

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROMAN STREET SYSTEM WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO DERBYSHIRE.

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THOUGH the county of Derby did not come into being as such until long after the Roman legions left Britain it is convenient in a paper such as this, which is destined for a county journal, to relate the investigation particularly to the county. The research cannot, however, be so confined and a wider view must be taken in order to illustrate the impact of the Roman street system.

First we must look far beyond the county boundaries and far earlier than Rome.

To understand the Roman street system it is necessary to have some idea of the system which preceded it. The earliest roads seem to have been straight tracks, sighted from one distant point to another, suitable in many cases for journeys on foot only, in some cases for travel on horseback, and, in only a few cases, for the passage of wheeled vehicles.

By the end of the new Stone Age, when stone implements were giving way to bronze, about 2000 B.C., a network of tracks and roads of varying degrees of importance had been established. These were modified, and improved, during the Bronze Age, and still further during the Iron Age, which immediately preceded the Roman invasion of our island.

That the great Bronze Age temples of Arbor Low, and the Bull Ring at Dove Holes, were linked by channels of communication is reasonably certain. The profusion of Bronze Age roadside burials, particularly in the High and Low Peak areas, bears ample witness to the great antiquity of certain local roads and tracks, some of which are

in use to this day, e.g. the road from Ashford to Wardlow Mires.

It is quite wrong to visualise the Roman invaders as dependent entirely upon a system of road communications established by themselves. They took over, and adapted, the existing road system to their own use, augmenting it by a series of streets. These streets were in origin essentially of a military nature, laid out between forts and strong points, to assist the passage of reinforcements.

Certain problems, in relation to the early phase of the Roman occupation of Britain, have been investigated by Mr. T. Davies Pryce, F.S.A., in an article in Vol. XVIII, No. 1, of the *Antiquaries Journal* (January, 1938).

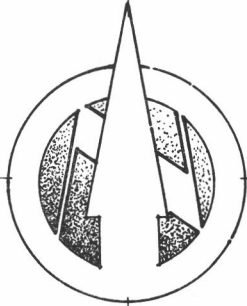
He points out that Tacitus, in his *Annals*, describes the Roman Governor Ostorius Scapula as having, in A.D. 47-48, disarmed suspected tribes, and occupied the country on the proximal side of the rivers Trent and Severn. He reaches the conclusion that the Roman road known as Fosse Way was constructed either in its entirety by Aulus Plautius, the first Roman Governor, or, as seems more probable, in part by this Governor and completed by Ostorius Scapula, and that early in his governorship Ostorius obtained control of all the land on the Roman side of the Trent and Severn, and established a new frontier coterminous with these rivers. He could find no evidence of the occupation of either Chester or Gloucester at this early date, and assigned their foundation to the early Flavian period. Collingwood & Myres in *Roman Britain* (Second Edition), p. 91, come to virtually the same conclusion.

The permanent headquarters of the Second Legion, in the Claudius-Nero period, is tentatively assigned by Mr. Pryce to Cirencester.

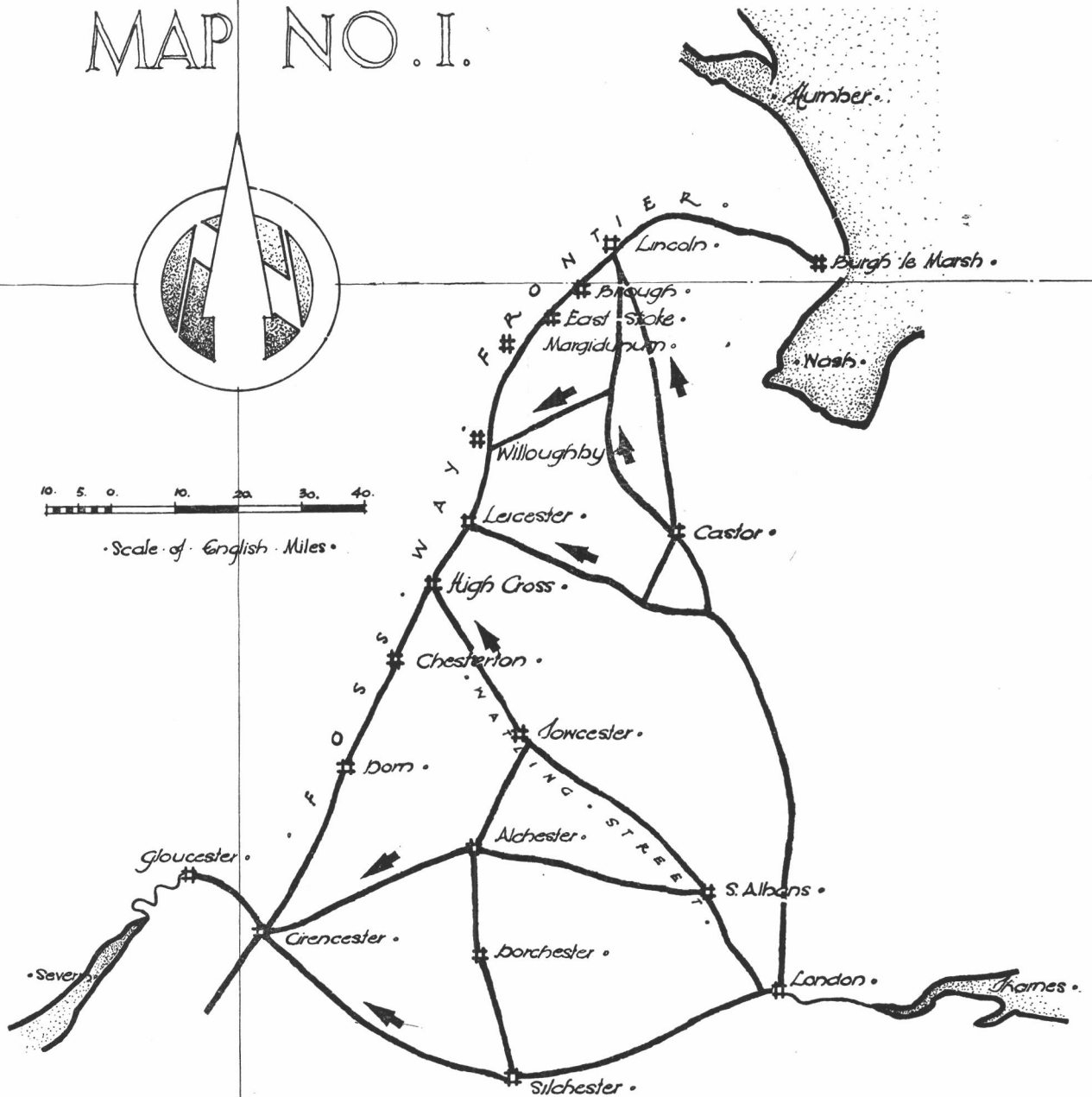
The evidence suggests that the southern section of the Fosse, between Exeter and Leicester, represents the work, as yet unfinished, of Aulus Plautius, and that Ostorius on his arrival completed it by extending it from Leicester to Lincoln.

