA Research Report 155) York: Council for British Archaeology.

- 2007b. *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey*. Stroud: Tempus.

Leatham, V., Culverhouse, J. and Till. E., 2000. *Burghley House*. Derby: English Life Publications.

Leeds, E.T., 1913. *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- 1936. *Early Anglo-Saxon Art and Archaeology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lewis, C., 2010. Exploring black holes: recent investigations in currently occupied rural settlements in eastern England, in *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-*

Saxon England, N.J. Higham and M.J. Ryan (eds.) (Publications of The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 9) Woodbridge: Boydell, 83-106.

- Mitchell-Fox, P. and Dyer, C., 2001. *Village, Hamlet and Field*. Macclesfield: Windgather.

Lewton-Brain, C.H., 1965. The Icknield Way. Its course from Narford and Narborough to Old Hunstanton. *Norfolk Archaeology* 33, 408-22.

Liddiard, R., 2000. *"Landscapes of Lordship" Norman Castles and the Countryside in Medieval Norfolk, 1066-1200*. (BAR British Series 309) Oxford: BAR.

Liddle, P., 1996. The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon Leicestershire, in *Anglo-Saxon Landscapes in the East Midlands*, J. Bourne (ed.). Leicester: Leicestershire County Council Museums, Arts and Records Service, 1-10.

Loveluck, C., 2007. *Rural Settlement, Lifestyles and Social Change in the Later First Millennium AD: Anglo-Saxon Flixborough in its wider context*. (Excavations at Flixborough 4) Oxford: Oxbow.

Lucy, S., 1998. *The Early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of East Yorkshire*. (BAR British Series 272) Oxford: BAR.

- 2000. *The Anglo-Saxon Way of Death*. Stroud: Sutton.

Macnair, A. and Williamson, T., 2010. *William Faden and Norfolk's 18th-Century Landscape*. Oxford: Windgather.

Malim, T. and Hayes, 2011. When is a 'Roman' road Roman? An Iron Age engineered road at Sharpstone Hill, Bayston, Shropshire. *PAST* 67, 3-5.

Malone, S., 2010. 'Rumours of Roman finds': Updating Roman Lincolnshire, in *Rumours of Roman Finds: Recent Work in Roman* Lincolnshire, S. Malone and M. Williams (eds.). Heckington: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire, 1-14.

Margary, H., 1987. *The Old Series Ordnance Survey Maps of England and Wales. Volume V: Lincolnshire, Rutland and East Anglia*. Lympne Castle: Margary.

Margary, I.D., 1948. *Roman Ways in the Weald*. London: Phoenix House.

- 1955. *Roman Roads in Britain. Volume I. South of the Foss Way – Bristol Channel*. London: Phoenix House.

- 1957. *Roman Roads in Britain: Volume II. North of the Foss Way – Bristol Channel*. London: Phoenix House.

- 1973. *Roman Roads in Britain*. Third edition. London: John Baker.

Martin, E. and Satchell, M., 2008. *Wheare most Inclosures be. East Anglian Fields: History, Morphology and Management*. (East Anglian Archaeology 124) Ipswich: Suffolk County Council.

Massingberd, W.O. (trans.), 1902. *Court Rolls of the Manor of Ingoldmells*. London: Spottiswoode.

Matthews, R., 2013. *The Battle of Losecoat Field 1470*. Epsom: Bretwalda.

Mayes, P. and Dean, M.J., 1976. *An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Baston, Lincolnshire*. (Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 3) Sleaford: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology.

McClure, J. and Collins, R. (eds.), 1999. *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Meaney, A., 1964. *A Gazetteer of Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Sites*. London: Allen and Unwin.

Mee, A., 1938. *The King's England: Nottinghamshire*. London: Hodder and Stoughton.

Medlycott, M., 2011. *Research and Archaeology Revisited: A Revised Framework for the East of England*. (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Paper 24). Gressenhall: ALGAO East.

Millea, N., 2007. *The Gough Map*. Oxford: The Bodleian Library.

Mingay, G.E., 1997. *Parliamentary Enclosure in England: An Introduction to its Causes, Incidence and Impact 1750-1850*. London: Longman.

Moir, E., 1964. *The Discovery of Britain: The English Tourists 1540-1840*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Morris, R., 1989. *Churches in the Landscape*. London: Dent.

- and Roxan, J., 1980. Churches on Roman buildings, in *Temples, Churches and Religion in Roman Britain*, W.J. Rodwell (ed.) (BAR British Series 77) Oxford: BAR, 175-209.

Myres, J.N.L., 1937. The present state of the archaeological evidence for the Anglo-Saxon conquest. *History* 21, 317-30.

Myres, J.N.L. and Green, B., 1973. *The Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries of Caistor-by-Norwich and Markshall, Norfolk*. (Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 30) London: The Society of Antiquaries.

Network Archaeology, 1999. *Candlesby to Trusthorpe Pipeline. Archaeological Watching Brief*. Unpublished Network Archaeology report.

Ogilby, J., 1675. *Britannia*. London.

Ohler, N. (C. Hillier trans.), 2010. *The Medieval Traveller*. New edition. Woodbridge: Boydell.

Oliver, R., 2006. Possible Roman roads from Caistor and a possible fort at Cleethorpes. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 41, 18-21.

Ordnance Survey, 1924. *Map of Roman Britain*. Southampton: Ordnance Survey.

Owen, A. and Coates, R., 2003. *Traiectus/Tric/*Skegness: a Domesday name explained. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 38, 42-4.

Owen, D.M., 1971. *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*. (History of Lincolnshire 5) Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.

Page, W., 1927. Notes on the types of English villages and their distribution. *Antiquity* 1:4, 447-68.

Pearson, A., 2002. *The Roman Shore Forts*. Stroud: Tempus.

Pelham, R.A., 1951. The provisioning of the Lincoln parliament of 1301. *The University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 3, 16-32.

Percival, J.W., 2009. *An Archaeological Evaluation at Caistor St Edmund Churchyard, Norfolk*. Unpublished report.

Pestell, T., 2004. *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia c.650-1200.* Woodbridge: Boydell.

Phillips, C.W., 1931. A new Roman road in South Lincolnshire. *Antiquity* 5, 355-9.

- 1932. The Roman ferry across the Wash. *Antiquity* 6, 342-8.

- 1934. The present state of archaeology in Lincolnshire. *The Archaeological Journal* 91, 97-187.

Piggott, S., 1986. William Stukeley: new facts and an old forgery. *Antiquity* 60, 115-22.

Poulter, J., 2009. *Surveying Roman Military Landscapes across Northern Britain.* (BAR British Series 492) Oxford: BAR.

- 2010. *The Planning of Roman Roads and Walls in Northern Britain.* Stroud: Amberley.

- 2014. *Further Discoveries about the Surveying and Planning of Roman Roads in Northern Britain.* (BAR British Series 598) Oxford. BAR.

Rackham, O., 1986. *The History of the Countryside.* London: Dent.

- 2005. Medieval woodland, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 54-5.

Reece, R., 1980. Town and country: the end of Roman Britain. *World Archaeology* 12:I, 77-92.

Reynolds, A., 2002. Burials, boundaries and charters in Anglo-Saxon England: a reassessment, in *Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, S. Lucy and A. Reynolds (eds.). (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 17) London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 171-94.

- 2011. Crime and punishment, in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, H. Hamerow, D.A. Hinton and S. Crawford (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press, 892-913.

- and Langlands, A., 2011. Travel as communication: a consideration of overland journeys in Anglo-Saxon England. *World Archaeology* 43:3, 410-27.

Richards, J.D., 1999. What's so special about 'productive' sites? Middle Saxon settlements in Northumbria. *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 10, 71-80.

Riley, D.N., 1980. *Early Landscape from the Air. Studies of Crop Marks in South Yorkshire and North Nottinghamshire*. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield.

Rippon, S., 2010. Landscape change in the 'long eighth century' in Southern England, in *The Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, N.J. Higham and M.J. Ryan (eds.) (Publications of The Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 9) Woodbridge: Boydell, 39-64.

-, Smart, C. and Pears, B. 2015. *The Fields of Britannia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rivet, A.L., 1969. Social and economic aspects, in *The Roman Villa in Britain*, A.L. Rivet (ed.) London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 173-216.

Roberts, B.K., 2002. Woods, fens and roads: where are the fens?, in *Through Wet and Dry. Essays in Honour of David Hall*, T. Lane and J. Coles (eds.) (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 5) Heckington: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

- and Wrathmell, S., 2000. *An Atlas of Rural Settlement in England*. London: English Heritage.

- and Wrathmell, S., 2002. *Region and Place: A Study of English Rural Settlement*. London: English Heritage.

Robertson, D. and Paterson, H., 2010. The Norfolk Monuments Management Project 1990-2010: twenty years conserving the county's rural historic environment. *Norfolk Archaeology* 46, 15-28.

Robinson, B., 2001. *The Nowhere Road*. Wicklewood: Elmstead.

Robinson, D., 1993. Natural regions, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 8-9.

Rodwell, W., 1978. Relict landscapes in Essex, in *Early Land Allotment*, H.C. Bowen and P.J. Fowler (eds.). (BAR British Series 48) Oxford: BAR, 89-98.

Roffe, D., 1986. The seventh-century monastery of Stow Green, Lincolnshire. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 21, 31-3.

- 1993. Medieval administration, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 38-9.

Rogerson, A., 1995a. *A Late Neolithic, Saxon and Medieval Site at Middle Harling, Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 74) Gressenhall: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service.

- 1995b. *Fransham: An Archaeological and Historical Study of a Parish on the Norfolk Bounder Clay*. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of East Anglia.

- 1996. Rural settlement *c.*400-1200, in *A Festival of Norfolk Archaeology*, S. Margeson, B. Ayers and S. Heywood (eds.). Norwich: Norfolk and Norwich Archaeological Society, 58-64.

- 2003. Six middle Anglo-Saxon sites in west Norfolk, in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (eds.). Macclesfield: Windgather, 110-22.

- 2005. Middle Saxon Norfolk, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 32-3.

-, Davison, A., Pritchard, D. and Silvester, R. 1997. *Barton Bendish and Caldecote: Fieldwork in South-West Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 80) Gressenhall: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service.

Russell, E. and Russell, R.C, 1982. *Landscape Changes in South Humberside*. Hull: Humberside Leisure Services.

