

WORKSHOP

NEW INFRASTRUCTURES, OLD LANDSCAPES

20-21 JUNE 2024

SOETERBEECK CONFERENCE CENTRE,
RAVENSTEIN (NETHERLANDS)

ORGANISED BY

Rinse Willet & Christian Kicken
Anchoring Innovation Research Program
Radboud University Nijmegen



We cordially invite you to this two-day workshop, which aims to discuss current approaches and new methodologies for studying the innovation of infrastructure in the Roman world. In our modern world, many lives have become increasingly dependent on the connections and movements of people, goods and ideas at a rapid pace over large distances: order today, receive tomorrow. These kinds of behaviour, or rather expectation, have drastically changed the environments in which we live. We need railroads, airports, highways, urban expansion et cetera. Such structures and systems do not only relate to the current socio-economic system in which we live but are also the result of centuries of innovation and globalisation.

Around the middle of the second century CE, Aelius Aristides – an orator from the Roman East – highlighted the societal effects of new infrastructure vividly. He celebrated the changes in the innovated landscape, the high degree of ‘global’ connectivity, and environmental control as great achievements of Roman culture in the world as he knew it:

“You [i.e. Rome and its citizens] have measured and recorded the land of the entire civilized world; you have spanned the river with all kinds of bridges, and hewn highways through the mountains, and filled the barren stretches with posting-stations; you have accustomed all areas to a settled and orderly way of life.”

Ael. Arist. *Or.* 26 (transl. J.H. Oliver)

Material remains of ancient building projects for public benefit, nowadays generally termed as infrastructure, allow us to reflect on the words of the orator. More importantly, they demonstrate how in the past different levels of society – individuals, communities and the ruling elite – tried to (un)successfully change landscapes for specific objectives. The orator lists building projects for improving mobility, but current discourse of ancient infrastructure often focuses on a substantial number of examples, such as canals, dams, maritime and fluvial ports, aqueducts, watermills, granaries, baths, spectacle buildings, temples, markets, basilicas, fortifications etc. The aim of the workshop is to combine and cross-fertilize diverse sources, methods, and locales, to come to a better understanding of how human interventions were anchored in a physical environment.

REGISTRATION AND VENUE

Attending the sessions of the workshop (incl. coffee breaks, lunch, and closing drinks for day 1) is free of charge. If you are interested in participating, you can **register by sending an email to christian.kicken@ru.nl** in which you state your **name, affiliation, and the day(s) you wish to attend**. For catering reasons, please let us know if any **allergies or dietary requests** need to be taken into account. **Registration is possible until Friday, the 7th of June, and please keep in mind that the number of available places is limited.**

The workshop will take place at the [Soeterbeeck Conference Centre](#) of the Radboud University, located in the Dutch municipality of Ravenstein (Elleboogstraat 2, 5352 LP in Deursen-Dennenburg). The venue is easily accessible by public transport; train station *Ravenstein* is within walking distance. **Overnight stay** (incl. breakfast) at Soeterbeeck is possible at your own expense for a fixed price; for more information, see the [website of the venue](#). For non-speakers, attending the **dinner on Thursday the 20th of June** is possible at their own expense. **Contact the organisers if you are interested in the dinner or an overnight stay.**

PROGRAM

THURSDAY 20 JUNE

09.30-09.40: Introductory remarks

09.40-09.45: Opening session 1 (Session leader: Rinse Willet)

09.45–10.25: Darryl Wilkinson (keynote), *Urbanism versus Infrastructure in the Emergence of Empire*

10.25–11.05: Angelo Gargiulo, *Weather forecasting material evidence: measuring time between the Classical World and Late Antiquity*

11.05–11.25: Coffee break

11.25–12.05: Mark Groenhuijzen, *Roman roads in the Dutch limes: anchored innovation or temporary change? Approaching questions of local mobility and transport through least-cost path modelling and network analysis*

12.05–12.45: Christian Kicken, *New ways for old gods. The introduction of religious infrastructure in the Roman North and its impact on surrounding landscape*

12.45-13.00: Session discussion

13.00–14.00: Lunch

14.00-14.05: Opening session 2 (Session leader: Stephan Mols)

14.05–14.45: Jeroen Poblome, *Infrastructure and innovation of the Pisidian cuisine: the case of cooking vessels in ancient Sagalassos*

14.45–15.25: Sadi Maréchal, *Invite to impress. Comfort and innovation in Roman houses and villas*