This view is supported by the recent excavations at Lincoln (*J.R.S.*, 1949, Vol. XXXIX, p. 57) where Mr. Graham Webster expresses the view that the military

MAP NO. I.



Scale of English Miles.



THE FOSS WAY FRONTIER.

CIRCA. A.D. 47.

occupation of Lincoln lasted from about A.D. 48 to about A.D. 75, with possible variations of not more than two or three years.

This first stage of the development of the road system is represented in Map No. I which shows the Fosse Way as a frontier between the estuary of the Severn and the Wash, with the lateral roads running up to the frontier, of which the chief is Watling Street.¹

Mr Pryce also suggests that Ostorius built that section of Watling Street from the point where it changes bearing on the Fosse at High Cross, through Wall to Wroxeter, on the River Severn, before proceeding to invade the territory of the Silures in South Wales.

This stage is illustrated in Map No. II which shows Watling Street extended westward on a slightly changed bearing, to meet the Severn at Wroxeter. The southern section of Fosse Way has now ceased to be the frontier, the new section of Watling Street having taken its place. Cirencester the legionary base, is no longer on the extreme left flank. It is far behind the new frontier line. This necessitates the construction of two new roads to provide ease of communication with the new length of frontier.

Here we can see the need for the southern section of that road which later becomes famous under the name of Rykneld Street (A D B). Its original purpose seems to have been to reinforce the frontier at Wall, near Lichfield, direct, via Bourton on the Water and Alcester, to avoid a long detour up Fosse Way to High Cross and thence along Watling Street.

The excavations at Almondsbury Camp, near Bourton on the Water in two drainage ditches and rubbish pits have revealed pottery ranging from *circa* A.D. 50 to *circa* A.D. 120 (*J.R.S.*, XXIV, pt. 2, p. 212).

The excavation of the two camps at Metchley in Edgbaston, half a mile west of Rykneld Street, shows that the enclosures were not purely temporary marching

¹ In drafting the maps which illustrate this paper I have not been concerned to show all the known Roman settlements or strong points and I have marked the present place-names rather than the Roman names, with the exception of MARGIDVNVM, east of Nottingham. I am indebted to Mr. Geoffrey Sellors of Bakewell for delineation of the maps.

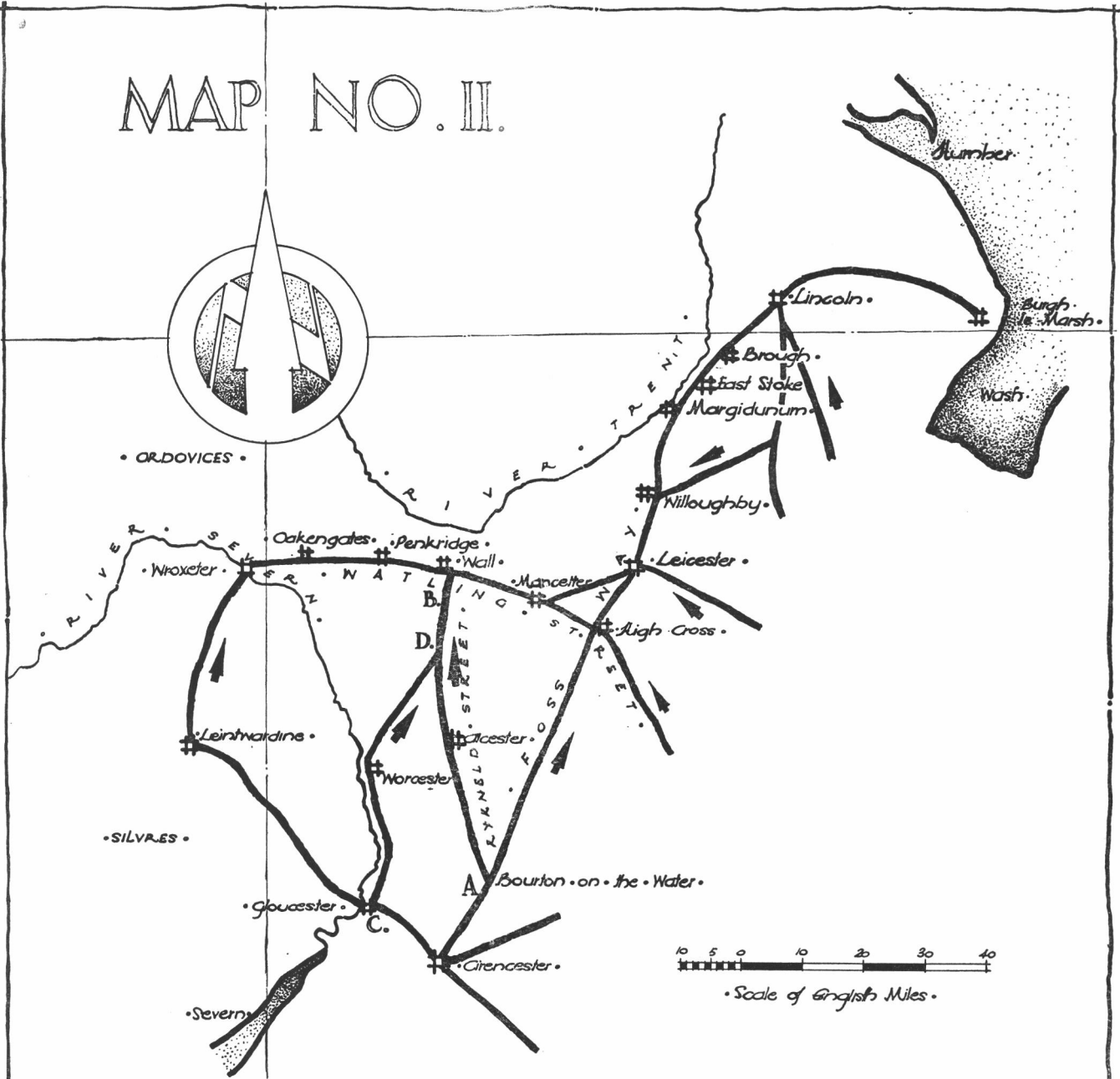
camp. But they were not occupied for very long, or much after the Agricolan period; the limits suggested were *circa* A.D. 50 to the Agricolan period, the larger camp being the earlier of the two (*Birmingham Archæological Society Transactions*, LVIII, 1937, 98 ff., and *J.R.S.*, XXVII, p. 237 and pl. XXXVII). That the Watling Street came first, and Rykneld Street second, was proved by an excavation made of a section of Rykneld Street one hundred yards south of the crossing with Watling Street near Wall, Lichfield. The width of Rykneld Street here was found to be a little less than thirty feet. The road was a cambered road, formed on a core of earth and gravel, with a surface or pitching of coarse gravel and pebbles, with flanking ditches clearly marked. In both ditches fragments of pottery were found, and the eastern one, which was the larger of the two, was followed "until it ended at the Watling Street crossing" (*Transactions of the Birmingham Archæological Society*, 1936, Vol. LX, pp. 42-55).