- 1983. *Making New Landscapes in Lincolnshire*. Lincoln: Lincolnshire Recreational Services, Lincolnshire County Council.

- 1985. *Old and New Landscapes in the Horncastle Area*. (Lincolnshire History Series 7) Lincoln: Lincolnshire Recreational Services, Lincolnshire County Council.

- 1987. *Parliamentary Enclosure and New Lincolnshire Landscapes.* (Lincolnshire History Series 10) Lincoln: Lincolnshire County Council.

Russell, R. and Bennett, S., 1993. Parliamentary and older enclosure in Lincolnshire, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 82-3.

Rutledge, E., 2005. Medieval and later ports, trade and fishing up to 1600, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 78-9.

Rylatt, J., 2000. *Archaeological Watching Brief Report. Ermine Street, Navenby, Lincolnshire. Central Lincs Trunk Main Rehabilitation Phase 1.* Unpublished Pre-Construct Archaeology Report.

Savage, R. and Sleap, J., 2012. *Former Talbot Inn, 16 High Street, Caistor, Lincolnshire. Scheme of Archaeological Monitoring and Recording.* Unpublished Pre-Construct Archaeological Services report.

Sawyer, P., 1998. *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire.* (History of Lincolnshire 3) Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.

SCTSE. nd. *The Chapel of St Edmund King and Martyr, Spital in the Street, Lincolnshire.* Newark: The Spital Chantry Trust of St Edmund.

Silvester, R.J., 1991. *The Fenland Project Number 4: The Wissey Embayment and the Fen Causeway, Norfolk.* (East Anglian Archaeology 52) Gressenhall: Norfolk Archaeological Unit.

Simco, A., 1984. *Survey of Bedfordshire: The Roman Period.* Bedford: Bedfordshire County Council/RCHME.

Simmons, B.B. and Cope-Faulkner, P., 2004. *The Car Dyke. Past Work, Current State and Future Possibilities.* (Lincolnshire Archaeology and Heritage Reports Series 8) Heckington: Heritage Trust of Lincolnshire.

Sims, J., 2006. *Excavation at Scottow 2003 & 2005.* Unpublished NAHRG report.

Snee, J. and Palmer-Brown, C.P.H., 1999. *Archaeological Watching Brief Report. Coleby to Wellingore Pipeline Project, Lincolnshire*. Unpublished Pre-Construct Archaeology (Lincoln) report.

Southall, H.R. and Burton, N., 2004. *GIS of the Ancient Parishes of England and Wales, 1500-1850*. Colchester: UK Data Archive, March 2004. SN: 4828, http://dx.doi.org/10.5255/UKDA-SN-4828-1 (Accessed 02/09/2014).

SSEW, 1983. *Soils of Eastern England*. (Soil Survey of England and Wales Sheet 4). Harpenden / Southampton: SSEW / Ordnance Survey.

Stafford, P., 1985. *The East Midlands in the Early Middle Ages*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Stenton, F.M., 1936. The road system of medieval England. *Economic History Review* 7, 7-21.

- 1943. *Anglo-Saxon England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stocker, D., 1993. The early church in Lincolnshire: a study of the sites and their significance, in *Pre-Viking Lindsey*, A. Vince (ed.). (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 1) Lincoln: The City of Lincoln Archaeology Unit, 101-22.

- 2006. *The East Midlands*. London: Collins.

Stukeley, W., 1724. *Itinerarium Curiosum*. London.

1776. *Itinerarium Curiosum*. Second Edition. London: Baker and Leigh.

Swanton, M. (trans. and ed.), 1996. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. London: Dent.

Taylor, C., 1979. *Roads and Tracks of Britain*. London: Dent.

- 1983. *Village and Farmstead*. London: George Philip.

Taylor, G., 2003. Hall Farm, Baston, Lincolnshire: investigation of a late Saxon village and medieval manorial complex. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 38, 1-33.

The Grantham Journal, 1925. Opening out the Ermine Street. Section of old Roman road completed. 10th October, 8.

- 1930. Ermine Street. 9th August, 6.

Tilburg, C. van, 2007. *Traffic and Congestion in the Roman Empire*. London: Routledge.

Todd, M., 2004. The rediscovery of Roman Britain, in *A Companion to Roman Britain*. M. Todd (ed.). Oxford: Blackwell, 443-59.

Toop, N., 2004. Archaeological discoveries on the Silk Willoughby to Staythorpe gas pipeline. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 39, 16-9.

Trollope, E., 1872. *Sleaford and the Wapentakes of Flaxwell and Aswardhurn in the County of Lincoln*. Sleaford: Fawcett.

Turner, M., 2005. Parliamentary enclosure, in *An Historical Atlas of Norfolk*, T. Ashwin and A. Davison (eds.) Third edition. Chichester: Phillimore, 131-2.

Tweddle, D., Moulden, J. and Logan, E., 1999. *Anglian York: A Survey of the Evidence*. (The Archaeology of York 7/2) York: Council for British Archaeology.

Ulmschneider, K., 2000a. *Markets, Minsters, and Metal-Detectors: The Archaeology of Middle Saxon Lincolnshire and Hampshire Compared*. (BAR British Series 307) Oxford: Archaeopress.

- 2000b. Settlement, economy, and the 'productive' site: middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire AD 650-780. *Medieval Archaeology* 44, 53-79.

- and Pestell, T., 2003. Introduction: early medieval markets and 'productive' sites, in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (eds.). Macclesfield: Windgather, 1-10.

Viatores, 1964. *Roman Roads in the South-East Midlands*. London: Victor Gollancz.

Vince, A., 2003a. Lincoln in the early medieval era, between the 5th and 9th centuries. A: The archaeological account, in *The City by the Pool. Assessing the Archaeology of the City of Lincoln*, M.J. Jones, D. Stocker and A. Vince (eds.). (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 10) Oxford: Oxbow, 141-56.

- 2003b. The New Town: Lincoln in the high medieval era (*c*.900 to *c*.1350). A: Archaeological account, in *The City by the Pool. Assessing the Archaeology*

of the City of Lincoln, M.J. Jones, D. Stocker and A. Vince (eds.). (Lincoln Archaeological Studies 10) Oxford: Oxbow, 159-296.

- 2006. The Anglo-Saxon period (*c*.400-850), in *The Archaeology of the East Midlands: An Archaeological Resource Assessment and Research Agenda*, N.J. Cooper (ed.). (Leicester Archaeology Monographs 13) Leicester: University of Leicester Archaeological Services, 161-184.

Wade-Martins, P. 1977. A Roman road between Billingford and Toftrees. *East Anglian Archaeology* 5, 1-3.

- 1978. Excavation of a Roman road at Brisley. *East Anglian Archaeology* 8, 29-32.

- 1980. *Fieldwork and Excavations on Village Sites in the Launditch Hundred, Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 10) Gressenhall: Norfolk Museums Service.

Wallis, H., 2002. *Roman Routeways across the Fens: Excavations at Morton, Tilney St Lawrence, Nordelph and Downham West*. (East Anglian Archaeology Occasional Papers 10) Gressenhall: Archaeology and Environment, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.

- 2011. *Romano-British and Saxon Occupation at Billingford, Central Norfolk*. (East Anglian Archaeology 135) Gressenhall: Norfolk Archaeological Unit and Historic Environment, Norfolk Museums and Archaeology Service.

Walshaw, G.R. and Baker, F.T., 1937. Roman Ermine Street: recent evidence in North Lincolnshire. *The Lincolnshire Magazine* 3, 76-8.

Warner, P., 1987. *Greens, Commons and Clayland Colonization*. (Dept. of English Local History Occ. Pap. Fourth Series, 2). Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Warner, P., 2002. *The Daily Telegraph British Battlefields*. London: Cassell.

Watts, V., 2004. *The Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Webster, L.E., 1986. Anglo-Saxon England AD400-1100, in *Archaeology in Britain Since 1945*, I. Longworth and J. Cherry (eds.). London: British Museum Press, 119-60.

- and Cherry, J., 1977. Medieval Britain in 1976. *Medieval Archaeology* 21, 204-62.

Welch, M., 1985. Rural settlement patterns in the early and middle Anglo-Saxon periods. *Landscape History* 7, 13-25.

- 1992. *Anglo-Saxon England*. London: Batsford.

West, S., 1985. *West Stow: the Anglo-Saxon Village*. (East Anglian Archaeology 24) Ipswich: Suffolk County Planning Department.

Whatmore, L.E., 1973. *Highway to Walsingham*. Walsingham: Pilgrim Bureau.

Wheeler, R.E.M., 1929. Reviews: Map of Roman Britain. *Antiquity* 3, 126-7.

White, A.J., 1979. *Stow Green Fair*. (Lincolnshire Museums Information Sheet, Archaeology Series 16) Lincoln: Lincolnshire Museums.

- 1981. Horncastle, Anglo-Saxon burial. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 16, 71-2.

- 1988. Anglo-Saxon finds from three sites in Lincolnshire. *Lincolnshire History and Archaeology* 23, 87-8.

Whitwell, J.B., 1992. *Roman Lincolnshire*. Revised edition. (History of Lincolnshire 2) Lincoln: History of Lincolnshire Committee.

- 1995. Some Roman small towns in North Lincolnshire and South Humberside, in *Roman Small Towns in Eastern England and Beyond*, A.E. Brown (ed.) (Oxbow Monograph 52). Oxford: Oxbow Books, 95-102.

Whyte, N., 2003. The afterlife of barrows: prehistoric monuments in the Norfolk landscape. *Landscape History* 25, 5-16.

- 2009. *Inhabiting the Landscape: Place, Custom and Memory, 1500-1800*. Oxford: Windgather.

Williams, H., 1997. Ancient landscapes and the dead: the reuse of prehistoric and Roman monuments as early Anglo-Saxon burial sites. *Medieval Archaeology* 41, 1-32.

- 2002. Cemeteries as central places – place and identity in migration period eastern England, in *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods*, B. Hårdh and L. Larsson (eds.). Stockholm: Almkvist and Wiksell, 341-62.

Williamson, T., 1987. Early coaxial field systems on the East Anglian boulder clay. P*roceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 53, 419-31.

- 1993. *The Origins of Norfolk*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

- 1998. The 'Scole-Dickleburgh field system' revisited. *Landscape History* 20, 19-28.

- 2000. Understanding enclosure. *Landscapes* 1, 56-79.

