THE RECOVERY OF ROMAN BRITAIN 1586–1906

A Colony So Fertile

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RICHARD HINGLEY

OXFORD STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF ARCHAEOLOGY

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For David Breeze

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Preface

This book explores how ideas derived from the Roman domination of Britain were articulated in the definition of nationhood between the sixteenth and early twentieth century. Discoveries of objects and sites have contributed to this understanding of the pre-Roman and Roman past. Dominant perceptions of Roman Britain have drawn upon the writings of classical authors—including Julius Caesar, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio—that addressed the ancient Britons and the actions of the Romans in Britain. From the start of this period, however, discoveries in the British countryside and in towns began to supplement the understanding derived from classical writers. This book addresses how these finds were used to inform, develop, and contradict knowledge derived from classical texts.

Roman contact and control were thought to have allowed the ancient Britons of the Lowlands to achieve civil behaviour. This ancestral achievement was used to characterize the modern populations of Scotland, Ireland, and territories overseas as 'uncivil' or 'barbaric'. The book explores the subsequent transformation of ideas of civility under new historical circumstances; ideas of Romanized Britons and Romanization are referenced to account for the gradual transformation of the material culture available to Britons in immediately pre-Roman and Roman times.

the index. I am very grateful to Dr Audrey Horning of Leicester University for her advice about early modern Ireland; to Dr Anne O'Connor for lively discussions of theories of history and for lending me her copy of the 1695 edition of Camden's *Britannia*; and to Dr Dimitris Grigoropoulos, Dr Phil Freeman, and Colin Wallace for references to various published works. Dr Rama Mantena allowed me to use material from her forthcoming article, while Dr Paul Bidwell, Professor David Breeze, Dr Nick Hodgson, Professor Lawrence Keppie, and Adam Rogers provided comments on earlier drafts of various sections of the text. Dr Rob Witcher and Dr Divia Tolia Kelly helped me to reconceptualize issues of geography and materiality, while Dr Rebecca Jones lent relevant sections from her unpublished PhD thesis. My thanks to Bernard Nurse and Adrian James at the Society of Antiquaries, Dr Sheila Hingley at Palace Green Library, University of Durham, Ian Friel of Chichester Museum, and the City Clerk at Chichester for assistance with the permissions for the reproduction of various images. Haverfield's unpublished paper (1913) is referenced here by permission of the Haverfield Bequest, University of Oxford and I am grateful to Professor Andrew Wilson for his assistance in granting permission to use this text. Finally, I am also very grateful to my editor Hilary O'Shea at Oxford University Press, to my copy-editor Ian McAuslan, to my proofreader Christine Ranft, and to the staff at the Bodleian and Sackler Libraries in Oxford and the Palace Green Library and main University Library in Durham for their unstinting help with my research.

R. H.

Shadforth, Durham
December 2007

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Introduction

> For much of European history, classical antiquity has provided
> a symbolic repertoire of great power and flexibility; its power
> stemming from its exemplary achievements and its endurance
> through a long history of repetition...
>
> <div align="right">C. Stray (1998), 10</div>

This book examines the impact of the discovery of physical evidence
for Roman Britain between the late sixteenth and the early twentieth
centuries.[1] My earlier work, *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen*,
explored how the Roman past of Britain was articulated as an aspect
of 'imperial discourse' in British late Victorian and Edwardian soci-
ety, how the Roman history and monuments of Britain were used to
construct an imperial ancestry for contemporary Britain.[2] The
Roman empire, and Roman Britain in particular, were drawn upon
to provide powerful contrasts and comparisons between the super-
powers of their respective ages, drawing out morals and lessons for
the contemporary imperial age.[3] *This* book seeks to address the value

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[1] Recent studies that have influenced my account include Armitage (1997), (2000),
Ayres (1997), Baker and Maley (2002), Hadfield (1998), Hepple (2004), J. Levine
(1987), P. Levine (1986), Majeed (1999), T. Marshall (2000), Morse (2005), Parry
(1995), Ronan (1995), Scanlan (1999), Smiles (1994), Sweet (2004), Vance (1997),
Vasunia (2005), Willamson (1996), and Woolf (1990), (2003).

[2] For other writings that address the historiography of Roman studies during the
late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Freeman (1996), Hingley (1996), (2007),
Vance (1997), Wallace (2002), and Webster (2001). For the broader Roman colonial
analogy, see Bell (2006) and Vasunia (2005).

[3] As Stray (1998), 17 emphasizes in a consideration of classicizing in 'Augustan'
(early eighteenth-century) England, 'the use of metaphor' is often encouraged by the
'difficulty, or danger', of making direct comparisons.

of ideas derived from Roman Britain in the construction of British nationhood and in the context of empire-building, but with a far longer chronological perspective.[4]

Before the later sixteenth century, people in Britain had thought and written about the Roman past, but conventional wisdom suggests that it is only from this time that a self-critical and conscious appreciation of the classical writings that addressed Britain emerged.[5] It is also from this time that the value of past objects and sites started to be recognized. In studying the ways that objects and remains from the pre-Roman and Roman past were received, we shall see that the increasing comprehension of the significance of ancient objects was itself a result of the gradual acceptance of the authority of the classical texts that referred to pre-Roman and Roman Britain.

Knowledge of the culture and history of ancient Britain prior to this time was communicated through a series of mythical tales that presented a heroic picture of the ancient past.[6] For the English, this 'old British history' presented what Philip Schwyzer has called a 'grand and sprawling narrative', derived mainly from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*The History of the Kings of Britain*, *c.*1136).[7] These powerful ideas related the initial peopling of these islands to Brutus and his followers who had fled the sack of Troy. During medieval times, various associated stories had been elaborated around mythical and semi-mythical ancient rulers of Britain, including Cymbeline and Lear.[8]

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[4] On the need for analysis of the contribution of scholars of the late sixteenth to nineteenth centuries to the study of Roman Britain, see Hepple (2004), 154. A number of important studies of these sources, including Ayres (1997), 84–104, Hepple (1999), (2001), (2002), and Sweet (2004), 155–88, are addressed below.

[5] Woolf (2003), 1 addresses the idea that during the early modern period the foundations of modern scholarly and critical techniques were laid down; he also explores the context of such an interpretation.

[6] MacDougall (1982). Creighton (2006), 4–5 and Todd (2004), 443 refer to some relevant material, while J. Levine (1987), 20–5 discusses the broader geographical and historical context.

[7] Schwyzer (2002), 11. For contrasting Scottish myths of origin, see Kidd (1993), 18–19, Pittock (1997), 29, and Williamson (1994), 187–90; (1996), 69–70, 74.

[8] Cymbeline is the historical character Cunobelinus, Caradoc is Caratacus, while Brennus and Lear were entirely fictitious. Armitage (2000), 36–46, 53–5 has discussed the ways that the tales connected with Brutus were used during the sixteenth century to argue the primacy of the crown of England over that of Scotland and the rights of the English to conquer Ireland.

During the late sixteenth century many of these tales were gradually undermined by the increasing availability and visibility of classical accounts referring to ancient Britain.[9] At this time, and during the early seventeenth century, an understanding of pre-Roman and Roman Britain arose that was less influenced by the medieval myths and more dependent on the writings of the classical authors, with all their inherent biases.[10] These texts were used to provide a comprehension of the geography and history of Roman Britain and the character of the pre-Roman and Roman populations.[11]

Nevertheless, the tales that made up the old British history continued to influence ideas about the ancient past well into the eighteenth century and beyond, since they provided attractive ancestries for what was perceived as contemporary English (or British) greatness.[12] Some of the most long-lived of these origin myths related to

[9] A fundamentally important classical text, which drew on the status of its writer and the lengthy description of pre-Roman Britain that it contained, was Julius Caesar's *De bello Gallico* (*DBG* in this text). Initially printed in 1511, the first translation into English appeared in 1530; see Piggott (1989), 88. As part of his seminal account of pre-Roman and Roman Britain in *Britannia*, published in 1586, William Camden provided the relevant writings (in Latin) of the classical authors who had addressed ancient Britain, including Caesar, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pomponius Mela, Tacitus, Cassius Dio, and Herodian; see Piggott (1989), 88. Tacitus' *Agricola*, which contained highly significant information about Roman activities in Britain and native populations, was rediscovered in the early fifteenth century but not published in translation until 1591 (ibid; Ogilvie and Richmond (1967), 80–4), while the same author's *Annals, Histories*, and *Germania*, were translated in 1598; see Piggott (1989), 88; Woolf (1990), 174. John Clapham's *The Historie of Great Britannie* (1606) contained a chronological account in English and was derived from several significant classical texts. In 1610, Philemon Holland's translation of Camden's *Britannia* into English presented the texts of most of the relevant passages from the classical authors to readers who could not read Latin.

[10] J. Levine (1987), 19–20 explores the difficulty with the drawing of too distinct a line between fact and fiction in the writing of history and my account explores the attempts of some scholars, through the course of centuries, to establish such a distinction through the use of classical texts and ancient objects.

[11] Parry (1995), 2.

[12] Ferguson (1979), 104–7, Parry (1995), 9, Preston (2005), 142, and Sweet (2004), 122. Akerman (1849), 177, for example, felt it necessary to dismiss the myth of Brutus as the founder of Britain at the start of his account of 'Celtic' coins. For a variety of approaches to these ancient British rulers, see Braund (1996), Floyd-Wilson (2002), MacDougall (1982), T. Marshall (2000), and Schwyzer (2002). For the crisis caused by the realization of the imaginary nature of the old histories, see Mikalachki (1998), 7.

particular urban centres and were used by antiquaries to explain the origins and early histories of London, Manchester, and Bath.[13] Poets, playwrights, antiquaries, and historians also continued to use some of these concepts to examine the British past. Gradually, however, more authoritative ideas of the character of the ancient population of Britain began to emerge, drawing upon classical writings and backed up with relevant objects and sites discovered in the British countryside.

MATERIALS AND TEXTS

Writing on the rediscovery of classical antiquity in Renaissance Italy, Leonard Barkan has contended:

> The finding of ancient sculpture in the ground . . . followed by the decoding, the restoring, the imitating, the reimagining, the weaving together of a grand narrative of history from the material remains and their textual traces— what happens if we entertain the possibility that this was precisely the impossible new thing that produces, or at the very least signals, historical change?[14]

Barkan's provocative proposal will be explored through a study of how objects and sites were used to supplement, develop, and contradict influential ideas about the classical past of Britain.

From the late sixteenth century, it was increasingly apparent to influential scholars and collectors that ancient finds could both support and inform the surviving classical accounts that addressed pre-Roman and Roman Britain.[15] The discovery and interpretation of material finds has been fundamental to the way that interpretations of Roman Britain were developed, but this has occurred within a context in which the texts themselves have usually had primacy.

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[13] For discussions of the concept of the origin myth, see Brocklehurst and Phillips (2004), Miller (1995), 35–40, and Samuel and Thompson (1990).

[14] Barkan (1999), xxi, drawing on Foucault's (1989) writings about the archaeology of knowledge.

[15] Woolf (2003), 222 has explored the way that artefacts, as a subject of scholarship in early modern times, were constructed as such by the scholar. The construction of knowledge of the character and significance of artefacts and sites in addressed below.

Objects and sites discovered in the countryside were fitted into a broadly historical frame of reference. Nevertheless, the collection and dissemination of information about these material remains gradually enabled a changing interpretation of Britain's classical past.

An engagement with the material side of pre-Roman and Roman culture in Britain has fulfilled a vital role in developing some of the ideas of origin that have been derived from readings of classical writings. From this perspective, material items are certainly not mute. It has recently been argued that, although such objects require to be interpreted if they are to be understood, the nature of their materiality also constrains (or influences) interpretation.[16] In these terms, objects have an agency, since they influence the ways that people think and act.[17] As Lorraine Daston has observed, 'the language of things derives from certain cultural properties of the things themselves, which suit the cultural purposes for which they are enlisted.'[18] Objects and sites have been drawn upon at particular times to support, supplement, develop, and sometimes contradict exsiting knowledge.[19] Since objects have to be interpreted, matter also constrains meaning[20] and, in these terms, they can sometimes challenge the categories that we use to define them. Objects that encompass text (including inscriptions, coins, and letters) provided (and provide) particular challenges;[21] they represent both objects and texts, transitional items that hold a particular potential to inform.

The value of the inscribed texts as a source for comprehending the ancient past of Britain was apparent to antiquaries. In 1713, in a discussion of a Roman tombstone found close to Bath, Philip Yeo observed that '*Inscriptions* are . . . most valuable, as being for the generality *Originals of undoubted Veracity*; not subject to the errors of Copying.'[22] While classical texts had survived through later transcription, objects that included inscriptions (stones and coins) could be directly enlisted to create an immediacy for the ancient past. In Francis

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[16] Daston (2004).

[17] Gosden (2005); both Daston (2004) and Gosden are studying the influence of objects on representatives of societies that are broadly contemporary with the objects concerned, but I wish to explore the ways that ancient artefacts also have an agency to influence individuals who uncovered and interpreted them.

[18] Daston (2004), 15. [19] Barkan (1999), xxi. [20] Daston (2004), 17.

[21] M. Johnston (1999), 31 and Hingley (2005), 10–11. [22] Yeo (1713), 283.

Haskell's terms 'Coins—and monuments of all kinds— . . . remained pre-eminently important for the reassurance they could offer that the past recorded in books really had existed and was not a mere series of fictions wrangled over by partisan historians.'[23] My readings of past works places special emphasis on the reception of these material texts in order to illustrate how ideas about Roman Britain have been constructed, although the variety of other items and sites that do not, directly, incorporate written text will also be shown to have played a significant role in framing new comprehension.

Ancient objects and monuments were also commonly used to provide inspiration for the form and location of new materiality. As knowledge of the ancient past increased, elements of the antique were drawn upon to construct lifestyles, homes, and landscapes, expressed as military systems (frontier works and roads), country houses, urban public buildings, and memorials.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORIES

Twentieth-century reviews of particular antiquaries and early archae-ologists sometimes suggest that their current significance relates directly to the scale of their contribution to the modern discipline of archaeology.[24] It is imagined that archaeology is a natural outcome of human endeavour, with methods and techniques preordained by scientific logic.[25] Archaeology is therefore viewed as a body of method and theory that existed for previous generations on some notional plane of rationality but at some remove, virtually impossible to grasp

[23] Haskell (1993), 23, drawing upon the comments of the sixteenth-century author Enea Vico. Coins will have been discovered throughout medieval times, but it was only during the sixteenth century that they were commonly recorded; see Woolf (2003), 232–8.

[24] For explorations of this suggestion see Hepple (2004), 147, P. Levine (1986), 5, Peltz and Myrone (1999), 6, Sweet (2004), xx, 129–30, and Wallace (2002), 384. For one particular detailed example, see Haycock's analysis, (2002), 6–8, of Stuart Piggott's writings (1985) about William Stukeley. See Bowler (1989), 7 on the dangers of writing contemporary concerns too directly into the past.

[25] For the origins of archaeology in the later nineteenth century, see Piggott (1989), 8.

since people had not been introduced to the rules that defined the discipline. From such a perspective, it merely required detailed enquiry by well-informed and scholarly individuals to discover the correct methods and ideas and to systematize the discipline.

Philippa Levine has proposed, in a study of the antiquarians, historians, and archaeologists of the nineteenth century, that to 'see in the historical studies … no more than the nascent germs of our own thinking would be a collective egotism of massive proportions'.[26] The term 'archaeology' came into use fairly early in the period studied and an assessment of how it was used to determine a particular approach to monuments and artefacts is addressed below, but with the intention of the avoidance of an overtly teleological perspective to the study of the works of antiquaries and archaeologists.[27] An overemphasis upon origins has led authors to suggest that early scholars were struggling towards an archaeological understanding, sometimes succeeding in their efforts and at other times failing almost completely. Some antiquaries are considered to have produced ideas that were well ahead of their time, contributing in a significant way to the development of a field of endeavour that would eventually lead to the modern discipline of archaeology.[28] Others are condemned, using a comparable logic, since they were unable to escape their contemporary contexts and concerns and failed to create sound and useful perspectives. Such an approach can lead, as we shall see, to the anachronistic attribution of archaeological learning to some significant scholars, including William Camden and John Horsley, while condemning the relative failure of others, for example Robert Sibbald and Alexander Gordon.

[26] P. Levine (1986), 5.
[27] Piggott (1989), 8 makes some comparable observations, but then turns to a study which has a stated focus that involves 'the application of archaeological means to the discovery of the pre-Roman past of Britain from the late sixteenth to the early nineteenth century' (ibid. 21): an approach that appears to contradict his earlier comments.
[28] Sweet (2004), xiii–xx has provided a detailed discussion of the term 'antiquary' and her book explores the variety of activities undertaken by antiquaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while Haycock (2002), 4–6, P. Levine (1986), 70–1), and Parry (1995), 9–10 address changes in the meaning of the term from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries.

Nevertheless, by focusing upon the origin of archaeology in the nineteenth century, we perform an act of reification, one that creates a rupture between past and present which is of dubious relevance. In a discussion of the visualization of ancient Europeans during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Stephanie Pratt argues for a great degree of continuity:

the prerequisites for the illustration of archaeological knowledge were established some centuries prior to the emergence of archaeology as a mode of engagement with the past. Thus, whereas the growth of archaeology as an academic discipline coincides with the nineteenth century's development of printmaking technologies and of photography, the process of imagining the past has a surprisingly long history and can useful be examined in earlier centuries.[29]

The fieldwork and writings of antiquarians served a broadly comparable role in the creation of knowledge about the past. The inheritance of approaches is an important aspect of the development of knowledge. Nevertheless, it was never ordained that the modern discipline of archaeology would arise in its current form as a result of the historical development of knowledge.[30] Studies of the development of thought should account for discontinuity and disagreement in addition to exploring continuity and gradual change.[31]

In assessing the origins of contemporary knowledge, it is important to consider the intellectual context of past and present thought.[32] This study aims to assess the evolution of thought by documenting the fact that archaeology, like antiquarianism and classics, was (and is) the product of particular social forces; it is socially contextual. In order to keep issues of teleology and anachronism in focus, we

[29] Pratt (2005), 52.
[30] To qualify these points, this book does not seek to explore the origins of the modern discipline of archaeology, but to address how the discovery of material culture influenced ideas about the Roman past in Britain. The rise of archaeological methodology has relevance from this point of view but is not the main focus of interest.
[31] Foucault (1989).
[32] Peltz and Myrone (1999), 9, Haycock (2002), 6–9, P. Levine (1986), 5, and Sweet (2004), xix. Sweet (2004), P. Levine (1986), and Parry (1995) have provided valuable surveys of the social identity of antiquaries during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, but this significant topic is not explored in any great detail below, since my aims are rather different.

should attempt to set the changing perspectives about the pre-Roman and Roman past in their broader historical context, rather than judging work solely in the light of its contribution to current understanding.[33] All scholars work within the constraints of their own time, perpetuating and, at the same time, transforming knowledge. Archaeology, like other academic disciplines, finally evolved in its present character as a result of the work of individuals who learnt from past experience and developed understanding.

This book focuses on published texts that address the Roman and pre-Roman past,[34] while some visual representations and popular writings are also explored.[35] The meanings of these early modern and modern texts and representations are interpreted by referring to recent writings that address the history of Britain and its colonial and imperial relations overseas.[36] From the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century, ideas derived from the classical texts and the surviving traces of the Romans in Britain constituted a highly valued prism through which issues of identity (regional and national) and colonial purpose could be viewed.

THEMES FOR STUDY

This book does not aim to provide a simple chronological history of the evolution of thought about Roman Britain.[37] Over such a lengthy period of time a thematic approach will be taken in order to create a

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[33] P. Levine (1986), 5.

[34] These published sources include some letters and documents.

[35] See Haskell (1993), Hulse and Erickson (2000), and Moser and Smiles (2005) for approaches to the interpretation of representations (or images) from the past. See Smiles (1994) and Moser (1998) for far fuller accounts of representations of the pre-Roman and Roman British pasts than is attempted here. For other relevant works, see Smiles and Moser (2005) and Hingley and Unwin (2005), 111–221.

[36] See some of the more modern works listed in References. Nationality and imperialism are vital topics. Robertson (1995*a*), 11–16 and Scanlan (1999), 36–7 provide useful assessments of how sixteenth- to eighteenth-century concepts of empire subsumed the unity of Britain.

[37] Accounts of the rediscovery of the evidence for Roman Britain include an innovative but dated study by Haverfield (1924*a*), a short recent summary by Todd (2004*a*) and Henig's account of the rediscovery of Roman art (1995), 174–89.

workable structure. This means that certain classes of finds and topics of interest are consciously excluded: my readings of texts and images focus on four interlinked themes, drawing mainly on the evidence from England and Scotland.[38] These are selected for their articulation of concepts of national origin and purpose: (1) the idea that a 'civility' or 'civilization' was introduced to native Britons as a result of their incorporation into the Roman empire;[39] (2) the contrasting interpretation of the 'walling out' of humanity (or civility) from the peoples of northern Britain as a result of the geographical limiting of the province that occurred through the construction of the two Roman Walls; (3) the exploration of the identity and character of the Roman incomers to Britannia; and (4) the role of the ruination of Roman monuments, enabling reflection on Britain's contemporary imperial purpose.

Defining *civility* relates to interpretations derived from a number of classical texts, but particularly from Tacitus' writings (*Agricola* 21) about the education and enslavement of the Britons by the Roman governor Agricola in the first century.[40] This idea of civility, or civilization, which was developed from the late sixteenth century, related to the challenging suggestion that Britons were able to adopt civilized ways under Roman tuition. Writing in 1606, John Clapham called this process 'Agricolaes policie to plant civilitie among the Britans'.[41] This idea of native civility arose as a reaction to the extreme barbarian portrayals of the ancient Britons provided by the recently rediscovered classical texts. Civility was a highly powerful idea, enabling the English to claim a cultural link with the world of the classical Mediterranean through the Roman conquest of southern

[38] Occasional references will be made to Wales, but relevant information will not be assessed in detail. Toller (2001) provides an account of antiquarian studies of Roman remains in Wales, stressing that until the nineteenth century antiquaries were mainly interested in the remains of southern Britain and those of Hadrian's Wall.

[39] Civility was a common term during the sixteenth to late eighteenth centuries, after which civilization begins to be used rather more commonly to define a comparable concept: see Febvre (1973), 223 for comments on the fourth edition of Dr Johnson's *New English Dictionary*. The terms 'civility' and 'civilization' are discussed further below.

[40] Tacitus' *Agricola*, according to Vance (1997), 265, set the foundation for British pride.

[41] Clapham (1606), 74.

Britain. The idea of emergent native civility under Roman tutelage is first developed in antiquarian works of late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These drew upon classical writings but also objects, particularly British coins, and the portrayal, in words and in representations, of the physique of male and female ancient Britons. The term 'Romanized' comes into use gradually, from the mid seventeenth century, to articulate a discourse of civility, apparently related to an increasing focus on the nature of ancient objects.[42]

For much of the late sixteenth to early eighteenth centuries, the idea of the *walling out of humanity* through the construction of Roman frontiers played a significant role in nascent ideas about Englishness and Scottishness. Huw Griffiths has reflected on the value of the Jacobean search amongst the ruins of the Picts' Wall (Hadrian's Wall) in an attempt to secure a 'firm history' and a 'solid national geography' for the 'tricky' concept of Great Britain.[43] The characterization of the mainland of Great Britain as an island that had been partly colonized by Rome had a significant impact on the development of ideas about identity during the unification debates of the early seventeenth and late seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries. The monumental and increasingly famous remains of two Roman Walls (now known as Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall) helped English and Scottish writers to think through their relationship to Europe and to each other, drawing upon contrasting ideas of civility and barbarism.

These physically informed identities were not, however, either straightforward or entirely oppositional. The English often considered

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[42] My study considers the impact of discoveries of British (pre-Roman) coins, houses, and artefacts on images of the past. I purposely exclude the developing knowledge of the henges and druids of Britain. This is consciously teleological on my part, since, prior to the late eighteenth century, it was rare for antiquaries to attempt to develop chronological schemes for prehistory, meaning that objects that are now addressed as late Iron Age could not be distinguished clearly from earlier artefacts; see Smiles (1994), 7. There are a number of accounts of the interpretation of henges during the time covered in this book, e.g. Chippindale (2004); Haycock (2002), 121–32; Smiles (1994), 165–217; and Sweet (2004), 124–6, 128); while Morse (2005) provides a very useful summary of the discovery of the chronology of prehistory and Haycock (2002), 160–88, Smiles (1994), 75–112, and Sweet (2004), 124–53 address druids.

[43] Griffiths (2003), 90, 103.

the Scots to have been entirely 'beyond the pale';[44] while, in oppositional terms, some Scots, anxious about the likelihood of political and cultural domination by England, and drawing upon stories of native resistance derived from various classical texts, used the ideas of Roman monumental fortification to define the valour of the ancient Caledonians and Picts (perceived as their ancestors) who had successfully opposed Roman domination of their lands. To other Scots, however, the location of Scotland's Roman Wall (between the Firth of Clyde in the West and the Firth of Forth in the east) enabled an ancestral claim for an introduction of Roman civility, effectively uniting them with the educated elite of England and the Continent. That the 'English Wall' was far more substantial and well known throughout modern times, however, gave the idea of Scotland's Roman frontier a slightly ambivalent status as a symbolic boundary to lowland civility.

During the eighteenth century, the idea of the passing on of civility from the Romans to the ancient population of Britain was directly challenged. The *Roman incomers*, who were most apparent to the antiquaries, were the highly visible administrators, officers, and soldiers who lived in Britain. Classical texts (particularly Caesar and Tacitus) emphasized military campaigns and battles, naming Roman officers, and soldiers and giving details of their activities. These accounts appeared to draw a direct contrast between the seemingly military territory of Britannia and the contrastingly 'civil' territories of Italy and the Mediterranean. Other available classical texts, the surviving Roman itineraries,[45] were drawn upon, particularly during the seventeenth and eighteenth century, with the increasing fixation for identifying and mapping the Roman 'stations' across Britain that were though to have held down a subjected population. Finds and sites of Roman date, discovered from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, were used to supplement this picture. A significant class of identifiable Roman objects comprised stone inscriptions with Latin text. These were found regularly in southern Scotland and northern England, but also

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[44] This concept derives from those existing outside a distinct area of jurisdiction, often defined by a ditch, particularly relating to the English settlement in early modern Ireland; see Sarson (2005), 9.

[45] For the available itineraries that named sites in Roman Britain, see pp. 26–7.

occasionally at some of the Roman 'stations' in the south. Most clearly addressed deceased Roman soldiers from overseas and occasionally provided the ancient name of the Roman 'station' on which the stone was found. Important research during the eighteenth century included the recognition of extensive evidence for roads and forts in the frontier regions of the Roman province, while the villas and towns explored in the south were often related to Roman officers or settlers. Some antiquaries who developed such an approach were less interested in, or perhaps aware of, the idea of Roman-derived British civility that had inspired Jacobean writers. During the nineteenth century, one influential interpretation suggested a predominantly peasant or enslaved indigenous population living in relatively un-Roman 'British villages' surrounded and dominated by Roman settlers in their classical cities and villas.

The excavation of urban and rural sites across southern Britain during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries led to the discovery of a distinctly 'Roman' civilization which gradually came to provide something of a challenge to the interpretation of Roman military incomers and an enslaved native population. The recognition through excavation that monumental architectural remains survived in Roman towns and on villa sites enabled antiquaries to recognize similarities between the Roman culture of southern Britain and that of the Mediterranean. Some antiquaries took a renewed interest in previous ideas of the transfer of civility to the native population, which gradually led to a new interpretation of the Roman province that was developed by Francis Haverfield at the beginning of the twentieth century. Some villas and Roman towns came to be interpreted as the homes of native Britons who had adopted Roman ways. By this time, earlier ideas of civility and of Romanized Britons had been transformed into the more dynamic concept of social change characterized as *Romanization*. While the idea that the Romans had introduced civilization to the ancient British has been a powerful image for some writers since the late sixteenth century, it appears to have been of particular value during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries and the late nineteenth to early twentieth, in the context of British colonial endeavours. It provided a civilizing discourse of immense symbolic power

in the context of territorial domination of Scotland, Ireland, America, and India.