This confirms the view that the section of Rykneld Street from the south originally ended at the Watling Street frontier near Wall. Rykneld Street was certainly not made through to the north before Watling Street (near Wall) had been constructed, otherwise the ditches of Rykneld Street would have continued on under Watling Street, and would have revealed themselves as filled in ditches passing underneath it.

The other road went up through Gloucester to reinforce the frontier at Wroxeter. It appears that *circa* A.D. 49 the Second Legion established a semi-permanent fortress at Kingsholm, now a suburb of Gloucester, which was occupied until *circa* A.D. 75 (See Mr Charles Green's "Glevum and the Second Legion", *J.R.S.*, 1942, Vol. XXXII, p. 39). On the rise in military importance of Gloucester another road was needed [C D], through Worcester, to provide ease of communication with the northern portion of Rykneld Street (Map No. II).

A final touch must have been the street from Leicester to Mancetter so as to cut out an awkward angle in the frontier, at High Cross (VENONAE).

MAP NO. II.



THE EXTENSION OF THE FRONTIER TO THE RIVER SEVERN.

CIRCA. A.D. 49.

G. Sellors. del.

When the frontier had been extended to Wroxeter Ostorius might well claim to be in control of all the land on the Roman side of the Trent and the Severn, even if the road from Gloucester to Wroxeter, and the two Welsh forts on the upper waters of the Severn, CAER FLOS and CAER SWS, had not yet actually been completed.²

Tacitus tells us that after a skirmish with the Deceangli, the tribe in Cheshire and South Lancashire, and the Brigantes, in Yorkshire, Ostorius turned his attention to the Silures in South Wales *circa* A.D. 50-51. It is easy to see from Map No. II how important it was for him to safeguard his left flank before seeking to extend the frontier any more to the north. He was opposed by the famous Caractacus, who rallied all possible opposition in North Wales in the land of the Ordovices. In other words Caractacus preferred to fight outside the Roman frontier, rather than on the flank within. The account by Tacitus shows that Caractacus was on the defensive, as well he might be, after the Roman successes, already achieved, against the other three tribes.

Caractacus was defeated and fled to Cartismandua Queen of the Brigantes. She handed him over to the Romans by whom he was exhibited at the Emperor Claudius' triumph in Rome.

Ostorius, decorated for his prowess, then became involved in a long and exhausting guerilla campaign in Britain, which wore him out and contributed to his death. His successor Aulus Didus arrived to find the island in a state of distraction. He checked the operations of the Silures and took advantage of a form of civil war which broke out in the land of the Brigantes when Cartismandua, their queen, who was favourably disposed towards Rome, drove her consort Venusius from her throne. The result was that Venusius led an insurrection in the heart of the Brigantian territory with a view to ending female government of the tribe. The Romans appear to have given military aid to the queen which was not wholly effective. Probably they were following the principle of "divide et

² Collingwood and Myers (*op. cit.*, p. 112) assign these two forts to the governorship of Frontinus A.D. 74-78.

impera'', and were not unwilling to see the Brigantes exhausted by an internal struggle.

Aulus Didius Gallus, to give him his full name, was content to preserve the *status quo* and did not seek any extension of the Roman frontier. Tacitus records that he built a few forts on the remote borders of the province "in hopes of gaining some credit for the fame of having enlarged the frontier". It is difficult to believe that his fort building extended up into Derbyshire. If Thomas May's dating of Templeborough to A.D. 54-60 is correct it can be ascribed to the policy of Aulus Didius Gallus by penetration from Lincoln or the Humber and the Don.

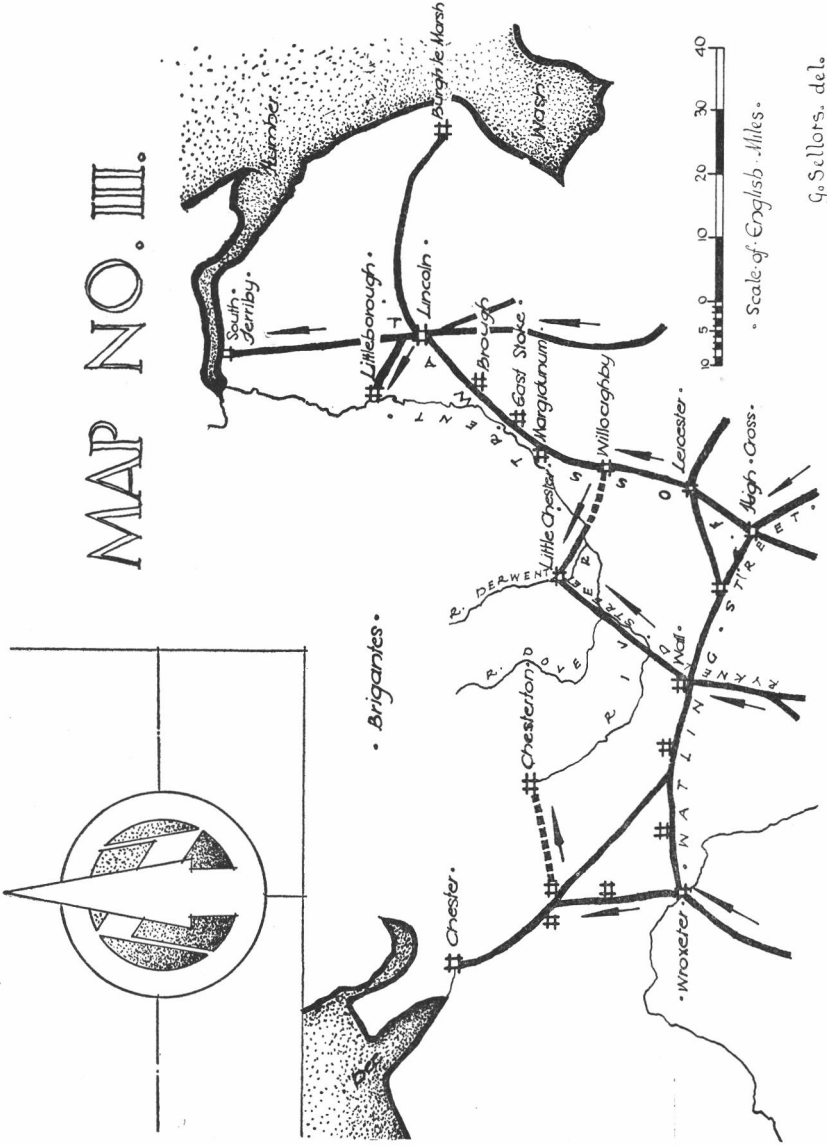
D. Veranius Nepos who succeeded him, *circa* A.D. 58 died within a year, having made a few expeditions against the Silures.