- 2006. *East Anglia*. London: Collins.

- 2012. *Environment, Society and Landscape in Early Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell.

- 2014. The Franshams in context: isolated churches and common edge drift, in *Landscapes and Artefacts: Studies in East Anglian Archaeology Presented to Andrew Rogerson*, S. Ashley and A. Marsden (eds.). Oxford: Archaeopress, 167-79.

Willis, S., 2013. *The Roman Roadside Settlement and Multi-Period Ritual Complex at Nettleton and Rothwell, Lincolnshire*. (The Central Lincolnshire Wolds Research Project 1) Canterbury: Pre-Construct Archaeology and The University of Kent.

Wilson, D.R., 2000. *Air Photo Interpretation for Archaeologists*. Stroud: Tempus.

Winton, H., 1998. The cropmark evidence for prehistoric and Roman settlement in west Lincolnshire, in *Lincolnshire's Archaeology from the Air*, R.H. Bewley (ed.). (Occasional Papers in Lincolnshire History and Archaeology 11) Lincoln: The Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 47-68.

Wright, D.W., 2015. *'Middle Saxon' Settlement and Society*. Oxford; Archaeopress.

Wright, N., 1993. Turnpikes and stage coaches, in *An Historical Atlas of Lincolnshire*, S. Bennett and N. Bennett (eds.). Hull: University of Hull Press, 78-9.

Yelling, J.A., 1977. *Common Field and Enclosure in England 1450-1850*. London: Macmillan.

Unpublished Cartographic and Documentary Sources

Lincolnshire

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Ashby de la Launde	1789	Plan of the parish	John Smith	(LA) Ashby de la Launde PAR 23/1
Aslackby	1746	*A Book of Maps of part of the Lordship of Aslackby*	John Grundy	(LA) 3ANC 4/0
Barholm	15th C	Manuscript history of Barholm with description of boundaries and plan	-	(LA) LD/32/2/5/1
Bourne to Sleaford	19th C	Plan of the Bourne to Sleaford turnpike and Mareham Lane	-	(LA) KP/1/12
Caistor	nd	Plan of lands by the North Kelsey road	-	(LA) TENN 4/1
Colsterworth	17th C	Map of the manor of Colsterworth	-	(LA) 2TURNOR box 7
Driby	1766	*A Plan of the Manor of Driby in the County of Lincoln*	John Thistlewood	(LA) 1MM/4/20/4
Driby and Calceby	1803	*A Plan of the Manor and Lordship of Driby and Calceby*	John Bullivant	(LA) 1MM/15/3
Dunsby	1646	*A Topographicall discription and a brife relation of ye Mannor of Dunsby in the Countie of Lincolne*	Francis Allen	(LMA) ACC/1876/MP/04/014
Dunsby	1747	*A Map of the Lordship of Dunsby in the County of Lincoln*	John Grundy	(LMA) ACC/1876/MP/04/015
Folkingham	L18th C	Plan of the parish of Folkingham	-	(LA) SMITH 9/1/29

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Graby	1792	*A Map of the Estate of Sir Gilbert Heathcote Baronet in East and West Graby*	Edward Hare	(LA) 5ANC 5/B/1/1/1
Haconby	18th C	Plan of the parish of Haconby	-	(LA) 5ANC 5/B/1/3/3
Kirkby la Thorpe	?18th C	Plan of the parish of Kirkby la Thorpe	-	(LA) 3CRA 2/2/5Y
Kirkby Underwood	1792	*A Map of the Lordship of Kirkby*	Edward Hare	(LA) 5ANC 5/B/1/5/1
Morton	1768/9	*A Map of the Parish of Morton…copied in 1792*	Edward Hare	(LA) 5ANC 5/B/1/7/1
Newball	1735	*Map of the Manor and Lordship of Langwith and Newbell in the parish of Stainton*	-	(NUL) MA 2P/297
Orby	1790	*Map of the Copyhold Lands in Orby, Hogsthorpe, Winthorpe, Addlethorpe & Ingoldmells*	Thomas Stone	(LA) HIG/18/3/7
Orby	1790	*Map of an Estate the Property of Robert Manners esq. …in the parish of Orby*	Thomas Stone	(LA) TINN/2/3
Ruskington	1780	*A Plan of Ruskington Fields in the County of Lincoln*	-	(LA) KEST Award/64
New Sleaford	1794/5	*Plan of New Sleaford and Holdingham in the County of Lincoln*	William Taylor	(LA) KEST Award/67
South Ormsby	1648	Plan of lands in South Ormsby showing early enclosures	-	(LA) 1MM/6/6/2
South Ormsby	1716	*The Mannuor of South Ormesby in the County of Lincoln*	Thomas Roberts	(LA) 1MM/4/20/1
South Ormsby	?M18th C	*Ormsby Map*	-	(LA) 1MM/4/9/5
South Ormsby and Tetford	1803	*A Plan of Lands lying in the Parishes of South Ormesby and Tedford*	John Bullivant	(LA) 1MM/15/3

330

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Stamford	1875	*Inclosure Open Fields Meadows and Waste Lands in the Borough of Stamford*	Charles Bidwell	(LA) KEST Award/69
Tetford	1765	*An Act for inclosing and dividing the open common fields, meadows, pastures and common grounds in the manor and parish of Tetford, co Linc*	-	(LA) DIOC/LLDAP/1/36
Thurlby (North Kesteven)	1729	*Plan of Thurlby (modern transcription)*	William Arden	(LA) MISC DON 128
Waddington	c.1771	*A Plan of Waddington Lordship in the County of the City of Lincoln*	-	(LA) Waddington PAR 17/1
Wragby	1808	*Plan of Wire Hill … part in the parish of Wragby and part in the parish of Panton*	-	(LA) 3CRA 1/38

Norfolk

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Bexwell	1840	Plan of the Bexwell Hall Estate	-	(NRO) PRA 47/32
Billingford	1837	*Plan of an Estate situate in the Parishes of Billingford and Worthing*	-	(NRO) BR 276/1/351
Brooke	nd	Map of the parish of Brooke	-	(NRO) NRS 4054
Buxton with Lammas	nd	Map of the parish of Buxton	-	(NRO) MS 4519
Caistor St Edmund	1795	*A Draught of the Parish of Caistor*	-	(NRO) MC 113/5(a)
Castle Acre	1837	*Castle Acre Norfolk*	Pratt & Son	(NRO) BR 276/1/850

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Cawston	L16th C	Map of Alvington Field in Cawston and adjoining parts of Brandiston and Haveringland	?George Sawer	(NRO) MC 341/13, 706x4A
Cawston	c.1600	Map of the parishes of Cawston and Haveringland	William Bredon	(NRO) MS 4521
Colkirk	1617	Map of Colkirk manor	Thomas Waterman	(NRO) BL 46/1/1-2
Ditchingham	1615	Map of estate in Ditchingham, in the possession of Phillip Bedingfield, esq.	Thomas Waterman	(NRO) MC 1761/2
Ditchingham	1713	Copy of 1713 Plan of Ditchingham Hall Farm	-	(NRO) MC 166/203 632x5
Dunston	1852	Conveyance from R.K. Long to the Norwich and Scole Turnpike Trustees	-	(NRO) DUN(B)66, 496x7
East Lexham	M18th C	Plan of part of Lexham parish	-	(NRO) C/Ca 3/8
Eccles	1733	A Map of the Town and Mannor of Eccles in th County of Norfolk belonging to William Green Esq.	Nathaniel Bacon	(NRO) MC 168/4
Fincham	1736/73	Map of Fincham parish	-	(NRO) PD 351/26
Great Dunham	1797	Plan of the Parish of Great Dunham in the County of Norfolk	-	(NRO) PD 684/121
Hargham	1623-37	Map of the parish of Hargham of the inheritance of Sir John Hare, Kt.	-	(NRO) MC 168/1/1-2
Holkham	1590	Copy of 1590 map of Holkham	-	(NRO) BL 14/32
Holme next the Sea	1690	Field Book	-	(NRO) LEST EH8
Illington	1772	A Map of Illington Estate	Henry Keymer	(NRO) MC 247/2

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Intwood and Keswick	1729	*The Estate of the Rt Hon The Lord Hobart being the Parishes of Intwood, Keswick and Part of Swardiston (1834 copy)*	-	(NRO) NRS 21426
Kirstead	nd	*A Map of the Parish of Kirstead in the County of Norfolk*	-	(NRO) NRS 4121
North Elmham	1778	*A Plan of Elmham Park*	H.A. Biedermann	(NRO) MS 21126,179x4
Raynham Estate	1810/1	*Map of Estates in the County of Norfolk the property of …The Marquis Townshend*	J. Eagle	(NRO) BL 60
Ringstead	1690	*Field Book*	-	(NRO) LEST EH8
Scottow	1766	*A Survey of the North-West Side of the Parish of Scottow*	?James Osborn	(NRO) SCO 60, 112x1
Scottow	1766	*A Survey of the North Side of the Parish of Scottow*	James Osborn	(NRO) SCO 60, 112x1
Scottow	1766	*A Survey of the South-East Part of the Parish of Scottow*	James Osborn	(NRO) SCO 60, 112x1
Sculthorpe	1718	*Map of the estate of Joseph Alston Esq*	John Miller	(NRO) NRS 21388
Sculthorpe	1749	*Map of Cranmer near Fakenham in Norfolk*	John Aram	(NRO) MS 4522
Sculthorpe	1829	*Road Order*	-	(NRO) C/Sce2/14/7
Sedgeford	1631	*Map of Sedgeford parish*	?John Fisher	(NRO) LEST/OC 1
Sedgeford	1736	*An Exact Copy of Sir Nich. L'Strange's Maps of most of the Lands Lyeing in Sedgeford*	John Say	(NRO) CHC 11002
Shereford/Toftrees	16th C	*Map of lands lying east of the River Wensum at Southmill Farm, Shereford*	-	(NRO) BL 6/1
Smallburgh	1582	Plan of the parish of Smallburgh	John Darby	(BL) Maps Roll 527