The idea of *ruination* was used to reflect upon monumentality at different periods.[46] In the Jacobean context, the ruination of the former Roman Walls was taken to emphasize the unification of Great Britain by James I but, by the mid eighteenth century, the meaning these monuments had shifted to provide a reflection on the potential decline of contemporary civilization, drawing upon the early medieval writings of Gildas and Bede.[47] In the late eighteenth century, Edward Gibbon produced a powerful statement of potential national and imperial decline and fall from the example of the Roman empire. During the late Victorian and Edwardian period, this idea was transformed into a metaphor for the contemplation of Britain's own empire.[48] Concern with the stability of current empire drove direct comparisons with the Roman imperial context, highlighting the particular significance of the Roman frontiers in Britain. Contemporary accounts drew upon classical writings and the physical remains of Roman military monuments, developing a powerful colonial analogy which contrasted directly with the idea of Romanized Britons.

This book explores how these four themes, all derived fairly directly from the writings of ancient authors, but supplemented by the discovery of ancient finds and sites, have operated in a variety of

[46] C. Woodward (2002) provides a discussion of the potential of the idea of ruination. I am grateful to Dimitris Grigoropoulos for this reference. It should be noted that my discussion of this theme is less complete than the other three. I aim to avoid a detailed discussion of the decline and fall of Roman Britain, but cannot avoid issues connected with this theme, although my discussion will focus mainly upon issues connected with the Roman Walls of the north and their significance, rather than dwelling on the collapse of Roman government and the ruination of towns and villas.

[47] See M. E. Jones (1996). Gildas's book was titled *De excidio Britanniae* (The Ruin of Britain; referred to in the text as *DEB*), provided some of the inspiration for early modern and modern ideas of ruination. In considering ideas of the ruination of Roman Britain, reference is made to the Teutonic (or Anglo-Saxon) myth of English origins, since many considered the Saxons to have replaced the Roman and Celts in Lowland Britain following the collapse of the Roman empire; see Floyd-Wilson (2002) and Floyd (2004). I do not attempt a full account of this Teutonic origin myth in this book, but it cannot be ignored, since a complex relationship has existed since the sixteenth century between ideas of Celtic, Roman, and Teutonic origin.

[48] Previously explored by Vance (1997), 247–68 and Hingley (2000), 29–37.

geographical contexts since the sixteenth century. The long period under review allows a consideration of the transformations in understandings, although this approach necessarily limits the extent to which the social context of individual works can be studied.

These defined themes represent the fairly exclusive concerns of the male intellectual elite of Lowland Britain from Jacobean times onwards. It is difficult, using the sources addressed in this book, to explore the attitudes of ordinary people to the remains left behind by past populations and the focus here is upon the political and colonial value of ideas derived from Roman Britain. Certain local stories about particular sites and classes of finds are addressed, which provide more fractured, localized, and less overtly political insights. An interest in the past was not entirely the concern of the educated male elite; indeed, not all antiquaries were 'gentlemen'.[49] The yeoman John Stair and the chemist Charles Roach Smith were two of the most original and significant scholars to address Roman urbanism, and two female antiquarians, Catherine Downes and Frances Stackhouse Acton, excavated Roman villas. It was not, however, until the twentieth century that women became deeply involved in the study of Roman Britain.[50]

While other writers have begun to address twentieth-century images of Rome,[51] I have deliberately ended my account with a positive assessment of the contribution of Francis Haverfield that avoids the well-established critique of Romanization characterized by the

[49] Woolf (2003), 256 has discussed the involvement of ordinary people in the discovery of antiquarian finds and sites and the subsequent appropriation of items and knowledge by scholars. He has also considered the way in which antiquarian knowledge gradually estranged the elite from popular beliefs about the past (ibid.). These are significant topics but not issues addressed in any detail in this book.

[50] For a continuing concern about what might be termed 'the masculine romance of Roman Britain' (Mikalachki (1998), 96) in contemporary archaeological practice, see E. Scott (1998).

[51] Beard and Henderson (1999) explore a variety of ideas about Roman Britain that help to inform museum displays and the media, while Hingley and Unwin (2005), 204–21 address two contrasting myths (the positive idea of 'What the Romans Did for Us' and a more critical assessment focusing on a post-colonial critique of imperial motivation). Clarke and Hunter (2001) document the ways that the Museum of Scotland has been trying to challenge past interpretations of the Romans in Scotland, while Grew (2001) explores the way that interpretations of Roman London have reconstructed it as a parallel for the contemporary city.

attempts of scholars to escape the colonial connotations of earlier studies.[52] The full story of the study of Roman Britain during the twentieth century, and its broader social context, remains to be told.[53]

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[52] Addressed in detail in my earlier writings; see Hingley (1996), (2000); (2005), 33–5); and also by Mattingly (2004), (2006) and Webster (2001).

[53] Todd (2004*a*), 457 also ends his analysis with the work of Haverfield, while accounts of the twentieth century by R. F. J. Jones (1987) and Hingley (2000) are limited to the works of just a few scholars.

1

'Made and not born civill'

> Can a Leopard change his spots? Can a savage remayning a
> Savage be civill? Were not wee our selves made and not borne
> civill in our Progenitors dayes? and were not Cæsars Britaines as
> brutish as Virginians? The Romane swords were best teachers of
> civilitie to this & other Countries neere us.
>
> W. Strachey (1610), 62[1]

INTRODUCTION

This chapter reviews the emergence of civility in Britain under
Roman tuition,[2] through writings and images, with a particular
focus on the historical and geographical works of William Camden
and John Speed, English antiquarians whose influential accounts
helped to transform understanding during the late sixteenth and

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[1] This is a marginal note to Strachey's discussion of Virginia. I derive this quote
from Canny (1998*b*), 154. For the context, see Sarson (2005), 28–9.

[2] The concept of civility played a significant role for Jacobean authors searching
for English cultural origins. It is derived from the Latin *civilitas*, the art of govern-
ment or the qualities of citizenship; see Bryson (1998), 49; Preston (2005), 15–16.
It had been introduced in its anglicized form during the early sixteenth century; see
Bryson (1998), 50; for the international context, see Febvre (1973), 225. Bryson
(1998), 51 states that, while referring back to the classical idea of the polis and
concepts of civil law, civility was increasingly employed in a sense that 'prefigures'
the modern concept of civilization. For detailed discussions of the concept and its
changing meanings, see Bryson (1998), 43–58 and Preston (2005), 10–41. Darwin
(2000) discusses the use of the term civility in the definition of ideas of imperialism
in early modern Britain.

early seventeenth centuries.[3] Their works are placed in the context
of their time by considering contemporary writing that addressed
colonial issues and also a number of plays that referred to the ancient
past. How these comprehensions of native civility fared in the new
political circumstances leading up to the end of the seventeenth
century is also addressed.[4]

The pre-Roman and Roman population of Britain took on a
particular significance in late Elizabethan and Jacobean England.
This related to changing ideas about English (and British) identity
in the context of the rediscovered classical writings, and to the
intellectual assessment of the value of such concepts in the context
of overseas ventures in Ireland and America. New understandings of
national identity explored ancient accounts of Britain, setting them
in the context of dominant ideas about classical Roman character,
themselves derived from ancient writing; these defined the Roman as
a complex amalgam of civilized and barbaric, cruel and cultured.[5]
A particular issue emerging from this understanding of the British
past is emphasized: that Roman conquest and control led to the
transfer of 'civility' to the savages or barbarians of southern Britain.

The increasing focus on classical Rome and ancient Britain by
scholars in Elizabethan and Jacobean society could not be satisfied
by the narrative accounts presented by the classical authors. Since
these texts were lacking in information about issues that were sign-
ificant to antiquaries at this time, the new focus on pre-Roman and

[3] For the international context of Camden's work, see Parry (1995), 25–6 and
Schnapp (1996), 139–42. For the broader context, Ferguson (1979) and Woolf (2000)
contain detailed accounts of the significance and relevance of history in England
during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and considers the relationship of
antiquarians to historians, while Pfeiffer (1976) discusses the international context
of classical learning in Britain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and
Brink (1985) addresses the rise of classical scholarship in Britain from the seventeenth
century.

[4] Various modern works, referenced below, explore the role of histories, colonial
writings, images, maps, plays, and material culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean
contexts: see e.g. Baker and Maley (2002); Erickson and Hulse (2000); Hadfield
(1998), (2002); Helgerson (1992); Jowitt (2003*a*), (2003*b*), Kahn (1997); T. Marshall
(2000); McEachern (1996); McLeod (1999); Scanlan (1999); Swann (2001); and Woolf
(1990).

[5] Ronan (1995), 3. For other works that explore early modern uses of the writings
of classical authors, see Kahn (1997), Miles (1996), and Woolf (1990), 170–99.

Roman Britain both motivated and drew upon the results of the search for the material remains of these people in the countryside of Britain.

Ancient Britain under Elizabeth I and James I

The initial growth of interest in Roman Britain took place at a time when Rome was viewed negatively and this influenced how ideas about the ancient past were articulated. From the time of Henry VIII's break with the Church of Rome in the 1530s and during the reign of his daughter Elizabeth (1558–1603), classical Rome was often regarded with ambivalence in England because of its associations with the contemporary city.[6] Although the Roman empire had long lost all contemporary political reality, the idea of Rome remained problematic for English Protestants and their rulers, since it was associated with the pope, Catholicism, oppression, and tyranny.[7] The negative view of contemporary Rome during Elizabeth's reign explains the relevance of certain figures from British history who had resisted the Roman invasion and conquest. The available classical texts, together with the inherited stories about mythical ancestor figures, could be used to elaborate tales about certain named ancient Britons who had fought and resisted valiantly.

A late sixteenth-century interest in the historical figure Boudica (named variously Boadicea, Voadicea, etc.) drew on a complex parallel for the character and actions of Elizabeth herself,[8] and for the efforts of her subjects in resisting European domination and conquest.[9] Despite the relative popularity of Boudica at this time, the classical texts raised some difficult issues, since this rediscovery of the ancient history of Britain necessitated an acknowledgment of the barbaric character of the Britons encountered by Caesar, Agricola, and other Roman

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[6] Hadfield (1998), 17–68 and C. Williams (1999*a*), 19.

[7] Shepherd (1981), 150 and T. Marshall (2000), 12.

[8] Hingley and Unwin (2005), 118–28.

[9] Ibid. 113. For the roughly contemporary use of the figure of Civilis and the Batavians as role models for the contemporary ruler, William of Orange, and the Dutch republic, see Hessing (2001), 132.

generals.[10] This strongly contrasted with the ideas of native nobility derived from the old British history addressed above. The apparent barbarity of the ancient Britons made it difficult to identify them too directly with the contemporary population of England or with ruling monarchs. Some scholars thought that these Britons entirely lacked the Mediterranean culture that was so admired during the early modern period (Figure 1.1).[11] Rather, they were often thought to be more akin to the native Americans encountered during colonial adventures, or to the Highland Scots and the 'wild' Irish, than to the civilized and powerful people of ancient Rome.[12]

From the 1570s, ambitions for English colonial expansion gained ground.[13] As a consequence, encounters with indigenous peoples abroad had made it possible to envisage and portray the beginnings of human society in Britain in challenging new ways,[14] casting ancient Britons in the role of savages.[15] Just as colonial encounters were drawn upon to inform representations of ancient Britons, explorers, intellectuals, and poets used classical texts and tales to interpret contemporary colonized peoples.[16]

During the late sixteenth century, a serious effort was made to give the concept of England some conceptual unity, through works of geography, history, and fiction, including Camden's *Britannia*, first

[10] Ferguson (1979), 379, Floyd-Wilson (2002), 104–5, and Mikalachki (1998), 7–8. For barbarian portrayals of the pre-Roman peoples in the classical texts, many of which were available by late Elizabethan times, see Clarke (2001) and Mattingly (2006), 33–4; for the gradual transformation of the southern Britons to a more Roman form of life in these texts, see Clarke (2001) and R. Evans (2003).

[11] Mikalachki (1998), 7–8 and Piggott (1989), 60–4, 73–85.

[12] The comparison of the 'savages' of America to those of ancient Britain was a common motif throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and into the early eighteenth; see Floyd-Wilson (2002), 105; Piggott (1989), 73–9, 85; Pratt (2005); and Smiles (1994), 129–31. Armitage (1997), 42–3; (2000), 55–6 and Williamson (1996), 59–62, 62–4 consider the attitudes of Lowland Scots to their Highland neighbours during the sixteenth century and the way these drew upon classical writings about barbarians and knowledge of colonized people in the contemporary world.

[13] Brigden (2000), 274–80 and McLeod (1999), 2. See Canny (1998*a*) and Sarson (2005) for the early development of the 'British empire', and activities in Ireland and America, to the close of the seventeenth century.

[14] Grafton (1992), 54–8, 128–41.

[15] Bryson (1998), 51–2, Pratt (2005), 51, and Williamson (1996), 54.

[16] As observed by Lafitau (1724), 27–8; see P. Burke (1995), 43–4, Moser (1998), 68–106, Pratt (2005), 54, 62–3, and Scanlan (1999), 65.
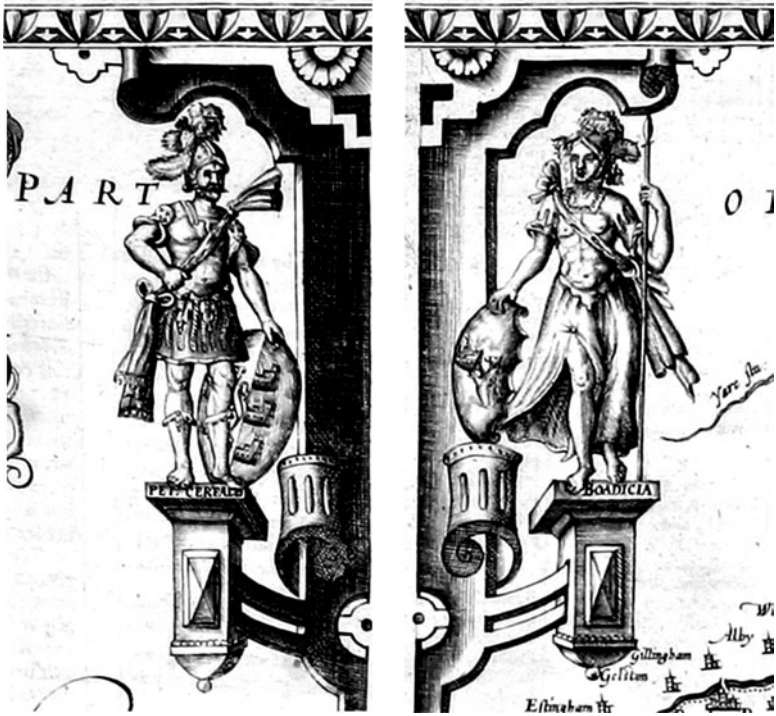
Figure 1.1. Petilius Cerealis and 'Boadicia', details taken from John Speed's map of Suffolk. The barbarian figure of Boadicia provides something of a contrast to the figure of Cerealis, who was the Roman governor who conquered the Brigantes in the early AD 70s.

published in Latin in 1586;[17] the ancient past provided part of this story. It is probably no coincidence that a recognizable historical and geographical framework for comprehending pre-Roman and Roman Britain was first developed by scholars at this time, since colonialism and the definition of the nation were linked.[18] The interest that developed in the first attested peoples of Britain also represented

[17] Helgerson (1992), 1–3. For the problems of defining a unified concept of English identity at this time, see Scanlan (1999), 32–4. For the European context of these events, see Klein (2001), 34–5.

[18] Robertson (1995*a*) and Scanlan (1999), 34.

part of an international focus of attention on the ancestral origins of particular peoples across Europe.[19]

In 1603, James VI of Scotland acceded to the English throne as James I. Imaginings of England were geographically expanded and transformed, as the result of the desire of the new king and his advisors to provide a conceptual unity for the British Isles. Owing to the efforts that were made to define a concept of Great Britain, and as the result of the early development of Britain's overseas territories,[20] the parallel of the classical Roman empire, together with the more specific analogy of the Roman province of Britannia, took on an increasingly direct relevance.[21] James' reign witnessed the first permanent settlements in the New World, together with the further plantation of Ulster.[22] In certain contexts beyond the mainland, British identity began to take on a particular premium, as English and Scottish settlers in Ulster began to call themselves Britons.[23]

Since the province of Britannia had included much of Great Britain—including all of England, Wales, and large parts of southern Scotland—it could be used as a historical precedent for a united Britain.[24] In addition, Roman navigators and explorers were known to have travelled around the whole of the British Isles, exploring and describing its far reaches and recording geographical features and the

[19] Ferguson (1979), 111–12. Comparable trends are apparent on the continent before this time, where authors used Tacitus' writings to draw comparisons between the ancient Germans and American Indians; for Konrad Celtis' late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century study of ancient and contemporary Germans, see Mendyk (1989), 50 and J. Levine (1987), 77–9. Lupher (2003), 227–8 discusses the comparable but rather earlier articulation of classical images of barbarians and contemporary knowledge of peoples of the New World that occurred in Spain. Mendyk (1989), 50–1 describes late fifteenth-century works on the topography and antiquity of Rome which influenced Camden.

[20] T. Marshall (2000), 1–2 and Jowitt (2003*a*).

[21] Wormald (1994), 18–19. See K. Brown (1994), 76–7, 83–4 for historical and mythical images taken from other periods of the British past that were drawn upon at this time.

[22] Sarson (2005), 8–10.

[23] Armitage (1997), 44–5; (2000), 57–8, Ivic (2002), 143, and T. Marshall (2000), 2, 20–2. Canny (1998*a*), 12 emphasizes the English domination of this undertaking.

[24] This former geographic unity could, perhaps, serve as an alternative to the idea of the creation of a unity for Great Britain under the mythical King Brutus; see Mason (1994*b*), 164 and T. Marshall (2000), 24. For the 'imperfection' of the Roman conquest, which did not involve the Highlands of Scotland or Ireland, see Woolf (1990), 57.

names of native tribes, including peoples in northern and western Britain.[25] Camden's *Britannia* helped to provide an authoritative account of the British past, with a wide appeal.[26] While the original work in Latin was addressed to the world of European scholarship, by Jacobean times a wider readership had developed in Britain, indicated by a translation into English in 1610.[27] In addition, Camden widened the geographical scope of *Britannia*. The original text had only eight pages on the separate kingdom of Scotland but, by the time of the 1610 edition, the number of pages had been increased to 52.[28] Ireland and the smaller islands in the 'British Ocean' are described in the 1610 edition over 178 pages.[29]

The six years from 1606 to 1611 appear to have been particularly significant in the development of ideas about ancestral origins. John Speed's *The Historie of Great Britaine* and *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine*, both published in 1611, contributed to this unified concept of Great Britain, focusing on its identity in the ancient past and in the present.[30] In the context of the increasing focus on the unity of Britain, Camden and Speed used classical texts to construct an ancestral geography for Britain.[31] This can be viewed as having placed territorially marginal areas in subservient positions with regard to those areas in the heartlands of England where Camden, Speed, and others argued that Roman control had introduced civility to the ancient population. At this time, chorographies, histories, plays, and colonial writings built new ideas, projecting images of ancient Britons and classical Romans and studying their interactions.[32] In these works, ancient Britain and the Roman province had attributed to them a distinct significance in order to project both the current attempts to unify England, Scotland, and Wales and

[25] Such as the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland; see T. Marshall (2000), 2, 16 and Armitage (2000).
[26] Hepple (2004), 147, J. Levine (1987), 93–4, and Woolf (2000), 42.
[27] Piggott (1971), 9.
[28] Boon (1987), 11–12 and Keppie (1998), 5.
[29] See Ivic (2002), 147.
[30] Ibid. 135–7.
[31] Hepple (2004), 148.
[32] Helgerson (1992), T. Marshall (2000), Marchitello (1997), 78, and Mikalachki (1998), 150.

also the growing imperial ambitions of Great Britain overseas.[33] These accounts communicated the pre-Roman and Roman history of Britain to audiences in different ways, but always promoting the contemporary relevance of the ancient past. It has been suggested that, as a result of James' efforts, the concept of Great Britain came to life for a short period at this time, to be reinvented and reprojected in a more coherent form during the eighteenth century.[34] The pre-Roman and Roman past was given a significant role in these imaginings of ancestral origin.

CAMDEN'S *BRITANNIA*

William Camden (1551–1623) made a highly significant contribution to this debate with his seminal study, *Britannia*, first printed in 1586 and published in several revised versions during the next thirty years and later.[35] Camden studied classics in Oxford and was a master at Westminster School. His interpretation of pre-Roman and Roman Britain addressed ancient cultural origins and, in so doing, helped to invent a new image of Britain. Roman colonization was taken to present an indigenous ancestry for civil society.[36] Camden's

[33] For discussions of the varied meanings of the term *imperium* in the Elizabethan and Jacobean context, see Armitage (1997), 38–9; (2000), 29–34, Canny (1998*a*), 1, Kunst (1995), 126–8, T. Marshall (2000), 10–17, and Pagden (1995), 12–16. The term referred, in particular, to unity of purpose at home, but could relate to expansion and colonization oversees. See Armitage (1998), 103–4 for the way that this conception drew upon classical texts.

[34] T. Marshall (2000), 4, revising the argument of Colley (1992). Armitage (2000), 6–8, 59 and Canny (1998*a*), 1–2 have also addressed whether the creation of a unified British identity was a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century phenomenon. For the context of early seventeenth-century imaginings of Britishness and nationhood, see Kidd (1999) and Ivic (2002), 143–4, 152–3. For additional discussions of nationhood and nationalism, see Brocklehurst and Phillips (2004*a*) and Miller (1995).

[35] See Boon (1987), J. Levine (1987), 93, and Parry (1995), 22–3 for Camden's education and life.

[36] Kahn (1997), 3–4 argues that, although the linking of the ancient history of Britain to that of classical Rome through the figure of Brutus was being called into question at this time, the general perception of a Roman connection for the ancient population of Britain persisted in many minds, which helps to explain the emphasis on the civility of the ancient Britons in works of this date.

subject matter ranged from pre-Roman times to Elizabethan England, with the history of Britain being determined by the physical geography of the Roman province.

The book's chronological scheme presented a picture of continuity that glorified the present through the past.[37] The preface of the first edition in English of 1610 states, 'Truly it was my project and purpose to seeke, rake out, and free from darknesse such places as Caesar, Tacitus, Ptolemee, Antonine the Emperour, Notitia Provinciarum & other antique writers have specified and Time hath overcast with mist & darknesse by extinguishing, altering and corrupting their old true names.'[38] It has been suggested that *Britannia* helped to root the idea of the historical continuity of England back to the distant, Roman past, since Camden considered ancient history to be primarily Roman.[39] Although the work placed a considerable premium on this Roman origin, it has not always been emphasized sufficiently that part of the book's power was the stress that it placed on the evidence for the *pre*-Roman history and peoples.[40] Camden considered the earliest population to have come to Britain from mainland Gaul, where they had arrived sometime after the Deluge and fall of the Tower of Babel.[41] *Britannia* considered the origins of the ancient Britons and explored their beliefs, customs and forms of government. Quoting Caesar (*DBG* 5.14), Camden mentions that the 'most civil and courteous by far' of the Britons dwelt in Kent:

The inlanders for the most part sow no corne, but live on milk and flesh; and clad themselves in skins. But the Britans all in generall depaint themselves with . . . woad, that maketh a blew colour; and thereby they are the more terrible to their enemies in fight. . . . Ten or twelve of them together use their

[37] Kunst (1995), 124. This Roman geography was, itself, based on pre-Roman roots.

[38] Camden (1610*a*), included on page 3 of 'The author to the reader'; also quoted by Piggott (1971), 8.

[39] Boon (1987), 3, Kunst (1995), 124, J. Levine (1987), 93, and Parry (1995), 23. Kunst (1995), 125 suggests that this concept of the past linked primarily with the Romans, through the link of British Christianity, but pre-Roman Britain was also made to play a significant role (ibid. 124).

[40] Ferguson (1979), 109 and Parry (1995), 26, 32–3 have discussed Camden's interest in the native peoples who the Romans subdued.

[41] Camden (1610*a*), 5; see Parry (1995), 32 and Sweet (2004), 124.

wives in common, and especially brethren partake with brethren, and parents with their children'.[42]

These peoples were barbarous, pastoral, unsettled, and devoted to warfare.[43] Significantly, however, the ancient Britons in Camden's writings were subject to transformation under Roman influence.

Pre-Roman and Roman geography

Through the ancient Britons, Camden sought to establish a respectable historical precedent for the English by looking into the ancient past for an origin of his own culture.[44] Importantly, the writings of classical authors enabled him to view the apparent conversion of the ancient Britons to a more 'civil' manner of life under the influence of Roman travellers and conquerors, particularly in the southern and eastern parts of Great Britain.[45] Ideas of progress from savagery to civilization were not to emerge fully until the late eighteenth century and,[46] although it is important not to impose such an interpretation on the writings of Camden and his contemporaries, he was able to map changes in ancient British society toward a more civil demeanour.

Camden's reconstruction of the geographical and tribal structure of pre-Roman and Roman Britain drew upon classical writings, British coins, Roman inscriptions, and ruins. Camden rediscovered the evidence for Roman Britain mainly from the classical texts, including Ptolemy, the Antonine Itinerary and the *Notitia Dignitatum*, while later editions of his work were able to draw upon the

[42] Camden (1610*a*), 29.

[43] Sweet (2004), 30–1 discusses the method by which Camden selected the classical texts that he used to describe ancient Britons in order to emphasize the barbarity of religious rites, including human sacrifice. For the 'ideology' of pastoralism as a supposed indicator of barbarity in both the classical and the modern world, see Shaw (1983).

[44] Mikalachki (1998), 8. This remained true despite the fact that Camden increasingly developed the view that the English were descended from the Saxon invaders described by Gildas, Bede, and other authors.

[45] Floyd-Wilson (2002), 105.

[46] Bowler (1989) and Piggott, (1989), 12. In fact the term 'civilization' itself was a mid eighteenth-century innovation; see Febvre (1973), 220, 222.

Peutinger Table, which provided a graphic representation of how a Roman cartographer might have seen the world.[47] Ptolemy's work, produced in the second quarter of the second century AD, had not been entirely lost sight of during post-Roman times.[48] The Antonine Itinerary was a road book, covering the whole of the Roman empire, probably compiled in the third century. Copies of both of these sources were printed on the Continent during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, while various commentaries in English attempting to locate the places mentioned in these texts, including *Britannia*, were produced during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.[49] The *Notitia Dignitatum* was effectively an imperial army list, probably compiled around the beginning of the fifth century and published in three editions in Europe between 1552 and 1729.[50] Finally, the Peutinger Table, a physical map, was discovered in 1507, acquired by Konrad Peutinger in 1508, and published in 1590.[51] It was a thirteenth-century copy of what is often claimed to represent a fifth-century original, which shows the extent of the known world.[52] Since the map was damaged, it only showed a portion of the east of Britain, but it did include named places and roads,[53] and provided a representational model of a map to be copied in creating new maps of Roman Britain.

It is significant that, through the use of these sources, Camden was able to reconstruct a geographical and tribal structure for pre-Roman and Roman Britain. Although he drew on the earlier works of John Leland (1506?–1552) and Robert Talbot (1505?–1558),[54] Camden developed these approaches in new ways. The classical texts provided Camden with information and models that enabled him to conduct a process of conceptual mapping for Roman Britain, naming and

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[47] Parry (1995), 264.   [48] Piggott (1985), 134.

[49] Haverfield (1924*a*), 66–8, Rivet and Smith (1979), 4–5, 150–1, and Parry (1995), 261–2.