In A.D. 59 Caius Suetonius Paulinus took command. It is said that he used Chester as a base for his operations against MONA (Anglesey) in A.D. 60 (Codrington's *Roman Roads*, 3rd Edit., p. 306). Dr Ian A. Richmond in his article on Agricola (*J.R.S.*, XXXIV, p. 37), in writing of the possibility of early temporary occupation of Chester, puts forward the view that although direct evidence is wholly lacking "it is difficult to see how the attack on Anglesey by Suetonius Paulinus in A.D. 61, when infantry was transported in ships, could have been carried out without a base at Chester . . ."

In Map No. III I have endeavoured to show how the Roman frontier advanced to the line of the Trent. The Trent River itself now becomes the frontier with the estuary of the Humber as its right flank. The river is connected direct with roads from the Humber to Lincoln and from Littleborough, SEGELOCVM, to Lincoln. The Foss Way itself practically touches the river south-west of Lincoln, and there is a well authenticated Roman fort near Nottingham close by the Trent called MARGI-DVNVM.

Rykneld Street has been advanced to just north of the Trent where a fort at Little Chester, Derby, DERBENTIO, is linked back by a street running south-eastwards to the point where the Soar joins the Trent. The river

MAP NO. III.



G. Sellors, del.

THE EXTENSION OF THE FRONTIER TO THE RIVERS TRENT AND DEE. Circa A.D. 60.

being navigable there is no need to build a street direct from DERBENTIO to MARGIDVNVM. Either garrison could be rapidly reinforced by boat.³

From Wroxeter a street has gone forward to the estuary of the Dee to secure the left flank of the frontier. It may well be that Wroxeter still remained the legionary fortress at this stage.

The abrupt right angle in the frontier at Wroxeter is ironed out by a street linking direct from Penkridge on Watling Street to the new strong point at Chester, a short cut analogous to the one between Leicester and Mancetter. It is probably to this period that we must assign the establishment of a fort at Chesterton near the source of the Trent.

We know that in A.D. 61 a dreadful disaster befell the Roman army in Britain, due to the insurrection led by Boadicea. In addition to routing the Roman legions she caused the slaughter of 70,000 citizens or allies of Rome. The south-east of the island and in particular the colonies at CAMVLODVNVM (Colchester) and VERVLAMIVM (S. Albans) were laid waste. Dr Felix Oswald ascribes to this period the destruction of the fort at MARGIDVNVM near Nottingham (*J.R.S.*, XXXI, pp. 32-62).

Boadicea was utterly defeated by Suetonius and poisoned herself. Following the arrival of reinforcements from Germany Suetonius put down the revolt with excessive severity. He was recalled to make way for Petronius Turpilianus, a more moderate man, who, following the restoration of order handed over to Trebellius Maximus.

Tacitus describes the new commander as a lazy officer. Under him the Roman army in Britain mutinied, and he had to flee, but managed to end the matter without bloodshed but with much weakened authority. He was succeeded in A.D. 69 by Vettius Bolanus.

³ Ignoring coins in hoards buried much later, the earliest Roman coins found in the neighbourhood of Derby are several of the reign of Claudius A.D. 41-54, found in the digging of foundations for new houses in Strutt's Park 1922-3 (*D.A.J.*, XLIX, p. 355). From the same foundation came a coin of Vero datable to A.D. 66 and one of Vespasia datable to c. A.D. 69 (*Ibid.*, p. 355). Also a doubtful Vespasia of A.D. 72-73 from Little Chester (*Ibid.*, p. 363).

When Vespasian became Emperor steps were taken to conquer the whole of Britain. Vespasian had himself served in the army in Britain some years before and in A.D. 71, knowing what he was up against, sent a very able commander Petilius Cerealis. He attacked the Brigantes unexpectedly. This seems to be the most likely period at which some extension of the Roman frontier took place prior to the full conquest of the Brigantes.

In Map No. IV I have shown a conjectural advance of the frontier to the estuary of the Mersey which would logically follow after the estuary of the Dee had been secured.

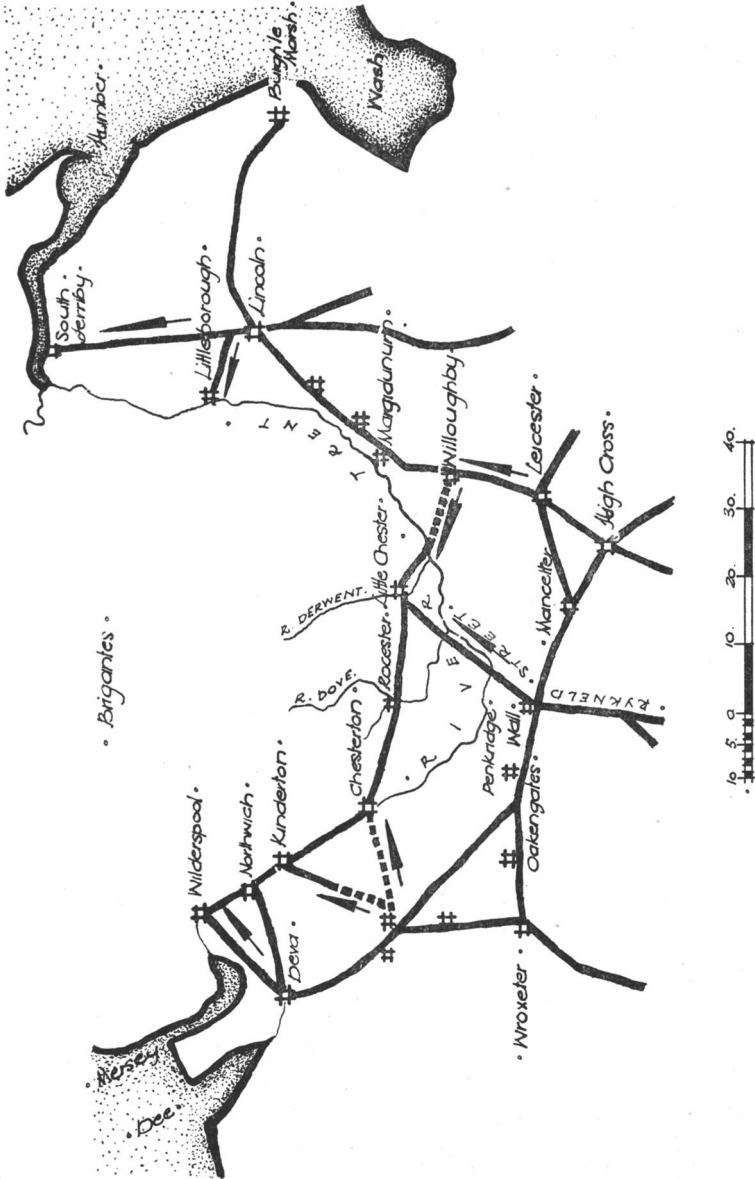
The right flank still rests on the Humber but the left flank now rests on the Mersey at Warrington instead of on the Dee.