Location	Date	Title or Description	Surveyor	(Archive) Reference
Southacre	1769	Map of the estate of Brigg Fountaine in Southacre, Castleacre, Newton and Sporle	Henry Reymer	(NRO) FX 266/1
Spixworth	1776	Road Order	-	(NRO) C/Sce2/1/11
Spixworth	1814	Road Order	-	(NRO) C/Sce2/4/16
Stradsett	1689	*A Mapp of Strdsett in wch all the Lands within the Perambulation are exactly Describd*	R. Nicholson	(Private Coll.)
Stradsett	1791	*The Manor and Parish of Stradsett in the County of Norfolk*	Wm. Walton	(Private Coll.)
Stradsett	1810	Map of the estate of Thomas Harvey in Crimplesham and Stradsett	-	(NRO) BL 47/3
Stradsett	1816	*A Map of the Estate at Stradsett...belonging to Thomas Philip Bagge Esq.*	-	(Private Coll.)
Threxton	1793	*A Map of the Lands in Threxton belonging to the Rt Hon Earl of Clermont*	C. Bell	(NRO) BAR 92
Toftrees	c.1583	Field Book	-	(NRO) BL/SY 1
Toftrees	?16C	Map of Lands at Shereford and Toftrees	-	(NRO) BL 6/1
Whitwell	17th C	Map of Hackford, Whitwell and Reepham	-	(NRO) AYL 414(b)
Whitwell	1771	Map of part of Whitwell parish	-	(NRO) PD 440/127/1

Appendices

Appendix 1: The Roman Roads of Lincolnshire

Ermine Street: Stamford to Winteringham

LHER Refs: 30719, 50574, 60638

NLHER Ref: MLS100

Margary Nos: 2c, 2d

Ermine Street, a major long-distance route that connected *Londinium* (London) and *Eboracum* (York), is undoubtedly the most significant Roman road in the Lincolnshire study area. Margary (1973, 224-9, 236-8) divided Ermine Street into four sections, the two most-northerly of which from *Durobrivae* (Water Newton) to *Lindum Colonia* (Lincoln) (2c), and Lincoln to Winteringham (2d), are relevant to this thesis.

The road-name Ermine Street, which is first recorded in the tenth century, refers to an Anglo-Saxon folk group called the *Earningas* (Watts 2004, 218). The *Earningas* are also referenced in the place-name Arrington in Cambridgeshire and it is likely that the name was first applied to this Roman road where it passes through that area. The earliest use of the name to describe the Roman road in Lincolnshire is unclear.

The Roman road passes through the historic county of Lincolnshire from Stamford in the south to Winteringham on the Humber Estuary in the north, a total distance of 120km. However, it does not remain entirely within the county for the whole of this distance as the route briefly exits Lincolnshire to pass through Rutland between Great Casterton and Thistleton. It enters the southern part of the Lincolnshire study area at Stamford where it crosses the River Welland and is partly followed by the line of the Great North Road out of the town. However it only remains in this part of the county for just over 3km until it passes into Rutland at the former Roman fort and settlement of Great Casterton. Ermine Street re-enters Lincolnshire at Castle Bytham and its course is followed by the A1 along the former Great North Road as far as Colsterworth. Northwards from Easton, where it passes through a Roman roadside settlement, it survives in use as the B6403 road.

At the Roman walled settlement of Ancaster, Ermine Street makes a slight realignment of its course to head almost due north across the Lincoln Heath and passes through a Roman roadside settlement at Navenby. It remains in use as roads and tracks for almost

all of its course to Lincoln, the most notable exception being where it is overlain by RAF Waddington airfield. To the south of Lincoln as far as Easton, Ermine Street is locally called the High Dyke, a reference to its surviving *agger*. The course of Ermine Street does not survive across South Common on the immediate approach to Lincoln, but is picked up by the modern High Street in the city and crosses the River Witham to pass through the walled area of the Roman Lincoln.

Ermine Street leaves Lincoln to the north through Newport Arch and continues almost due northwards as the modern A15 road. Just to the north of Lincoln Tillbridge Lane branches off from Ermine Street to the northwest and the course of the modern road briefly diverts away from Ermine Street where it is overlain by the runway of RAF Scampton. The road continues northwards and passes through Roman roadside settlements at Owmby by Spital and Hibaldstow to a former nucleated settlement on the Humber at Winteringham. The settlement at Winteringham provided a crossing point to the Roman fort and settlement at *Petuaria* (Brough) on the north bank of the Humber and a continuation of the route northwards to York. Margary considered the section of Ermine Street to the north of Lincoln to be, "one of the most magnificent [Roman roads] in the whole of Britain" (1973, 236) on account of its straightness and surviving *agger*.

As well as being the longest Roman road in the county, Ermine Street is also the best understood in terms of its construction. Complete and partial sections have been excavated across the road at several points along its length. In the south of the county a complete section was excavated across Ermine Street at Stamford in 1956 (Green and Rahtz 1959, 77-81). The *agger* comprised a limestone rubble foundation sealed by cemented flagstones and rammed limestone fragments. The upper surface of the road comprised broken limestone chippings but whether this was a Roman or later road surface is difficult to determine. The excavation also recorded the presence of one of the outer ditches that had previously been observed as cropmarks at this location but no evidence of metalling on the side lanes.

Several investigations have taken place further north on Ermine Street on the Lincoln Heath at Coleby. A section was excavated across the line of the Roman road where the modern track following its course deviated slightly to the east. This found that the *agger* comprised limestone rubble overlain by a layer of clay loam with small stones.

337

A rutted road surface made of limestone rubble was recorded but considered to be of post-Roman date (Chowne 1987). A second section across Ermine Street was recorded in a narrow water pipe trench 350m further south where it is crossed by Heath Road. This showed a similar profile with a weathered limestone base (interpreted by the excavator as natural), overlain by dark brown silt and a compacted limestone surface (Snee and Palmer-Brown 1999). A layer of limestone fragments interpreted as plough spread from the surface may actually be the remnants of a later road surface. Keyhole investigations during water main replacement at the Roman roadside settlement at Navenby a short distance further south recorded evidence for a possible road surface of non-local quartzite pebbles. This was apparently sealed by demolition rubble from the buildings of the Roman settlement but whether it actually represents the Roman road surface of Ermine Street is difficult to judge (Rylatt 2000).

To the north of Lincoln, four sections were excavated across Ermine Street at Scampton ahead of the runway extension at the airfield (Green and Rahtz 1959, 81-6). Here the *agger* comprised packed clay and broken limestone fragments. Part of the eastern side of the *agger* was made up of sandy soil although it is possible to reinterpret this as later accumulation or widening. No direct evidence of a Roman road surface was recorded and most of the upper layers were considered to be post-medieval in date. Observations further north have demonstrated that at Ingham the road was constructed on a rammed limestone foundation whereas at Appleby it was laid directly on natural sand. In both cases the make-up of the *agger* comprised flat limestone slabs and blocks cemented over time by what was probably limestone road-dust and natural sand. In both cases it appeared that the road had been paved with flat limestone slabs with stones set on edge at the roadside to form a kerb (Walshaw and Baker 1937). This excavated evidence accords well with the observations made by the seventeenth-century antiquary Abraham de la Pryme who recorded that in places in North Lincolnshire, Ermine Street was, "paved with great stones set edge-wise, very close to one another, in a strong cement or morter" (de la Pryme 1870, 210).

Tillbridge Lane: North Carlton to Marton

LHER Ref: 50575

Margary No: 28

Tillbridge Lane branches off from Ermine Street 5.5km to the north of the Lincoln. This branch road extends for a distance of 15.5km to the River Trent at Marton. From there, the route crossed the river to the Roman fort and settlement at *Segelocum* (Littleborough) and onwards to *Danum* (Doncaster), *Eboracum* (York) and the north of the province. The road survives in use as a road or track for almost its entire length even where is makes its eponymous crossing over the River Till. At its eastern end the modern road diverts slightly northwards as it ascends the Lincoln Cliff escarpment and approaches Ermine Street. However its course at this location is preserved as the axial road through the Lincolnshire Showground.

The Foss Way: Norton Disney to Lincoln

LHER Ref: 60943

Margary No: 5f

The Foss Way is one of the major Roman roads in Britain as evidenced by its inclusion within the medieval Four Highways story (see Chapter Two). Although it extends across the country from Axmouth to Lincoln for a total distance of 370km, only the final 17km of its route lie within the study area. Its name, sometimes also spelled *Fosse*, refers directly to the presence of the *agger* of the Roman road.

The road enters Lincolnshire at Norton Disney a short distance after passing through the Roman settlement of *Croccocalana* (Brough) in Nottinghamshire. Its route survives in use as a road for its entire course within Lincolnshire and up to the outskirts of Lincoln at North Hykeham exists as the A46 dual carriageway. It crosses the River Witham at Bracebridge on its way into Lincoln and joins with Ermine Street on the approach to the southern suburbs of Roman *Lindum Colonia*.

King Street: West Deeping to Ancaster

LHER Ref: 33097

Margary No: 26

The Roman road King Street enters south Lincolnshire at West Deeping where it crosses the floodplain of the River Welland having followed a northward course from *Durobrivae* (Water Newton). The name of the road, which refers to it being the King's highway, is first recorded in the sixteenth century, but it was at that time also known as *Stonystrette* (Cameron 1998, 74). King Street at West Deeping was described as being on, "th' ordinarie roade way from Lincolne to London" by Sir George Manners in 1621 (cited in Jervoise 1932, 67). It is possible that, in the early seventeenth century at least, Mareham Lane and King Street still formed part of the main route south from Lincoln linking up with the Great North Road near Wansford.

King Street survives in use as a road with only a minor deviation as far as Kate's Bridge where it crosses the River Glen. It then survives only intermittently in use as far the site of a Roman settlement at Bourne. At this point the road bifurcates with the accepted course of King Street turning slightly to the northwest towards Ancaster and the apparently more direct continuation of the route northwards forming Mareham Lane (see below). The western branch towards Ancaster was first identified by Phillips (1931) who considered it the most likely continuation of King Street with Mareham Lane being a Romanised 'prehistoric trackway'. Margary too considered that as the Bourne to Ancaster section was, "strictly aligned, it was evidently the more important road [compared to Mareham Lane,] designed to rejoin the main route of Ermine Street at Ancaster" (Margary 1973, 233). Whilst doubt can be cast over whether the Bourne to Ancaster section of this Roman road should really be called King Street, the accepted course of the road from West Deeping to Ancaster has, for convenience, been considered as a single road in this thesis. The road between Bourne and Ancaster survives only intermittently as a road and much of its route is recorded from cropmark evidence. This section of the road passes through a Roman roadside settlement at Sapperton.