15.25–15.45: Coffee break

15.45–16.25: Sven Betjes, *The road to emperorship: negotiating imperial space and authority through roads*

16.25–17.05: Marlena Whiting, *Cursus sanctus: anchored infrastructure innovations in early Christian Holy Land pilgrimage*

17.05-17.20: Session discussion

17.20-18.45: Closing drinks for day 1

19.00-21.30: Dinner

FRIDAY 21 JUNE

09.30-09.35: Opening session 3 (Session leader: Christian Kicken)

09.35–10.15: Henrik Leif Schäfer, Das LandGraben-Projekt: *man-made river landscape - Roman interventions in the water system of southern Hessia*

10.15–10.55: Paul Kessener, *A tower on a hill*

10.55–11.15: Coffee break

11.15–11.55: Christel Veen, *Commercial activities on the fifth and sixth miles of the Via Appia: pragmatism or resilience?*

11.55–12.35: Rinse Willet, *Off the beaten path? Roman roads of the Nijmegen-Xanten area*

12.45-13.00: Session discussion

13.00-13.15: Final remarks

THIS WORKSHOP IS FINANCIALLY SUPPORTED BY:

Anchoring Innovation Research Program (OIKOS Research School)

Anchoring Innovation Work Package 10: *Cultural Common Ground in the Roman Empire*

Cities and Settlements Research Group (OIKOS Research School)

Cultural Interactions in the Ancient World Research Group (OIKOS Research School)

Expert Group of Archaeology (Faculty of Arts, Radboud University Nijmegen)

Radboud Institute for Culture & History (Faculty of Arts, Radboud University Nijmegen)



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OVERVIEW OF ABSTRACTS

Urbanism versus Infrastructure in the Emergence of Empire

Darryl Wilkinson, *Dartmouth College (Hanover, United States)*

The highlands of South America are almost completely devoid of navigable rivers, which means the potential for waterborne transport in the region is unusually limited. As a result, the builders of ancient Andean empires had to invest in massive infrastructural projects to facilitate the movement of people, animals and things over long distances. The impressive road system of the Inka Empire is the most obvious example, which was probably the densest highway network *per capita* of any pre-modern state. In many ways, Andean empires only became possible through such infrastructural innovations, allowing them to transcend the material constraints of the Andean landscape. Yet the impressive scale of infrastructural development in the ancient Andes stands in marked contrast to the relatively diminutive character of Andean urbanism. In other words, the ancient Andes exhibits vast infrastructures, but only modest cities. In this presentation, I will therefore consider the Inka Empire as a polity primarily grounded in infrastructural expansion and innovation, more so than one driven by urban growth.

Weather forecasting material evidence: measuring time between the Classical World and Late Antiquity

Angelo Gargiulo, *Ghent University (Belgium)*

Weather forecasting practices have always been of fundamental importance for a wide range of activities in antiquity; it is, therefore, no surprise that calendars are among the most important signs of the Roman attention to the 'measuring and recording the entire civilized world'. Of Roman technology for measuring time we have scattered material evidence, consisting mainly of *parapegmata*.

In this paper, I will first discuss the role of *parapegmata* as part of the public infrastructure of Greco-Roman world: despite unsolved issues about their actual usage, and about their (possibly) public utility (see Taub, *Ancient Meteorology*: 42-43), the general *consensus* is that objects of this kind, whose production and maintenance also required considerable public expenditure, had to be exposed to and exploited by a wide public. It is precisely this 'public' function of some of the epigraphic *parapegmata* found (see the one from Miletus quoted in Lehoux 2005) that makes it possible to consider them as 'infrastructural' elements with a clear public function in the ancient world (see especially the possibility that they were exploited by farmers, sailors and all those professions that had to make special reference to seasonal cycles¹).

Then, the paper aims to investigate whether *parapegmatic* practices underwent substantial changes during the Christianisation of Greco-Roman culture in Late Antiquity. A first survey of epigraphic and literary evidence shows, in fact, not so much a discontinuity, but rather a striking

¹ Cf. Shaw 2013: 6-7 for the importance of these types of activities in the Roman world.

continuity. This is most visible in the way older, classical material gets integrated into later collections, but can be seen also in the evolution of epigraphic evidence (cf. the ones listed by Lehoux 2007: 170-79). Examples of this kind clearly point to the complex background of traditions and authorities that everyone practising the art of predicting the weather had to resort to. It becomes, then, of great interest to investigate whether it is possible to identify some kind of caesura in this type of practices in the crucial period between the 4th and 6th centuries, especially by looking at the sparse material evidence available.