This leads to a notable shortening of the frontier by a street from Warrington to Derby, which, traversing the Cheshire plains, skirts the worst of the hill country, and crosses the Dove at Rocester. Between Rocester and Derby the street known as Long Lane follows the tail end of the foothills, which run out from the base of the Pennine range.

The logical sequel to this can be seen in the streets fanning out from Chester to Warrington, Northwich, Middlewich, and Chesterton.⁴

The Roman fort at Chesterton has yielded Samian and other Roman ware of Flavian date (*J.R.S.*, XXIV, pt. 2,

⁴ For a description of the Roman station at Rocester reference should be made to an article by the Rev. T. Barns in the *Transactions* of the North Staffs. Field Club 1914-15, Vol. XLIX, pp. 103-108. He says that Rocester was the key to the valleys of the Dove and the Churnet and suggests that it was probably a "mansio" rather than a "mutatio" on the ground that in the 4th century Itineraries the "mutatio" is usually at a distance of ten miles rising up to not above fifteen miles. As the distance from Rocester to Chesterton is eighteen miles he looks for a "mutatio" in between, and thinks he finds one nine miles away at Draycott. The only Roman coins so far found at Rocester are of Domitian's reign A.D. 84 and 86. Mr. Barns suggests that as in the case of Rochester at Kent the original name was Duro-brivis — "the stronghold at the bridges" — and traces the stages of corruption by which this name might degenerate into Rocester. Ekwall in the *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names* p. 371 accepts this derivation in the case of Rochester but not in the case of Rocester which he interprets as "Roman Fort." It is worthy of note that the name suggested "the stronghold at the bridges" would be very appropriate for a station between the bridges over the Churnet and the Dove.



Map. No. IV. THE EXTENSION OF THE FRONTIER TO THE MERSEY. Date uncertain.

G. Sellors.

Scale of English Miles.

p. 205).⁵ So also has the Roman fort at Wilderspool, Warrington (Watkins' *Roman Cheshire*, p. 271). The stations at Northwich and Middlewich have yielded coins of Flavian date (*ibid.*, pp. 249 and 257).

The Ninth Legion, stationed at Lincoln, was about to push forward up into the heart of the Brigantian territory and establish its base at York (*circa* A.D. 71 — Collingwood & Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 109), while at the same time the Twentieth Legion "occupied unknown headquarters in the North West . . . this Legion shared in the Brigantion campaign, not without casualties, while Cerealis tested Agricola, its legate, in operations involving part, and later large parts of the provincial army as a whole. These first moves were evidently co-operative for we are told that Governor and legate shared the risks; and it is obvious that the essential movement was a pincer movement from the Cheshire plain to support and reinforce the eastern advance to York." (Dr Richmond, *J.R.S.*, XXXIV, p. 36.)

Tacitus tells us that various battles were fought with alternate success and great effusion of blood. The greater part of the country was subdued or ravaged by war when Cerealis at the height of his fame was replaced in A.D. 74 by Julius Frontinus, who finally conquered the Silures in South Wales. By A.D. 74 the mines of the Deceangli were turning out lead for the Roman State.

In the middle of the summer of A.D. 77 or 78 Agricola succeeded Frontinus after a period of three years as Governor of Aquitania.

Agricola's first move was to destroy the Ordovician state in North Wales. Next he set out to reduce the Isle of Anglesey, the full conquest of which had been deferred owing to Boadicea's revolt. The islanders surrendered.

Tacitus next tells us of remedies introduced by Agricola in respect of the injustices suffered by the Britons at the hands of the Roman tax gatherers, who, having requisitioned all the corn, would permit the owner to buy his own grain back again and sell it at a lower price. They

⁵ For an earlier description see *Transactions North Staffs. Field Club* 1911-12, Vol. XLVI, pp. 142-143, and a commentary on the Roman streets *ibid.* 1908, Vol. XLIII, pp. 131-134.

fixed awkward places for the delivery and we may visualise our British ancestors, in the words of Tacitus "forced to make tedious journeys through difficult cross country roads, in order to supply camps and stations at remote distances."

Agricola altered all this and peace began to spread in the areas affected by his new decrees.

In the summer of A.D. 79 he once again marched to the attack. Tacitus tells us that Agricola went in person to mark out stations for encampments. Several states sent hostages and sued for peace. Along their frontiers a chain of posts was established with so much care and judgment that no part of the country, even where the Roman arms had never penetrated, could think itself secure from the vigour of the conqueror.

It is to this period that we may owe the linkage of the line of forts from Templebrough, near Rotherham, connected by Long Causeway with Brough near Bradwell, NAVIO, and thence *via* Batham Gate to Buxton AQUAE ARNEMETIAE, though there is a probability that this linkage had been established a little earlier.

At Chester the leaden inscribed pipes for the water supply to the legionary fortress are datable to A.D. 79 (EE IX 1039). Probably Melandra, ZERDOTALIA (EDROTALIA ?) on the river Edro, or Etherow, was constructed at about the same time or a little earlier.

The isolated finds of coins at Melandra are Galba A.D. 68-69 (*D.A.J.*, XXIX, Appendix, p. 96), Vespasian A.D. 75 (*D.A.J.*, XXXIV, p. 156).

Brough, near Bradwell, has yielded up a gold coin of Vespasian in his third consulate A.D. 71 found at Brough Mill prior to 1783 (*D.A.J.*, VII, p. 80) and I have handled a silver coin in mint condition of Vespasian, hitherto unrecorded, of his sixth consulate A.D. 75, found when laying the foundations for the junction house at Earle's Cement Works, on a direct line between Grey Ditch and Mam Tor.

These finds are consistent with Roman penetration of the north of our county in A.D. 79, or probably a little earlier.