The Baston Outgang Road

LHER Ref: 22343

Margary No: 261

The Baston Outgang Road is a side road that branches off King Street to the northeast at Baston. Its course can be traced for a total distance of 14.5km before being lost beneath post-Roman silt deposits. It leads directly towards Spalding where cropmark and excavated evidence indicate the presence of a Roman settlement. The first 5km of its route from King Street survive in use as roads and tracks, with the remainder recorded from cropmark evidence.

Mareham Lane: Bourne to Sleaford

LHER Ref: 64105, 64586

Margary No: 260

Mareham Lane Roman road extends from the Roman settlement at Bourne to that at Old Sleaford 26km to its north. It derives its name from Mareham Grange, a monastic grange of Sempringham Priory, which lies adjacent to its course at Burton Pedwardine. The route of Mareham Lane north from Bourne follows the fen-edge and only intermittently survives in use on its original course. However the route between Bourne and Sleaford is largely preserved through a series of deviations by the modern road which follows it. At its northern end the Roman road splits into two with one line continuing almost due northwards towards the River Slea. This may have stopped at a wharf on the river or crossed it to form the main route north as Bloxholm Lane. The western branch of the road appears to have led away from the main line into the settlement at Old Sleaford where it appears to have crossed the river in the vicinity of Hoplands Bridge.

Archaeological investigation of the line of Mareham Lane at Silk Willoughby as part of a gas pipeline project in 2001 revealed one of the best-preserved sections of Roman road surface recorded in the county. A roughly 3.5m square area of the road surface survived in a natural hollow where it had become buried beneath alluvium and protected from later plough damage. The road surface was constructed of limestone slabs set on edge with larger edge-set blocks and flat slabs of limestone forming kerbs

(Figure 7). No *agger* was present and the road surface appeared to have been laid directly on the natural subsoil. The Roman road lay slightly to the west of the modern course of Mareham Lane at this location (Toop 2004).

Bloxholm Lane: Sleaford to Lincoln

LHER Ref: 60813

Margary No: 260

The presence of a Roman road to the north of Sleaford is confirmed by clear cropmark evidence across Leasingham Moor and to the north of Ruskington (Winton 1998, Fig.11). The road makes a sharp change of direction towards the northwest at Moor Farm in Ruskington. The projected course of the road leads straight towards Bloxholm but there is little physical evidence to confirm its existence until its line is picked up by Bloxholm Lane on Metheringham Heath. From this point Bloxholm Lane exists as a minor road across the Lincoln Heath to Bracebridge Heath. The southern destination of the surviving road *Bloxholm Lane* in the modern landscape is actually Scopwick village and it does not lead to Bloxholm at all. However, the fact that it is called *Bloxholm Lane* suggests that this road leading south from Lincoln did so in the medieval period and supports its association with the Roman road leading northwards towards Bloxholm from Ruskington.

The Saltersway: Hungerton to Ropsley

LHER Ref: 65035

Margary Nos: 58a, 58b

The Saltersway is one of the few broadly west to east aligned Roman roads in Lincolnshire. Its course can be traced for nearly 16km in the county but is actually likely to be much longer. Its name suggests this road was used for the transportation of salt being produced on the Wash coast in the medieval period into the Midlands – a function which it may well have served since the Roman period if not earlier. The road has been mapped for this thesis as starting where its course meets King Street between Bourne and Ancaster. Although it is likely to have continued much further eastwards beyond Mareham Lane, no firm evidence for its exact route is forthcoming.

Part of its course at Ropsley and Old Somersby survives as a modern road after which it can be traced from cropmark evidence towards the River Witham. The road crossed the river at the Roman settlement of *Causennis* (Saltersford). To the west of the Witham the course of Saltersway is marked by the line of tracks and parish boundaries as far as Harlaxton after which it is intermittently followed by a minor road out of the county into Leicestershire.

The Road from Caistor to North Kelsey
LHER Ref: 53545
Margary No: 271

A short section of Roman road has been recorded extending due west from the Roman nucleated settlement at Caistor in the Lincolnshire Wolds towards the River Ancholme at North Kelsey. This road, which is only 7.5km in length, survives in use as a minor modern road for almost its entire length. Roman Caistor was not served by any long-distance straight Roman roads, only an unimproved routeway, and the presence of this short road is something of an anomaly.

Its existence as a Roman road was first suggested by Phillips (1934, 115) and included by Margary 1973, 240-1). It has been suggested by the Russells that it actually dates from the parliamentary enclosures of Caistor Moor and North Kelsey in 1811-14 and 1813-1840 respectively (1987, 63, 125). However the Russells' argument (cited in Whitwell 1992, 54) that the road must be nineteenth century because it makes a right-angled bend to avoid the House of Correction at Caistor doesn't bear scrutiny and a Roman date is much more likely. Although the course of this road has in the past been projected westwards to join Ermine Street at the roadside settlement at Hibaldstow there is no evidence to support its continuation to the west of the River Ancholme. It is more plausible that it led to a wharf on the east bank of the Ancholme at North Kelsey.

The Road from Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh

LHER Ref: 50580, 51242, 40319, 42674, 42613, 46519, 42033, 42062, 42944

Margary No: 27

With a total length of 58km, the Roman road from Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh is one of the longest routes in Lincolnshire to be considered in this thesis. Unlike most of the other routes in the county it does not follow a direct line between its start and finish points but comprises three straight sections. The road leaves the east gate of the 'upper city' at *Lindum Colonia* and heads northeastwards for a distance of 15.5km. It survives in use as the modern A158 road for almost the entirety of this section as far as Langworth.

At the end of this first section of the road, the course included in this thesis turns towards the east across the southern part of the Lincolnshire Wolds. However, a continuation of the alignment from Lincoln has in the past been proposed heading across the central part of the Wolds through a Roman settlement at Ludford and on towards the coast (Margary 1973, 241). However, as discussed in Appendix Three, this suggested continuation of the route has not been included within this thesis. The central section of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road included here, survives only intermittently as roads and tracks and much of its course has been mapped from cropmark evidence.

At Ulceby Cross the road enters a Roman settlement which forms the junction with Romanised trackways leading northwards along the Wolds. The continuation of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh route requires a significant change of direction to the southeast at this settlement. The final section of this road exists as surviving roads and field boundaries. The sections that remain in use share the name Bluestone Heath Road with an unimproved routeway that extends to the north of Ulceby Cross (see below). It is likely that the final section of this Roman road to Burgh le Marsh represents the formalisation and improvement of a pre-Roman routeway. A section across this part of the Roman road was excavated where it was crossed by a gas pipeline at Welton le Marsh. A crushed chalk layer that probably formed either the foundation or surface of the Roman road was recorded beneath the tarmac of a modern farm track (Network Archaeology 1999).

A Roman settlement is known to have existed at the end of this road at Burgh le Marsh on the northern edge of the Wash estuary. However, there is evidence to indicate that this road connected with a ferry crossing over the Wash to Norfolk, linking the two parts of the study area (see Appendix Four).

Unimproved Routeways in Lincolnshire

The 'Jurassic Way' / Middle Street / Pottergate: Ancaster to Winteringham
LHER Ref: 65134
NLHER Ref: -
Margary No: -

The so-called 'Jurassic Way' follows the edge of the Lincoln Cliff escarpment in the western part of the county. The name is a twentieth-century invention coined by archaeologists when a prehistoric route along the Jurassic limestone edge was first proposed. In the medieval and post-medieval period this route was locally called Pottergate to the south of Lincoln and Middle Street to the north. The latter name reflects its position between the 'low road' connecting the medieval villages at the foot of the escarpment to its west, and Ermine Street to its east. Middle Street is considered to be a more appropriate name than the Jurassic Way and is used in this thesis when this unimproved routeway is referred to.

The routeway extends from the Roman walled settlement at Ancaster through Lincoln to the settlement at Winteringham on the River Humber. Except for the Iron Age to Roman site at Dragonby close to the northern end of its course Middle Street does not pass through many identifiable Roman settlements.

Caistor High Street: Horncastle to South Ferriby
LHER Ref: 49055
NLHER Ref: MLS15493
Margary No: 270

The Caistor High Street unimproved routeway extends along the western edge of the Wolds and connects the Roman settlements at Horncastle and Caistor with the River

Humber at South Ferriby. Horncastle and Caistor were sufficiently important to receive walled defences in the mid to late Roman period but, with the exception of a short road leading west from Caistor, they were not served by a major engineered Roman road and seem to have principally been served by Caistor High Street. This unimproved routeway is unusual in that it is possible to demonstrate its actual course and use during the Roman period at one point on its route. The position of Roman strip-buildings recorded during excavations at the Nettleton roadside settlement demonstrated that the modern course of the road overlay its Roman predecessor at this location (Willis 2013, 371).

Barton Street: Ulceby Cross to Barton on Humber
LHER Ref: -
NLHER Ref: MLS15492
Margary No: -

Mirroring the position of Caistor High Street along the eastern side of the Wolds is the Barton Street unimproved routeway. Its course is less well-defined but it is generally considered to start at the Roman settlement at Ulceby Cross at the southern end of the Wolds and extends to Barton on Humber. Its route passes through, or slightly to the east of, the Roman settlement at Kirmington.

The Bluestone Heath Road: Ulceby Cross to ?Ludford
LHER Ref: 43702
Margary No: -

The Bluestone Heath Road is a short section of unimproved routeway in the southern part of the Wolds. This route extends from Ulceby Cross up onto the ridge along the highest part of the Wolds at least as far as Welton le Wold and may have continued to a Roman settlement at Ludford. As already mentioned the surviving sections of the Roman road between Ulceby Cross and Burgh le Marsh are also referred to by the name Bluestone Heath Road and it is likely that it originally formed part of the same overall route.

Appendix 2: The Roman Roads of Norfolk

The Pye Road: Scole to Caistor St Edmund

NHER Ref: 7947

Margary No: 3d

The Pye Road forms the northern part of a route from *Londinium* (London) to *Venta Icenorum* (Caistor St Edmund). Margary (1973) gave the whole of this route a single road number but divided it into four sections; London to Chelmsford (3a), Chelmsford to Colchester (3b), Colchester to Baylham (3c) and Baylham to Caistor St Edmund (3d). It is only part of the final section of the route that is of relevance to this thesis. The road-name most likely refers to the Magpie Inn, a fifteenth-century coaching inn located on the road at Little Stonham in Suffolk. The inn was referred to as '*the Pie*' as early as 1481 when it was bequeathed in trust for repairing the highways of the parish (Kerry 1910).