Bibliography

Shaw, B. 2013, *Bringing in the Sheaves: Economy and Metaphor in the Roman World*, Toronto/Buffalo/London.

Roman roads in the Dutch *limes*: anchored innovation or temporary change? Approaching questions of local mobility and transport through least-cost path modelling and network analysis

Mark R. Groenhuijzen², *Utrecht University (Netherlands)*

Philip Verhagen, *Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam (Netherlands)*

Research on transport and mobility in the Roman Empire is strongly focused on the surviving remains of the paved road networks that the Empire. While reconstructing the position and chronology of this road system is a challenge in itself, it provides us with only part of the picture. The great majority of rural Roman settlements were not located on or near a primary road but were connected through an extensive network of secondary, mostly unpaved roads; a network that can often be assumed to predate Roman influence on local infrastructure, and that formed the background on which later Roman road building took place. These secondary routes are only known in small sections that have survived because of good local preservation conditions, and cannot be reconstructed as a network in any meaningful way. This means that we will have to use a wider variety of data and apply specific analysis tools to try to understand the day-to-day practices of transport and mobility in the Roman countryside, and how they might have changed over time under the influence of the Roman Empire.

In this paper, we will use the case of the Dutch Roman frontier zone to demonstrate how a combined approach of least-cost path modelling and network analysis can be extremely helpful in reconstructing possible landscapes of transport and mobility. The paper will demonstrate how these methods can be used to model the development of the transport network through time, to assess the extent to which the Roman military road along the *limes* was anchored in the pre-existing transport system, and how the presence of the Roman military and the military road might have impacted the local transport network and the role of individual settlements within that network. While the paper will focus on reconstructing secondary connections in a specific corner of the Roman Empire, these approaches are also applicable to other case studies.

² Presenting author

New ways for old gods. The introduction of religious infrastructure in the Roman North and its impact on surrounding landscape

Christian Kicken, *Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands)*

In this paper, I examine the introduction of monumental sanctuaries in the Roman North with the conceptual tool of *anchoring innovation* (see Sluiter 2016). By focusing on the provinces of Gallia Belgica and Germania Inferior during the first and second centuries CE, this research also explores how sanctuaries themselves could function as ‘anchoring mechanisms’ for development of new infrastructures in the surrounding landscape.

Within an archaeological definition of infrastructure (see Wilkinson 2019), ancient sanctuaries can be classified as religious infrastructure. In the monumentalisation of religion in the Roman West, the so-called Gallo-Roman temple stands out in different aspects as highlighted by scholars: this ‘local’ type has not only been disproportionately discovered by archaeologists in the core areas of Gallia, Germania, and Britannica, but researchers also note architectural peculiarities compared to building traditions originating from Mediterranean contexts (see Fauduet 2010). However, the origins and early development of this category of religious building in the first century BCE and CE are still subjects of debate.

In this study, I elucidate how the Gallo-Roman temple, as religious infrastructure, shows processes of *anchoring innovation* in two distinct ways: first, I explore to what extent this type of sanctuary is a successful innovation of religious infrastructure in the Roman North. Secondly, I discuss how the Gallo-Roman temple could contribute to infrastructural innovation in the surrounding landscape, focusing on the relationship between sanctuaries and new infrastructures such as spectacle buildings, bathhouses and roads.

The results are based on analysis of a GIS database of sanctuaries and other forms of infrastructure in the Roman provinces of Germania Inferior and Gallia Belgica. On one hand, this provides insights into the development of infrastructure at a macro level; on the other hand, examination of case studies can refine such processes at a micro level.

Bibliography

Fauduet, I. 2010, *Les temples de tradition celtique en Gaule Romaine*, Paris.

Sluiter, I. 2016, Anchoring Innovation: A Classical Research Agenda, *European Review* 25.1, 20-38.

Wilkinson, D. 2019, Towards an Archaeological Theory of Infrastructure, *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 1216-1241.

Infrastructure and innovation of the Pisidian cuisine: the case of cooking vessels in ancient Sagalassos

Jeroen Poblome, *Leuven University (Belgium)*

Rinse Willet, *Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands)*

This paper discusses innovations in cooking technology and culinary practices of the Pisidian city of Sagalassos, and related changes and innovations in transport (road network) and production infrastructure. Situated high in the mountains with the nearest port some 100 km to the south, the city underwent many changes when it was incorporated into the Roman world, which coincided with the consolidation of the road network in Asia Minor from the late 1st century BCE onwards. Connecting with the *Via Sebaste* and other roads to the wider Roman world, contact with the city must have intensified and had influence on many aspects of daily life, including preparing and savouring meals.