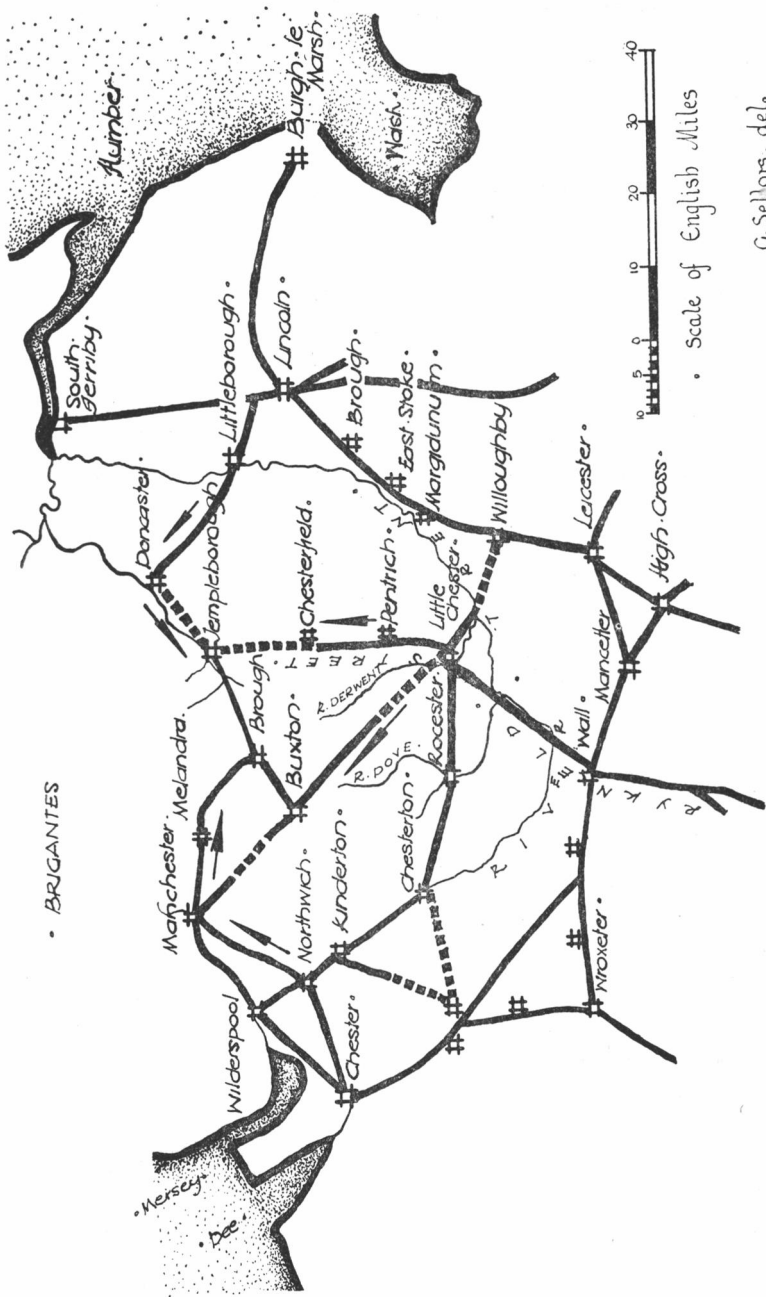
Map No. V shows the conjectural linkage of streets between the estuaries of the Humber and the Mersey.

In A.D. 80 Agricola penetrated to the Firth of Tay and secured the country with forts. He was so skilful in fixing a site for a fort that Tacitus asserts that not one of the stations fortified by his direction was taken by storm, forced to capitulate, or surrendered or abandoned to the enemy. Each station was supplied with provisions sufficient for a year. In his next campaign Agricola fixed the boundary of the empire between the Clyde and the Forth, and then turned his attention to Ireland. After some skirmishing there he returned to Scotland again and, after a decisive victory, the Emperor Domitian recalled him. He died shortly afterwards.

These details from Tacitus help to illustrate and bring to life, so to speak, the various tactical developments of the Roman military street system. It is easy to see from Map No. V how, if not already constructed, Agricola's campaigns necessitated the construction of a further length of Rykneld Street north of Derby.

We have already noted a change in the bearing of this street at Wall and related it to the extension of the frontier to Derby. At this point, or rather shortly beyond, it changes bearing once again and runs almost due north to the capital of the Brigantes, Aldborough, ISVRIVM BRIGANTIVM. We are not noticing here minor changes in the bearings of the streets such as are frequently met with, where obstructions have to be circumvented, or better alignments obtained. The changes in the bearing of the Rykneld Street at Wall and near Derby are of a much more radical character. They can only be explained by the street having been planned towards new objectives. Otherwise one would have found Rykneld Street engineered direct from Bourton on the Water to Derby by a route, which would have involved a lesser detour, and fewer river crossings, than the route via Wall. Moreover the street which was 30 feet wide at Wall has dwindled to a mere 18 feet or so north of Derby (F. W. Munslow, 1949, *Derbyshire Countryside*, Vol 18, No. 1, p. 231).

There is another interesting point about this change in



Map No. V. THE PINNER MOVEMENT THROUGH THE PEAK. Circa A.D. 75.

the bearing of Rykneld Street near Derby. The street does not make a really radical change in bearing towards the north until it has actually reached the head of the Breadsall valley. This change in bearing only comes about at the point where an ancient road, the Portway, crosses the head of the valley from the direction of Nottingham running towards Belper.

Near the Nottinghamshire border this track split into two, one fork running in an easterly direction towards Nottingham, and the other, the South Portway, in a southerly direction towards Sawley (*D.A.J.*, XXXV, p. 77, and *Derbyshire Countryside*, No. 17, p. 21). There has recently been discovered a second-century Roman site, sacred or civil, on high ground called Red Hill above the river Soar, south of its confluence with the Trent, between Thrumpton and Ratcliffe-upon-Soar and west of the railway line. This site overlooks Sawley, on the opposite side of the Trent, and it is towards Sawley that a well authenticated Roman street ran from Little Chester. We can now surmise why no Roman street has ever been traced beyond the river Trent in continuation of the same line. At Sawley there was, I suggest, an earlier British road crossing, probably by ferry, to join the watershed on the other side. Earlier finds at Red Hill include a fine Celtic bird-brooch of the mid-third century B.C. The Roman objects include part of a fluted column, box flue tiles, and coins from Faustina II and Commodus to Theodosius and Arcadius. (*Antiquaries Journal*, Vol. XXV, p. 117.)

The clues to the line of this Portway, to the south of the Trent, have been neglected or misinterpreted by earlier writers. The one who came nearest to the truth was the Rev. S. P. Potter in his *History of East Leake*, published in 1903. This is what he says when writing about Foss Way and Rykneld Street:—

“The position of East Leake in relation to these roads in itself makes it probable that there might be a cross road near connecting the Roman Station at Little Chester by Derby on the Rykneld Street, i.e. with that near Willoughby on the Wolds on Fosse Way. Such a road almost certainly did exist, and ran through the parish East and West

half a mile to the south of the village. This statement is confidently made on the evidence of the terrier of 1748. In this two "ways" are mentioned, Portway in the Brickcliffe Field and Streetway in the Woodgate Field. Isaac Taylor (*Words and Places*, p. 167) thus explains these names "the Roman Strata or paved roads became the Saxon streets. This word street often enables us to recognise the lines or Roman road, which, straight as an arrow course, connect the chief strategic positions in the island . . . Roman roads which do not bear the name of street are often called Portways. Although no old parishioner can recall these 'ways' they may almost certainly be indentified with the road from the Rempstone boundary of the parish by the disused gravel pit, and the bridle road to Kegworth by Calke Hall, with which it is connected."