The Pye Inn is depicted on Ogilby's 1675 strip map of the route from Ipswich to Norwich and the accompanying description of the route refers to the Pye Road by name (Ogilby 1675, 147; pl.74). He states that the traveller would, "come into that Part of the Way known by the Name of the *Pye Road*" at a point some nine miles north of Ipswich, several miles after the route joins the line of the Roman road. However, after crossing a brook to the north of Thwaite Street, just over seventeen miles north of Ipswich, he notes that, "you take Leave of your *Pye Road* and dirty Way". Although the accompanying strip map shows several kinks in the road at Stoke Ash there is no convincing evidence to suggest that the principal route diverted from the surviving line of the Roman road. This would imply that only this eight mile section of the route was known as the Pye Road in the late seventeenth century and it was later that the term came to be used for the whole of the Ipswich to Norwich road.

The Roman road enters Norfolk at Scole where a Roman settlement (probably *Villa Faustini*) existed at the crossing point of the River Waveney (Ashwin and Tester 2014). From there it runs northwards in a series of long straight sections and passes through the site of a Roman roadside settlement at Long Stratton. It makes a slight realignment at Saxlingham Thorpe to enable it to cross the valley of the River Tas at

a less-oblique angle. The road can be traced as far as a point on the west bank of the River Tas directly opposite the west gate of the walled circuit of *Venta Icenorum*. Apart from at its northern end as it approaches the Roman settlement, the route of the Pye Road survives almost entirely in use as the A140 road in the modern landscape.

Notes in the NHER record that a cobbled surface was observed at a depth of *c*.0.3m beneath the modern road surface at Dickleburgh in the 1950s but it is unclear if this was the Roman road surface.

Stone Street: Ditchingham to Caistor St Edmund
NHER Refs: 10636, 30288, 52298, 53216, 53218
Margary No: 36

A second Roman road also existed between the River Waveney and *Venta Icenorum*. This road, the southern part of which is known as Stone Street, runs northwards from Halesworth in Suffolk and crosses the river at Wainford in Ditchingham parish. For the first 6km into Norfolk, this Roman road follows a southeast to northwest alignment running broadly parallel to Broome Beck. At Woodton the road turns almost due north crossing this watercourse before making further realignments at Kirstead Green and Brooke. Up to this point Stone Street is largely followed by modern roads. From Brooke to the southeast corner of the walled circuit of *Venta Icenorum*, a distance of nearly 8km, the route of this Roman road is recorded mainly from cropmark evidence.

The Road from Caistor St Edmund to Crownthorpe and beyond
NHER Refs: 19725, 52024, 52026, 52027
Margary No: -

The third main Roman road leading from *Venta Icenorum* extended in an almost due west direction towards the Roman settlement at Crownthorpe. This road can be traced from the banks of the River Tas opposite the west gate of *Venta Icenorum* where it forms a junction with the Pye Road approaching from the south and the road leading northwest towards Keswick (see below). Very little of this Roman road remains extant in the modern landscape and its course has largely been mapped from cropmark

evidence. To the west of the settlement at Crownthorpe, the continuation of the road can only be traced for a very short distance as a cropmark. It has previously been suggested that this road connected with the Roman road leading eastwards from Saham Toney to form an east-west route across mid-Norfolk (e.g. Gurney 2005). Whilst this is possible there is no supporting evidence for the central section of this proposed route.

The Road from Caistor St Edmund to Keswick

NHER Ref: 9762

Margary No: -

A possible Roman road has been recorded leading to the northwest from *Venta Icenorum*. Although its course can only be identified for just under 3km this road is worthy of inclusion within this thesis. At its southeast end it forms a junction with the Pye Road and the road heading west towards Crownthorpe near the west gate of *Venta Icenorum*. This eastern part of its course has been mapped from cropmark evidence, but for most of its recorded length it exists in the modern landscape as Low Road in Keswick. However, its course cannot be traced any further to the northwest than an unnamed tributary of the River Yare between Keswick and Cringleford and its original destination is unclear.

The Road Northeast from Caistor St Edmund

NHER Ref: 52272

Margary No: 360

A very short section of Roman road has been recorded leading to the northeast of *Venta Icenorum*. Although this road can only be traced for less than a kilometre it can be confidently identified as being of Roman origin as its course has been excavated within the Roman town (Bowden 2012, 33). Its course can only be traced as far as it is followed by a modern road and its original destination is unclear. It is possible that it connected with the River Yare, perhaps at a crossing point to meet the Brampton to Thorpe St Andrew road.

The Road from Gasthorpe to Hargham

NHER Ref: 6116

Margary No: 331

A road leading northeastwards from the Roman town at Ixworth in Suffolk crosses the Little Ouse River and enters the study area at Gasthorpe. For almost 5km, as far as East Harling, its course is followed by a minor modern road. After a gap its course is picked up again by a minor road across Eccles Heath and as an earthwork through the grounds of Hargham Hall. This road has in the past been extrapolated towards the Roman settlement at Crownthorpe (Gurney 2005) but there is no firm evidence for its continuation beyond Hargham and its actual destination is uncertain.

Peddars Way: Riddlesworth to Holme-next-the-Sea

NHER Ref: 1289

Margary No: 33b

Peddars Way is without question the best-known Roman road in Norfolk. Its fame stems largely from the completeness of its survival and its adoption in the late twentieth century as part of a long-distance recreational footpath. Its name is considered most-likely to derive from the Middle English *peddere* meaning pedlar and it was first recorded in the medieval period (Watts 2004, 464). The road starts in Suffolk where it branches off from the Ixworth to Hargham road at Stanton Chare. It extends for a total distance of 67km in Norfolk making it the county's longest Roman road. Peddars Way enters Norfolk at Riddlesworth where it crosses the Little Ouse River, but the exact crossing point and the course of the road on the Suffolk side of the river are uncertain.

After a short distance in Norfolk, Peddars Way crosses the River Thet where it passes through the site of the Roman settlement at Brettenham. It continues northwards as a track and after crossing a small tributary of the Thet at Stonebridge it exists as a minor road as far as Galley Hill where it changes direction to the northwest. The road then becomes a track once again as far as Merton after which it is no longer visible in the modern landscape for nearly 5 km. Along much of its course through Breckland well-

preserved earthwork remains of the *agger* survive immediately alongside the modern track of Peddars Way.

To the north of Merton, Peddars Way crosses the Blackwater River at Threxton and enters the Roman settlement at Saham Toney. Here it forms a junction with a Roman road to the east and, to the south of the Blackwater, a minor Roman road leading to the southwest. Its course to the northwest continues to be marked by intermittent field boundaries and traced from cropmark evidence as far a North Pickenham where the Walsingham Way road branches off to the north. It then survives as a road and track for a distance of 4km along the Swaffham parish boundary followed by a further gap until after it crosses the River Nar at Castle Acre.

At Castle Acre the course of Peddars Way lies between the boundary of the castle and the medieval planned town. To the north of Castle Acre the Roman road survives almost continuously in use as roads and tracks as far as far as Ringstead, a distance of 27km, with only a few later deviations from its straight course. To the north of Ringstead, the course of Peddars Way has never been satisfactorily identified. It has usually, as here, been extrapolated in a straight line towards the coast at Holme-next-the-Sea where there is evidence of a Roman settlement lying beside a now silted-up channel. If the purpose of the road was to connect with a ferry crossing across the Wash as already discussed, this location would seem to be the most logical destination for the road. It is likely that this channel was also the location of the harbour of Holme and Hunstanton referred to in medieval documents (Lewton-Brain 1965, 408-9).

Given the prominence of Peddars Way it is surprising that only a few sections of the road have been excavated. Two sections have been recorded across the road at Brettenham and Shadwell in the south of the county close to the River Thet crossing. At that point the *agger* was found to comprise chalky boulder clay (Clarke 1936b, 131). Notes in the NHER show that observation during the construction of Swaffham bypass revealed a layer of gravel beneath the modern track along the course of the Roman road. At Castle Acre layers of flint and gravel were observed beneath the modern road surface but the scale of the investigation was too limited to provide much clear information about the construction of the road.

The Road from Saham Toney to Hingham

NHER Ref: 8786

Margary No: -

This road extends almost due east from the Roman settlement at Saham Toney. The first section of its route out of the settlement no longer survives in the modern landscape, but to the east of a tributary of the River Wissey its course is picked up by the main street through the medieval market town of Watton. To the east of Watton the road survives partly in use and is elsewhere recorded from cropmark evidence. Its course runs directly past Scoulton church and the southern edge of Scoulton Mere. As mentioned above it has been suggested that this road links up with the road leading west from the Roman settlement at Crownthorpe but there is no evidence to confirm this. However, it is worth noting that the projected course of both of these roads leads towards Sea Mere at Hingham. It is not outside of the realms of possibility that the mere held some religious significance and was in itself the destination of the roads from the Roman settlements at Saham Toney and Crownthorpe.

The Road from Saham Toney to Stanford

NHER Ref: 5072

Margary No: -

A short section of Roman road has been recorded to the southwest of the settlement at Saham Toney. This road can be traced for a distance of 5km and its identification as a Roman road hinges largely on its existence as a minor road in the modern landscape leading straight towards the Roman settlement. Its destination is uncertain, but it is possible to speculate that it may have connected with the Icknield Way if that route passed through this part of the county.

The Walsingham Way: North Pickenham to Toftrees

NHER Ref: 3697

Margary No: -

The Walsingham Way Roman road branches off Peddars Way at North Pickenham and leads northwards to the Roman settlement at Toftrees over a distance of 20km. The name of the road derives from its use as part of the pilgrimage route to Walsingham in the medieval period. Only the northern end of this route remains in use as a road where its course is followed by the A1065 Swaffham to Fakenham road. Although the line of the Walsingham Way road is represented by field boundaries along some of its route much of its course has no surviving form in the modern landscape. Although the road follows an almost straight course, its alignment means that it leads slightly to the west of Toftrees requiring it to make a sharp eastward turn as it approaches the Roman settlement.