[50] Piggott (1985), 134 and Rivet and Smith (1979), 216–17.

[51] Parry (1995), 264 and Rivet and Smith (1979), 149.

[52] For a recent debate about the date of the original map from which the medieval version was drawn, see Salway (2005) who supports the late Roman identification and Albu (2005) who argues that it originated as a Carolingian display map.

[53] Rivet and Smith (1979), Plate 1.

[54] J. Levine (1987), 79–82, 87–8 discusses these earlier works.

classifying sites and features.[55] Camden's mapping of pre-Roman, Roman, and post-Roman Britain was undertaken in the form of a chorography, a voyage through the territories encountered.[56] The approach to mapping through chorography enabled a number of writers of Camden's time to define a geographical and temporal place for the English, identifying the ways they differed from others, including the Scots, Europeans, and peoples encountered in colonial voyages.[57]

Camden located pre-Roman and Roman individuals and groups named by the classical authors in the early modern landscape of Britain. He derived the structure of the main body of his text from a territorial framework for the peoples of the Roman province (in modern terms, the 'tribes' or *civitates*),[58] which he then used as a scheme for the discussion of Saxon, medieval, and recent history.[59] The English shires in the book are grouped within the vaguely defined boundaries of these Roman-period areas.[60] Within this territorial framework, Camden attempted to locate where the ancient places mentioned in the classical texts had been, since many were buried under new towns or had disappeared as a result of later cultivation and stone-robbing.[61]

[55] Boon (1987), 13; see ibid. 14–15, Kunst (1995) and Parry (1995), 25, 29–30) for Camden's methods and Klein (2001), 42–60 for surveying and mapping in early modern Britain.

[56] Helgerson (1992), 151. See Kunst (1995) for a discussion of chorography in Camden and Klein (2001), 9, 137–8 and Swann (2001), 101–2 for the meaning of the term. Cormack (1991), 641–3, 655–61) and Cosgrove (2003) discuss the relationship between chorography, which included the mapping of time, and geography at this time. The term chorography and the approaches it subsumed ultimately derived from the classical writings of Ptolemy; see Klein (2001), 9, 137.

[57] Cormack (1991), 661.

[58] Camden and Speed addressed these groups under a variety of titles, including terms translated fairly directly from the Latin such as 'states', 'nations', and 'provinces'. In modern archaeological/classical terminology these Iron Age groups are known as 'tribes', while the Roman groups are called '*civitates*', see Haselgrove (2004) and Millett (1990).

[59] Piggott (1971), 9.

[60] Ibid. For some roughly contemporary writings on the origins of the English shire system, some of which refer to the Roman and pre-Roman peoples, see the papers collected together in Hearne (1720), 29–51.

[61] Parry (1995), 25.

Ancient objects, including Roman inscriptions, were used by Camden, drawing upon classical approaches to the idea of *antiquitates*, to demonstrate that a civilization could be reconstructed by the systematic collection of all relics from the past.[62] In this context, discoveries of objects and material survivals visible in the landscape helped to fill out and develop some aspects of the account he derived from classical texts.[63] These objects were used both to support and to develop his interpretation of the past.[64]

In the 1586 edition of *Britannia*, Camden had included a named engraving of British coins of Cunobelinus and one from Verulamium.[65] By 1600, he was able to discuss the British coins more fully,[66] while the 1610 edition included a substantial review of eighteen British coins from the significant collection of various dates that had been built up by Sir Robert Cotton.[67] He argued that the pursuit of ancient coins cast 'very much light' on ancient history,[68] but stressed the uncertainty of his knowledge about these pre-Roman examples, stating: 'your selfe, when you shall read these slender ghesses of mine, will avouch with me, that I walke in a mirke and mistie night of ignorance'.[69]

Camden defined a number of British coin types in gold, silver, and brass, some with legends and some without, probably drawing upon the scholarship of Cotton.[70] Camden, or his illustrator, followed the

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[62] See Kunst (1995), 119 who is drawing at this point on the writings of Arnaldo Momigliano concerning the classical author Varro.

[63] McKitterick (1997), 109.

[64] Swann (2001).

[65] John Evans (1864), 1 and Joan Evans (1956), 7. For the context of the discovery and identification of coins during the sixteenth century, see Haskell (1993), 13–25.

[66] John Evans (1864), 1, Boon (1987), 16, and Piggott (1971), 7. Bendall (2004), 772 writes about the interests that Cotton, Speed, and Camden shared in these British coins. For the rise of a more coherent idea of antiquarian identity at this time, including these three scholars, see Ferguson (1979), 87. For coins and antiquarians, see Woolf (2003), 231–8.

[67] Camden (1610*a*), 88; see van der Meer (1997) for Cotton's coin collection. For discussion of particular coins illustrated in *Britannia*, see Camden (1610*a*), 97–101, John Evans (1864), 2, and Boon (1987), 16. John Evans observed that fourteen of the illustrated coins are ancient British, while the remaining four are Gaulish.

[68] Camden (1610*a*), 88.

[69] Ibid. 97. See Mikalachki (1998), 8 for the context.

[70] Camden (1610*a*), 97. For Camden and Cotton's friendship, see Joan Evans (1956), 7. Camden also noted that Nicolaus Fabricus de Petrisco had shown him

custom of the time by giving a perfectly circular representation of the coins, adopting one uniform size for items that were actually highly irregular (Figure 1.2.).[71] He also provided a lengthy discussion of the potential purpose of these coins,[72] using the classical texts to propose that they may have been produced to pay tax to the Romans. He argued that 'they were stamped by the British kings, considering that Britaine from the time of Julius Caesar unto Claudius daies, used their owne lawes, and was committed to the government of their own Kings.'[73] Camden suggested that these British kings 'now become, as it were, the Romanes fellows and associates, by little and little were framed, (a thing usuall with persons conquered) to their fashions'.[74]

Camden was aware that these kings lived in Britain between the times of Julius Caesar's initial invasions and the subsequent conquest of Britain under Claudius. As a result, he was able to explore the idea that Roman contact led to changes in British society prior to the conquest of the province during the mid first century AD. He correctly related a number of these coins, using the abbreviations of names in their legends, to particular individuals referred to by classical authors, including Cunobelinus and 'Connius' (Commius).[75] One coin with the inscription BODVO was described by Camden as relating either to the pre-Roman 'nation' (people) called the 'Boduni' or 'Dobuni', or to Queen 'Bodicia' (Boudica).[76] He also identified 'Ver', 'Camv' and 'Calle' as abbreviations for the places called Verulamion, Camulodunon, and Calleva in classical writings

similar coins that had been discovered in France; see Parry (1995), 8 and Woolf (1990), 170.

[71] John Evans (1864), 2–3.

[72] Camden (1610*a*), 100–1. See Haskell (1993), 20–1 for debates during the sixteenth century about the nature and use of past coins.

[73] Camden (1610*a*), 100–1.

[74] Ibid. 101.

[75] Ibid. 97–9. See John Evans (1864), 2 for Camden's scholarship in identifying these coins and McKitterick (1997), 115 for the cooperation between Camden and Cotton over the production of the 1607 edition. Camden (1610*a*), 88 observes that Cotton had collected the objects and 'passed on information' which may suggest that some of the identifications for the coins were actually made by Cotton.

[76] Camden (1610*a*), 98. John Speed (1611*b*), 176 was more confident in attributing this coin to Boudica. In 1849 Akerman used the distribution of the coin finds to relate them conclusively to the Dobunni; see Akerman (1849), 187; Hingley and Unwin (2005), 124, 238.
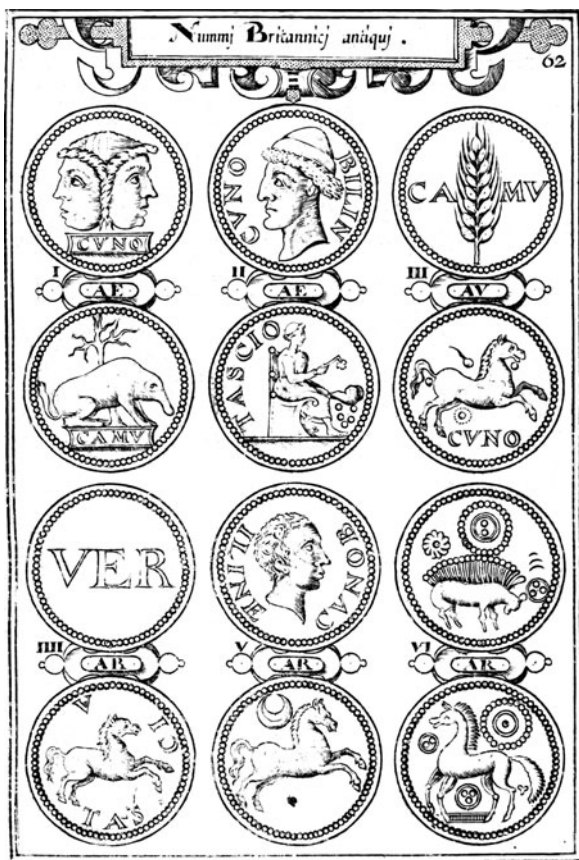
Figure 1.2. British coins, including coins of Cunobelinus, from Camden's *Britannia* (1610).

on Britain.[77] As the result of archaeological investigation since the late nineteenth century, these sites are now thought to represent three of the most significant pre-Roman *oppida* (tribal centres) of Britain which were succeeded by important Roman towns.[78] Camden was unable to correctly locate some of the pre-Roman and Roman places, as a result of the scarcity of recorded evidence for Roman settlement across the south. For example, Camulodunum was placed at Maldon

[77] Ibid. 97–9; Boon (1987), 16.   [78] M. J. Jones (2004) and Wacher (1995).

rather than at Colchester, while 'Callena' (Calleva) was thought to be at Wallingford rather than at Silchester.[79] The location of Verulamium (St Albans, Hertfordshire) was, however, correctly identified.

Camden developed the significant proposal that Roman culture had been passed through to the population of ancient Britain as a result of Roman contact and conquest.[80] He wrote that:

...the Romanes having brought over Colonies hither, and reduced the naturall inhabitants of the Iland unto the society of civill life, by training them up in the liberall Arts...governed them with their lawes, and framed them to good maners and behaviour so, as in their diet and apparell they were not inferior to any other provinces: they furnished them also with goodly houses and stately buildings, in such sort, that the reliques and rubbish of their ruines doe cause the beholder now, exceedingly to admire the same: and the common sort of people doe plainly say, these Romane works were made by Giants... [81]

Camden's volume provided a translation of the relevant section of *Agricola* 21, in which Tacitus wrote about his father-in-law's attempts to bring Roman ways to the Britons:

For, whereas the Britans were rude and dispersed, and therefore prone upon every occasion to war, he to introduce them by pleasures unto quietness and rest, exhorted them in private, and helpt them in common to build temples, houses and places of publike resort, commending the forward and checking the slow: imposing therby a kind of necessity upon them whiles ech man contended to gaine honor and reputation therby. And now by this time the Noble mens sons he tooke and instructed in the liberall sciences, preferring the wits of the Britans before the students of France, as being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman language, whereas they lately reiected their speech. After that, our attire grew to be in account & the Gowne much used among them. So, by little and little they fell to these provocations of vice, to sumptiuous galleries and bathes, yes & exquisite banquetings:

[79] Camden (1610*a*), 97–9 and 446.
[80] Kunst (1995), 126–7. For general views of 'civilization' at this time, which may be split, following the classical models on which they were based, into the positive and the negative, see Ferguson (1979), 346–7.
[81] Camden (1610*a*), 63; see T. Marshall (2000), 22–3 for contemporary references to the Roman imposition of order and government on the ancient British.

which things the ignora[n]t termed civility being indeed a part of their bondage.[82]

Camden proposed that: 'the Britans and Romans . . . by a blessed and joyfull mutuall ingrafting, as it were, have growen into one stocke and nation . . .'[83] Part of his motivation was to address the introduction of Christianity into Britain in Roman times.[84] He suggested that, 'This yoke of the Romanes although it were grievous, yet comfortable it proved and a saving health unto them: for that healthsome light of Iesus Christ shone withal upon the Britans . . . and the brightness of that most glorious Empire, chased away all savage barbarisme from the Britans minds, like as from other nations whom it had subdued.'[85] As a result of the study of classical texts and the discovery of ancient coins, the development of civility could be seen to have commenced prior to the full conquest of Britain by the Romans.

Camden's approach to ancient objects and sites

Recorded information about ruins and finds evidently helped Camden to develop the interpretations derived from the classical authors.[86] Although the knowledge of Roman sites and monuments across southern Britain was very limited at this time,[87] Camden was able to locate and describe a number of sites with surviving Roman remains. He identified a Roman 'city', called 'Rhitvpis Portus' in the Antonine Itinerary, as being at 'Richborow' (Richborough, Kent). He described the Roman fort that still survives today and mentioned some marks in the crops that form on the site:

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[82] Camden (1610*a*), 55. In a contemporary work, Speed (1611*b*), 172, 211 mentioned that Agricola encouraged 'liberall Arts and Sciences', but did not draw out Tacitus' other observations in any detail.

[83] Camden (1610*a*), 88; see Ayres (1997), 86.

[84] Religion was evidently a fundamental aspect of the Jacobean world view. I shall not address the issue of the Protestant religion, national identity, and colonialism during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in any detail, although it is highly significant that a number of antiquarians, including Robert Cotton, were searching for the indigenous origins for Christianity to provide an argument for the origins of the institutions of the Church of England; for accounts, see Armitage (2000), 63–99; Haycock (2002), 113–14; Kidd (1993), 12–13; (1999), 99–122, and Parry (1995), 4–5, 10.

[85] Camden (1610*a*), 63.   [86] McKitterick (1997), 109.   [87] Ibid.

'wherin when the corne is come uppe a man may see the draughts of streetes crossing one another: (for, wheresoever the streetes went, there the corn is thinne)...'[88] He also noted the finding of Roman coins.[89]

Camden correctly identified the modern village of Wroxeter as 'Uriconium' in the Antonine Itinerary and provided a description of the Roman remains at the site, mentioning that it was now:

a verie small country towne of poore husbandmen, and presenteth often times...Roman coines...I saw...in one place some few parcels of broken walls (which the common people cal the old Worke of Wroxceter)...

I coniecture, by the uneven ground, by the rampires and the rubbish of the wall here and there on either side, that the Castle stood in that very place where these ruines remaine. But where the plot of the City lay (and that was of a great compasse) the soile is more blackish than elsewhere, and plentifully yeeldeth the best barly in all the quarter.[90]

With regard to Londinium, he recalled that classical texts mentioned that Constantine the Great and his mother Helena had built a wall and he discussed elements of the surviving Roman wall of London. A marginal note in his text mentions 'Hellens mony many oftentimes found under the walles',[91] which is presumably a suggestion that the discovery of Roman coins under the Roman town wall dates it to the period of Constantine.[92] Despite his account of the remains and use of terms such as 'city' and 'fort', Camden did not provide a detailed consideration of the potential differences in status of the Roman settlements in Britain.[93]

Camden travelled extensively in order to compile the late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century editions of *Britannia*; he also had collaborators in various parts of Britain. The number of objects incorporated into Camden's accounts increased dramatically during the twenty-four years following the initial publication. The seventeenth-century editions of *Britannia* were increasingly influenced by

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[88] Camden (1610*a*), 341.   [89] Ibid. 342.

[90] Camden (1610*a*), 593.   [91] Ibid. 423.

[92] Kunst (1995), 123; see Hunter (1995), 192 for additional examples of early attempts to use context to date ancient structures.

[93] Cotton (1592), 175 was aware of some useful distinctions, defining a number of categories from the classical texts, including *oppidum*, *burgus*, *vicus*, *villa*, and *pagus*. For uncertainties about the exact dating of this source, see Hearne (1720), ix n. 3.

Figure 1.3. An ornate Roman inscription from Risingham, Northumberland. From Camden's *Britannia* (1610).

visits to monuments and by objects from collections, moving toward a greater focus on the surviving physical remains of sites and objects.[94] The 1586 edition reported on eleven Roman inscriptions in stone, together with an inscribed lead pig from Wookey Hole and two British coins. By the time the 1607 edition was published, 110 inscriptions were included, and both the 1607 and 1610 editions contained finds of other types, including the British coins.[95]

In one case, Camden was able to use an inscription to identify a Roman site in the north with a recorded name. At Risingham (Northumberland), two Roman stones with inscriptions had recently been found in the river. The texts of the inscriptions from a number of the stones found at this site were provided, along with a carefully produced woodcut of the most ornate stone (Figure 1.3). These stones had been recorded and copied by Robert Cotton, who had compiled a significant collection of Roman inscriptions; one of

[94] Swann (2001), 111–12 and Todd (2004*a*), 445.
[95] See Hepple (2002), 177; (2004), 148 for Camden's use of inscriptions. Many of the coins and stones discusses by Camden were also used by John Speed. For inscriptions, see Speed (1611*b*), 222, 228–9, and 239.

these provided information that enabled the site to be identified as Habitancum in the Antonine Itinerary.[96]

Camden's work was subsequently drawn upon to provide a framework for the Roman occupation of northern Britain, based on literary information and the surviving remains of monuments and inscriptions.[97] Examples of inscribed stones from further south were, however, far rarer, which would make it more difficult to link known Roman sites to names in the relevant classical texts. Cotton had acquired a tombstone from Silchester that had been found in or before 1577 and which had belonged to Sir William Cecil; he also possessed a milestone that had been found close to his home at Conington, near Huntingdon.[98]

Collecting and illustrating antiquities

While Camden himself appears to have had no particular interest in collecting Roman objects from Britain, a number of the collections of his contemporaries were used to fill in the details of his account and to provide illustrations in the various new editions of *Britannia* published during the early seventeenth century.[99] Collections of British antiquities in Camden's time derived from a Renaissance tradition. Travellers from England visited Italy during the Tudor period,[100] although journeys became more difficult during the late 1570s. From the later sixteenth century, however, English visitors to the continent became more common once again,[101] and their experience of classical art and architecture helped to focus attention on the remains of the classical past in Britain. At the turn of the seventeenth century, a few Englishmen began to emulate a contemporary Italian preoccupation in acquiring collections of classical

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[96] Camden (1610*a*), 803–4. This stone was found in 1599; see *RIB* 1225; Collingwood and Wright (1995), 403. Reginald Bainbrigg had also been actively involved in the recording of some of the stones from Risingham; see Hepple (1999), 8–9 and McKitterick (1997), 110–11.

[97] Hepple (1999), 5 and McKitterick (1997), 106.

[98] Davies (1997), 162–4 and McKitterick (1997), 111, 113.

[99] Birley (1961), 1, Boon (1987), Kunst (1995), 120, and J. Levine (1987), 93–4.

[100] Brennan (2004), 9–14 and J. Levine (1987), 83.

[101] Brennan (2004), 18–19.

Greek and Roman objects.[102] This new tradition which developed, of collecting recognizable ancient objects, usually including more impressive sculptures and art objects from overseas, reflected the improved relationship of Britain with Catholic Europe once James I had ended the state of war with Spain and established an embassy in Venice.[103] The presence of the ambassador encouraged trade and cultural exchange between England and Italy, and the number of British visitors to Italy increased. Not all objects, however, came from abroad: collections of objects from the British countryside, including Roman inscriptions and British coins, helped to inform revised versions of Camden's *Britannia* during the first decade of the seventeenth century.[104] These collections were used both to support and to develop emerging ideas about the Roman past,[105] communicating its particular immediacy.

The collector Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) had built up a significant body of material. He owned the British coins that enabled Camden to write about the pre-Roman peoples of Britain;[106] he also collected stone inscriptions, manuscripts, books, fossil fish, and Greek, Roman, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and later English coins.[107] Cotton developed an important assembly of Roman stones, which he used to line the walls of his spectacularly built octagonal summerhouse at Conington.[108] Most of these inscribed stones had been taken from the Roman Wall after an excursion that Cotton made with

[102] Hepple (2003), 159 and J. Scott (2003), 8–9, 283 n. 26; for English collectors, see also Swann (2001). For the Italian Renaissance and collectors, see Barkan (1999); for the classical origins of the collecting of ancient objects, see Schnapp (1996), 57–65.

[103] Brennan (2004), 19–21, J. Scott (2003), 7–8, and Swann (2001), 16.

[104] Hepple (2003), 159; (2004), 152–3 and J. Scott (2003), 15; see McKitterick (1997), 108 for the continental context of this search for antique inscriptions. Woolf (2003), 224–38 discusses some relevant finds in Britain, while Hepple (2003) identifies five significant early collections of Roman antiquities in Britain that were drawn upon to inform Camden's work.

[105] Swann (2001).

[106] For Cotton's life and contacts, see Parry (1995), 5–6, 70–3 and Sharpe (1997).

[107] Hepple (1999), 1, Parry (1995), 74–5, van der Meer (1997) and Swann (2001), 3. Most of Cotton's collection of Roman inscriptions survives today in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Cambridge; see Davies (1997) and McKitterick (1997), 105.

[108] For an eighteenth-century drawing of Cotton's summerhouse, see McKitterick (1997), figure 2.

Camden in 1599. Cotton's connection with Camden is significant, since he appears only to have collected Roman inscriptions for a fairly limited period, coinciding with Camden's revisions to *Britannia*.[109] An interesting aside is that some of the Roman commemoration stones collected by Cotton appear to have been used by him as models for a number of tombs and epitaphs that he erected at All Saints, Conington around 1613–15.[110]

It is evident from the text of *Britannia* that Cotton's extensive researches helped Camden to develop his account of Roman Britain.[111] Camden published the text of the inscriptions, but the compiling and recording of these may have been undertaken mainly by Cotton. Other collectors of Roman inscriptions from the northern part of the province at this time included landowners such as John Senhouse of Netherhall (Cumbria). Camden and Cotton visited 'Ierby, at the mouth of the Elne' (just outside Maryport, Cumbria) in 1599, noting Roman remains, including old vaults, altars, inscriptions, and statues. Camden wrote that 'I. Sinhous' had kept the Roman objects carefully and placed them 'orderly about his house' (Figure 1.4).[112] Indeed, Camden tells us that Senhouse 'most diligently preserveth these inscriptions, which by others that are unskillfull and unlettered be streight waies defaced, broken, and converted to other uses to exceeding great prejudice and detriment of antiquity'.[113] The schoolmaster Reginald Bainbrigg, who toured the Roman Wall on two occasions (in 1599 and 1601), collected Roman inscriptions, which he incorporated along with some faked carved stones, into his garden and the walls of Appleby Grammar School.[114] Lord William Howard, an acquaintance of both Camden and Cotton, also assembled a significant collection of Roman stones at Naworth

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[109] McKitterick (1997), 106.   [110] Howarth (1997).

[111] McKitterick (1997).

[112] For John Senhouse, see Coulston (1997), 112, McKitterick (1997), 122, and Woolf (2003), 224.

[113] Camden (1610*a*), 769, 830; see Hepple (2003), 162. For the early exploration of the Roman site at Maryport by John Senhouse and the character of his collection of Roman stones, see Heppell (2003), 161–3 and Lax and Blood (1997), 53.

[114] For the significance of the recording of various sites by Bainbrigg, see Birley (1961), 7–8, B. Edwards (2001) and Hepple (1999), 8–9; (2003), 167–8.
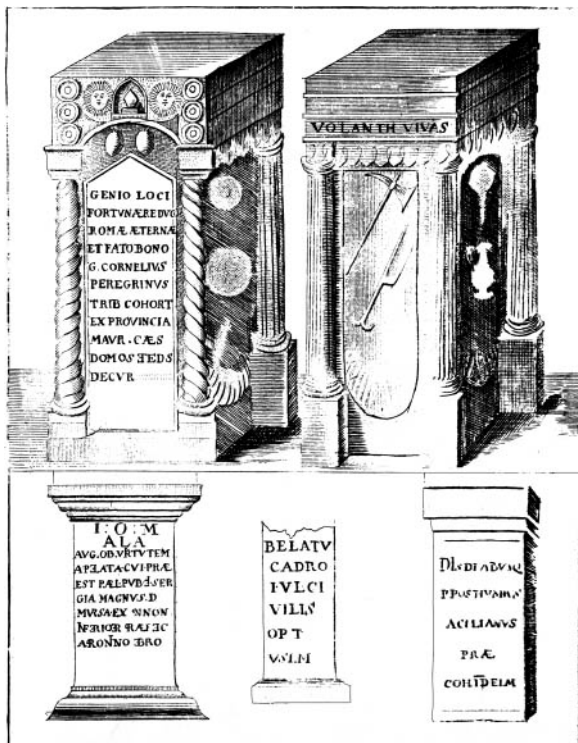
Figure 1.4. Roman inscribed stones from Ellenborough. From Camden's *Britannia* (1610).

Castle (between Carlisle and Haltwhistle in Cumberland) during the early seventeenth century.[115]

The compilation and recording of these objects was of great importance, since it helped to stimulate the developing interest in the Roman past of Britain. Camden's *Britannia* formed the context for the new interest in the collecting, illustrating, and interpretation of these objects. This had a lasting influence, since both the

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[115] Hepple (1999), 9; (2002); (2003), 165–7; (2004), 152, and McKitterick (1997), 111. Other collections of Roman inscribed stones included those at Mathern which had been taken from Caerleon (Newport)—see Hepple (2003), 168–9; (2004), 152—and a number of stones built into the town walls at Bath (Avon).

collections that were made at this time and the framework outlined in *Britannia* had a considerable impact on later scholarship.[116] The illustrations included in *Britannia* communicated and transformed knowledge of the British past, effectively providing an enhanced understanding through the combination of text and image.[117] Illustrations in earlier accounts of British history were often highly representational.[118] From the early seventeenth century, revised editions of *Britannia* were accompanied by maps and an increasing number of illustrations of objects, enabling the reader to assimilate information and ideas in new ways.[119] The frontispiece of the 1610 edition of *Britannia* was a map of Roman Britain showing selected peoples of Britain and Ireland as recorded in classical texts, the Roman towns of 'Londinum' (London) and 'Eboracum' (York) and a line marking the course of the Roman Wall (Figure 1.5). One of the cameos around the map shows a small image of Stonehenge, accompanied by medieval buildings and a sailing ship. This edition contained prints of the Roman altars from Ellenborough (now Maryport, Cumbria), certain other Roman inscriptions and British coins.[120] It also contained county maps by Christopher Saxton and John Norden, helping to establish a new tradition.[121] Continuing innovations in the production of *Britannia* enabled the information and ideas incorporated in succeeding editions to be communicated more effectively, providing an inspiration for later publications.

John Speed included a number of illustrations of objects and sites in his companion books of 1611. He illustrated British coins and also produced a significant visual and verbal record of the pre-Roman

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[116] Hepple (1999), (2001), (2002), (2003), and (2004) and McKitterick (1997) discuss the later history of several collections (see also below). Camden's notes on Roman inscriptions were drawn upon by Hübner (1873), and later scholars, to create an archive of the Roman inscriptions of Britain (Hepple 2004), 153, while we shall see below that Camden's writings about British coins also formed the foundation for later scholarship.

[117] Klein (2001), 104.

[118] See, for example, Knapp (2003), 189.

[119] For the ideological nature of the maps presented by Camden and Speed, see Ivic (2002). The connection between mapping and colonialism is developed in chapter two.

[120] Boon (1987), 16.