He then goes on to make a correction at the end of his book: —

"Since Chapter I was written and the map printed further light has fallen upon the Portway (p. 2). From a careful study of the Terrier of 1748 it is plain that this road traversed the Parish North and South, for it appears in the Hill Field to the North and Brickcliffe Field to the South. In connection with this and possibly throwing light upon its direction Mr Oldershaw recalls ploughing up a paved way two fields east of Brook Furlong Farm which apparently ran from the ford at Sheep Plank Lane to Grange Leys Gap near the meeting place of Costock Bunney and East Leake parishes. It may hereafter be shown that the Crossway was the place where the Streetway and Portway crossed each other. The Crossway has yet to be located."

It is clear, however, that the learned author had misinterpreted the evidence. Part of Brickcliffe Field extended north of the stream and this portion of Portway may well be the portion of paved road discovered two fields east of Brook Furlong Farm. To enter the Hill Field to the west it must therefore have gone from there in a westerly direction. I suggest in the direction of Gotham which was Gatham in Domesday Book, i.e. Gate Town, which means Road Town. The portion of road

at Brook Furlong would also line up well with the Great Lane, crossing Fossway about a mile north of Six hills, which runs out a couple of miles WNW. to join the Willoughby to Wymeswold Road at an oblique angle. I think this Great Lane, marked on the 1836 1-inch Ordnance Survey Map leading to the Potter's Ford (? Porter's Ford) must have originally gone forward on the north side of Wymeswold past Rempstone Hill.

The pincer movement in the north of the Peak District between Chester and Lincoln having proved successful the line of Forts appears to have been linked through Lincoln, Littleborough, Doncaster, the River Don, Templeborough, Brough on Noe, Melandra (Glossop), Manchester, Warrington to Chester.

This was evidently the prelude for the advance towards the north. Obviously Rykneld Street, linking southward from Derventio through Wall to Cirencester and the Severn estuary, must go forward as one of the main lines of communication, to support the advance northwards. Codrington in his *Roman Roads in Britain* (1919), p. 306, suggests that the line of Agricola's advance to the north is probably represented by "Riknild Street branching at right angles from Watling Street at Wall." The evidence seems to suggest that the length of Rykneld Street from Derby to Templeborough must have come into being by A.D. 80 and may possibly have been planned a little earlier. Collingwood & Myres (*op. cit.*, p. 109) suggest that a semi-permanent camp for the Ninth Legion was constructed at York as early as A.D. 71.

Thomas May in his excavation of Templeborough sought to assign a date for the foundation of Templeborough as early as A.D. 54-60, but it is difficult to believe that the section of Rykneld Street we are considering went back to so early a date in the Roman campaigns.

In my view the dating and siting of Templeborough must be viewed in light of penetration from Lincoln and Littleborough *via* the River Don and it was only later that Rykneld Street was directed towards it from Derby as the campaigns rolled onwards to the north.

Miss Dorothy Greene of Rotherham has done much to elucidate the line of Rykneld Street in its approach to

Templeborough (*Hunter Archæological Society Trans.*, Vol. VI, pt. 4, December, 1948, pp. 168-81; also *ibid.*, January, 1953, pp. 78-93). She shows it actually passing to the east of Templeborough on its way further north with traces of a street linking into it from the fort at Templeborough in a south-easterly direction. This was proved by digging to have been eighteen feet in width, the same width as the road uncovered by Mr. Munslow near Breadsall Priory referred to above.

We find the Rykneld Street near Derby after crossing the Port Way mentioned above, taking up at a short distance beyond an almost due north bearing for the fort at Templeborough.

As there are no signs of any substantial forts *en route* we can fairly safely assume that Rykneld Street was never an actual frontier road. At approximately equal third distances between the forts at Derby and Templeborough were stations, one at Pentrich about 150 feet square (*D.A.J.*, XXXIII, p. 111)⁶ and another which has left only the clue Chesterfield, and a few Roman finds there to support its claims to be a Roman station. I think these were either post houses for changing horses "Mutationes", or rest houses "Mansiones" where the traveller could rest for the night. In view of the fact that the distances are over 15 miles the latter is the more probable.

On the road surface of Rykneld Street leading NNE. from Little Chester was found a coin of Domitian datable to A.D. 87 (*D.A.J.*, XLIX, pp. 353-55).

The pincer movement, above referred to, must have involved the siting of Templeborough by reference to penetration from the Lincoln side, *via* Littleborough, and Doncaster, and the siting of Melandra, near Glossop, by reference to penetration from the Chester side, *via* Manchester. The final link in the chain of forts was no doubt forged by the establishment, in the heart of the

⁶ Mr J. K. St JOSEPH in his recent air reconnaissance of Southern Britain *J.R.S.*, XLII, p. 87, gives the dimensions 150 ft. from north to south by 135 ft. with the rampart and hollow over the ditch system about 30 ft. wide and gates in the centre of each of the north and south sides. The earthwork stands centrally within a larger enclosure about 300 by 240 ft. in size, the nature of which remains unestablished.

Peak district, of a fort at Brough near Bradwell, in the angle formed by the Bradwell Brook and the River Noe. The street links were the Doctor's Gate from Melandra to Brough, and the Long Causeway from Templeborough to Brough.

Brough was a strong point in its own right, not a mere halfway house between Templeborough and Melandra. Its distance from Templeborough is over 15 miles, from Melandra over 13 miles. Its link to the south with Derby seems to have depended upon a track known as the Old Portway, stretching from the Iron Age fortress upon Mam Tor, linking the hill forts of Fin Cop and Harborough, following the watershed, just north of Wirksworth, and skirting Alport height, on its way through Belper, to join the Portway on the other side of the Derwent, running forward to the pre-historic settlement at Nottingham.

This ancient road was in mediæval times known as the Derby Gate or Castle Gate in its passage west of Bake-well (*Derbyshire Countryside*, Vol. II, No. 6. pp. 25-6). Into it at Knaves Cross west of Belper came a Roman street from Little Chester *via* Street close (*D.A.J.*, VIII, p. 214, note). The northern link through to Brough appears to have been by a branch road just north of Wardlow Mires running through Windmill and by Hungry Lane into Bradwell, where it crossed the Batham Gate, in the Doctor's pasture, on its way through direct into Doctor's Gate via the Causeway Bridge, and the mound known as Doctor House close by the Watergates near Hope Church (*Derbyshire Countryside*, No. 8, pp. 83-4; No. 9, pp. 19-20; No. 10, pp. 39-40).

Buxton was undoubtedly known to the Romans on account of its warm spring, but its place in the first century road system is obscure. Buxton has in fact produced Roman relics of the first century but there is no evidence of any Roman fortification. Its claim to notice in Roman times appears to be due to the warm baths which the Romans established there and called AQVAE ARNE-METIAE (*Ravenna Cosmography Archaeologia* XCIII, pp. 1-50, with plates). That there was a Roman village near the Baths on the Silverlands at Higher Buxton is

certain (*D.A.J.*, XXXVIII, pp. 84-104) and the Samian ware which has come from this site certainly suggests a first century foundation.