The Road from Toftrees to Holkham

NHER Ref: 1791

Margary No: 39

This Roman road extends northwards from the Roman settlement at Toftrees in a direct line towards the coast for a total distance of nearly 19km. The course of the road is lost as it passes through the valley of the River Wensum and the former Cranmer Park at Sculthorpe. To the north of Cranmer Hall the road mostly survives in use as a road and track. At its northern end this Roman road forms the western boundary of Holkham Park. It is likely that it led to a now silted-up harbour which would have lain sheltered behind a sand spit on the coast. However, the road leads almost directly to Holkham Camp, an Iron Age earthwork enclosure within the coastal marshes (Clarke 1936a). Little is known about this site and its continued significance into the Roman period, and it could have formed the principal destination of the Roman road from Toftrees.

The Road from Toftrees to Billingford

NHER Ref: 11358

Margary No: -

A further road from Toftrees links it with the Roman settlement at Billingford which lies on the River Wensum 13km to its southeast (Wade-Martins 1977). Very little of this road survives in the modern landscape and much of its course has been mapped from cropmark or soilmark evidence. This is, however, one of the few Roman roads in Norfolk to have had a full section excavated across it. Investigations on Brisley Common, where the *agger* survives as a low earthwork, found that the road consisted of only a spread of flint gravel resting directly on natural clay (Wade-Martins 1978).

The Road from Billingford to Brampton

NHER Ref: 2796

Margary No: 38

To the east of Billingford a well-evidenced Roman road extends for a distance of 22km to the Roman settlement at Brampton. At its western end the road survives in use as a road as far as Bawdeswell and then as a track for a further short distance. After another short isolated section of modern road at Whitwell its course to Brampton is recorded only from cropmark and earthwork evidence. A section of the *agger* survives as a prominent earthwork within forestry plantations on Marsham Heath (Robertson and Paterson 2010, 17-8). Notes in the NHER record that an excavation of part of this road at Whitwell revealed a cambered surface of flints apparently constructed over a wooden foundation. However, the small scale of the investigation means that the results are inconclusive.

This road has formerly been seen as part of a long-distance route extending from the Fen Causeway, across central Norfolk to Brampton and onwards to Smallburgh (Margary 1973, 271-3). However, as will be discussed in Appendix Three below the central part of this trans-Norfolk route, lying to the west of Billingford, is of doubtful Roman origin and has not been included in this thesis.

The Road from Brampton to Smallburgh

NHER Ref: 2796

Margary No: 38

The road leading eastwards from Brampton to Smallburgh, a distance of nearly 11km, can be positively identified as a Roman road. However, whether it should be seen as a direct continuation of the road that approaches Brampton from the west as suggested by Margary (*ibid*.) is debatable. As the road exits the Roman settlement at Brampton its course can only be traced from cropmark evidence as far as the River Bure. To the east of the river its course through Scottow can be identified on historic maps and it then becomes an extant minor road through Anchor Street to Smallburgh. Margary suggested that this road may have continued beyond Smallburgh to the fort at Caister on Sea or a port now lost to coastal erosion (1973, 271). However, there is still no evidence for its continuation and it is much more likely that it led to a wharf on the River Ant at Smallburgh or Dilham. Although the settlement at Brampton was located directly on the River Bure, its navigability to that point is uncertain. It is possible that the road between Brampton and Smallburgh was constructed specifically to link the settlement and its pottery industry directly with the riverine and maritime communication network.

An archaeological investigation of this road at Scottow found that it comprised layers of hard-packed clay and pebbles above and below a layer of larger flints. No evidence of a surviving road surface was observed (Sims 2006).

The Road from Brampton to Thorpe St Andrew

NHER Ref: 7598

Margary No: -

A Roman road can be traced southwards from the Roman settlement at Brampton for a distance of at least 10km. To the south of Brampton, its course is intermittently followed by minor roads in the modern landscape as far as Spixworth where it is overlain by the former park of Spixworth Hall. To the south its continuation is recorded only from cropmark evidence before being lost beneath the Norwich suburb of Sprowston. From there its projected course takes it to Thorpe St Andrew where

Roman artefacts have been recorded over a wide area and it is likely that a settlement and port existed on the River Yare. The line of the road has previously been recorded in the HER as following Thunder Lane in Thorpe St Andrew but this appears to be incorrect. The suggested port at Thorpe St Andrew means that Brampton would have been connected by road to the river network at two separate locations. However, the chronological phasing of the roads that connected Brampton to the Ant at Smallburgh and the Yare at Thorpe St Andrew is unclear and they may not both have been in operation for the distribution of the its pottery products at the same time.

The Fen Causeway: Nordelph to Denver
NHER Ref: 2796
Margary No: 25

The Fen Causeway comprises a series of roads and a canal which traverse the Fenland region between Roman settlements at Castor near Peterborough in the west, and at Denver in Norfolk in the east. The route was first observed in the seventeenth century by Dugdale (Hall & Coles 1994, 107). It has been the subject of a number of investigations along its length, particularly as part of the Fenland Survey, and has been shown to have a complex, multi-phase history (for a synthesis see Hall & Coles 1994, 107-8). In Norfolk the Fen Causeway comprises three elements: a canal and two roads, which, for the most part, follow separate northern and southern courses. Detailed descriptions of the Norfolk section of the route have been published elsewhere (Silvester 1991, 103-6; Wallis 2002, 13-28) and only a summary will be included here. The line of the northern road consists of a series of short straight sections and followed an existing roddon for at least part of its course through Nordelph and Upwell parishes in Norfolk. Its course is lost beneath later flood silts in Upwell parish and cannot be traced all the way west to the county boundary.

The second significant phase in the development of the route in Norfolk was the construction of the canal. At Downham West this was located immediately adjacent to the northern edge of the existing road. The proximity of the two features was such that the southern bank of the canal overlaid the surface of the road resulting in it subsequently being widened. For the majority of its length in Norfolk the canal mirrors the route of the northern road following a course between 50m and 150m to its south.

It is clear from the resurfacing of the road that it remained in use after the canal had been constructed. However, the fact that the earliest phase of the road identified in the Downham West excavation, which lay to the south of the canal, has further west been equated with the northern road (i.e. to the north of the canal) presents a problem. It is quite clear that for this to be the case the canal must at some point have cut across the line of the existing road. Whilst seemingly obvious, this point does not appear to have been addressed in the existing literature relating to the Fen Causeway. The evidence for the course of the northern road and the canal indicate that they are likely to have crossed just to the east of Birchfield Farm at Nordelph and a bridge is likely to have been present at this location[58].

It is not known for how long the canal remained in use, but at some point during the Roman period it appears to have become completely silted up. The road remained in use, and at Downham West the excavations showed that at that location it continued to be resurfaced on its original line. The upper levels of the road at Downham West have been equated with the route identified as the southern road further to the west. The southern road follows a sinuous route along the edge of the roddon against which the canal was constructed, and parts of its route overlie the silted-up canal. It is probable that the southern road developed because it was no longer feasible to maintain or repair the northern road and this may well have been the result of increased flooding. As the northern road disappears beneath later silt deposits at Upwell this seems a plausible explanation. Presumably some time must have elapsed after the canal silted up before the channel provided a firm enough base for the southern road to be constructed on top of it. As there is no evidence for the overall route being out of use for a prolonged period it would seem that the canal must also have ceased to function significantly before the northern road stopped being used.

---

[58] This does not seem to be same as the bridge which was excavated on the line of the road slightly further to the east in the 1930s (Kenny 1933).

The Road from Denver to Stradsett and beyond

NHER Ref: 2796

Margary No: 38

Although, as stated above, the trans-Norfolk route identified by Margary is of doubtful veracity, the evidence suggest that a Roman road does extend eastwards from the Roman settlement at Denver. Much of its course needs to be extrapolated from limited evidence but it appears to be followed by the modern A1122 road between Crimplesham and Stradsett. The place-name Stradsett, which is recorded in the Domesday survey as *Strateseta* meaning 'the place on the Roman road' (Watts 2004, 584), provides firm evidence for a Roman road passing somewhere through the parish. At present the continuation of this Roman road cannot be identified with any certainty beyond Stradsett, but it is possible that it leads to a Roman settlement that has been identified to the north of Fincham.

Unimproved Routeways in Norfolk

The Icknield Way: Thetford to Holme-next-the-Sea / Hunstanton

NHER Ref: 1398

Margary No: 333

Unlike the unimproved routeways in Lincolnshire, the Icknield Way 'prehistoric trackway' is not represented by any clearly defined course in the modern landscape of Norfolk. The routeway formed one of the Four Highways recorded in the twelfth century but its exact start and finish points, and even its existence, continue to be debated (Harrison 2003). The suggested route in Norfolk broadly follows the chalk escarpment northwards through the west of the county to Holme-next-the-Sea or Hunstanton. In a somewhat circular argument its course is usually shown as running through both Thetford and Narborough on the basis that there are Iron Age forts at these locations. The Binham Cartulary of *c*.1500 refers to a king's highway called '*Ykenildestrethe*' in Dersingham parish (Lewton-Brain 1965, 409). Whilst this could provide evidence for the existence of a surviving prehistoric routeway of this name in Northwest Norfolk, the inclusion of the Icknield Way within the Four Highways story

means that it could equally represent the association of any apparently long-distance route with one of those named in the story during the medieval period.

The main problem with the Icknield Way in Norfolk is the lack of any clearly defined route in the post-medieval or modern landscape. This means that it is impossible to accurately consider how it may have continued to have been used or influenced the development of the landscape in the post-Roman period. The route of the Icknield Way shown on Figure 10 is based on the course of the road recorded in the NHER.

Appendix 3: Previously Suggested Roman Roads Excluded from the Corpus of Roads in this Thesis

As indicated in Chapter Four, not all roads that have previously been identified as being of Roman date have been included within this thesis. A small number of major 'Roman' roads in both counties have been excluded either through lack of evidence for their course or Roman date, or in one case because their Roman origin has been disproved. A large number of suggested minor Roman roads are also recorded within the archaeological literature and HERs. The majority of these are too insignificant, unsubstantiated or cannot be traced for sufficient distance to merit discussion in this thesis.