[121] Piggott (1971), 9 and McKitterick (1997), 107. For Saxton's maps and Atlas, produced from 1574 to 1579 and the later uses of these maps by Speed and others, see Seymour (1980), 9 and Klein (2001), 99–104.
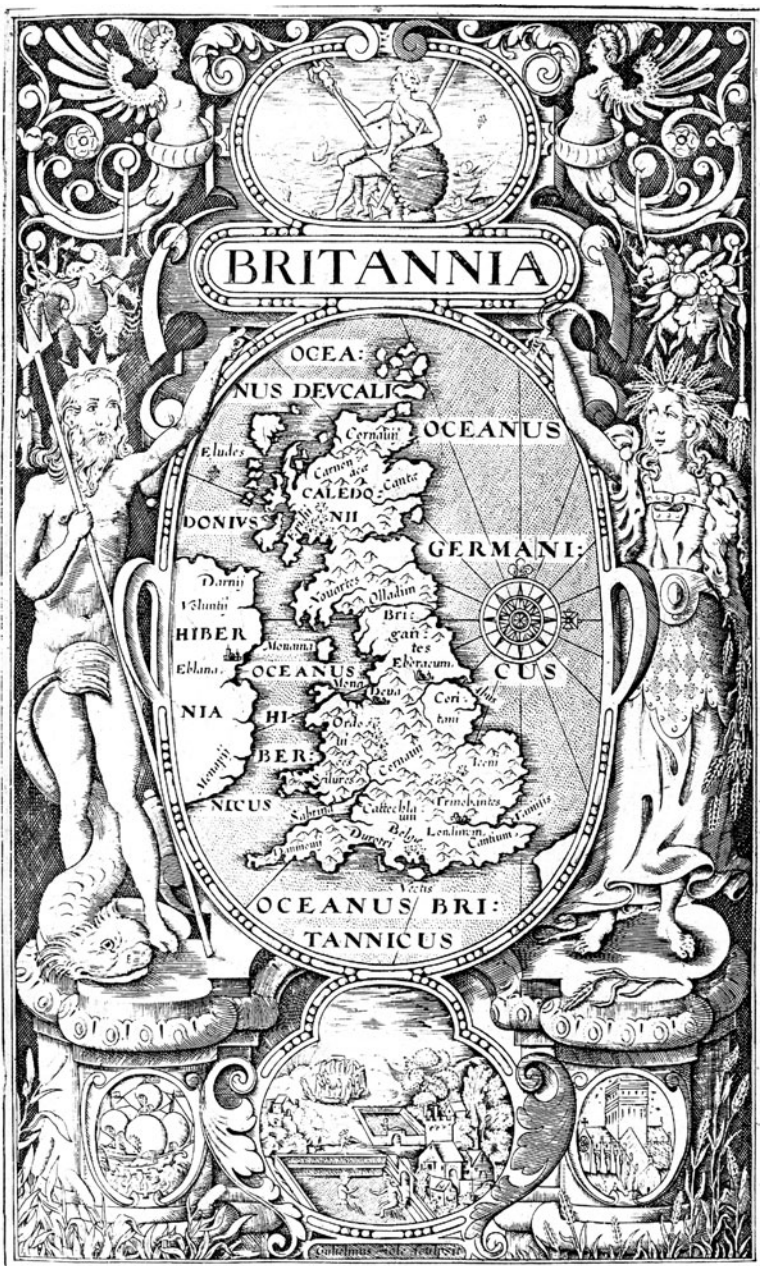
Figure 1.5. Cover page for Camden's *Britannia* showing Roman Britain.

Figure 1.6. 'Verolanium', the Roman walls at Verulamium and a British coin from John Speed's map of Hertfordshire (1611).

and Roman site of 'Verolanium' (Verulamium), illustrated as an inset at the top right of his map of Hertfordshire (Figure 1.6).[122] Speed noted 'the site and circuit whereof...we have set according to our view and measure there taken'.[123] The image shows the ramparts and river, together with a British coin bearing the legends 'VER' and 'TASCIA', while the caption reads:

[122] Speed (1611a), between pages 39 and 40. Niblett (2001), 9 notes that early accounts of Verulamium, prior to Stukeley, were almost entirely derived from written sources but does not mention the Speed's illustration. There are earlier continental parallels for the image, since plans and elevations of classical ruins in Rome had been produced during the early sixteenth century, while accurate drawings of the excavation of a Roman theatre at Augst was produced in 1582; see Schnapp (1996), 126–30, 148. The first rendition of Stonehenge was produced in 1574 (ibid. 150).

[123] Speed (1611a), 39.

Old Verolam, the ancient seat of Casibelane, which wt his owne libertie he lost, unto Caius Julius Casar: was sometime a citie of great renowne, and of the Romans, held in great regard: who Tacitus tearmeth a free-towne and one of the richest in the land. Wherein hath been fownd, both pillers, pavements and Roman coyness, most certaine toknes of their abode. The river Lea (diminished much from the greatness, with it *once* bare) was her fourth defence, and meets the ruines of those down-cast walls . . .

The idea that Verulamium was the stronghold of the ancient British leader Cassivellaunus originated in Caesar's observation during his campaign in Britain that this place was protected with woods and marshes (*DBG*. 5. 21), which was related to the observation that the river at St Albans had, in earlier times, formed a large mere.[124] The reference to Tacitus is to his record in *Annals* (14.33) that Verulamium was a *municipum* at the time of Boudica's rebellion.

ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBEAN WRITINGS

Pre-Roman and Roman Britain figured in other Jacobean texts and representations, creating images that supplemented Camden's writings in the context of England's growing colonial ambitions. These works were produced, or first performed, immediately after the establishment of two British colonies in Virginia, following voyages, discoveries, and explorations of this territory between 1602 and 1608.[125] In such a context, the idea of the civilizing of the ancient Britons took on a particular relevance, developing Camden's writings about the growing civility of the Britons under Roman tuition. During the early seventeenth century, ideas derived from classical Rome and the Roman colonization of Britain were directly significant, both in terms of the projected unification of England and Scotland and also in view of the growing imperial ambitions of the expanding nation.[126]

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[124] Camden (1695), 296.
[125] See Quinn and Quinn (1983), 1 and Sarson (2005), 49–57.
[126] Mason (1994*b*), 164–6 discusses how such an idea drew upon pre-existing ideas about British origins.

With the accession of the Scottish king James VI to the English throne as James I in 1603, earlier efforts to imagine England were geographically expanded and transformed to provide a conceptual unity for the British Isles. The six years from 1606 to 1611 appear to have been particularly significant in the development of ideas about these ancestral origins. Chorographies, histories, and plays communicated the pre-Roman and Roman history of Britain to audiences in different ways, focusing upon the contemporary relevance of the ancient past. These works include the 1610 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, the two works by John Speed, John Fletcher's play, *Bonduca* (1606–9), William Shakespeare's play, *Cymbeline* (1611) and a range of documents and letters that addressed colonial issues.

John Speed's Historie

John Speed (1551/2–1629) was a historian and cartographer with theological interests; he produced twin volumes in 1611, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* and *The Historie of Great Britaine*. The former was an atlas designed to accompany the latter, a historical volume.[127] The first attempt by an English author to produce an atlas of Britain, the *Theatre* remained a model for subsequent atlases until the mid eighteenth century.[128] Speed's *Historie* was widely admired by his contemporaries and is especially significant for the way in which the author interpreted pre-Roman and Roman Britain,[129] developing some of Camden's interpretations in new ways.[130]

In the early part of his *Historie*, Speed was particularly concerned with the pre-Roman leaders and discussed these individuals with illustrations of relevant British coins.[131] He followed Camden's geographical approach in order to organize the evidence from the classical writings. He remarks that 'Caesar himselfe found the state of *Britaine* to be divided into *Provinces* under the names of her

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[127] Bendall (2004), 772.

[128] Ibid., Ivic (2002).

[129] See Mendyk (1989), 79 for the point about admiration.

[130] For the co-operation between Speed, Camden, and Cotton see Bendall (2004), 772.

[131] For the assistance that Cotton provided to Speed, including the loan of coins, see Parry (1995), 75.

inhabitants; and to be ruled by diverse *Peeres* or petty Kings.'[132] He described these provinces as governed through aristocracies, rather than by an individual monarch, and was able to provide some of their names and to relate them to the rulers mentioned by classical authors.[133] Following Camden's earlier writings, Speed located his provinces in the contemporary landscape of Britain. He argued that, at this time, the government and political estate of Britain was 'doubtless . . . as honourable in their rulers, and as manageable in the subjects, as any other nation in these West parts of the world',[134] pointing out the value of a 'civil' ancestral past for the English.[135]

Speed developed the idea of ancient British civility through his writing and in illustrative form. Four images of ancient Britons portrayed by Speed represent part of a collection of representations of Britain's ancient past in his works, including Verulamium discussed above. *Theatre* and *Historie* contained various images, derived from manuscripts and earlier printed works. The engraved title page used in each volume depicts a Roman, Saxon, Dane, and Norman, dominated by the figure of an ancient Briton.[136] In *Theatre*, Speed included maps of various English counties, derived from those of Christopher Saxton, several of which are ornamented with ancient objects and views of sites.[137] The individual maps of Cumberland

[132] Speed (1611*b*), 170.
[133] For the context of Speed (and Camden's) fixation on a 'narrow "brotherhood" ' of landowners, see Klein (2001), 128–9, 143–4. See Kunst (1995), 128–9 for the constitutional debate about kingship and rule at this time and Woolf (2003), 73–137 and Swann (2001), 98–9 on landownership, genealogy, and status.
[134] Speed (1611*b*), 170.
[135] Thomas Craig (1909), folio 4, writing in the early seventeenth century, held rather different views about the condition of pre-Roman Britain, discussing the strife caused by division of Britain into several states and the way that this led to the conquest of the islands by the Romans; see Williamson (1996), 64 n. 29. Craig's work is discussed further below.
[136] McKitterick (1997), 113.
[137] For the character of the marginal images on Speed's maps, see Klein (2001), 107 and McKitterick (1997), 113. These images include a variety of views of cities and local buildings, coats of arms, and other representations but the Roman examples are very evident on the maps of Cumbria, Hertfordshire, and Northumbria, while Wiltshire has a small image of Stonehenge. For the symbolism of various classical scenes and ethnographic subjects on the margins of sixteenth and early seventeenth century maps, see Harley (1988), 298–9, Helgerson (1992), 116–24, and Traub (2000). See Traub (2000) for gender in Renaissance imagery.

and Northumbria show the line of the 'Picts' Wall', while Roman altars and inscriptions and a Roman coin are notable marginal decorations.[138] The map of Suffolk includes a small image of a savage Boudica (Figure 1.1),[139] which contrasts with the rather more civil queen who is portrayed as one of the four ancient Britons in the *Historie*.

Speed's illustrations of ancient Britons drew upon a sequence of similar images that had developed during the late sixteenth century, derived from the comparison of the 'savages' encountered in the 'New World' with the accounts of native 'barbarians' described by classical authors.[140] In the absence of the identification of pre-Roman objects and sites, such images of ancient Britons became a template for later portrayals until the nineteenth century.[141] Speed's four figures were inspired by the images in Theodor De Bry's collection of images from New World voyages.[142] De Bry's representations enabled Speed to imagine, illustrate, and claim ancient Britons as physically real, realistic, and imaginable characters.[143] They included scenes of the native people of Virginia, ending with a group of five engravings of 'Pictes', or ancient Britons, which De Bry noted were derived, in turn, from the earlier images of John White.[144] De Bry remarked that he included these images 'to showe how that the Inhabitants of the great Bretannie haue bin in times past as sauuage as those of Virginia'.[145] The three pictures of Picts are: a naked

[138] Speed (1611*a*), between pages 87 and 88, and 89 and 90.
[139] Ibid., between pages 33 and 34.
[140] Ferguson (1979), 374–80) and Smiles (1994), 127.
[141] Ibid.
[142] For De Bry, who was an exiled Belgian printer resident in London, see Hadfield (2002), 162. De Bry's images were included in Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (1590). For discussion of these significant representations, see Hadfield (1998), 114–21, Moser (1998), 76–85), and Scanlan (1999), 58–67.
[143] Pratt (2005), 63. Traub (2000), 63 discusses early colonial representations as 'rationalised object[s] of knowledge'.
[144] Hadfield (1998), 119–21; (2002), 162–73. For the earlier models on which some of these images were based, see J. Fleming (2000); John White's images are reproduced in colour in Sloan (2007*b*).
[145] De Bry in Harriot (1590), [75]; also quoted by Hadfield (1998), 119 and Scanlan (1999), 64.

warrior, covered in body paint and holding a spear, shield, and the severed head of a vanquished foe;[146] a naked woman with body paint and three spears; and the daughter of the Picts, leaning on a spear. These figures draw deeply on the classical accounts, showing ancient Britons as naked or clothed in skin and with long hair and painted designs on the skin,[147] images that helped to create a clear visual conception of an ancient European warrior and which were widely copied in later times.[148] De Bry described his two additional figures as the neighbours of the Picts; these people are more 'civil', as shown both by their clothing and by their general demeanour.[149]

Speed drew upon these earlier representations of the savage Picts and their more civil neighbours in his renditions of ancient Britons. He developed the contemporary relevance of his own images by emphasizing their character as 'true pictures as they are reported' from the classical texts,[150] telling us that he included these figures 'So that true portraiture of our ancient progenitors may by these be preserved from the ruines of time & made our motives to be thankful unto him that hath brought us forth in these most civill times, and not only clad us with the garments of humanity, but by his spirit hath guided us unto a celestiall knowledge.'[151] Speed remarks that his purpose was 'to propose unto the eye of our now glorious and gorgious *Britaines*, some generall draughts of our poore and rude *Progenitours*'.[152] He contrasts the two naked figures that he represented with two 'later' Britons who, he informs us, had progressed under Roman influence to the extent that they now wore clothes.[153] He remarked that his first two images of Britons were 'rude and

[146] A second man has also been beheaded and his head lies by the Pict's feet, while he wears a sword. All five of the figures of the Picts and their neighbours are included in Harriot (1590), 76–85.

[147] Smiles (1994), 129.

[148] Moser (1998), 78, 81.

[149] Hadfield (1998), 119–20.

[150] Speed (1611*b*), 178. For the emphasis on the truth and accuracy of images of human figures produced at this time, see Moser (1998), 81. For these images in the context of the increasing portrayal of ancient Britons at this time, see Smiles (1994), 129–31.

[151] Speed (1611*b*), 178.

[152] Ibid. 179.

[153] Ibid. 179–82.

Figure 1.7. John Speed's ancient British man.
Figure 1.8. John Speed's ancient British woman.

uncivil', like others in the world that had not been 'taught by God' (Figures 1.7–1.8).[154] Speed tells us that the figures were influenced by the writings of classical authors, including Caesar, Pliny, Dio, and Herodian. They show the ancient Britons to be 'naked, cut, and painted, as thou seeth'.[155] Speed calls these people 'our first parents'.[156] The paint on their bodies draws a direct comparison with

[154] Speed (1611*b*), 178. In the context of James I's rule over Great Britain these figures were reinterpreted as ancient Britons rather than Picts. See T. Marshall (2000), 12, quoting a sermon by William Crashaw in 1610, which contained the idea that conversion of the natives in Virginia and the provision of 'Ciuilitie for their bodies' were the missions of the settlers.

[155] Speed (1611*b*), 178.

[156] Ibid. 179.

knowledge of the physical appearance of Amerindians.[157] It can be argued, following Andrew Hadfield, that, as do the Picts in De Bry's account,[158] these people are turning their backs on civility; this is emphasized by the two severed heads which feature in the portrait of the male Briton. Since De Bry's figures are the direct source for Speed's ancient Britons, their imagery can be interpreted in the context of the relationship between English settlers and natives in colonized Virginia as communicated to English readers through the representation of the ancient history of their own country. The male Briton, for example, has no obvious connection to the village or the ship and boat in the background; the woman seems excluded from the rather grand houses and apparently clothed people behind her by her absence of clothes and her general demeanour.[159]

In contrast, Speed discusses the clothed ancient Britons (Figures 1.9–1.10) more briefly. He does, however, address how the earlier Britons were 'reclaimed to a more civill respect, both in their apparell and aprehension of literature', so that they became 'afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their country either for traffick or conquest'.[160] Once again, Speed is drawing upon both classical texts and contemporary concepts about colonial activity.[161] In this context, Boudica was particularly useful to Speed,[162] since the classical author Dio (62.21.2) had described her in some detail, including her cloak of diverse colours and her golden necklace. Speed tells us that the clothed female ancient Briton is 'the most

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[157] For body paint and 'tattooing' among native Amerindians see Hadfield (1998), 121, J. Fleming (2000), 71, and Quinn and Quinn (1983), 268. J. Fleming (2000), 69–71 notes that the word tattoo was not introduced in to Britain until the eighteenth century and reviews the earlier terms used for this practice.

[158] My comments derive directly from Hadfield's (1998) thoughtful analysis, on p. 120).

[159] See Hadfield (1998), 120.

[160] Speed (1611*b*), 178.

[161] Williamson (1996), 64–5 discusses the idea of trade as a way of spreading civility in the context of English expansion in Ireland and the New World, while Scanlan (1999), 60 discusses recent writings which address the way that De Bry's images of American Indians had already 'Europeanized' the appearance of these people, enabling the idea that Indian culture was simply a less developed version of English culture.

[162] Hingley and Unwin (2005), 125. For the way in which Speed's drew on the earlier images by John White and De Bry in representing Boudica, see Sloan (2007*a*), 156.

Figure 1.9. John Speed's 'later' British man.
Figure 1.10. John Speed's 'Lady Boudicea'.

valiant British Lady Boudicea', confirmed by the spear that she carries and the hare at her feet.[163] Speed develops Boudica as a barbaric parallel for the recently deceased queen, Elizabeth.[164] If her cloak demonstrates her comparative virtue, Boudica's continuing barbarity is illustrated by the painted patterns on her exposed arms and legs, symbols of otherness that continue to help to separate her from Speed's English contemporaries.[165] Unlike their forbears, Boudica and the male civil Briton are more fully integrated into their com-

[163] Speed (1611*b*), 182; see Ferguson (1979), 380 and Hingley and Unwin (2005), 125. The spear, hare, and cloak are described by the classical author Dio. The image once more draws upon De Bry's earlier representation, although 'Boudicea' is far more fully clothed than Dr Bry's figure.

[164] Hingley and Unwin (2005), 125.

[165] J. Fleming (2000), 81 and C. Williams (1999*b*).

munities:[166] they are not accompanied by severed heads, but are dressed in a manner comparable to the people in the background who evidently belong to the same community. By adopting civility, they are integrated into the wider world, although they still have far to go before they would achieve civility.

Speed supports his images by providing his readers with information quoted from the classical authors, including the dealings between ancient British leaders and Romans. Although he could not draw on pre-Roman weapons or items of clothing, it is likely, given the sequence of his arguments, that the pre-Roman British coins illustrated a few pages earlier in his account helped him to develop the idea of the more civil ancient Britons.[167] Some of these coins portray the heads of rulers, drawing directly from Roman coins that were copied by pre-Roman metal smiths. Clothing is not usually indicated, but a range of elaborate hairstyles are depicted.[168] Speed's figures do not have such features, but his appreciation of the coins may well also explain his reference to the later Britons' knowledge of literature, since some of these coins included Latin texts. For example, he observed that a coin of the British ruler Commius is inscribed 'Rex', the Latin word for king.[169] Speed probably also drew upon Tacitus' account in *Agricola* 21, where a growing proficiency in Latin is mentioned.

The ancient British leader Cunobelinus is used in Speed's writings to contemplate the policy of the contemporary king, James I. In the *Historie*, Speed mentioned coins of Cunobelinus and, drawing upon classical writings, recorded that '*This man* trained *his people* to a more *civill life* then formerly had been accustomed, and *enjoyed peace* with the rest of the *world . . . waiting* the *coming of that Prince of peace . . . Christ*.'[170] At the start of the *Theatre*, Speed included a

[166] See Hadfield (1998), 120.

[167] Speed (1611*b*), 172–8. For Speed's illustrations of ancient British coins, see John Evans (1864), 2–3.

[168] It is notable, however, that Speed's portrait of the male 'civill' Briton has longer and more unkempt hair than the representations of ancient British kings on the pre-Roman coins. Speed drew on the hair and moustache used in John White and De Bry's earlier representations of this clothed ancient Briton; see Sloan (2007*a*), 162.

[169] Speed (1611*b*), 183. See Haskell (1993), 26–36 for the impact of coins on portraits of historical figures during the seventeenth century.

[170] Speed (1611*b*), 189.

map of 'The Kingdome of Great Britaine and Ireland', supported by illustrations of two coins: a Roman coin showing Britannia and a British coin with a legend referring to Cunobelinus.[171] This reference to the ancient ruler drew attention to James' policies, since he credited his reign with the bringing of peace to Britain and Ireland.[172] The map creates an image of the British Isles in spatial harmony, in line with James's ambitions to create unity.[173] John Clapham's account of pre-Roman, Roman, and post-Roman Britain, published in 1606, also referred to 'Cuno-belin', who 'began first to reclaime the *Britans* from their rude behavior: and to make his estate more respected, he afterwards caused his owne Image to be stamped on his Coine after the maner of the Romans'.[174]

For some scholars in Elizabethan and Jacobean times, the classical writings raised the problematic issue of whether ancient Britons should be revered as virile warriors or condemned as cruel and ignorant savages.[175] Speed circumnavigated this; he transformed, through the use of Camden's writings, De Bry's geographical differentiation between the Picts and the more civil Britons and developed a model of early, naked, uncivil inhabitants and later, clothed, and more civil peoples.[176] Through his reference to clothes and humanity, Speed demonstrated that both the ancient British people (including their rulers), and the Roman invaders were closer to contemporary Christians than the original savage population.[177] The early ancient Britons were in need of civility, as were De Bry's Picts; in contrast, the more 'civil' Britons, under Roman tuition, had established the rudiments of civilized life and were ready to be converted to Christianity. These people had begun settled, civil life and, to quote Hadfield, 'look out toward the New World'.[178]

[171] Ivic (2002), 136. [172] Ibid.

[173] Klein (2001), 69, 105–6.

[174] Clapham (1606), 25; for the union under James I and the context of Clapham's work, see Woolf (1990), 56–7.

[175] C. Williams (1999*a*), 19.

[176] Camden and Speed provided a temporal dimension for the development of civility. De Bry's earlier representations defined less and more civil peoples but these were neighbours rather than successive stages.

[177] J. Fleming (2000), 78 develops a critical assessment of Speed's motivations in illustrating the ancient Britons.

[178] Hadfield (1998), 121.

The colonial significance of the civilizing of the ancient Britons under Roman tutelage led to its adoption as a powerful idea of English origin. The Roman history of Britain had a direct relevance for Camden, Speed, and other writers, since it was taken to provide an ancient context for the origins of British civility, the initial introduction of Christianity to Britain and for an idea of the unity of Great Britain.[179]

Civility in the Jacobean theatre

The suggestion of cultural transformation had a particular resonance during the first decade of the seventeenth century.[180] The linking of Britain to imperial Rome was not necessarily viewed in terms of the ignominious defeat of the ancient Britons, but as part of a colonial scheme by which Britons added Roman imperial virtues to their own native nobility under divine inspiration.[181] The relevance of ancient British rulers and their encounters with Romans was emphasized by the production of plays prominently featuring *Bonduca* (Boudica; 1606–9), *Elidurus* (1606), *King Lear* (1608), *Cymbeline* (Cunobelinus, 1611), and *Caradoc* (Caractacus, 1615).[182] Tristan Marshall has proposed that these dramatic renditions projected 'a powerful testimony to an imperial thinking',[183] focusing on British unity and the need for strength in defence.[184] The plays concerning Cymbeline and Bonduca are particularly informative.

[179] Kunst (1995), 125–6. See Pagden (1995), 35–7 for the role of Christianity in claims of colonial moral purpose.

[180] Kunst (1995), 126–7. Parry (1995), 34, 75 and McKitterick (1997), 116–17 have emphasized the friendship between Camden, Cotton, Ben Jonson, and Inigo Jones, while Parry (1995), 34 emphasizes the joint influence of these individuals on the revived 'Augustan', or neo-Roman, society in the Jacobean court.

[181] T. Marshall (2000), 18, 79.

[182] *Cymbeline* and *King Lear* were by Shakespeare, *Bonduca* by Fletcher, while the authorship of the plays about Elidurus and Caradoc is uncertain; see Floyd-Wilson (2002) and T. Marshall (2000), 56–78, 104–8, 120–3. Ronan (1995), 2 lists 43 extant Roman plays, produced in England between 1585 and 1635, of which a minority were set in Roman Britain; see T. Marshall (2000).

[183] T. Marshall (2000), 79.

[184] Ibid. 6.

Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (1611) draws upon an idea of civility broadly comparable to those expressed by Camden and Speed, while exploring the relationship between the Britain of Cunobelinus and James I.[185] Set in Britain following Julius Caesar's expeditions and shortly before the supposed invasion of Augustus' army, this play selectively draws upon the classical texts while adopting characters and action from several earlier accounts of pre-Roman Britain. The playwright draws upon the increasing civility of the ancient Britons,[186] by stressing the king's status as a civilized ruler and by exploring the relationship between Britain and Rome. The British court is filled with Roman officials, while British rulers and princes, including Cymbeline himself, travel to and from Rome.[187] The king recalls:

> . . . Caesar knighted me; my youth I spent
> Much under him; of him I gathered honour . . . [188]

Cymbeline has been deeply influenced by Rome.[189] The play resonates with contemporary politics, emphasizing, through Cymbeline's example, King James I's policy of defining the nation of Great Britain and the expansion of the British *imperium* overseas.[190]

A unity of imperial purpose is achieved through the action in *Cymbeline*, since the Roman invasion by Augustus imports what Marshall has titled a Roman ethos of 'masculine honour' to the Britons.[191] This is exhibited through the character of Posthumus. Orphan son of a noble British warrior, he is banished by Cymbeline to Rome, where he loses his faith in British virtue, returning to fight against the Britons and finally changing sides to defend his country

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[185] For the date of the first performance of this play and its context, see Brown and Johnson (2000); for the sources used by Shakespeare, see Floyd-Wilson (2002), 101.

[186] Camden's discussion of ancient British coinage as a means of paying tribute to Rome (above) also finds reflection in the emphasis on the payment of tribute in Shakespeare's play.

[187] Creighton (2000), xi.

[188] Shakespeare' *Cymbeline* iii.1. 69–70; also quoted by T. Marshall (2000), 73.

[189] Kahn (1997), 162.

[190] T. Marshall (2000), 69–70. This author develops a complex and elegant interpretation of the play (ibid. 67–78). See Mikalachki (1998), 96–101 for another relevant account.

[191] T. Marshall (2000), 73; see also Mikalachki (1998), 96.

against the Roman invaders.[192] Drawing upon an idea of developing civility, Posthumus observes that:

> Our countrymen
> Are men more ordered than when Julius Caesar
> Smiled at their lack of skills but found their courage
> Worthy his frowning at. Their discipline,
> Now wing-led [mingled?] with their courages, will make known
> To their approvers they are people such
> That mend upon the world.[193]

The contact of Britons with Rome had added Roman order to barbarian courage.[194]

John Fletcher's play, *Bonduca*, was first produced in 1606–9.[195] Despite Speed's positive rendition (p. 50), Boudica's image became more problematic in the decades after the death of Elizabeth and accounts began to emphasize her worrying barbarity. The hero of Fletcher's play is Bonduca's male cousin and general, Caratach, who was loosely based on the historical Caratacus.[196] Some of the action in *Bonduca* indicates that, as in *Cymbeline*, it is the blending of the qualities of the ancient Britons and the classical Romans that made the British glorious in the play, uniting their valour with the admirable efficiency of the Romans.[197] *Bonduca* draws directly upon the relevance of the Roman conquest of Britain to contemporary foreign and domestic policy.[198]

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[192] See Kahn (1997), 160, 162 and Floyd-Wilson (2002), 109.

[193] Shakespeare, *Cymbeline* ii.4.20–6; also quoted by Floyd-Wilson (2002), 109, who gives 'mingled' rather than 'wing-led'.

[194] Floyd-Wilson (2002), 109. The contrasting characters of Cloten and his mother show that not all the ancient Britons in the play achieved civility through contact with Rome (ibid. 108). Floyd-Wilson's study emphasizes other subtleties in the development of the characters in the play, including the inclusion of references to Saxon Britain.

[195] For the complexities of the gender roles in *Bonduca* and their relationship to contemporary figures, see Crawford (1999) and Mikalachki (1998), 103–5; see Hingley and Unwin (2005), 129–32 for its influence on later plays about Boudica.