Cooking is an important aspect of daily life and its practices are anchored in the framework of socio-cultural contexts such as family traditions or *tabernae* catering Roman street food. At the same time, changes and innovations take place in food-related technology as well as the types of dishes or beverages being prepared and served. This is manifested in changes in the design and usage of cooking vessels in archaeological deposits datable to between Hellenistic and Early Byzantine times. Although the city was a production centre of cooking vessels already during Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic times, during the Roman Imperial period an influx of new cooking vessels produced (far) outside the urban territory reached the city, such as the Pompeian Red Ware bread baking dishes from Italy.

Pots, however, usually do not travel alone, yet form part of luggage of travellers, traders and immigrants to the region, having and sharing different culinary and/or cultural practices. These new cooking vessel types and related food preparation technologies were not only embraced by the Sagalassians, the vessels were locally reproduced and even developed further into new types to fit local cooking practices and needs, showing a willingness and capacity to shift production infrastructures and existing *chaîne opératoires*. At the same time, continuity of (Hellenistic) vessel types is clearly visible in the archaeological record as well. The open question is how deep such innovation actually reached into society and whether path dependencies could have played a role.

Invite to impress. Comfort and innovation in Roman houses and villas

Sadi Maréchal, *Ghent University (Belgium)*

Houses of the Roman upper class, whether a *domus* in a city or a *villa* in the countryside, were social hubs rather than locations of private seclusion. The architecture of these houses, and in particular areas of social interaction (triclinia, peristyles, baths, etc.), played a crucial part in conveying the status and wealth of the owner towards his peers and people of lower social standing. This paper will investigate the role of Roman houses as laboratories for architectural and technological innovation and examine the agency of the patrons willing to invest in new

designs and state-of-the-art technology. Such an important expenditure of wealth must have surpassed a mere quest for comfort and could be seen as an effort to impress invited guests. Special attention will be paid to the two areas of social interaction *par excellence*: the reception rooms and the baths. Some important innovations, notably in water and heating technology, were first introduced in the domestic realm before breaking through in public infrastructure. Other inventive ideas forever remained local oddities, or a regional trend at best. Indeed, specific environmental circumstances (e.g. climate, availability of building material), economic factors (e.g. access to supply networks, access to expertise and labour force) and the indigenous socio-cultural context (e.g. persistent vernacular architecture, social and religious constraints) influenced development and success. The paper will draw from archaeological and literary, as well as epigraphic evidence. The geographical scope covers both the Italian Peninsula and a selected number of case studies from the provinces, whereas the chronological focus will lie on the imperial period, even if some examples of the republican or late antique period will be drawn into the debate.

The road to emperorship: negotiating imperial space and authority through roads

Sven Betjes, *Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands)*

Roman emperorship was not set in stone. From its inception it lacked a proper constitution into which it could be embedded, as a consequence of which it strongly depended on an ongoing dialogue between the various social constituencies of Roman society. Finding common ground through negotiating traditions, values and expectations played a major role in this respect. This paper focusses on a specific part of this dialogue that actually did give a stone dimension to Roman emperorship: the expected role of the emperor in caring for the empire's extensive road network.

Made into a key aspect of imperial rule ever since Augustus reformed the *cura viarum*, our literary and epigraphic evidence present road-building and road-maintenance – though by no means being the emperor's sole prerogative – as key elements in achieving good emperorship. This paper delves into these sources to unravel the aspects of an emperor's dealing with the empire's roads that could contribute positively or negatively to his reputation. It will show the emperor and his associates themselves having an impact through the actual care of the roads as much as through representation. The latter was done through finding divine precedent in the emperor's deeds, but also by making roadscapes into an 'imperial space' by thorough monumentalization and granting privileged access. At the same time, this paper will demonstrate that especially our literary sources contain subtle counternarratives to imperial claims to controlling the empire's roads, at times even outright denying a road as being a controlled space.

In short, literary and epigraphic evidence are brought together in this paper to define for the Principate how an imperial policies towards the empire's roads reflected on imperial power. Accordingly, this paper aims to emphasize the *cura viarum* as a significant – yet often overlooked – pillar onto which the innovative superstructure that was Roman emperorship could rest.