Lincolnshire

The most significant previously-identified Roman road in Lincolnshire to be excluded from this thesis was Margary's trans-Wold road (Margary No.272) branching off from the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road at Bullington and extending to Grainthorpe in the Lindsey Marshland (1973, 241). Whilst there is cropmark evidence to support the presence of a road through the Roman settlement at Ludford, which lies on this proposed route, there is little convincing evidence on either side. The route is composed mainly of slightly misaligned sections of minor roads and boundaries and even Margary, "admitted that parts of the route as shown by the existing roads are far from straight, but it is the general direction which has the chief significance" (*ibid*.). This road is not mapped in the Lincolnshire HER and its existence may owe more to the idea that a road *should* be present on this course rather than physical evidence that it does.

Margary also suggested that a second route (Margary No.273) crossed the southern part of the Wolds on a broadly parallel course to the Bullington to Grainthorpe road. This second route extended from near Stixwould in the Witham valley to the coast at Saltfleetby (1973, 241-2). As with the other trans-Wold road its course if far from straight and there is no real evidence to confirm that it is either an engineered Roman road or an unimproved routeway of Roman or pre-Roman origin.

More recently a third possible Roman road has been suggested in the Wolds extending northeast from Caistor to a hypothetical shore fort site at Cleethorpes (Oliver 2006). This evidence for a Roman origin for this route is unconvincing and based on the currently available evidence it was not to included it within this thesis. It is possible that this route, and those suggested by Margary, were transhumance trackways or 'resource-linking' routes[59], rather than engineered Roman roads, placing them outside the scope of this thesis.

Norfolk

The most significant previously published 'Roman' road in Norfolk to be excluded from this thesis is the central section of the cross-county route that has been suggested to have extended from Denver through Billingford to Brampton and Smallburgh in the east. The eastern and western sections of the road can confidently be identified as being of Roman date, but its existence between Stradsett and Billingford is highly doubtful and has not been included in this thesis. The idea of a Roman road across central Norfolk on this course was first proposed in the mid twentieth century (Margary 1955, 240-1). Between Stradsett and Peddars Way at Southacre, the suggested route relied on two completely unconnected and misaligned sections of road and track surviving in the modern landscape; an extant road leading eastwards from Fincham and a straight track called Fincham Drove. There are no recorded cropmarks or visible landscape features that define the course of the road between these sections. However, research for this thesis has demonstrated that the straight road leading out of Fincham is in fact a turnpike road without any clearly defined precursor. A multi-phase map exists for Fincham parish showing the pre-enclosure landscape surveyed in *c.*1736, and also features dating to the enclosure of 1773 which have been added later (NRO: PD 351/26). Crucially the section of suggested Roman road leading roughly eastwards from Fincham Hall is not shown on the original 1730s phase of the map. The road, which is clearly labelled as the 'Turnpike Road from Downham to Swaffham', is a later addition and cuts straight across the pre-enclosure strip fields. Once this section of the route is disproved the whole route is cast into doubt. Whilst Fincham Drove is likely to be a route of some considerable age, possibly even Roman or pre-Roman in origin, that alone does not confirm the presence of a long-distance

---

[59] A descriptive term coined by Sarah Harrison (2005).

engineered Roman road through this part of central Norfolk. The continuation of the suggested route between the Roman settlements at Kempstone and Billingford required a further change in direction and apart from a straight section of road called Salter's Lane at Bittering there is little evidence to support its existence. Consequently, this central section of Margary's trans-Norfolk Road can, in part, be disproved leaving the remainder sufficiently doubtful for it to be excluded from further discussion in this thesis.

Holgate Road, an extant road and track through South Creake parish in northwest Norfolk has been suggested as a Roman road (Hesse 1992; 1998). It extends on a straight course for at least 9.5km between Little Barwick and Egmere. The road is first recorded in a family name of 'de Holgate' in the mid thirteenth century (Hesse 1992, 307) indicting that it is clearly a route of some considerable antiquity. However, despite its straightness there is nothing to confirm that it is an engineered Roman road, and it is more likely to be a transhumance route connecting 'upland' areas to the west and east of the River Burn valley where it passes through South Creake.

A Roman road has also previously been proposed between Brisley and Terrington St Clement (Bagshawe 1977). This supposed route branched off from the Toftrees to Billingford road at Brisley and extended due westward through King's Lynn. Whilst it follows a route of known medieval date for part of its way between Gayton and Gaywood, further west is lies on marine silts which were only deposited in the post-Roman period and cannot therefore be of Roman date. This road is not recorded in the Norfolk HER and there is no credible evidence to support its interpretation as an engineered Roman road.

Appendix 4: The Roman Ferry across The Wash

As noted in Chapter Three, it is previously been proposed that a ferry existed across The Wash estuary in the Roman period connecting the road network of the Lincolnshire and Norfolk parts of the study area of this thesis. The suggestion that a ferry existed across the Wash in the Roman period connecting the Peddars Way Roman road in Norfolk with Lincolnshire dates back more than a century. It is unclear who was actually responsible for first proposing the idea, but as it was dismissed by Haverfield in the Norfolk volume of the *Victoria County History* (1901, 302) it must already have been aired by that time. However, it was the identification of the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road opposite Peddars Way on the Lincolnshire side of the Wash and its inclusion on the second edition of the *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain* in 1928 which reinforced the ferry hypothesis and resulted in its wider acceptance (Wheeler 1929, 126). The first detailed assessment of the significance of the Wash ferry followed a few years later (Phillips 1932).

In addition to the alignment of the two Roman roads on either side of the Wash, documentary sources provide compelling evidence for the existence of a substantial Roman settlement and possible shore fort on the Lincolnshire coast near Skegness. The most famous of these is the account of the early antiquarian John Leland who visited the area in the first half of the sixteenth century. Skegness, he was told, had once been, "a great haven towne … waullid having also a castelle", but that the old town had now gone having been, "clean consumed, and eten up with the se" (Chandler 1993, 300). The court rolls of Ingoldmells manor, which extended into Skegness, contain references to *Chesterland* in 1345 and 1422 and *Castelland* in 1422 (Massingberd 1902, 116) with the '*chester*' element strongly indicating the presence of a walled Roman site in the parish. The evidence has been seen as indicative of a fort forming part of the defences of the 'Saxon Shore' positioned to protect the northern bank of the Wash and River Witham approach to Lincoln.

 Further support for a Roman settlement and ferry crossing on the Lincolnshire Wash coast is provided by the name of the lost Domesday settlement of *Tric* which is believed to have been located near Skegness. In a convincing study of the possible

origin of this place-name Owen and Coates (2003) argue that it could ultimately be derived from the Latin *Traiectus* meaning 'crossing point or ferry'. The place-name *Traiectus/Trajectus* is recorded elsewhere in Roman Britain for an unlocated settlement between Bath and the Bristol Channel, probably relating to a ferry across the Severn, and has Continental parallels in the origins of the modern place-names Maastricht and Utrecht among others.

Because the possible shore fort has been used to support the existence of a Roman ferry across the Wash it appears to have always been assumed that the ferry terminus and the fort were at the same site. However, shore forts were constructed after the main road network was established and, as is amply demonstrated by the forts in Norfolk, they are frequently not located at the coastal termini of major Roman roads. If the Wash ferry formed an integral part of the planning and construction of both Peddars Way and the Lincoln to Burgh le Marsh road it must have been present when they were laid out, probably in the first or early second century. As this pre-dates the construction of the possible shore fort at Skegness by at least a century it seems reasonable to hypothesise that the Roman settlement at Burgh le Marsh was actually the ferry terminus and that the fort was constructed at a new and completely separate location to the southeast in the third century. This geographical separation between the Roman road and the fort is mirrored on the Norfolk side of the Wash by Peddars Way and the Brancaster shore fort. However, the suggestion that the Lincolnshire evidence points to the existence of two Roman sites, rather than one, has not previously been suggested.

Appendix 5: Relevant Research Themes from the East Midlands and Eastern Counties Regional Archaeological Research Frameworks

East Midlands Regional Archaeological Research Objectives	
6B	Assess the landscape setting of Anglo-Saxon burial sites.
6C	Review the evidence for developing settlement hierarchies.
6F	Identify cultural boundaries in the early medieval period.
6G	Elucidate development of the parochial system.
7D	Investigate further the role of [medieval] markets, fairs and ports and trading routes.
7J	Research the regional [medieval] communications infrastructure.
Related East Midlands Research Agenda Questions	
6.3.1	To what extent were Roman roads used and maintained from the fifth century, and may some have acted as social or political boundaries?
6.3.2	Can we identify re-used or newly developed un-metalled routeways (e.g. by the identification of fords and bridges)?
6.5.1	How may Anglo-Saxon and British communities have utilised Roman towns and their immediate environs?

Table 3. Research objectives and questions from the Updated Research Agenda and Strategy for the Historic Environment of the East Midlands (Knight *et al*. 2012) identified as being relevant to the research questions and wider archaeological debates addressed in this thesis.

Eastern Counties Research Topic	Associated themes/questions
Infrastructure (Roman to medieval)	More research on the Roman road network is needed, particularly in the later Roman period and beyond. Also, as monuments, Roman roads are under-studied.
	The main communication routes through the region in the Anglo-Saxon and medieval periods need to be established.
	The role of existing infrastructure (Roman roads and canals) in shaping the medieval landscape needs to be examined.
	Why did some Roman roads disappear and others continue in use? The identification of bridges or other crossing places might be extremely informative.
	Some Roman roads survive as medieval highways only to disappear when parks were laid out across them. Investigation of this process would be useful.
	Green lanes and other ancient routes demand further study. Are any pre-medieval in origin?
Roman to Anglo-Saxon transition	There is increasing evidence from excavations for sites which span the transition period between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England. These need to be synthesised on a regional basis, at present it is not known whether the general trend is for continued occupation or for shifting settlements or for deliberate destruction.
Rural settlement and landscape (Anglo-Saxon and medieval)	The region would benefit from a detailed study of the changes in settlement types and forms over time during the early, middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods, highlighting some of the distinctive changes which take place. This also needs to be considered on a broader scale, particularly with reference to the way that Anglo-Saxon settlements and organisation of the landscape influenced the medieval landscape.
	The extent and nature of late Anglo-Saxon landscape reorganisation, village nucleation, field systems etc., needs further exploration.
	Further work is required on the relationships between churches and settlements throughout the Anglo-Saxon period.

Table 4: Research topics, themes and questions from the archaeological research frameworks for the eastern counties (Going and Plouviez 2000; Medlycott 2011) identified as being relevant to the research questions and wider archaeological debates addressed in this thesis.