[196] T. Marshall (2000), 120–1 and Hingley and Unwin (2005), 129–30.

[197] Shepherd (1981), 149. Comparable observations have been made about the relationship of Britons and Romans in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*; see the use made by Kahn (1997), 162–3 of the work of Jodi Mikalachki. See Jowitt (2003*a*) for conflicting expressions of colonial anxiety in Fletcher's *Bonduca*.

[198] Jowitt (2003*a*), 491.

In a well-informed discussion, Claire Jowitt has called this idea of cultural education through imperial control in *Bonduca* 'Romanization'.[199] She suggests that:

The rout of the ancient Britons described in this text might, initially, seem unpromising material for Fletcher to use to question the merits of contemporary colonial policies. Yet, through a series of resemblances between contemporary Virginia and pre-Christian Britain, between ancient British characters and contemporary or near contemporary monarchs, and through the dramatization of questions concerning the benefits and drawbacks of 'Romanization', this is exactly what the play achieves.[200]

Jowitt is not the only modern writer to use this term in a Jacobean context. Discussing *Britannia,* Christiane Kunst argues that Camden put forward a 'historical' argument 'by developing the concept of the *Romanization* of Britain',[201] drawing attention to some of the passages in Camden's work referred to above to support this proposition. Discussing the works of Camden and William Burton's study of 1658, Philip Ayres writes that these authors emphasize 'the thoroughness of *Romanisation* in Britain'.[202]

This use of the concept 'Romanization' in the context of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century texts may be taken to suggest that the idea of the civilizing of the ancient Britons played a role comparable to that which it came to perform during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, when the actual term 'Romanization' was first adopted.[203] To use it in an earlier context,

[199] Ibid. and Jowitt (2003*b*), 10, 105. I shall critique the use of this concept in a Jacobean context, drawing on Febvre's observations (1973) on the significance of the history of words.

[200] Jowitt (2003*a*), 475; she (ibid. 492 n. 3) attributes the use of the term 'Romanization' to Coppélia Kahn (1997), but Kahn actually uses the term 'Romanness'. Ronan (1995), 151–63 and Mikalachki (1998), 4 adopt the comparable terms 'Romanized' and 'Romanizes' to address early modern Roman plays produced in England.

[201] Kunst (1995), 126.

[202] Ayres (1997), 87, my emphasis. See also, Ayres' discussion of the relevance of Romanization (ibid. 87–8).

[203] See Hingley (2000), 111–29 and ch. 4, below. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1991, second edition, revised and corrected, vol. 14, 64) the term 'Romanization' is not attested until the late nineteenth century, although 'Romanized' and 'Romanizing' have origins during the seventeenth century (ibid. 64–5). I am grateful to Ronald Hingley for assistance with this etymological issue.

however, is anachronistic. In its modern context, Romanization drew on classical texts but re-worked earlier ideas in an entirely new historical context,[204] influenced by new patterns of thought and also the results of three centuries of investigation of the remains of the Roman culture of Britain and Western Europe.[205] Early modern ideas about civility were created in a very different historical context from Victorian and Edwardian conceptions of Romanization.[206] Daniel Woolf has critiqued previous writers who have searched for the invention of the idea of 'progress' during the early seventeenth century.[207] When the English came into contact with alien societies, both through their colonial explorations of the New World and through the writings of classical authors addressing the ancient populations of Western Europe, there arose the foundations for an argument that savage or barbarian peoples could become civil. At the same time, this promoted ideas of 'cultural relativism', yet there could not be comprehension of biological evolution or technological progression.[208]

In this context, savage and civil peoples were not clearly viewed as successive stages in the evolution of human society. Woolf argues instead that the pre-Roman Britons and Amerindians were viewed as less fortunate cousins, without the blessings of civil life or Christian religion. The existing time scheme for 6,000 years of human history

[204] Hingley (2005), 15.
[205] Hingley (2000), 113–14; (2005), 18–19. Concerns about the analytical value of the concept in a twentieth-century context have been addressed by Freeman (1993), Hingley (1996), (2000), Mattingly (2004), (2006), and Webster (2001).
[206] Scanlan (1999), 18 notes the problems in supposing that early modern colonial activities can be narrated by rendering them in terms which do nothing more than make them appear earlier versions of the same colonial phenomena that occurred much later. Cosgove's comments (2003) on the contrasts between early modern and post-Enlightenment 'Geography' are also relevant to this point. He emphasizes that in the eighteenth century, geography separated from cosmography to become a discourse of state-making. See Loomba and Orkin (1998) for an alternative perspective.
[207] Woolf (2003), 218.
[208] Ibid. Ferguson (1979), 374–5 has observed that the dominant perspective at this earlier time was, following classical writings, to associate cultural diversity with factors of geographical environment. It is true, however, that the consideration of the ancient Britons and their increasing civility under Roman tuition must have provided something of a counter to this idea.

did not permit the conception of an evolutionary framework.[209] It was not possible to develop a technological scheme for ordering different types of artefacts without such an idea of evolutionary development. It remains true, however, as we have seen, that the intellectual value of the concept of the spreading of civility through colonization was fundamentally significant during the early seventeenth century and this did enable an idea of cultural transformation. It *is* significant that Camden and Speed articulated an early version of the logic that was later to define the meaning of Romanization, by drawing upon classical texts, together with a few objects, and reinterpreting them in their own contemporary political climates. In these terms, Camden, Speed, and other early seventeenth-century writers presented ideas of cultural ancestry and rootedness that helped to naturalize colonial attitudes and ideas through comparison and contrast.[210]

The argument that 'savages' were in a comparable state to the ancient Britons prior to their colonization by the Roman was important, but the associated ideas of the introduction of civility through Roman contact was equally significant.[211] The education of ancient Britons in the ways of civility could be addressed, as Camden, Shakespeare, and Fletcher had demonstrated, through reference to the classical texts that mentioned their rulers; or, as through the work of Speed, by the imaginative reconstruction of their bodies and appearances. Jacobean authors reinterpreted the ancient past to suit the political needs of the present.[212] Camden's *Britannia* and Speed's *Historie* suggested to their readers that they were descended from the inhabitants of a province of the Roman empire, one in

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[209] Woolf (2003), 218 and Smiles (1994), 3. Cosgrove (2003) proposes that early modern 'geography' presents a more nuanced history, including more of a commitment to diversity and tolerance, than the imperial science that emerged from the eighteenth century.

[210] Bryson (1998), 51 has discussed how ideas of civility were transformed using the concept of civilization, as Western cultures explored 'non-European societies' gradually documenting their own supposed superiority. The use of 'Romanization' in a Jacobean context, however, back-projects a later version of a developing idea which is better addressed through the term civility at this early time.

[211] T. Marshall (2000), 19–20.

[212] See Jowitt's comments (2003*a*), 475 on the way that Fletcher wrote the colonial policies of Elizabeth and James I into his account of ancient Britain.

many ways similar to others,[213] its people civilized by their Roman conquerors.[214] Works for the stage communicated comparable ideas to a much wider audience.[215]

Civility and colonialism in Elizabethan and Jacobean writings

These ideas were of particular significance in the context of the activities of English travellers and settlers abroad, both in Ireland and in the New World. A number of writings in the reign of James I addressed the colonial value of the Roman imperial model. Clifford Ronan has stated, 'As colonizers in Ireland and the New World, Early Modern Englishmen repeatedly perceived analogies between their own military and civilian power and that of the ancient Romans.'[216] The history of the Roman contact with and colonization of Britain emphasized these classical parallels. The consolidation of English control of territory in Ireland during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the growing colonial ambitions involving land in America effectively promoted the significance of the period of England's colonization by Rome.[217]

Ronan has argued that 'England found in Rome a glass where the island could behold its own image simultaneously civilized and barbarous, powerful and hollow'.[218] The classical past provided a source for enlightenment and reflection, in which contemporary conceptions of pre-Roman and Roman Britain played a significant

[213] Camden (1610*a*), 63, J. Levine (1987), 93–4, and Piggott (1971), 9; see T. Marshall (2000), 3–4 for the extent of literacy and access to Jacobean ideas about unity.

[214] For this idea in *Bonduca*, see Jowitt (2003*a*), 486 and Shepherd (1981), 149.

[215] Jowitt (2003*a*).

[216] Ronan (1995), 39.

[217] See Armitage (2000), 49–59 for the sixteenth-century adoption of the Roman concept of the colony. Quinn (1966), 106 discusses the way that English experience in Ireland turned minds toward America. See Klingelhofer (1999), Ohlmeyer (1998), and Canny (2001) for the English, the Scots, and Ireland. Armitage (2000), 25 and Murphy (2002) discuss alternative readings of Irish historiography.

[218] Ronan (1995), 7.

role.[219] The establishment of British colonies (or plantations) overseas required the intellectual definition of the British 'self' and the colonized 'other',[220] while classical Roman imperialism also provided a context for the development of practical ideas for the colonial enterprise.

Rome has been widely regarded in early modern and modern times as the most extensive and successful imperial enterprise in the history of the world. Significantly, imperial Rome was also attributed with a divinely inspired mission and with ideas of classical civility.[221] Concepts of colonization and the methods of colonial control drew directly upon classical writings while at the same time reinventing them. These classical ideas were often imagined through the use of the evidence for the former Roman control of the native inhabitants of Britannia.[222] These associations gave classical Rome in general, and Roman Britain in particular, a special immediacy in the Elizabethan and Jacobean construction of nation and empire. The idea that the Romans had introduced civility to the ancient population of Lowland Britain was used to provide the inspiration and justification for the taking of land overseas by the English and for the acts of violence meted out to the indigenous inhabitants, since it was deemed that such actions represented the first phase in the civilizing of colonized subjects,[223] including their introduction to Protestant Christianity.

Foreign policy during the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries often drew upon ideas derived from imperial Roman models.[224] Englishmen planning and undertaking activities overseas

[219] Sarson (2005), 27–9. James's focus on imperial Roman models for the symbolism of his reign may have encouraged the association; see Crawford (1999), 360–1 and Williamson (1996), 62–3.

[220] Jowitt (2003*a*), 479, drawing on the works of Edward Said and others. For the British colony in Virginia, see Hadfield (1998), 111–12; Quinn and Quinn (1983) and Sarson (2005), 49–73. See Murphy (2002), 27–8 for the need for interpretations more nuanced than the simple classification of the English as 'self' against Irish/native of the New World as 'other' and Hall (1995) for issues of race and gender.

[221] Pagden (1995), 12–13. For the inheritance and reception of classical ideas of civilization, see Ferguson (1979), 347–356.

[222] T. Marshall (2000), 18. See Armitage (1998), 111–13; (2000) for the ways that early colonial thought drew upon and adapted classical writings and Kahn (1997), 4–7 for the relevance of Rome to educated people in Shakespeare's England.

[223] Floyd-Wilson (2002), 105.

[224] Canny (2001), 121.

re-enacted the roles of classical Romans. An early colonial advocate, Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577), was an authority on ancient Rome, having been a classical scholar in Cambridge, and was one of Elizabeth's counsellors.[225] In 1571, together with his son, Thomas Smith, he planned the establishment of an English colony in 'the Ardes' (Ards Peninsula) and adjacent areas of northern Ireland. Through this colonial scheme, Smith sought to enrich himself and his son and to strengthen England's position in Ireland.[226] He tried to arrange three expeditions, between 1572 and 1575, in order to establish the colony.[227] Although his plans failed,[228] Smith played a significant role in the intellectualizing of colonial thought.[229] A broadsheet and a book were produced to provide the background to the proposal and to justify it. Written by Smith and published in 1571, the book set out, in fifty-three pages, accompanied by a letter, the first sustained argument for overseas colonization,[230] drawing upon classical parallels.[231] This included a copy of the Grant of Land in Ireland from Queen Elizabeth and a map of the area concerned. It explores the potential of the land for colonization and cultivation: 'there cannot be . . . a more fertile soil thorowe out the world for the climate than it is, a more pleasant, healthful, ful of springs, rivers, great fresh lakes, fishe, and foule, and of moste commodious herbers. England giveth nothing save fine woolle, that will not be had also moste abundantly

[225] For some of the documents produced by Smith and his son, see T. Smith (1571*a*), (1571*b*), (1572*a*), (1572*b*), (1572*c*). For the relevance of Smith's works on colonialism, constitution and Ireland, see Armitage (2000), 49–51, Dewar (1964) and Scanlan (1999), 30; for his life see Dewar (1964) and H. Morgan (1985). For Smith's earlier legal works and his use of Roman law as a source and analogy for English law, see Dewar (1982) and Ferguson (1979), 282.

[226] H. Morgan (1985), 261.

[227] Ibid. 264.

[228] Dewar (1964), 160–1 and Quinn (1966), 108.

[229] Dewar (1964), 157–8 and Quinn (1966), 107–9.

[230] The relevant document is in two parts, T. Smith (1571*a*) and (1571*b*). It adopts a style familiar as Sir Thomas Smith's favourite literary form; see Dewar (1964), 158. One of Sir Thomas' letters, (1572*a*), 469, defends the 'little book which my son sent out . . .', but it is actually thought to have been written by him; see Dewar (1964), 158. Sir Thomas also wrote a number of letters to give support and justification for his scheme and his son's actions; see T. Smith (1572*a*), (1572*b*), and (1572*c*); for discussion of these letters, see H. Morgan (1985).

[231] Quinn (1966), 107–8 and H. Morgan (1985), 262.

there, it lacketh only inhabitants, manurance, and pollicie.'[232] The ideas of native Irish society as pastoral and nomadic drew upon classical writings about barbarians, misinterpreting the contemporary Irish agricultural economy.[233]

The letter asked 'partakers' to pay a fee and mentioned that a place for a general meeting and for the embarkation to Ireland were to be announced.[234] It was argued that 'To inhabite & reform so barbarous a nation as that is, and to bring them to the knowledge and lawe, were bothe a godly and commendable deede, and a sufficient worke for our age.'[235] Smith's writings suggested that, like a Roman colony on the frontiers of civil life, civility could be brought to a savage Irish region through the construction of the colony.[236]

A letter of Sir Thomas Smith to his son in May 1572 presents details of his plans for the colony. He writes of a 'city' to be called 'Elizabetha', which is to be 'one tower, against all the Queen Majesty's enemies'.[237] This is to be a 'strong town, as a magazine of victuals, a retreat in time of danger and a safe place for merchants'. Smith continues that the 'habitation together engendereth civility, policy, acquaintance, consultation, and a firm and sure seat'.[238] In December 1574, after three years of setbacks to his Irish plans, including the death of his son, Smith drew up a meticulously detailed plan for the project, a document that Mary Dewar has described as 'nothing less than a complete blueprint for the organization and government of a colony'.[239] Smith's main concern remained with the foundation of the principal city, for which he drew heavily upon Roman parallels.[240] This nucleated settlement would enable its residents to lead a civilized existence and avoid undergoing a process described by

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[232] T. Smith (1571*a*), 10.

[233] H. Morgan (1985), 268 notes that Smith never visited Ireland and shared widespread assumptions about Gaelic society. For the classical origins of ideas about nomads, see Klein (2001), 173–4, 178–82.

[234] T. Smith (1571*b*), 7.

[235] T. Smith (1571*a*), 22.

[236] Quinn (1966), 107–8.

[237] T. Smith (1572*c*), 490–1.

[238] Ibid. 491.

[239] Dewar (1964), 164. The original papers are in the Essex Record Office. For late sixteenth-century surveys of Ireland, see Klein (2001), 62–75, 112–30.

[240] Dewar (1964), 164.

Hiram Morgan as 'Gaelicization' through their contacts with the indigenous people.[241] Elizabetha was to be built according to a strict plan, with a market place at the centre surrounded by blocks of buildings on a rectangular street pattern, all surrounded by a large open space circumvented by a road inside the town defences.[242] The cultivation of land was to be one of the primary responsibilities of all colonists.[243] This revised proposal also failed.[244]

Smith was unusually explicit in his use of Roman parallels to inform colonial endeavours, but others took the precedent for granted and drew inspiration from received or invented versions of classical Rome.[245] At the same time, it is clear from his writings that Smith reinterpreted these classical parallels, modifying them for the contemporary colonial context by drawing upon medieval and sixteenth-century thought and examples.[246]

Roman concepts of the creation of towns or cities were used elsewhere to inform ideas about colonies overseas.[247] The remarkable plans for colonial towns in America produced by George Waymouth in 1604, as part of a treatise sent to James I to support his involvement in future voyages, drew on comparable roots,[248] as do the plans of a number of seventeenth-century colonial towns in North America and Ireland.[249] William Strachey (1572–1621), who travelled to

[241] H. Morgan (1985), 277. The concept of 'Gaelicization' can be critiqued using the same arguments used above to address Romanization.

[242] Dewar (1964), 165–6. Smith discussed the provision of laws and the constitution of the colony in some detail. Much of this framework for the colony had already been outlined in more general terms in Smith's earlier letter, e.g. (1572*c*), 491.

[243] Dewar (1964), 166.

[244] Ibid. 168–9.

[245] Canny (2001), 122, 198–9, 214 and Reps (1965), 4–5.

[246] H. Morgan (1985), 275 and Canny (2001), 121–2 have shown that Smith also drew upon medieval parallels in developing his ideas, while H. Morgan (1985), 269 explored his debt to Thomas More's *Utopia*.

[247] Canny (1998*a*), 10.

[248] These are reproduced in Quinn and Quinn (1983), figures 9 to 14.

[249] Reps (1965). For the continued use made of Roman models for colonies in Virginia during the early seventeenth century and for Carolina in the early eighteenth century, see McLeod (1999), 111, 196–7. Knowledge of classical writings about the Roman military and their fortifications evidently fulfilled a significant purpose at this time. In 1591, Sir Henry Savile had produced a translation of four books of Tacitus' *Histories* and had annexed a plan and 'scheme of a Roman camp'—reproduced in Aubrey (1980), 260–3—drawn from the writings of Polybius. Anglo (2002), 256 notes that there was an increase in interest in classical texts that addressed warfare at this time, particularly in the context of the struggle between Spain and the United Provinces.

America in 1609 to seek his fortune in the new colony of Virginia, drew directly upon the Roman-English colonial parallel in his writings,[250] while also making observations on the Romans in Britain. Strachey was the official secretary to the English colony at Jamestown in 1609. It has been suggested that Strachey's intellectual approach to colonialism may have been influenced by the thoughts and writings of Smith.[251] He wrote an account of the 1609 expedition to Virginia, but it was suppressed by the Virginia Company and was not published until 1625.[252] He also wrote a fuller account between 1611 and 1618, in *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania*, but the Company also thought this too critical, and it was not published until 1849.[253]

In the 'Praemonition to the Reader', which forms the first part of the *Historie*, Strachey attempts to justify colonization,[254] drawing upon the parallel of the Romans in Britain. He writes that the Indians were heathens who should be encouraged to adopt Christianity and who should be taught the profits of barter and trade.[255] Commenting on a sermon presented by William Symonds, preacher of St Saviour's of Southwark,[256] Strachey drew attention to his remarks that a father might beat his child to bring him to goodness:

Had not this violence, and this Iniury, bene offred vnto vs by the Romanis … even by *Iulius Caesar* himself, then by the Emperor *Claudius*, (who was therefore called Britannicus,) and his Captaynes, *Aulus Plautius* and *Vespatian*, who tooke in the Isle of *Wight*. And lastly by the first Lieutenant sent hither *Ostorious Scapula* (as wrytes Tacitus in the life of *Agricola*, who reduced the conquered partes of our barbarous Island into Prouinces, and established in them Colonies of old soldiers, building castells and townes

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[250] See Canny (1998*b*), 154, Pagden (1995), 66, and Wood (2004) for Strachey's activities. For the way that Elizabethan and Jacobean travel writing reflected contemporary problems within England and Britain, see Hadfield (1998).

[251] Dewar (1964), 169–70 and H. Morgan (1985).

[252] Wood (2004).

[253] Ibid. and Wright and Freund (1953), xviii.

[254] Strachey (1612), xxx. Canny (1998*b*), 155 addresses Strachey as an 'optimistic' commentator on the potential of the Amerindians to achieve civility and it appears that a number of the other writers who used the Roman history of Britain to support the colonization of Virginia were motivated by comparable colonial views.

[255] Strachey (1612), xxxi. For the context, and the reaction of the English/British to the perceived cruelty and greed of the Spanish, see Hadfield (1998), 70–1.

[256] For details of Symonds's sermon, see Scanlan (1999), 105–110.

and in every Corner teaching vs even to know the powerfull discourse of divine Reason (which makes vs only men, and distinguishes vs from beasts, amongest whom we lived as naked, and beastly as they, we might yet have lyved overgrowne Satyrs, rude, and vntutred, wandring in the woodes, dwelling in Caues, and hunting for our dynners.[257]

Strachey refers to the idea that, without this teaching, Britons might still indulge in a variety of unsavoury activities, including the prostitution of daughters to strangers, sacrificing their offspring to idols, and eating them. In fact, the immediacy of his observation is supported by a historical reference that he draws upon to indicate that the eating of children survived until medieval times among some Scots living in France.[258] In Strachey's terms, therefore, 'violence' is required to bring native Americans to civility.[259]

In *Nova Britannia* (1609) and *The New Life of Virginea* (1612), Robert Johnson drew upon comparable ideas. In his discussion of the actions of the English in Virginia, Johnson argued:

how much good wee shall performe to those that be good, and how little iniury to any, will easily appeare, by comparing our present happinesse with our former auncient miseries, wherein wee had continued bruitish, poore and naked Brittans to this day, if Iulius Cæsar with his Romaine Legions, (or some other) had not laid the ground to make us tame and ciuill.[260]

In this context, Johnson exhorted his fellows in Virginia to 'Take their children and traine them up with gentlenesse, teach them our English tongue, and the principles of religion; winne the elder sort by wisdome and discretion, make them equal with your English in case of protection, wealth and habitation, doing justice on such as shall doe them wrong.'[261] He was explicitly drawing upon Roman parallels, since on the next page he referred to the peace created in the

[257] Strachey (1612), 24.

[258] Ibid. 24–5. For the context of cannibalism and colonialism in early modern society, see Freccero (1994). Canny (1998*b*), 154–5 quotes other relevant comments by Strachey.

[259] Canny (1998*b*), 155. See Scanlan (1999), 64–5, 114–15, and Sarson (2005), 28–9 for discussions for contemporary ideas for the civilizing of the American Indians through colonial control and influence.

[260] R. Johnson (1609), 16. See comments in T. Marshall (2000), 23.

[261] R. Johnson (1612), 38. For the issue of religion and conversion, see Armitage (2000), 92–4.

Roman empire during the rule of Augustus. His observations appear to draw upon Tacitus' comments on the civilizing of the Britons in *Agricola* 21,[262] but transformed them for the current age, placing a particular emphasis on the conversion of the native Virginians to Christianity.

Knowledge of ancient Britain helped to inform overseas policy, while, at the same time, contact with colonial subjects helped to articulate new accounts of the Romans in Britain.

DEFINING CIVILITY IN THE MID- TO LATE-SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

During the succeeding century, the colonial relevance of Roman civility was rarely addressed. Despite the growing focus on the Grand Tour and the collection of classical antiquities during the early seventeenth century,[263] Roman Britain became less relevant as interests in the past changed.[264] Although a number of authors did attempt to pursue aspects of Roman Britain at this time, interest in the development of civility by the southern Britons under Roman tutelage declined. This may have resulted, at least in part, from an increased interest in the idea of Saxon origins for the English.[265] By the opening years of the seventeenth century, a vogue for Saxon origins had begun to transform accounts of the ancient past of England. The Saxon origin myth was attractive through its supposed religious associations and because legal experts were beginning to emphasize Germanic parallels for some elements of English law.[266]

[262] For comparable observations in a contemporary ballad, see Armitage (1998), 112.

[263] J. Levine (1987), 86.

[264] Kunst (1995), 130 and Sweet (2004), 158–9.

[265] Ferguson (1979), 113, Kidd (1999), 101–2, 106–9, J. Levine (1987), 89–90, and Piggott (1971), 6. Parry (1995), 3–4 has addressed the increasing attention paid to the Saxons in subsequent editions of *Britannia*. See Floyd-Wilson (2002), 106–7, 112–13 and Parry (1995), 3–4, 37–8 for early seventeenth-century ideas about the Saxon origins of the English. Canny (1998a), 7 has pointed out that the character of the English, the Lowland Scots, and Old English in Ireland could provide a justification for colonization because their own societies originated in conquest.

[266] Ferguson (1979), 113, 285.

Camden came to favour this idea,[267] while retaining interpretations of ancient British civility, which suggests that the civilizing of the ancient Britons and an idea of Saxon ancestry were not always developed as oppositional ideas.

Ideas derived from the Roman past did, evidently, continue to have significance to certain people. In 1654, Britannia was first represented on a Protectorate medal, while the image was used on English coins from 1665.[268] Little of importance to the comprehension of Roman Britain emerged, however, between 1611 and the late 1650s, but in 1658, the year of Oliver Cromwell's death,[269] two significant works on Roman Britain were published. Thomas Browne wrote on (supposedly) Roman burial urns and William Burton explored the geography of Roman Britain.

William Burton and the mapping of civility

William Burton (1609–1657), who qualified as a lawyer, appears never to have practiced but became a schoolmaster instead.[270] Using the Antonine Itinerary, Burton provided a detailed study of the geography of Roman Britain, which evidently sold in some numbers.[271] In addition to using all the available classical sources, including the Peutinger Table and the Antonine Itinerary,[272] Burton drew heavily upon Camden and other early modern scholars, including Robert Talbot and William Harrison.[273] Burton's monograph was one of the first entire books devoted to the Roman history of Britain, indicating the great significance that he placed on claimed Roman ancestry. Burton's work reflected the idea of a continuity of ancient

[267] Camden's *Remains Concerning Britain* (1614) developed the Saxon idea in some detail.

[268] K. Brown (1994), 80.

[269] Joan Evans (1956), 26 suggests that, from this date, students of history could write with less concern for repercussions.

[270] Parry (1995), 261–2.

[271] Ibid. 267.

[272] Ibid, 263–4.

[273] Harrison had contributed three chapters to Holinshed's sixteenth-century work, *History of England*.

culture in Britain. The significance of this perspective is indicated by the title of the book, *A Commentary on Antoninus his Itinerary, or Journies of the Roman Empire, so far as it concerneth Britain: wherein the first foundations of our Cities, Lawes, and Government, according to the Roman Policy, are clearly discovered; whence all succeeding Ages have drawn their Originall.*

Following Camden's example, Burton sought to explore the ancient roots of British culture by examining the Roman geography of its territory. In the 'Preface to the Reader', Burton stated:

certain it is, that unto the Romans we owe what ever of Magnificence or Elegancy our Britain could boast . . . For whereas the *Britains* were rude and dispers'd, and therefore prone to every occasion of War, *Julius Agricola* (as *Tacitus* tells us) to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, exhorted them in private, and publickly assisted them in building Temples, Pallaces, and places of general Commerce . . . Thus were erected those stupendous Fabricks, the Reliques of which, even in their most deformed Ruines, move Reverence and Astonishment in every beholder . . . [274]

Burton emphasizes the same aspects of the civilizing of the ancient Britons that had been developed by Camden and argued for a genetic and spiritual continuity in contemporary Britain.[275] He proposed that, as a result of his analysis of the Antonine Itinerary, the reader could pursue the Roman settlement of Britain:

Proceed then in Your faire journey; the waies are now again repaired and paved (as once by that excellent emperour Trajane) Bushes and Brambles rooted up and removed, unfordable Rivers supplied with Bridges, Fens dreined, Causies cast up in Valleys, the inaccessible ascents of Hills made easier by winding Pathes; which . . . lead you through the best inhabited and remarkable places of the nation . . . Who is there among us that doth not reverence the Roman name? Who is there that bears not an indulgent fondness to his native Country?[276]

Burton considered that many aspects of contemporary British culture derived from Roman roots, while the cities of Roman Britain also, in some cases, exhibited this continuity of national history. He

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[274] Burton (1658), page 1 of the Preface to the Reader. This is derived directly from Camden (1610*a*), 55.