In the absence of any trace of a fortification one is forced to the conclusion that the streets which converge upon Buxton from the direction of Manchester and Derby are not frontier streets, but are in the same category as the Rykneld Street to the north of Derby. In fact the street from Derby to Manchester seems to be the north-western counterpart of the Rykneld Street, with its northerly trend. This street towards the north-west went forward, beyond Manchester, to the point at which the estuary of the Ribble had been secured, namely Ribchester BREMETENNACVM, with a subsequent extension forward to the line of the Roman Wall at Carlisle LVGVVALLIVM. It is interesting to speculate how the general line of this route has influenced the line of one of our modern trunk roads A.6 which at the present day takes in Derby, Buxton and Manchester in its route on its way forward to Carlisle and beyond, though the present route deviates into the valleys between Derby and Buxton, away from the actual Roman street.

Just as Rykneld Street required two resting places, at Pentrich and at Chesterfield, so would the Derby to Manchester street need similar facilities. The first has not yet been identified, but must be looked for near Wirksworth, if it was not actually in Wirksworth itself and submerged later in the Anglian town. The second was almost certainly Buxton, where the natural phenomenon of a warm spring, with the prospect of a bathing establishment, would be too good an opportunity to be ignored by the Romans.

Buxton also had the advantage of being a good jumping off point for either of three forts, at Manchester, Melandra, or Brough. We can deduce that a street link with Melandra was engineered first from Buxton, as far as Dove Holes, where there are grounds for believing that it merged in a British trackway, already in existence (See *Derbyshire Countryside*, No. 30, p. 35; Codrington, pp. 230-1). Into this street the Batham Gate, a street from

the fort at Brough, appears to have been engineered. The name Batham Gate simply means the road to the bath place. The street itself does not appear to possess any military significance, apart from the fact that the Roman soldier appreciated good bathing facilities.

Batham Gate is the only street in Derbyshire which has yielded up a Roman milestone. This stone found in Higher Buxton, near the Silverlands, and now on exhibit in the Buxton Museum gives a distance of 11 Roman miles which is almost precisely the distance of the site of the milestone from the fort at Brough (CIL VII, 1168; EE VII, 1102, IX, p. 636; *D.A.J.*, VII, p. 79; *Arch. Journ.*, XXXIII (1876), p. 53; *Derbyshire Countryside*, No. 30, p. 33). I had the privilege of being present when Mr R. P. Wright recently examined the milestone and confirmed W. T. Watkin's reading of 11, rather than 10, Roman miles (*J.R.S.*, 1952, XLII, p. 105, No. 10).

There remains the problem of the course of the Roman street, from Buxton to Derby, from the point where it disappears just north of Brassington. I have dealt with this problem at length in articles in the *Derbyshire Countryside*, No. 27, pp. 62-3, and No. 28, pp. 86-7, and will not repeat here my reasons for thinking that the Roman street was deflected eastward into the British Chariot Way, or Old Port Way, running along the watershed, just north of Wirksworth, towards Belper, with a street from Derby *via* the Chevin linking in, at Knave's Cross.

If I am right about the Old Port Way, the problem of a direct communication between Brough and Derby is solved. There was no need to build a street. All that was needed was to repair and improve an existing British trackway. In other words the disappearances of the street at Dove Holes, of the street north of Brassington, of the street at Knave's Cross are all due to the same cause, namely merger with pre-existing roads. But they were never streets in the strict sense of the word.

Finally we must look at the Ravenna Cosmography again, an anonymous work of the 6th century, said to

have been compiled from Roman Road Books, purporting to give the names of all places known at that time. One list gives Lindum colonia (Lincoln) Banovallum, Nanione (Brough), Aquis arnemeza (Buxton), Zerdotalia (Melandra), and Mantio (Manchester). The other gives Mediolana (somewhere in the Cheshire plains) Sandonio near Chester) Deva Victris (Chester) Veratino (believed to be Wilderspool) Lutudaron (the centre of the lead mining industry; a name which appears on many Roman pigs of lead) Derbentione (Little Chester near Derby) Salinis, Condate, Ratecorion (Leicester). Northwich and Kinder-ton lay claim to be Salinis and Condate, but which was which has not yet been finally settled. Chesterton and Rocester seem to have ceased to be worthy of mention, though some authorities concede the name Mediolanum to Chesterton. Dr Richmond (in *Archæologia*, XCIII, pp. 1-50) offers the name Veratinum to Rocester, but there does not appear to be any good ground for this as it involves making a jump from Chester to Rocester, another to Lutudaron, presumably at or near Wirksworth, from there to Derby, and thence jumping over Rocester *en route* to Middlewich and Northwich. I prefer as a more logical arrangement Mediolanum, Sandonio, Deva Victris, Veratino (Wilderspool) in one group, connected by known streets. Lutudaron (Wirksworth ?) and Derbentione (Derby) in another group, connected by the Old Port way and the street along the Chevin, and thence going up Long Lane, ignoring Rocester and Chesterton which had ceased to exist, to Salinis (Kinderton) and Condate (Northwich) with Leicester (Ratecorion), starting a new group of names.

Before concluding this paper I must allow myself one further speculation in regard to the siting of the forts. I gain the impression that the control of the estuaries and rivers was a matter of supreme importance. The Severn with its estuary was secured by the fort at Gloucester and its head waters by Wroxeter and later by the two Welsh forts already mentioned. The Trent was secured at the Humber and by a line of forts of which the culmination was the one at Chesterton. The Mersey was secured by stations at Warrington, Manchester and finally Melandra

on one of its main tributaries. The Don was secured by Doncaster and Templeborough, the Derwent by Little Chester and Brough, the latter being on a main tributary. The Dove and the Churnet were fastened down at Rocester, and even the Wye did not escape Roman influence almost at its very source at Buxton. Perhaps even Chesterfield had some bearing upon the control of the Rother, though this thought leads me into speculations which could only be dealt with adequately in a special study.

In this paper I have touched only the fringe of this fascinating subject of the development of the Roman streets within our county. Much research yet remains to be done. It may well be that some of my conjectures are too bold and may call for revision in light of further research and discoveries. I put them forward in order that they may rivet attention upon the various problems and serve to promote further intensive research.

That there were roads other than those which I have described in use in Roman times cannot be doubted, but I have tried to confine my attention in this article to the authentic Roman streets, properly so called, and have only introduced speculations about pre-existing tracks in those cases where the streets cannot be traced and where some rational explanation for their absence has to be sought. Much must inevitably remain obscure at this great distance of time, but enough has remained to assure us that the Romans in laying out their streets were working to a careful plan, that the plan was basically military rather than civil, and that each step in it can be related to the successive stages in the conquest of this part of our island and the military lines of communication necessary to support the campaigns further to the north.