***Cursus sanctus*: anchored infrastructure innovations in early Christian Holy Land pilgrimage**

Marlena Whiting, *University of Groningen (Netherlands)*

Travel before the era of mechanized transport was constrained by the limits of human physical exertion: how fast they (or their animals) could walk and for how long, and by their basic periodic needs for water, shelter, and food. These very basic constraints underlie the staging of the Roman official postal system, the *cursus publicus*, with overnight stops, *mansiones*, stationed on average about 30km apart, and horse-changing stations, *mutationes*, positioned about 10km apart.

The pilgrim routes of the Holy Land, on the other hand, were determined by largely by the site of Biblical events transformed into Christian *loca sancta*. While long-distance Christian pilgrimage was an innovative cultural phenomenon in the region, the infrastructure to support it was anchored in the universal constraints of travel. In the fifth and sixth centuries new shrines were built at locations along key routes, aimed at providing pilgrims with amenities at similar intervals to those of the *cursus publicus*. A Christian travel network emerged that mirrored existing travel networks yet catered to the specific needs of pilgrims for spirituality and ritual. Some of these shrines lacked obvious links with scriptural events or local holy persons, which indicates their practical function. Others were built under imperial patronage, showing that supporting Christian pilgrimage infrastructure had become an innovative field for demonstrating Roman imperial virtues.

This paper will explore some archaeological evidence for how pilgrimage infrastructure combined pilgrims' 'anchored' needs for rest and shelter with the 'innovations' of prayer and ritual. I will look at examples from the route between Jerusalem and the site of the Baptism on the Jordan River, and at the wider hinterland of the pilgrim shrine of St Simeon the Elder Stylite in Northern Syria. I will demonstrate that although Christian pilgrimage infrastructure was by necessity anchored in a pragmatic system with constrained parameters, it is the innovations of Christian ritual and context provided to pilgrim way stations and lodgings that enabled the system to flourish.

***Das LandGraben-Projekt*: man-made river landscape - Roman interventions in the water system of southern Hesse**

Henrik Leif Schäfer³, Thomas Becker, Markus Scholz, Andreas Vött, Dennis Wilken, Lea Obrocki and Elena Appel, *Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Hessen and other institutes (Germany)*

The River *Landgraben* in southern Hesse (Germany), which runs from the *Odenwald* through the "Ried" (reed) up to the River Rhine south of *Mainz*, was long considered as an artificial watercourse which dates back to the early modern period. In recent years, however, there has been increasing evidence that several Roman sites are directly linked to the River *Landgraben*. Investigating this connection and the time of building is the task of the *LandGraben* project, funded by the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgesellschaft), which is carried out by the Darmstadt branch of the *HessenArchäologie* (Part of the Hessian State Office

³ Presenting author

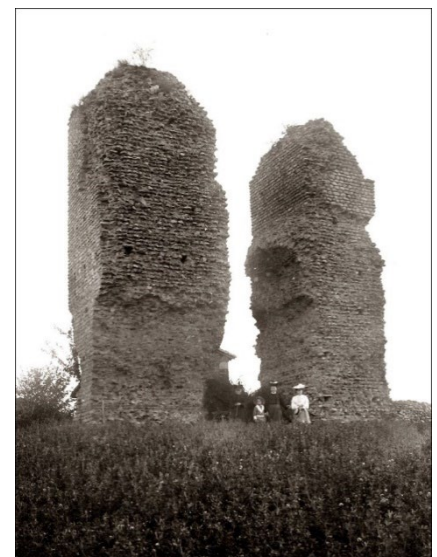
for Monuments and Sites), by the Johannes Gutenberg University Mainz, the Christian-Albrechts-University Kiel and the Goethe University Frankfurt. A wide range of archaeological, geoarchaeological and geophysical methods are used to search for the Roman stream and to clarify its role for the different Roman sites. Of particular importance are the auxiliary fort and *vicus* of Groß-Gerau “Auf Esch”, which are surrounded by the River *Landgraben* to the south and west. Here it follows the course of an oxbow lake from the Paleo-Neckar, before heading straight west towards the River Rhine across the Lower Terrace. Furthermore an area located southeast of Groß-Gerau-Wallerstädten is in focus, where, in addition to several military camps from various phases of the first century, extensive anthropogenic water interventions can be proven. Lastly, the Trebur-Astheim site also shows strong interference with the course of the water during the Roman period. An early camp dated to the Augustan-Tiberian period is clearly cut through by the river *Landgraben*, with the southwestern edge of the camp being completely washed away, while in the same area a *burgus* built under Emperor Valentinian was constructed directly exposed to the river. The project aims to prove the Roman origin of the *Landgraben* and how it continues to shape the surrounding landscape until today.