[275] Ayres (1997), 87.

[276] Burton (1658), page 2 of the Preface; see Parry (1995), 263.

remarks that 'Londinio' (London), 'for the space of about one thousand five hundred fourscore and six years…hath flourished more for the stateliness and magnificence of her godly buildings: for the large extent of her bounds and juristiction: for the religion and civility of her inhabitants, for the wisdom and honour of her Majistrates…'.[277]

The map by Wenceslaus Hollar, which was included at the start of Burton's study, locates a large number of places recorded in the Roman texts and many of the main Roman roads (Figure 1.11).[278] That Burton has access to an engraving of the Peutinger Table may suggest that Hollar's map drew inspiration from this source.[279] Burton developed his account of the Roman remains of Britain through the use of the routes recorded on the Antonine Itinerary. He reviewed the available evidence for Roman remains in these places, following an approach that is directly derived from Camden.[280] It is evident from his account that he had visited some of these places, but many of his descriptions add little to those in the 1610 edition of *Britannia*. For example, Burton drew upon Camden's case study of High Rochester to show the potential of inscriptions. Here he notes that a stone inscription, dedicated to the emperor and bearing the name of the fort, was 'found buried among the rubbish of an ancient *Castrum*, or Camp'.[281] Praising Camden's identification of the significance of the inscription, he observes: 'It is a peice of Antiquity highly to be valued, almost near veneration, which having still preserved the name and memory of the decayed station…'[282]

Graham Parry has argued that Burton could not devise any satisfactory framework for the presentation of the information that he derived from the various sources for Roman Britain.[283] His account did, however, provide some useful ideas. He developed some of Camden's arguments by using Ptolemy's writings and the Antonine Itinerary to discuss the 'several Provinces, or People that then

[277] Burton (1658), 155.
[278] Parry (1995), 267.
[279] The section of the Peutinger Table for Roman Britain had been largely lost, leaving just a handful of towns and roads—see Rivet and Smith (1979), Plate 1—but Parry (1995), 264 suggests that the surviving section influenced Burton's approach.
[280] Haverfield (1924*a*), 71.   [281] Burton (1658), 37.
[282] Ibid. 38.   [283] Parry (1995), 267.
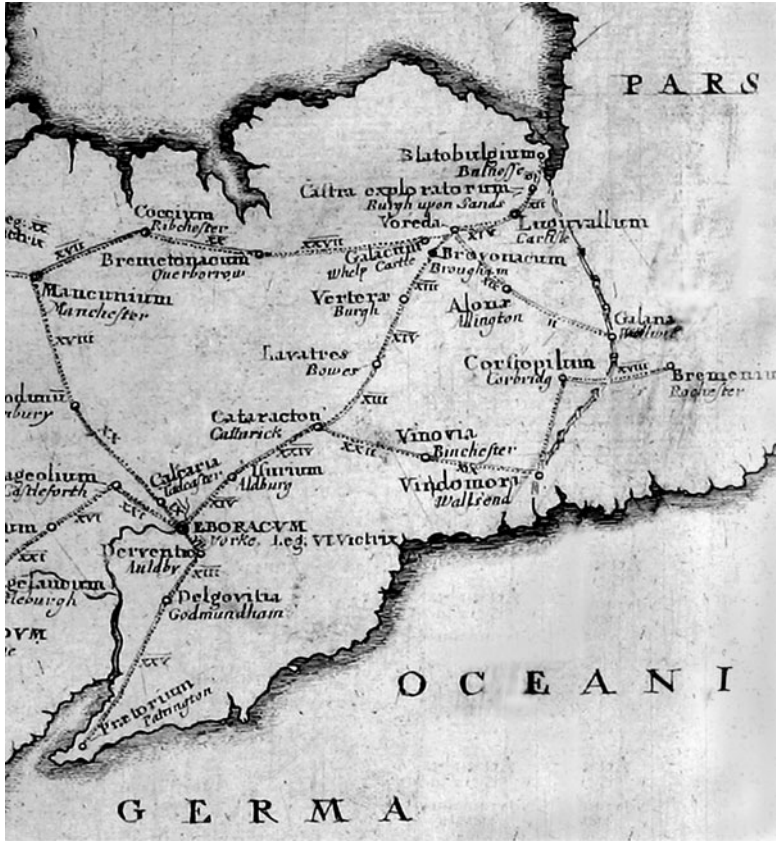
Figure 1.11. Detail of the area of the Roman Wall from Wenceslaus Hollar's map of Roman Britain, entitled 'Itinerarii Antonini per Britannias'.

inhabited *Britain...*' under the Romans.[284] Burton notes that Ptolemy records 109 'cities' but that the Itinerary mentions only 64 '*Mansions* or *Townes*'. It is apparent that he is recording all the named places in these accounts as cities, mansions, or towns, going on to discuss the Walls and associated 'Stations' of the north that were designed to 'keep off the continuall Assaults and Irruptions of the *Scots*, and *Picts*,

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[284] Burton (1658), 12.

and other barbarous peoples'.[285] He continued by suggesting that 'the inland of the Country I believe was stored with many other flourishing Cities'. Noting that the fifth- to sixth-century author Gildas (*DEB* 3.2) records 28 cities, he takes this as an indication that many of cities of Ptolemy and the Antonine accounts were 'still remaining in good condition' in post-Roman times.[286]

His tentative division of the province into a frontier zone and an area with cities foreshadowed the growing understanding of the province that developed during the succeeding centuries. Burton's discussion of the potential differences between Roman 'stations', 'camps', and 'cities' prefigured eighteenth- and nineteenth-century classifications of the different classes of sites that occurred in Roman Britain. Although sufficient knowledge of the material remains of Roman Britain did not exist to develop a clear account of the various types of sites, Burton's knowledge of classical law enabled him to make well-informed suggestions about the nature of the Roman cities.[287] When discussing the evidence for Roman York, he considered the significance of the Latin terms *colonia* and *municipium*.[288] The classical references to the status of York confused him, but he does mention that Verulamium is recorded as a *municipium*, or 'free town'.[289] Relating the name Venta Silurum to the remains of a 'City' called Caerwent, Burton noted that it was in the 'Country of the *Silures*', who he describes as a 'nation',[290] effectively making the point, in modern terms, that it was a tribal town or *civitas* capital. The legal foundations for a comprehension of the urban centres of Roman Britain is evident in this work, although it would take centuries of further study of the surviving material remains before the potential hierarchy of the Roman towns of Britain would emerge. Indeed, Burton, like Camden, demonstrated little interest in the remains of Roman buildings or in the cities and stations he described.[291]

[285] Ibid.
[286] Ibid. 12–13. For the date and character of Gildas' work see M. E. Jones (1996), 121.
[287] Parry (1995), 265.   [288] Burton (1658), 62.
[289] Burton (1658), 62, 148.   [290] Ibid. 256–7.
[291] Ibid. 265.

Thomas Browne's Romanized Britons

In 1658, Thomas Browne published a small book, *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall*, on a group of pottery urns found in East Anglia. This is one of a number of accounts on antiquarian matters produced by Royalist gentlemen during the 1650s, including the work of William Burton.[292] Browne (1605–1682) worked as a doctor in Norwich for much of his professional career and was knighted in 1671. He wrote a number of books, not all of which were published during his lifetime.[293] It has been suggested that *Hydriotaphia* was produced as a defence of ceremonialism in burial through its implicit attack, using ancient texts and objects, on the Puritan prohibitions against funerary rites that had existed since the 1640s.[294] The considerable significance of his work, in terms of the themes defined in the introduction, relates to two topics:[295] first, it is a fairly meticulous and scholarly study of relatively humble material objects and, second, it provided an outline for a new approach to the interpretation of Roman culture in Britain. It developed the key elements of an interpretative framework, summarized by Browne's use of the term 'Romanized', to account for the ways that 'Britains Romanized' (or 'Romanized Britons') came to use Roman practices and objects. His speculations on these urns was followed up by a second, rather more descriptive, publication, *Concerning some urnes found in Brampton, Norfolk, Ann. 1667*, written soon after the discovery but not published until 1716, thirty-four years after the author's death.

 Browne wrote *Hydriotaphia* ('burial in an urn') to explore the relevance of a large number of urns containing burnt bones and other finds that had been uncovered at Old Walsingham (Norfolk),

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[292] Parry (1995), 19, 249.

[293] John Evans (1893), vii–xxvi and Robbins (2004). John Evans (1893), Robbins (2004), Preston (2005), and Schnapp (1996), 196–8 describe Browne's activities, while Swann (2001), 121–34 sets his work in context.

[294] Swann (2001), 126, drawing on the work of Achsah Guibbory. For the context of Browne's work, see Houlbrooke (2000), 70–1.

[295] For a reading of Browne's *Urne-Buriall* which explores the significant religious and cultural context of the text, see Preston (2005), 123–54. Fowles (1982), 616 suggests that few today read *Urne-Buriall* for 'archaeological reasons', but I contend below that Browne's contribution to the development of studies of Roman Britain has been underestimated.

En Sum quod digitis Quinque Levatur onus Propert
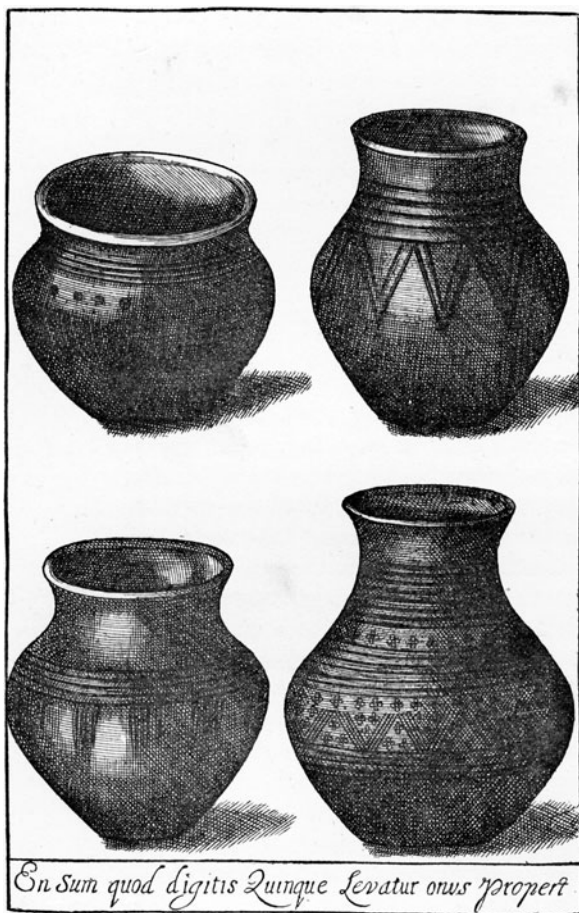
Figure 1.12. Thomas Browne's urns of the Romans or 'Brittains Romanized' from Old Walsingham.

probably during the winter of 1567.[296] Partly a report on what was found, this short work was also partly a meditation on the mystery of time and the nature of human life.[297] The discovery of the pots (Figure 1.12), actually known since the nineteenth century to

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[296] John Evans (1893), xv and Parry (1995), 250, n. 1.
[297] Parry (1995), 250 and Preston (2005), 121–54.

be of Anglo-Saxon date,[298] was, in reality, a relatively insignificant incident, since urns of various forms were common finds, often discussed and illustrated by antiquaries during the seventeenth century.[299] Browne's study, however, as Graham Parry has argued, 'reverberated through the intellectual community of the nation';[300] its significance results from the particular perspective adopted. Later scholarly attention has focused, perhaps in a rather anachronistic manner, on Browne's contribution to the development of studies of material culture, through his relatively analytical study of the materiality of the urns, their contents, and the situations in which they were found.[301]

Brown's observations on the urns and their contents reflected a growing interest in ancient remains amongst seventeenth-century antiquarians. He described the discovery of the urns in some detail:

In a Field of old *Walsingham*, not many moneths past, were digged up between fourty and fifty Vrnes, deposited in a dry and sandy soile, not a yard deep, nor farre from one another ... Some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jawes, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion. Beside the extraneous substances, like peeces of small boxes, or combes handsomely wrought, handles of small brass instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of *Opale.*[302]

He considered the nature of these pots and speculated about their dates, while also studying the artefacts that accompanied the urns and the nature of the cremated human remains. Browne used his medical experience to determine, from the 'exility of the bones, thinnesse of skulls, smallnesse of teeth, ribbes, and thigh bones', that many of those interred were of '*minor* age, or women'.[303] He

[298] Piggott (1989), 8.
[299] Woolf (2003), 229 notes earlier discoveries. See Hunter (1995), 190–1 for Meric Casaubon's account of 1634, which had included illustrations of several Roman urns from Newington (Kent).
[300] See Parry (1995), 260, who focuses in particular on Browne's contacts with Sir William Dugdale and John Aubrey. Robbins (2004) summarizes the significance of Browne's work during the seventeenth century and a revival of interest in the early nineteenth.
[301] Hunter (1995), 194.
[302] Browne (1658), 21–2.
[303] Ibid. 29. Robbins (2004) has explored Browne's medical training and his interests in empirical study and the dissection of human bodies. Marchitello

also suggested that some of the burial objects, including items resembling combs and ornate plates, possibly from boxes, might have been buried with the women.[304]

In his later work on the urns from Brampton Field, Browne provided a relatively detailed description of a number of Roman urns of various types and the remains of a Roman building found close by.[305] 'Inscriptions', or maker's names, on several pots supported their identification as Roman (Figure 1.13).[306] Browne's writings illustrate that the answer to the dating of objects, such as the urns, lay in the analysis of the items themselves, the materials found with them and their location in relation to other ancient sites and finds.[307] The analysis of the objects, their associations and contexts, became a significant technique that was adopted by others in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This placed a premium on the careful excavation and recording of the objects and the structures associated with them.[308]

In writing about Romanized Britons in *Hydriotaphia*, Browne began to outline an approach to material culture that would, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, enable the application of the classically inspired ideas about the growing civility of ancient Britons to be pursued through the analysis of objects and sites. Browne listed a series of classical references to the practice of cremating the dead. In discussing the supposed Roman date of these burials, and addressing Roman sites and remains in the region around Old Walsingham, Browne proposed that: 'it is not improbable that neighbouring parts were filled with habitations, either of *Romanes* themselves,

(1997), 179–81 provides a thoughtful account of Browne's approach to artefacts and its relationship to his religious beliefs.

[304] Browne (1658), 29–30. See Parry (1995), 254 for Browne's analytical interest in some of the finds associated with the urns.

[305] Browne (1716).

[306] Ibid. 93.

[307] Parry (1995), 253. Hunter (1995), 194, Mendyk (1989), 159, and Preston (2005), 145 have pointed out that Browne's approach to artefacts was rather less analytical than that of various other late seventeenth-century antiquarians.

[308] Parry (1995), 255–6 records that Browne was deeply influenced by the discovery, excavation and publication of the findings from the tomb of the fifth-century Frankish king Childeric near Tournai between 1653 and 1655, to which Browne (1658), 30–1 made reference. For this discovery, see Schnapp (1996), 203–4.

A Roman Urn drawn wth a Coal taken
out of it, & found among y burnt bones, & is
Now in y Poßession of D^r. Hans Sloane
To whom y Plate is most humbly Inscrib'd
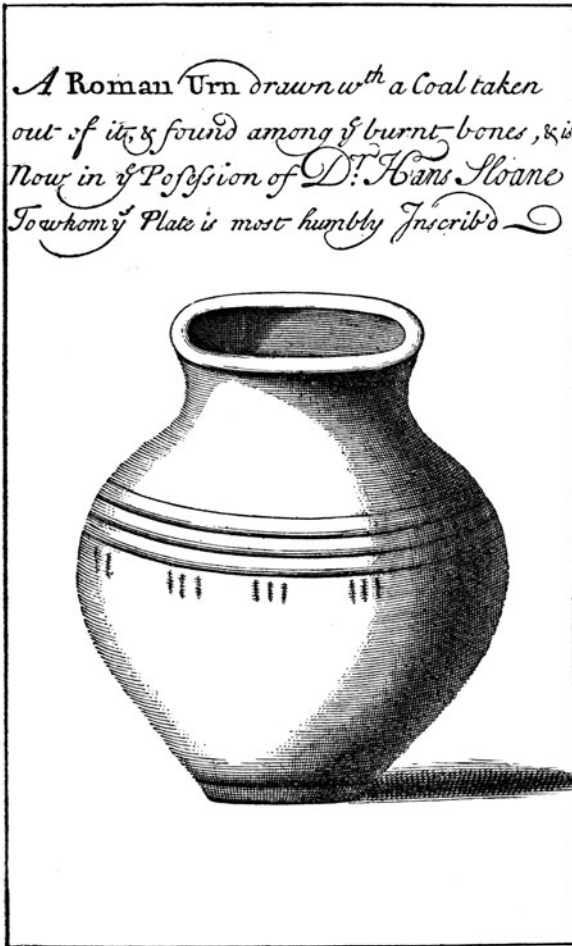
Figure 1.13. Thomas Browne's Roman urn from Brampton.

or *Brittains Romanised*, which observed the Roman customes'.[309]
Browne argued that Roman Britain was 'notably populous', remark-
ing that 'though many *Roman* habitations are now unknowne, yet
some by old works, Rampiers, Coynes, and Urnes doe testifie their
Possessions'.[310] He attempted to claim that the urns held the remains

[309] Browne (1658), 22.   [310] Ibid. 24.

of Roman people and discussed other possibilities, including the idea that the burials might be British, Saxon, or Danish.[311] He failed to find many classical references to the burial practices of the ancient Britons, although he noted references to cremation in pre-Roman Gaul.[312] He then addressed whether the British themselves practiced 'burning' (cremation) before the Romans arrived, or if they may have been 'civilized unto the *Romane* life and manners' after the conquest.[313] He suggests that the latter idea is 'no improbable conjecture',[314] since 'from the accounts of *Tacitus* the *Romanes* early wrought so much civility upon the Brittish stock, that they brought them to build Temples, to wear the Gowne, and study the *Romane* Laws and language, that they conformed also unto their religious rites and customes in burials . . .'.[315] He concluded his study by suggesting that the urns are Roman, since 'the most assured account will fall upon the *Romanes*, or *Brittains Romanized*'.[316] Browne's use of the term 'Romanized' drew on the unusual way that he used language in this work—the 'intense Latinity' of his style.[317]

Although he does not explore the issue directly, it is possible to conceive that Browne wanted to comprehend how the relatively crude handmade pots from Old Walsingham related to certain rather finer wares found in the vicinity of the site, which occasionally featured the Romanized names of the potter on their bases. In their forms and decoration, the cruder pots bore some resemblance to these finer wares, since the former were partly copied from the latter. With regard to the cruder pots from Old Walsingham, Browne wrote that, 'Many urns are red, these but of a black colour, somewhat

[311] Ibid. 31–4. [312] Ibid. 32. [313] Ibid. [314] Ibid. 33.
[315] Ibid. 32–3. In her study of Sir Thomas Browne's work, Preston (2005), 12–15 has argued that 'civility' in the 1640s represented a classically inspired order, under a threat from barbarism in the contemporary climate of civil unrest. The Roman parallel, in these terms, might have appeared highly significant to Browne's contemporaries.
[316] Browne (1658), 34.
[317] John Evans (1893), xxii. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (1991, second edition, revised and corrected, vol. 14, 64) gives a derivation for 'Romanized' during the early seventeenth century which relates to the idea of being drawn toward or affected by Romanism, a term which itself relates to Roman Catholic religion or doctrine. This may help to explain the relatively slow uptake of use of the word during the following two centuries; it is notable, however, that the same term was also used at this time to indicate the adoption of Roman custom or legal practice (ibid.).

smooth, and dully sounding, which begat some doubt, whether they were burnt, or only baked in Oven or Sunne.'[318] Browne deduced that these relatively crude pots were produced by Romanized Britons.[319] The analytical process through which Browne came to this conclusion was flawed only because of the lack of knowledge of the chronology of British material culture, since, with the exception of coins bearing inscriptions, there could be no conception of a distinct assemblage either of pre-Roman or Saxon material culture.[320] The only items that could be directly dated to the Roman periods were coins, stone inscriptions, and pots with maker's marks. Parry has proposed that it was vital for Browne that the urns were Roman in date, since this enabled him to link these finds to the 'high civilization' of antiquity and to invoke illustrious classical names.[321] Indeed, the assumption of a Roman date was supported by the presence of a Roman site, Brancaster, named in the Antonine Itinerary, five miles from the findspot.[322] It was also important for Browne to identify the remains as those of Romanized Britons, since this enabled him to draw on the same concept of ancestral origins for the current population that had been utilized by Camden and others, creating a classical character for Romanized ancient Britons.

Contextualizing British coins

Browne was an avid collector of coins and other objects.[323] Discussing the region in which the Old Walsingham urns were found, he wrote about Roman, Saxon, Danish, and Norman coins, remarking that 'som Brittish Coynes of gold have been dispersedly found; And no small number of silver peeces near [at Thorpe] *Norwich*; with a rude head upon the obverse, and an ill formed horse on the reverse, with Inscriptions *Ic*, *Duro*, *T*, whether implying *Iceni*, *Durotriges*,

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[318] Browne (1658), 37.
[319] I have drawn this possible interpretation from the direct use made of Browne's writings by a later antiquarian, Bryan Faussett, who certainly uses such an idea to interpret his cruder pots.
[320] John Evans (1893), xx and Parry (1995), 250.
[321] Ibid. 251.
[322] Browne (1658), 22; see Preston (2005), 151.
[323] John Evans (1893), xix–xx.

Tascia, or *Trinobantes*, we leave to higher conjecture'.[324] Browne's observations on the British coins were well informed.[325]

Two decades on, Robert Plot's *The Natural History of Oxford-shire* (1677) discussed 'ancient *Mony*, *Ways*, *Barrows*, *Pavements*, *Urns*, ancient *Monuments* of Stone, *Fortifications*, & c. whether of the ancient *Britans*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*.'[326] 'Mony' (money) is the only category of British antiquities that he could establish and he illustrated three coins (Figure 1.14), providing another well-informed account.[327] He identified one from its legend as a coin of Cunobelinus, also marked with an abbreviation of the name for Camulodunum and observing that Camden had illustrated a rather similar coin.[328] Significantly, Plot provided a description of the discovery of the coin, information that had been absent from Camden and Speed's writings. It was dug up at 'Wood-Eaton' (Woodeaton, Oxfordshire) in 'this present Year 1676. near the House of the Worshipful *John Nourse* Esq; amongst old *Foundations*'.[329] Plot noted that a second small uninscribed coin was found 'At the same time and place', possibly belonging to the same British ruler. The third coin which had been 'dug up' at Little Milton (Oxfordshire) was also uninscribed, but Plot suggested that it belonged to king Prasutagus of the Iceni and his wife 'Boodicia'.[330]

Edward Lhwyd (or Lhuyd) made significant observations about British coins without inscriptions in 1695 as part of his case for proposing that the ancient Britons had a fairly sophisticated culture.[331] He noted, drawing upon Camden's earlier observations and perhaps also on Plot's writings, that 'such of these coins as want Inscriptions are always hollow on the one side, and have also impressions or characters (if I may so call them) different from those of Roman and all other coyns . . .'.[332] He suggests that the art of coining was not learnt from the Romans but that the other coins with 'Roman letters', such as those of

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[324] Browne (1658), 25.　　[325] John Evans (1893), xix.

[326] Plot (1677), 308. For Plot's life and writings, see Parry (1995), 301.

[327] Plot (1677), 308–11; see Henig and Booth (2000), 204.

[328] Plot (1677), 308–9.

[329] Ibid. 309.

[330] Ibid. Henig and Booth (2000), 204 describe this incorrect attribution.

[331] Sweet (2004), 126. He also discussed bronze weapons and various Welsh monuments; see Lhwyd in Camden (1695), 658, 672–3; and see Parry (1995), 353 for a discussion of this work.

[332] Lhwyd in Camden (1695), 648; these comments originally derive from Camden (1610*a*), 97.

Figure 1.14. Plate by Michael Burghers from Plot (1695), showing miscellaneous antiquities from Oxfordshire, including a Roman mosaic from Great Tew and British coins from Woodeaton and Little Milton.

Cassivellaunus and Cunobelinus, were produced and used after the conquest. It is significant the Lhwyd, like Plot, recorded the places at which one of his four coins was found, in the parish of Penbryn (Cardiganshire). The other three coins illustrated by Lhwyd were held in the 'Ashmolean Repository' (Oxford), where he was keeper,[333] but he supplies no information about where these had been found; presumably he did not have this information.

Graham Parry has suggested that Lhwyd, who was distancing himself from the former dependence on classical texts, began to create a 'cultural space' in which the artefacts and monuments of the ancient Britons could be admired as something independent of and different

[333] Morse (2005), 24.

to the classical civility that had dominated earlier accounts.[334] Camden, Cotton, and Speed had begun this process by observing and commenting on the coins of the Britons, but Lhywd was extending and redefining this conception by setting the foundations for the creation of an independent British society, characterized by a surprising degree of 'art'.[335] Lhywd's Welsh origin may help to explain the attraction for him of the idea of ancient British civilization.[336] Michael Morse has emphasized that Lhwyd, who came from the geographical fringes of the British Isles, was eager to participate in national intellectual life and his work emphasized the significance of the Celtic language, to which we might add the material culture of the Britons.[337] During the seventeenth century, many English intellectuals had expressed an interest in ideas of national origin that emphasized the former Roman and Saxon populations of Britain; Lhwyd was one of a growing band of scholars who started to develop contrasting ideas of Celtic identity during the later part of the century.[338]

Lhwyd's comments on British coins were included in the Gibson edition of Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1695.[339] This substantial volume also included a new map of Roman Britain produced by Robert Morden, incorporating greater detail than the maps in earlier editions. Morden's map located named peoples (tribes) and many of the places named by the Roman itineraries, the Picts' Wall, and the extent and names of the four late Roman provinces of Britain.[340]

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[334] Parry (1995), 354.

[335] See Morse (2005), 25–8 for his comments on Lhwyd's use of the concept of the Celt.

[336] Piggott (1985), 19.

[337] Morse (2005), 32.

[338] Another was John Aubrey, whose contribution will not be discussed in detail.

[339] This revised edition was compiled and published under the editorial control of Edmund Gibson; see Birley (1961), 10–12; Piggott (1971); (1985), 18, and Sweet (2004), 159–60. The earlier editions of *Britannia* had provided the definitive account of the British past during the seventeenth century and, although the basic structure of the new book remained the same, some significant innovations were incorporated; see Piggott (1971), 9–11. Gibson retained Camden's original text of 1607, which was retranslated from the Latin, and found thirty contributors, including Lhwyd, to revise the individual county sections of *Britannia*, resulting in the publication of a 700-page folio; (ibid. 10, and see Parry (1995), 332.

[340] Camden (1695), between pages 39 and 40.

EARLY ARCHAEOLOGY?

It has been argued that Camden's studies represented an early form of archaeology and, in more general terms, that in the early modern period, even in its antiquarian guise, archaeology was in 'its infancy'.[341] It appears anachronistic, however, to argue that Camden and his contemporaries were involved in archaeological research in the modern sense of the word, while the organic metaphor of an archaeological infancy is equally problematic. Writing in the early eighteenth century, Robert Sibbald is the first author whose work is reviewed in this book to use the term, and its meaning for him was rather different from the types of understanding that are usually communicated by the use of 'archaeology' today.

   Although the brief descriptions of ancient remains and objects in Camden's work demonstrate that he was aware of the potential contribution of material objects to an understanding of the ancient past,[342] his consciousness was primarily historical and the materials he synthesized were almost entirely literary.[343] The artefacts assessed and incorporated into his narrative were of value to him because of their legends or inscriptions. The significance of these items as historical markers provided the main motivation for their collection, illustration, and discussion.[344] Camden, Cotton, and others were aware of the value of Roman inscriptions for locating places named in the classical texts, since they occasionally included recognizable place names, while the British coins sometimes featured abbreviated place names and the names of ancient rulers. With regard to the British coins in the 1610 edition of *Britannia*, we

[341] For Camden as archaeologist, see Kunst (1995), 123, who observes that in his 1607 edition, Camden recognized crop marks on archaeological sites and mentioned pottery deposits and collections of Roman coins, while using Roman coins to date the walls of Roman London. For comments about the infancy of archaeology, see Pratt (2005), 51. Other uses of comparable concepts to address Camden's work include Griffiths's comment, (2003), 95, on the 'proto-archaeology of antiquarianism'.

[342] For the significance of ancient objects in the seventeenth century, see Swann (2001), 108–9. For Camden's increasing interest in objects, see Parry (1995), 3.

[343] Hunter (1995), 182 and Woolf (2003), 144. Kunst (1995), 123–4 and Hepple (2004), 151–3 argue, however, that there is no marked distinction between the works of Camden and those of later seventeenth-century antiquaries, while Kunst (1995), 123 also stresses Camden's focus on the verification of hypotheses to support this idea.

[344] Hunter (1995), 182, Parry (1995), 30, and Swann (2001), 109–10.

have no evidence that locations of finds had been recorded and, since only eighteen examples were described, it would have been unthinkable for Camden to imagine a value for these coins in the definition of the territories of peoples (or tribes). Although Browne, Plot, and Lhwyd recorded the findspots of British coins during the later seventeenth century, the significance of such information for analysing the distribution of distinct types of coins was not fully realized until the early nineteenth, by which time many further such items had been collected.[345] The collecting, recording, and illustrating of objects *was* a significant innovation during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, although we should be careful not to assume a direct relationship between the motivations of early modern and modern collectors.[346] Equally, we should be cautious in attributing archaeological reasoning to Camden and his contemporaries.

While Camden was evidently well aware of the value of marks in growing crops for identifying buried remains, there is little evidence to indicate that either he or his contemporaries followed up this interpretation, since organized excavation was unknown in Britain at this time. He paid little attention to the detailed layout of surviving Roman remains.[347] Speed's image of Verulamium (Figure 1.6) demonstrates that he had the ability to carry out surveys in order to accurately record ruins, but this appears to represent a rare example. The techniques required for the recording and interpretation of ancient monuments, including henges and Roman sites, were developed during the succeeding century and a half.[348] In the early seventeenth century, antiquaries remained largely dependant on written texts of various types and the understanding of material remains had not developed to the extent that these objects were felt to provide a direct source of understanding for the pre-Roman and Roman past.

The works of Browne, Lhwyd, and Plot demonstrate new approaches to material objects, pursuing more fully the potential value of such objects to provide evidence for past peoples.[349] Browne

[345] See Akerman (1849) and John Evans (1864) for early attempts to plot the distribution of British coins.

[346] Swann (2001), 7.

[347] Parry (1995), 39.

[348] For seventeenth- and eighteenth-century drawings and surveys of henges, see Chippindale (2004), 20–91 and Smiles (1994), 165–9.

[349] Hunter (1995), 183–7 and Parry (1995), 19–20 contrast Camden's work to a number of late seventeenth-century writings emanating from papers published in the

made a significant contribution through a relatively analytical consideration of the materiality of his urns and their contents, while Plot and Lhwyd pursued similar approaches later in the century. In the context of these works, Stuart Piggott has proposed that the 1695 edition of *Britannia* provided 'the standard of excellence' against which all that went before and came after 'must be judged', and that its contents helped to establish the 'inductive discipline' of inference from material culture both in the field and the museum.[350]

Browne's study of Romanized Britons appears remarkable today because of the heavy emphasis placed by Roman studies on the concept of Romanization since the early twentieth century. Browne was the first of the authors studied in this book to use the concept of 'Romanized' and it would appear that its value to him derived from his attempt to interpret the objects he studied. Camden and Speed had little material to develop anything beyond a literary conception of the ways in which the Britons were enabled to become more Roman. The British coins were useful and both authors discussed the ways these objects drew upon Roman models. There is no evidence, however, that either Camden or Speed used other Roman objects that did not bear legends in order to address the issue of growing British civility. By contrast, Browne outlined an analytical process that drew upon everyday objects without inscriptions or legends, but his study, despite its popularity, does not appear to have led to an immediate focus of interest on the topic of the Romanized Britons.

Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* during the 1680s to 1700s. Some of these accounts appear highly innovative in the context of the prevalent antiquarian tradition. The journal defined itself as: 'An account of such Physical, Anatomical, Chymical, Mechanical, Astronomical, Optical, or other Mathematical and Philosophical Experiments and Observations as have lately come to the Publishers hands' (*Philosophical Transactions* 1, 1). The antiquarian papers included were often highly analytical, which Hunter (1995), 193, proposes derived from a different tradition from the historical emphasis of much previous antiquarian work. One informative example involves the work of Martin Lister, a doctor from York, who published a paper in 1682 in which he undertook a highly analytical study of some Roman pottery from sites in and around York, defining three different types of the basis of the temper included in the vessels; see Lister (1682); and Hunter (1995), 183. John Evans (1893) and Parry (1995), 278–9, 302–3 make other relevant observations.

[350] Piggott (1989), 11; see also Joan Evans (1956), 2 and, for the European context of these developments, Schnapp (1996), 182–204.

2

A wall to separate the barbarians
from the Romans

[Hadrian] was the first to construct a wall, eighty miles in length, which was to separate the barbarians from the Romans.

Scriptores historiae Augustae, de vita Hadriani 11, 2

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores the ways in which Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall were interpreted from the late sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries, while also addressing the discovery of the Roman military 'stations' of northern Britain. In the context of debates about the unification of England and Scotland, the Walls were commonly used to explore the differing identities of contemporary populations.

Writing to a friend in 1739, Sir John Clerk reflected on the meaning of the Roman fortifications of northern England and southern Scotland, observing that: ''Tis true the Romans walled out humanity from us, but 'tis as certain they thought the Caledonians a very formidable people, when they, at so much labor and cost, built this wall...'[1] A Scot himself, Clerk's musings on the purpose of the

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[1] Clerk (1739*b*), 96. See I. Brown (1987*b*), 45 and D. Duncan (1993), 12 for reflections on this statement. For classical references to the Caledonians, from the time of Nero on, see Braund (1996), 8–9, 149–50, 199 n. 14. For the Picts, who are not attested prior to the fourth century, see Mattingly (2006), 231.

Picts' Wall contains a basic interpretational dichotomy, contrasting the exclusion of civility with the scale of northern valour. This chapter assesses the way in which these two ideas were used to explore the contemporary significance of the Roman military fortifications, providing a justification for programmes of surveying and publication. It also assesses how the remains of Roman camps, forts, and military ways that were recognized and planned from the end of the seventeenth century, came to be used to inform eighteenth-century military strategy, embodying knowledge relevant to the colonization and control of the Scottish Highland population.

The associations with ancient Roman parallels drawn upon at this time derived from the nature of the classical education of the upper classes and the contemporary political context. Antiquity was familiar through the reading of classical texts, a staple element in the education of all gentlemen.[2] The Roman parallel emphasized an idealized notion of virtue and civic patriotism but also stressed ideas of taste, learning, and civic virtue which validated the status of the aristocratic ruling elite.[3] In this context, it was logical that Roman military monuments were seen as providing useful lessons for scholars, landed gentlemen, and military men.

Although ancient monuments did not generally figure significantly in accounts of ancient Britain at this time, the 'Picts' Wall' (now known as Hadrian's Wall) and the Scots' Wall, or 'Graham's Dyke' (the Antonine Wall) were sufficiently monumental that they were used, together with the ancient sources that mentioned them, to inform contemporary ideas about identity.[4] The relatively high visibility of these monuments in the contemporary landscapes, together with the notable, if scant, textual evidence for their construction and the numerous inscriptions found in their ruins, made them a topic of fascination at certain significant times. The substantial ditch and turf rampart of the Scots' Wall survived in many places between Bo'ness to

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[2] Black (1997), 217 and Sweet (2004), 164.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Whitworth (2000), 33 reviews the use of the name 'Picts' Wall' to refer to England's Roman Wall from the thirteenth century on. The presence of the wall on a number of medieval maps (ibid. 37) shows a clear appreciation of its significance prior to the sixteenth century, presumably derived, at least in part, from its inclusion in Bede's *EH*.

Old Kilpatrick as an impressive feature in the landscape.[5] The remains of the Picts' Wall were even more impressive; stone robbing may have destroyed the rampart in places, but it is evident that it remained in a relatively complete state elsewhere, while the ditch and vallum marked out its course between Wallsend and Burgh by Sands.[6]

Two texts dating to the second half of the sixteenth century provide directly contrasting English and Scottish views of these Walls at a time of fundamental change, drawing upon their ancestral significance and contemporary relevance.

THE LATER SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A Latin poem by the Scottish university professor, historian, poet, and administrator George Buchanan (1506–1582),[7] written in 1558 to commemorate the marriage of Francis of Valois to Mary Stuart, is one of the earliest texts to address either Wall.[8] Buchanan wrote of his people as 'A race so often attacked by neighbouring enemies, [yet]/ Remaining independent of foreign domination'.[9] Turning to ancient history he proposed:

Here the Roman conquest's irresistible march stood still; | What the south wind failed to repulse, | And Parthia withered amid its untilled fields, | What the Nile did not slow down, nor the Rhine with its chill, nor the Elbe, | Scotland put a stop to—[ending] this Roman advance. | This is the only country against which Rome fortified its boundaries, not by high mountains | Not by the banks of a swift-flowing river, nor by the thrusting-forth of a forest, nor by the extent of a desert, | But by walls and trenches. Where it

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[5] An anonymous account of a journey in 1697 to this Wall indicates that its remains were still highly visible along much if its course; see Keppie (2006). For example, at Bantaskin (Falkirk, Central) it is described as 'pretty entire', including the rampart and a ditch 30 feet wide and 10 to 12 feet deep (ibid. 182).

[6] See Whitworth (2000), 46.

[7] For Buchanan's life, work, and poetry, see Abbott (2004), Bushnell (1994), Mason (1994*a*), 8 and McGinnis and Williamson (1995), 1–42. ibid. 14–25 for his growing anti-imperialist attitude during the 1550s.

[8] The translation given below is taken from McGinnis and Williamson (1995), 126–45, which also gives the original Latin.

[9] Buchanan (1558), 134 [lines 158–9].

drove other peoples by force of arms from the homes of their ancestors, | Or reduced them to vile slavery, | Here Rome was satisfied to defend its frontiers, and put up walls to keep out the axe-wielding Scots. | Here was hope of further advance put aside, | The god Terminus symbolises the turning aside of Roman power at Caron's river.[10]

As William Camden was later to note, in the final three lines of the extract, Buchanan was referring to the remains of the Roman Wall that ran between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth.[11] The reference to the River Carron and the god Terminus is to the remains of a small Roman building, known as 'Arthur's Oven' or 'O'on', which was located close to Camelon (Falkirk Region).[12]

Buchanan's focus on the Wall was derived from the idea of an ancestral resistance to the invading Romans.[13] By 'walls' he might be referring to both the Scots' and Picts' Walls, but it is impossible to be certain. Buchanan's deep classical interests suggest that to him the Walls were not only a symbol of independence and former valour.[14] His emphasis upon the Scots' Wall may have been of direct use in enabling him to imagine that the Scottish Lowlands, including the main towns of Glasgow and Edinburgh, lay within the Roman province itself, perhaps matching the inherited civility of the educated elite of Lowland Scotland.[15]

Buchanan's poem anticipates a new focus of interest on the Scots' Wall during the later sixteenth century, together with the Roman inscribed stones of Scotland.[16] Buchanan wrote about the inscribed

[10] Buchanan (1558), 136–8 [lines 187–201]. For some rather more critical reflections by Buchanan on the ancient Scots, see Williamson (1996), 72–3.

[11] Camden (1610*b*), 29.

[12] Camden (ibid. 28) noted that this structure was thought by some to represent a temple to the god Terminus. Arthur's Oon is discussed by Keppie (1986), 144–5; it may have been a tomb, temple, or victory monument.

[13] For the context of Buchanan's feelings about the ancient Scots, see Williamson (1996), 75.

[14] See Abbott (2004) and McGinnis and Williamson (1995) for Buchanan's classical education and learning. Williamson (1996), 47–9, 52–4 addresses the context of classical knowledge in Scotland at this time.

[15] Buchanan also commented in the same poem, however, that the 'teaching of Greek and Roman wisdom' was introduced to Scotland while 'Mars and barbarian armies' were 'shaking the Roman world to pieces:' ibid. 138 [lines 204–5]; see McGinnis and Williamson (1995), 25.

[16] Keppie (1998), 3–5.

stones of the Wall in his *Rerum Scoticarum historia*, published in 1582.[17] Two German visitors, Crispin Gericke (from Elbing in West Prussia) and Servaz Reichel (from Silesia) noted some Roman inscribed stones in central and eastern Scotland. Although little more is known of their visit, they were evidently in contact with the Englishmen Reginald Bainbrigg and Camden and several scholars on the Continent.[18] Timothy Pont also collected information during the 1580s and 1590s, now lost, which included some plans of the monument.[19]

A late Elizabethan text provides a directly contrasting interpretation of the Picts' Wall. In late Elizabethan writings, Scots were perceived as presenting a threat to the English in a way which drew upon classical writings about northern barbarity as well as the recent history of the border area.[20] In the context of the 'Batable ground' of the border area,[21] the surviving remains of the Picts' Wall were perceived as potentially significant in providing a clear definition of the national frontier of (civilized) England with (barbarian) Scotland.[22] The significance of the Picts' Wall related to political instability. From the beginning of the fourteenth century and for the following 300 years, the border area was in a constant state of turmoil. From an English perspective, beyond this 'Batable ground', the concept of a classical inspired civility was debatable.

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[17] Ibid. 4; Abbott (2004).

[18] Keppie (1998), 5, notes that information was passed from Gericke and Reichel to antiquaries abroad, helping to place the Roman remains of Scotland in the context of the Europe-wide study of Roman antiquities.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Hadfield (2002), 166–71.

[21] Bowes (1550), 171 addressed the 'Batable' grounds on the frontiers of England and Scotland. Camden (1610*a*), 782 noted that 'The Land . . . is called *Batable* ground, as one would say, *Litigious*; because the English and the Scotish have litigiously contended about it.' See Hutton (1802), 42–106 for the violent history of these lands. Merriman and Summerson (1982), 607–13 discuss the character of the border defences between England and Scotland during the late fifteenth to mid seventeenth centuries.

[22] For the potential meaning of the concept of the Pict to a late Elizabethan see Hadfield's reflections upon Holinshed's writings and image: Hadfield (1998), 121; figure 13. Sloan (2007*a*), 153 remarks that the nature of the images of the Virginians illustrated by John White suggests that they were far more civilized than the three Picts that he had also illustrated.
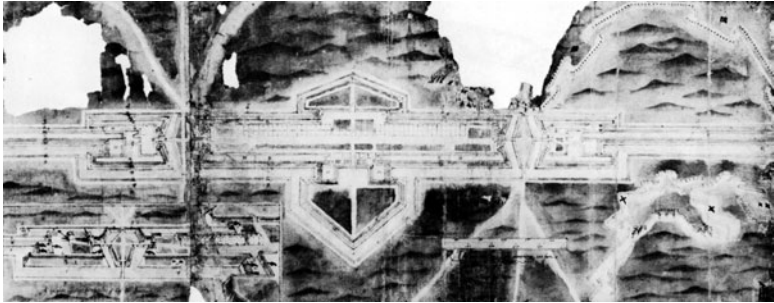
Figure 2.1. Design for a 'skonse' to form part of a continuous linear fortification along the Scottish Border. Scottish ground is at the top, English ground at the bottom. A Scottish siege-work is depicted bottom right, an English retrenchment top right. The inset shows the skonse in perspective.

An anonymous letter was sent to Queen Elizabeth suggesting that the border between England and Scotland should be defended by a fortified frontier.[23] In 'The Epystle to the Queen's Majestie', a twenty-one page letter and an illustration (Figure 2.1), it was proposed that a defensive line be constructed along the English border with Scotland, from Berwick to Carlisle; but this proposal was ignored or simply put aside.[24] The writer observes that there are two types of 'fortyfica-cions', those to protect 'stronge townes, fortes and sytadalls' and another, since disused, for the defence 'of whole cuntryes and teri-tories.'[25] Addressing the second type, it is observed that 'Suche a worke, with bulwarkes flancked but close, for that they ar to be dwelte in, is humbly hearin propounded to your Majestie, the same to be drawen alonge the whole Scottyshe Border, by a contynewall

[23] Some of the text is included in Bain (1894), 300–2 and the full document is in the National Archives (SP 59/42). Birley (1961), 23–4 notes that Bain assigned this document to 1587, but that there is no reason for offering a closer dating than 1577–94. For the history of the treatment of the manuscript in the Public Record Office, see Merriman (1984). I am grateful to Colin Wallace for drawing my attention to Merriman's paper.

[24] Merriman (1984), 25, who also discusses the 'appalling state' of existing border defences at this time together with a proposal of 1561 to improve the defence of the border, on which the 'Epystle' may have been partly based (ibid. 29–30).

[25] Bain (1894), 300.

trenche dystended from the easterne to the westerne sea, and stre-
chinge to 80 myles in lengthe or thereabouts.'[26] This frontier work
was envisaged as an earthwork, with encampments of soldiers at
regular intervals. The writer quoted the historical parallels of a
fortification built by Caesar against the 'Swysers' (Helvetii) which,
it is noted, may yet be seen close to Geneva;[27] a Greek frontier work
built against the Turks; and a 'therde presidente . . . which is heare at
home, within your Majesties domynions',[28] the 'Pightes wall' in
'Northomberlande, which was made by the Romaynes, beinge of
massyve wall at the leaste 16 foote in thicknes, with many square
towers upon yt, and passinge throughe parte of Newcastell, dyd
streche from the one sea unto the other, aboute 80 myles.'[29]

The Romans apparently made the Wall 'to be defended from the
dayly and daungerous incurtyons of the valyaunte *barberous* Scottyshe
nation'.[30] The author also mentions that the people of England were
actually responsible for making the frontier, since it served their own
needs, in addition to those of their Roman 'maysters'.[31] The anonym-
ous author of the 'Epystle' suggests that the cost would amount to
around 30,000 pounds sterling, which could be met by the current
population.[32] The Scots would be 'utterlye excluded' and the borders
which now lay 'waste and not Inhabyted, shalbe made as tenentable
Lande as any your Majesie hathe witin the myddeste of your Realme'.[33]

[26] Ibid. 301.   [27] See Caesar, *DBG* 1. 7–8.
[28] Bain (1894), 300–1.   [29] Ibid. 301.
[30] Ibid. Present author's emphasis.
[31] Ibid. 301. This observation is taken from the writings of the fifth- to sixth-
century author Gildas (*DEB* 18.2) and the eighth-century writings of Bede (*EH* 1.12).
Bede proposed that Severus had built a rampart ('vallum', ibid. 1.5) and that the
Britons, with Roman assistance, had then built a turf wall between Abercorn and
Kinneil (ibid. 1.12; the frontier known since the eighteenth century as the Antonine
Wall). Finally, the stone wall on the southern line had been built during the early fifth
century at public and private expense by the Romans with the help of the Britons to
defend Britons from the Picts after the Romans had departed from the island (ibid.
1.12). Hadrian's Wall was actually built during the second century by the Roman
army. Having been replaced for a short while in the mid first century by the Antonine
Wall, it then remained in Roman military control until its abandonment, probably in
the early fifth century; see Breeze (2006).
[32] Bain (1894), 301.
[33] Quoted from the original document by Merriman (1984), 27, who provides
additional details from the original account, not included in the quotations that Bain
provides.

It has been suggested that this Elizabethan writer's description of the proposed frontier shows no detailed understanding of the Roman Wall or knowledge of the description of the monument in the first edition of Camden's *Britannia* of 1586,[34] although the suggestion of 'skonses' (fortifications), to be placed 'at least a mile distant from each other', seems to been drawn from the monument itself.[35] Another way of viewing the 'Epystle' however, is that it demonstrates a fairly advanced knowledge both of the major Roman frontier in Britain and of comparable defensive lines abroad. It draws on the idea of an English inheritance of classical culture and technology, to be set against a contemporary barbarian but valiant northern neighbour, while also showing an advanced understanding of recent developments in military technology.[36]

Marcus Merriman and John Summerson have proposed that the author of the 'Epystle' may have been Christopher Dacre of Lanercost.[37] In the 1560s, Dacre continued his father's efforts to convert the former priory at Lanercost, which was in the shadow of the Picts' Wall, into a substantial dwelling. His lands ran from the River Irthing up to and along the line of the Wall, following the pre-existing boundary of the lands of Lanercost Priory,[38] and he must have been aware of the

[34] Birley (1961), 24 observes that the information provided in the 'Epystle' was derived from another account since the author did not record the width of the Wall with accuracy. It is possible, however, that a mistake was made with the dimensions, since Caesar (*DBG* 1. 8) describes the frontier that he built against the Helvetii as 16 feet high.

[35] The term 'skonse' is of Dutch origin and had started to be used in England in the late sixteenth century; it is used in this text to refer to a small fort or earthwork, built to defend a pass fort, castlegate, or ford; see Merriman (1984), 26.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Merriman and Summerson (1982), 612–13 and Summerson (2004), 876. Merriman (1984), 30–2 acknowledges some slight difficulties with this attribution.

[38] The Dacre family had acquired the Priory buildings and lands at the Dissolution. Members of the monastic community at Lanercost appear to have been well aware of the Wall. Whitworth (2000), 41 discusses several references to the Wall on the Priory estate maps from the twelfth century onward. The foundation charter of the Priory had mentioned the *murus antiquus*; see Summerson (2000), 7. Hodgson and McKelvey (2006), 54, Merriman (1984), 30, and Whitworth (2000), 41 review the use of the Picts' Wall as the northern boundary for these lands. A recent excavation on a section of the Wall at Hare Hill (Cumbria) suggests that a section was rebuilt to mark the northern boundary of the Priory lands, perhaps in the fourteenth century; see Hodgson and McKelvey (2006), 54. The newly constructed section of boundary wall, which was dated to the late medieval period by a piece of pottery, was more substantial

remains of the monument. Indeed, his house, together with the priory buildings from which it was adapted, incorporated numerous stones taken from the Wall.[39] During the 1580s Dacre, who served as Sheriff of Cumberland for a time, had proposed the development of a dyke or defence for the West Marches; it has been suggested that he was consciously drawing upon the Roman frontier to inform his ideas of border fortifications.[40]

The end of the sixteenth century saw an increased interest in the Picts' Wall. William Camden and Robert Cotton visited it together in 1599, travelling to Carlisle and then eastwards through the Tyne Gap. Camden collected the evidence for the first detailed description of the monument,[41] illustrating it with around 80 inscriptions that had been found by this time. Reginald Bainbrigg also examined the remains independently in the same year and again in 1601.[42] Lord William Howard, a contact of Camden's, had a survey of his lands at Naworth Castle produced in 1603 which marked the 'Pight Wall'.[43] He also assembled a collection of Roman stones at Naworth.[44]

JACOBEAN WRITINGS

With the accession of James I to the throne of England, the Roman Walls took on renewed significance.[45] Changing political relations

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on its northern face, suggesting to the excavators that it was intended to deter entry into the Priory lands (ibid.). Dare's proposal to rebuild the Picts' Wall as a national boundary could even have drawn upon knowledge of this earlier act of rebuilding.

[39] Hill (2000) and Whitworth (2000), 18.

[40] Merriman and Summerson (1982), 613 and Summerson (2004), 876.

[41] For Camden and Cotton's visit to the Wall, see Camden (1610*a*), 789–95, Birley (1961), 1, 5–6, Boon (1987), 5, Hepple (1999), McKitterick (1997), 111, and J. Scott (2003), 283 n. 26.

[42] For Bainbrigg's visits, see Birley (1961), 7–8, Hepple (1999), 8–9, and Whitworth (2000), 46–7.

[43] Whitworth (2000), 38. The building at Naworth was constructed out of stone for the Picts' Wall; see Hill (2000), 192, n. 3.

[44] Camden (1695), 835 described Howard as 'admirably versed in, and a peculiar savourer of the study of Antiquities'. Another significant collection of stones at Ierby (Maryport) belonged to John Senhouse.

[45] Griffiths (2003). For reflections on the Union during James's rule, see McEachern (1996), 138–60 and Wormald (1994), 19–25.

explain the transformation of attitudes to ancient Britain and the Roman invasion during Jacobean times. During the early seventeenth century, ancient Britain and the Roman province had attributed to them a distinct significance in writings and images projecting the unity of England and Scotland. In defining the barrier with barbarism, the Scots' Wall evidently had a considerable geographical significance. It could be used to give classically educated Lowland Scots from south of the Forth–Clyde isthmus a territorial claim to an early ancestry for their own civility, helping to define them against the peoples of Highland Scotland and Ireland in a climate of concern about the permanence of the boundary between civility and barbarism.[46]

James I drew upon and modified Roman parallels in his attitude to the culture of the people of Highland Scotland, demonstrating the complexity of their identity.[47] In *Basilikon Doron*, addressed to his son, James drew a contrast between two groups of people in the area beyond the civilized lowlands, 'As for the Hie-lands, I shortly comprehend them all in two sorts of people: the one, that dwelleth in our maine land, that are barbarous for the most part, and yet mixed with some shewe of ciuilitie: the other, that dwelleth in the Iles, and are alluterly barbares, without any sort of shew of ciulitie.'[48] The king argued that the first type could be controlled through the use of laws enacted against their 'Ouer-lords' and the 'chiefes of their Clannes' while, for the isle dwellers, the best solution was to continue his policy of planting 'Colonies' of subjects from the 'In-lands', since this may 'reforme and ciuilize' the 'best inclined among them'. The 'barbarous and stubborne sort' needed 'rooting out or transporting'.[49] These

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[46] The barrier between civil and uncivil Scotland for these writers was not along the line of the northern Wall—see Armitage (1997), 43—but, despite this, the distinctions drawn between Highlands and Lowlands drew on observed cultural differences intellectualized by drawing on models derived from the Roman occupation of Britain (ibid. 65).

[47] Williamson (1996), 62–6. Mason (1994*b*), 166–7 and Williamson (1996), 57–60 discuss the earlier writings of John Mair, which had expressed comparable views of Highland barbarism.

[48] James I (1616), 22. This edition of James's work was reprinted with the addition of some marginal notes from the original edition of 1599; see McIlwain (1918), viii.

[49] James I (1616), 22.

ideas share the same rationale as the ideas of the colonization of Ireland and the New World reviewed above.

As we have seen in the case of George Buchanan's writings on the Scots' Wall, the Roman past of Britain could also be used by Scots to define the valour of their ancestors, particularly by addressing ideas of English servility that drew directly upon the classical past.[50] In 1604 Sir Thomas Craig, a Scottish Protestant, was appointed as one of the Scottish Commissioners to discuss the closer political union resulting from James's accession to the English throne.[51] In his tract on the unity of the British crown, *De unione regnorum Britanniæ*, which appears to have been written mostly in 1605,[52] Craig refers to Roman Britain constantly and paraphrases Tacitus' writings (*Agricola*, 21) on three separate occasions, to emphasize the enslavement of the people of the south through their adoption of Roman culture.

Craig notes 'the huge and famous stone wall', constructed on the frontier of the Roman province of Britain by the emperor Hadrian.[53] Craig suggests that the Roman occupation south of the Wall led to the introduction of 'effeminate practices and luxurious habits which people call refinement, but which are in fact perniciously harmful'.[54] Later he addresses the way that the Britons

after they had been reduced by the Romans, began to study the literature and rhetoric of their conquerors, and viciously imitated their habits of dress and feeding. They adopted the use of coins at the same time . . . It was not until a later time that these refinements reached Scotland; for owing to our detestation of the Roman rule and its characteristics, we remained satisfied with our simpler dress and diet.[55]

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[50] Mason (1994*a*), 7–8; (1994*b*) discusses the differing views held by various Scots about the character and value of the Union of the Crowns.