A tower on a hill

Paul Kessener, *independent scholar*

During the Pax Romana, the number of aqueducts increased dramatically due to increased prosperity, with every city or colony gaining or adding an aqueduct. Gallia had 300, Lyon alone had four: the aqueduct of Gier, Brevenne, Yzeron and Mont d’Or. Each Lyon aqueduct was equipped with one or more large siphons, 8 siphons in all, pressurized lead conduits to cross valleys too wide or too deep to be crossed by a bridge or impossible to be circumvented.

The Yzeron aqueduct had a single siphon, with the enormous length of over 5.5 km. This siphon was equipped with a 16 meter high ‘hydraulic tower’ at about 2 km downstream from the start. A limited number of such towers incorporated into a siphon are known from Roman times. The function of such towers included venting the conduit to guarantee water flow. The tower of the Yzeron aqueduct was built on top of a hill, with an open water reservoir on top of the tower. The remains, called ‘les Tourillons de Craponne’, are 16 meters high and were recently restored. The contribution attempts to explore the reason why this enormous structure was built, which was essentially unnecessary given landscape considerations.



Les Tourillons de Craponne

Commercial activities on the fifth and sixth miles of the Via Appia: pragmatism or resilience?

Christel Veen⁴ and Stephan Mols, *Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands)*

As part of the multidisciplinary research project *Mapping the Via Appia*, excavations have been carried out since 2011 on the fifth and sixth miles of the oldest Roman consular road. Here, funerary monuments developed from the second half of the first century BCE onwards, while new burial practices appeared later than on the first miles of the road. While the construction of new funerary monuments declines sharply towards the end of the second century CE, our research has demonstrated that spaces between the monuments were filled with shops and workshops, some of which remain active far into the fifth century. Their existence prompts two questions: why were they here and who were their customers? Were they located here as the result of pragmatism, considering the distance from Rome? Although it has been argued that their presence can be linked to the Villa of the Quintilii, the largest villa in the Roman suburbium, there may have been more reasons for the commercial activities in our research area. The first are the discovered intersections with side roads, which may have attracted trade on a local scale. A second reason could be the features and monuments on the fifth and sixth miles which played a role in the foundation myths of Rome, such as the tombs of the Horatii and Curiatii, the Campus Horatorum and the Fossae Cluiliae, which were already tourist attractions in Livy's time. A third reason could be an increase in road traffic as the result of political instability in the third century. Emperors came and went, and roads were essential for troop movements and sending messages through, for instance, the *cursus publicus*. Which reasons have contributed to the under-studied phenomenon of commercial activities on the Via Appia? Are we dealing with simple pragmatic local solutions or is there more to it?

Off the beaten path? Roman roads of the Nijmegen-Xanten area

Rinse Willet, *Radboud University Nijmegen (Netherlands)*

Roads as feats of civil engineering are often considered as positive innovations by the states that constructed them. Even the German *Autobahnen* are still positively appraised despite being in no small part constructed and completed under the Third Reich. The roads of the Roman Empire are (a lot less controversially) considered as part of a set of civil engineering feats of Antiquity. For North-Western Europe, studies on Roman roads have been showcasing many examples of Roman roads that are coinciding with modern roads, often forming straight lines for large distances and connecting towns or cities. Such examples showing apparently very long continuity in usage, further underlines the innovative vision and foresight the Roman state had in constructing these overland connections. Archaeological evidence shows, however, that protohistoric societies had an extensively developed agriculture and long distance exchange was typical. The question therefore arises to what extent the Roman road network was indeed an innovation.

⁴ Presenting author

This paper focuses on the Roman road network of the area around Nijmegen and Xanten, two major military and civilian nodes in the Roman period. Archaeological evidence for roads has come from excavations and coring surveys, but increasingly from remote sensing techniques using LIDAR and geophysical approaches. Combined with information of the palaeolandscape and the location of key sites, such as forts, sanctuaries, or cemeteries, a base of knowledge can be assembled to reconstruct the road-network of this area. This reconstruction is tested against the scant information of prehistoric roads in the area to discuss whether Roman roads were indeed innovations and to what extent these were anchored on a canvas of pre-existing elements, such as routes or even roads. Attention is given to the continuity of Roman roads or routes into medieval times and later to see the success of anchoring. Central to these discussion points is the question whether and to what extent it is possible to discern continuity in patterns of mobility between the iron age and Roman periods.