[51] Terry (1909), v.

[52] The manuscript, which was in the Advocates' Library, was not published for over 300 years; see Terry (1909), v. For Craig's legal writings, see Levack (1994) and Williamson (1996), 48, 52; for the context and reception of Craig's work during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Kidd (1993), 43–5. For the background to the debate about Scottish and English sovereignty, see Armitage (2000), 36–9.

[53] Craig (1909), folio 147. The sections of the work quoted here were translated from the original Latin by C. S. Terry.

[54] Craig (1909), folio 8.

[55] Ibid. folio 78.

In returning to the same ideas, Craig discusses the civility of the Scots, indicated by the number of Scotsmen in every branch of learning.[56] He proposes that 'The most refined nations are those among whom the pursuit of letters, the source whence culture springs, has flourished most; and not those characterised by elegant vices such as porticoes, baths, and luxurious banquets, which to the ignorant, according to Tacitus, represent culture, whereas they should rather be held as badges of slavery.'[57] Craig's negative view of the Romans in Britain led him to interpret Tacitus' writings on the civilizing effects of Roman culture in direct opposition to the beneficial ideas of civility considered in chapter one. Quoting Gildas and Bede, Craig argues that the adoption of luxury by the southern British brought about their eventual conquest by the Saxons and the Danes.[58] The observation that Scotland had never been conquered was a rallying point for Craig's Scottish contemporaries in justifying the value of Scotland to the Union, and the Union to Scotland,[59] reflecting the sentiments of Buchanan's poem.[60]

A number of Jacobean texts contrast directly with the writings already considered. Rather than emphasizing the nature of the Walls as symbolic of the strength of native resistance, or proposing the rebuilding of the English Wall as a defence against the Scots, these texts celebrate its disintegration and ruination.[61]

In his opening speech to the English parliament on 19th March 1603, James I reflected on the essential unity of England and Scotland. He argued:

These two Countries being separated neither by Sea, nor great Riuer, Mountaine, nor other strengths of nature, but only by little small brookes, or demolished little walles, so as rather they were diuided in apprehension,

[56] Craig (1909), folios 159–66.

[57] Ibid. folio 165.

[58] Ibid. folio 200; See Floyd-Wilson (2002), 104. M. E. Jones (1996), 123–6 discusses Gildas' critical view of the Britons, on which Craig built, using Tacitus' *Agricola* to project these views on to the southern Britons.

[59] Craig (1909), folio 254; see Floyd-Wilson (2002), 104 and Williamson (1996), 71–2 for the context.

[60] Craig (1909), folio 24 describes George Buchanan, who had died in 1582, as 'my very intimate friend'.

[61] Griffiths (2003), 89 suggests than an even more effective strategy at this time might have been to ignore the Picts' Wall entirely.

than in effect; And now in the end and fullness of time vnited, the right and title of both in my Person ... whereby it is now become like a little World within it selfe, being intrenched and fortified round about with a naturall, and yet admirably strong pond or ditch, whereby all the former fears of this Nation are now quite cut off.[62]

Griffiths has proposed that James's mention of 'little walles' refers to the Picts' Wall, but the use of the plural may suggest that he was referring to both Roman Walls.[63]

Wishing to impress the new king, an accomplished poet and historian,[64] Samuel Daniel (1562/3–1610), rushed to welcome him on his way from Scotland to London.[65] Seeking royal favour, he presented *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie* to King James at Burley-on-the-Hill in Rutland on 23rd April 1603. This 73-verse poem refers to the Wall of 'Adrian' in the context of the author's proposal that the English and Scots should unite behind their new king. The first three verses read:

> Lo here the glory of a greater day
> Then *England* euer heretofore could see
> In all her dayes. When she did most display,
> The Ensignes of her powre, or whenas she
> Did spread herselfe the most, and most did sway
> Her state abroad, yet could she neuer be
> Thus blesst at home, nor euer come to grow
> To be intire in her full Orbe till now.
>
> And now she is, and now in peace therefore
> Shake hands with Vnion, O thou mightie State,
> Now thou art all great *Brittaine*, and no more;
> No Scot, no English now, nor no debate:
> No borders, but the Ocean, and the Shore,
> No Wall of *Adrian* serues to separate
> Our mutuall loue, nor our obedience,
> All Subiects now to one imperiall Prince.

[62] James I (1603), 272; see Griffiths (2003), 89.

[63] Some fortifications had been constructed along the border during late sixteenth century—Hutton (1802), 64; Merriman and Summerson (1982), 612–13—and it is possible that James had these, rather than the Roman Walls, in mind.

[64] For Daniel and his works, see Hiller and Groves (1998) and Pitcher (2004).

[65] Pitcher (2004) and Wormald (1994), 18 refer to this poem and discuss its context.

> What heretofore could neuer be wrought,
> By all the swords of powre, by blood, by fire,
> By ruine, and destruction, here is brought
> To passe, with peace, with loue, with ioy, desire:
> Our former blessed vnion hath begot
> A greater vnion that is more intire,
> And makes vs more our selues, sets vs at one
> With Nature that ordain'd vs to be one.[66]

Although suggesting that the 'Wall of Adrian' is no longer significant, these comments effectively reflect the idea behind the late Elizabethan '*Epystle*', by suggesting that the Roman frontier had served as a physical division between the Scots and English prior to the accession of James to the throne of England.

In his later volume, *The Collection of the History of England*, Daniels argued:

that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romane* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raysed by *Agricola*, after reedified by *Adrian*, *Severus* and others.[67]

Perhaps the name 'Adrian' was better known to Daniel's contemporaries than that of Agricola or Severus.[68]

In the 1610 edition of Camden's *Britannia*, this Wall is defined as 'the most famous monument of all Britaine'.[69] It represented 'the outmost bound of the Roman Empire, and the Scots lay *sorest* upon this coast and infested it most, when (as it were with continued surges of warre) they flowed and flocked hither by heapes out of Ireland.'[70] This suggests that the Scots, who originated from Ireland, were considered to be an infestation that the wall was intended to keep out of the south; the ruins marking the edge of Roman civility. These comments of Camden's may express concerns over

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[66] Daniel (1603).

[67] Daniel (1621), 4. Some figures for the number of Roman soldiers, derived from 'sundry strange nations' which were stationed on the Wall, are also presented in the book. For the original publication of Daniel's *Collection* in 1612 and 1618, see Pitcher (2004).

[68] This monument would not regularly become commonly known as Hadrian's Wall for another 250 years, although Archbishop Threkeld of Hereford in 1574 had also referred to it as 'Hadrian's Wall'; see Whitworth (2000), 46.

[69] Camden (1610*a*), 782.

[70] Ibid. 766. Also quoted by Griffiths (2003), 94.

the contemporary idea of a union of Great Britain.[71] Camden wrote of the Picts' Wall as 'The WALL, the most renowned workes of the Romans, which was the bound in times past of the Romane province; raised of purpose to seclude and keepe out the barbarous nations, that in this tract, were evermore *barking and baying* (as the ancient writer saith) *about the Roman Empire*.'[72] Griffiths takes these observations to indicate continued English concern about the Scottish element of the union of Great Britain following the unification of the Crowns.[73]

Camden calls the monument the 'Picts' Wall' and 'the Wall of Severus'.[74] Drawing on classical texts and physical evidence, he proposed the following sequence for its construction and use: that Hadrian had been the first to construct a wall of 'stakes and piles' on this line, which was later replaced by a 'wall of turfes' built by Severus, while a final stone wall was built by the Britons when the Roman empire was in decay.[75]

Camden also addressed the Scots' Wall;[76] titling it 'Grahams dyke' he noted that the name referred either to a warlike Scot 'whose valour was especially seen when the breach was made through it', or because the monument lay at the foot of the Grampian Mountains.[77] He used a few of the inscriptions that had been found to date this Wall to the reign of Antoninus Pius, discussing the remains at Camelon (Falkirk), including the entire surviving Roman building of Arthurs-O'on, noting that the local people call the site 'Camelot'.[78]

Writing of the northern border of England in his epic poem *Poly-Olbion* (1622), Michael Drayton also appears to draw upon a

[71] See Griffiths (2003), 94 and 96, who includes further quotes from Camden. It should be noted that, by this time, James had abandoned his plan for a full union; see Woolf (1990), 61.

[72] Camden (1610*a*), 775; also quoted by Griffiths (2003), 96.

[73] Ibid. 101–2. See also p. 99 for a contrasting set of observations about the comments made by Speed upon the Picts' Wall. For English concerns over Union, see Helgerson (1992), 129–30 and McEachern (1996), 138–48.

[74] Camden (1610*a*), 782, 789.

[75] Birley (1961), 49 discusses Camden's account and the relationship of this frontier to the Wall in Scotland. Camden's scheme evidently draws deeply on the writings of Bede.

[76] Camden (1610b, 26–9).

[77] Ibid. 28.　　　[78] Ibid. 28–9.

continuing concern with potential northern barbarism.[79] In Song
XXIX, Drayton muses on the history of the English–Scottish bor-
der, giving voice to the male spirit of 'aged *Pictswall*',[80] who recalls:

> The *Romans* did erect, and for my safeguard set
> Their Legions, from my spoyle the proling *Pict* to let,
> That often In-roads made, our earth from them to win,
> By *Adrian* beaten back, so he to keepe them in,
> To Sea from East to West, began me first a wall
> Of eightie myles in length, twixt *Tyne* and *Edens* fall:
> Long making mee they were, and long did me maintaine ...
>
> And when I first decayd, *Severus* going on,
> What Adrian built of turfe, he builded new of stone;
> And after many a time, the *Britans* me repayr'd
> To keep me still in plight, not cost they ever spar'd.
> Townes stood upon my length, where Garrisons were laid,
> Their limits to defend; and for my greater ayd,
> With Turrets I was built, where sentinels were plac'd,
> To watch upon the Pict ...
>
> Upon my thicknesse, three march'd easily breast to breast,
> Twelve foot was I in height, such glory I possest.[81]

Drayton drew on Camden and other antiquaries for the details of his
account[82] but, although Pictswall is described as 'the longest-liv'd
monument', this spirit clearly no longer fulfilled a defensive function
because of its old age and the ruination of time.[83]

[79] The first part of this poem had been published in 1612, but the Songs XIX to
XXX, which contain the section on northern England, were first included in the 1622
edition; see Hebel (1933), ix–x. For Drayton and his poetry, see Helgerson (1992),
128–31, Hebel (1933), and McEachern (1996), 138–9.

[80] This character is a personification of the Roman Wall, representing one of a
large number of spirits that represent mountains, forests, rivers, and valleys; see
Helgerson (1992), 117–18.

[81] Drayton (1622), Song XXIX, lines 321–7, 340–6, 351–2. See Mikalachki (1998),
30 for gender representations in Drayton's work: Pictswall is shown reclining on the
ground on the map of Northumberland included in Drayton's volume and is one of
the few male figures represented. Unlike Camden, Daniel proposes that the stone
rampart was built by Severus rather than during the fifth century, an idea which was
picked up by antiquarians during the eighteenth century.

[82] Hebel (1933), vi.

[83] Drayton (1622), Song XXIX, line 316. Drayton's observations do, however, indi-
cate that the Picts' Wall still survived in the English imagination of the early seventeenth
century as a relevant marker of national distinction; see Griffiths (2003), 101.

The writings considered above demonstrate that early modern ideas about the pre-Roman and Roman past and its contemporary relevance differed markedly according to the times and the places in which they were articulated. Dominant ideas had been developed by the elite of Lowland Britain that emphasized the contemporary relevance of the pre-Roman past in the context of the gradual intellectualization of colonial concepts. Oppositional interpretations articulated the resistance of the Caledonians to colonial servility.

LATE SEVENTEENTH- AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY ACCOUNTS

The period from the 1610s to the 1690s was 'almost a complete blank' in the study of the two walls,[84] presumably reflecting the changing political circumstances in England and Scotland. At the end of the century, a renewed fixation arose with locating and recording the Roman Walls, together with military roads and Roman 'stations' across the north.[85] This appears to have commenced during the 1680s and 1690s, perhaps reflecting the discussions on the potential of union that were taking place on both sides of the border.[86] The Union of 1707 effectively recreated the former Roman province as a territorial whole, increasing the significance of the colonial model of imperial Rome.[87] In this context, some Scottish and English antiquarians felt the need to define a clear identity for themselves and the Roman monuments were, once again, made to play a significant role.

[84] Sweet (2004), 159. Birley (1961), 8–9 discusses the Picts' Wall mentioning the few relevant accounts at this time. Keppie (1998), 5–7 records the few relevant references to the Scots' Wall between 1610 and the 1680s.

[85] I. Brown (1980), 18. For itineraries and the ways that these studies developed from the work of Camden, see J. Levine (1987), 96.

[86] For the Union and the relationship of England and Scotland prior to this time, see Colley (1992), 11.

[87] I. Brown (1987*b*), 33 and Sweet (2004), 160–1. Scottish antiquarians and historians sometimes emphasized that the province had never encompassed the whole of Britain; see Kidd (1993), 75. For the meanings of the term 'empire' at this time and the relationship between empire and Union, see Robertson (1995*a*).

The character of society and education in Scotland had a considerable bearing on the development of antiquarian study. By 1707, a new Scottish intelligentsia was established, constituted largely of lawyers, doctors, academics, and ministers.[88] These individuals demonstrated a commitment to the advancement of learning in which antiquarianism played a significant role. Antiquarian work took place in Scotland at this time as part of a broader campaign that included the development of topographical knowledge and natural history, serving as a means to establish national identity through the surveying and mapping of the nation.[89] The English author William Stukeley developed an interest in the Roman frontiers during the early eighteenth century, supposing that the scale of the Picts' Wall reflected the contemporary grandeur of England. Continuing interest in the Roman military occupation of northern Britain occurred in the context of the Jacobite threat to the British crown, emphasized by the risings of 1715 and 1745.[90] Political events and cultural attitudes promoted the practical value of Roman military infrastructures as a source of inspiration for contemporary campaigning and for the establishment of a neo-Roman concept of order across the Scottish Highlands. These issues became particularly relevant to English and Scottish officers of the Hanoverian army from the 1720s until the end of the century.

John Adair gathered material for a study of the Scots' Wall with the intention of producing an account, but his volume was never published.[91] He also produced drawings of Arthur's O'on at some date, probably at the end of the seventeenth century.[92] Adair's intended publication included plans and a description of the monument, including 'Camps, Castles, Forts, &c, and an account of the Inscriptions, Coins, Instruments of War and other remains of Antiquity that have

[88] Ouston (1987), 12.
[89] Withers (1995) and (2002) considers the role of the surveying and mapping of Scotland from the 1680 to 1830s, focusing upon parish surveys and statistical accounts and the contribution of various forms of mapping to the Scottish Enlightenment. Robertson (1995*b*) considers question of Scottish sovereignty from 1698 to 1707.
[90] For the context of the Jacobite threat in England during the early eighteenth century, see Pittock (1997), 121–2.
[91] Keppie (1998), 8–9; (2006), 178.
[92] Brown and Vasey (1989), 358.

been found thereabout'.[93] In July 1697, an anonymous traveller, possibly John Urry of Christ Church, Oxford, rode on horseback from Edinburgh west along the 'Roman Wall', describing its remains and a number of surviving Roman sites, including Arthur's Oven, while also making observations on the country houses and towns in its vicinity.[94] The Oxford-based scholar Edward Lhwyd also visited the Wall around the turn of the century,[95] while the first inscribed Roman stones in the Glasgow University collection were assembled at this time.[96] This suggests that the renewal of interest in Graham's Dyke developed slightly earlier than was the case with the Picts' Wall. A major contribution to Roman studies in the north was made by Sir Robert Sibbald.

Robert Sibbald and Roman civility

Sibbald (1641–1722) wrote about Roman Scotland during the period of the debate about the Union.[97] A Scottish polymath, trained in medicine, partly at Leiden, he was also responsible for various geographical works. His scholarship was promoted through the patronage of the Earl of Perth and in 1682 he was appointed Geographer Royal for the kingdom of Scotland under Charles II.[98] His geographical investigations included natural features, antiquities, and other curiosities. Among these works, Sibbald wrote several accounts of the Roman monuments of Scotland.

Sibbald contributed both writings and illustrations on Roman Scotland, often drawing heavily on the works of earlier authors, many of which do not survive, to Gibson's new edition of *Britannia* in 1695.[99] Previous editions had contained relatively little about the

[93] John Adair, quoted by Brown and Vasey (1989, 358).

[94] Keppie (2006) provides a copy of the manuscript account of this visit and some comments on the document, proposing that the author was John Urry.

[95] Keppie (1998), 11; (2006), 178.

[96] Keppie (1998), 6, 10.

[97] For Sibbald's life and influences, see Mendyk (1989), 215–19 and Withers (1995), 379.

[98] Ibid.

[99] Gibson (1695), page 3 of preface, notes that the additional remarks on Scotland 'are grounded on the authority of *Sir Robert Sibbalds*.' Parry's (1995), 355 suggestion that Sibbald's contributions only 'modestly improved' the text of earlier additions is, perhaps, slightly unfair.

Roman monuments in Scotland, but knowledge of these sites and finds—including the remains of Scotland's own Roman Wall, various earthworks of forts and Latin inscriptions—had increased by the late seventeenth century, and was reflected in Sibbald's contribution.[100] An account of 'The Roman Wall in Scotland', or '*Graham's Dyke*', is probably based largely on the work of Sibbald and Timothy Pont.[101] This describes the monument as having been built at various times,[102] while illustrating it with a diagram attributed largely to Pont, 'who had exactly traced it', along with 'the observations of some others' during the late seventeenth century (Figure 2. 2).[103] Pont had visited the Wall during the early years of the seventeenth century and his diagram shows a length of the ditch and rampart with a paved way and 'court of guard' (fort) connected with the Wall.[104] The rampart and ditch that formed the frontier are described, together with 'great and Royal forts strongly entrench'd' along its line, including some information on their location.[105]

In an account of Thule, the mythical island of the ancient authors, which is appended to the end of the section of *Britannia* that examines Scotland and Ireland, Sibbald made some additional comments on Roman finds and monuments.[106] He described Roman 'medals' (coins) found in Argyllshire and, particularly, in Perthshire and also the 'great many Roman Camps' found there. He relates the remains of the 'camp' at '*Airdoch*' (Ardoch, Perthshire) to a site mentioned in Tacitus' account of Agricola's campaigns in northern Britain. A recognizable illustration of this fort is provided, along with images of two inscriptions that had been found on the site (Figure 2.3).[107] He

[100] Keppie (1998), 8.

[101] Sibbald (1707), 27–31 includes some of Pont's notes on the Wall, noting that they were in the possession of Robert Gordon.

[102] Camden (1695), 957–8. Elsewhere in the volume (ibid. 919), inscriptions are used to date the construction of the Wall to the reign of Antoninus Pius.

[103] Ibid. 959.

[104] For Pont's visit, see Keppie (1998), 5. Pont's records of the monument do not survive.

[105] Camden (1695), 960.

[106] Sibbald (1695), 1096. This account of Thule had already been published separately in 1693.

[107] Sibbald drew upon John Adair's survey and drawing of the inscription; see Keppie (1998), 8. Parry (1995), 356–7 notes that Sibbald did not undertake much fieldwork, preferring to remain in the library.
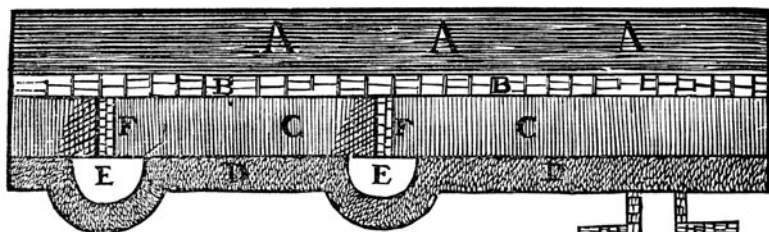
A A A. *A ditch of twelve foot wide before the Wall, towards the Enemies Country.*
B B. *A wall of squared and cut stone, two foot broad; probably higher than the wall to cover the Defendants, and to keep the Earth of the wall from falling into the Ditch.*
C C. *The Wall it self, of ten foot thickness; but how high, not known.*
D D. *A paved way close at the foot of the wall, five foot broad.*
E E. *Watch-towers within a call one of another, where Centinels kept watch day and night.*
F F. *The wall of square stone going through the breadth of the Wall, just against the Towers.*
G G. *A Court of guard, to lodge a sufficient number of soldiers against all sudden Alarms.*
I I. *The body of the Rampire, with an outer-wall of cut stone, higher than the Rampire, to cover Soldiers.*
K. *The Void within for the Soldiers Lodgings.*

Figure 2.2. 'Draught' of the 'Roman Wall in Scotland' 'taken from the Papers of Timothy Pont...and the observations of some others'.
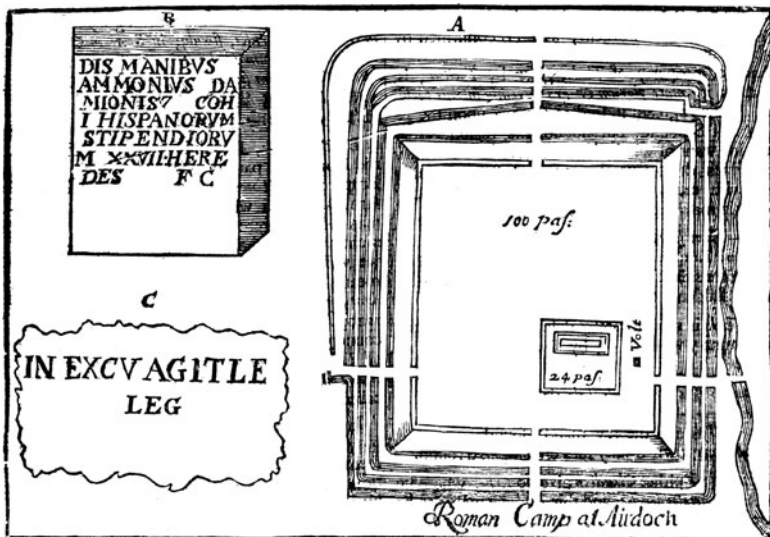

Figure 2.3. 'Roman camp at Airdoch' (Ardoch, Perthshire), including two inscriptions from the site, from *Camden's Britannia* (1695).

describes the earthwork at some length, providing one of the earliest detailed descriptions of a Roman fort in Britain:

The *Prætorium* or the General's Quarter is a large square, about a hundred paces every way: round it are five or six *Aggeres* or Dykes, and as many *Valla* or Ditches, the deepness of a man's height. There are Ports to the four Quarters of the World; and to the East, there are several larger Squares, with their Circumvallations continued for a good way… [108]

He continues by describing the longer inscription, noting that it 'was taken up out of the *Prætorium* of the *Prætentura*; below which are Caves, out of which some pieces of a shield were taken up; and several Medals have been found thereabout.'[109] Sibbald notes that the inscription was of the *Cohortis primæ Hispanorum* (COH I HISPANORUM; 'First Cohort of Spaniards'), indicating the presence of a unit of Spanish soldiers.[110]

In 1707, Sibbald followed up these writings with his book, *Historical Inquiries, concerning the Roman Monuments and Antiquities in… Scotland*.[111] The preface contains a thoughtful discussion on the emerging discipline of 'Archeologie', in which Sibbald argued:

Amongst the Sciences and Arts much improved in our time, the Archeologie, that is the Explication and Discovery of Ancient Monuments, is one of the greatest use: For the Ancients by Triumphal Arches, Temples, Altars, Pyramids, Obelisks, and Inscriptions upon them, and Medals, handed down to Posterity, the History, Religion and Policy of their Times, and an Account of the Sciences and Arts which then flourished. Certainly in these times, of which Records are not found, the only sure way to write History, is from the Proofs [that] may be collected from such Monuments.[112]

It is notable that, of the authors referred to in this book, Sibbald was the first to use the term archaeology.[113] He recorded that recent

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[108] Sibbald (1695), 1096.

[109] Ibid. 1097. The inscription is RIB 2213; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 687, who note that the stone was found in the remains of the medieval chapel on this site in which it was evidently reused. It is now in The Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.

[110] Sibbald (1695), 1097. See Keppie (1998), 8, 112–13.

[111] See Ayres (1997), 90.

[112] Sibbald (1707), p. 1 of the Preface; also quoted by Mendyk (1989), 217 and Parry (1995), 357. Lhwyd, or Lhuyd (1707), used a comparable term ('Archaeologia') in the title of a book that he published in 1707.

[113] See p. 6 for the origin of archaeology.

historians had used the types of materials that he had outlined for writing about ancient times and that he was adopting a comparable approach since the Roman monuments of modern Scotland may be 'much Illustrated by inquiring into them'.[114]

Sibbald notes that classical writers, including Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio, discuss northern Britain, but that the Antonine Itinerary provides little information, since the Wall of Antoninus Pius had been 'thrown down' by the time it was written.[115] He also recorded that the classical writers provided a 'very Lame and perplexed' account of the Walls, while the 'Monks' (Gildas and Bede) had added to the confusion; only through a study of the remains of the Walls and the inscriptions found close by could their courses and histories be determined.[116] He states:

I have been very sparing in giving Conjectures about the Names of Places; where I have not an Ancient Author to guide me, I have kept by the Vestiges of the Walls, and of the Forts, and I have found my Opinion for the most part upon the Vestiges of the Camps and Buildings, and the Inscriptions found in the Place, or near to it.[117]

Although it provides a logical research programme, Sibbald's book contained a rather confused account of surviving monuments and, in places, used current folk-law to fill in details missing from the surviving classical texts.

Sibbald included accounts of the structure of both the Scots' Wall and the Picts' Wall, comparing them to the Great Wall of China.[118] His

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[114] Sibbald (1707), p. 1 of the Preface.

[115] Ibid. 36.

[116] Ibid. p. 1–2 of the Preface. Sibbald's account, together with those of Stukeley and Gordon, mark a growing emphasis on the construction of the Roman frontier by the Roman army, downplaying the involvement of the Britons in its construction and moving interpretations away from the perspectives outlined by Gildas and Bede. The stone rampart of Hadrian's Wall in eighteenth-century works was often attributed to Severus rather than to the fifth-century Romans and Britons. It was not until the mid nineteenth century that the stone rampart became commonly associated with Hadrian.

[117] Ibid. page 2 of the Preface. Sibbald's account of the Scot's and Pictish Walls are actually rather confused and confusing, but he did attempt to date the monuments from the inscriptions that had been discovered.

[118] Sibbald (1707), 3. For knowledge of the Great Wall of China at this time, see Lovell (2006), 271–83.

detailed study of the Scots' Wall included a map,[119] and addressed the inscribed stones that were available, arguing, as had Camden, that the Wall was built under the emperor Antoninus Pius.[120]

Sibbald notes that the Romans conquered the south of Britain but were never able to make the whole island a province.[121] Drawing upon Tacitus' account of Agricola, he discusses the 'Arts and cunning Artifices' used by the Romans to 'subdue us'.[122] He notes that many of the 'south *Picts*', living to the south of the Firths of Forth and Clyde (i.e. to the south of 'the Wall of Antoninus Pius') came 'to be under the *Roman* Province', being separated from those to the north by Agricola through the use of forts and garrisons.[123] Sibbald notes that Agricola's camps in southern Scotland were not sufficient to stop the Caledonians from making incursions and, as a result, subsequent emperors made 'Rampires'.[124] He argued that the monumental remains of these fortifications 'may confirm our Antiquity and Ancient Possession of this Part of the Isle'.[125] These comments suggest that Sibbald felt that the Romans, with their 'Guards', 'colonies', and civility, rather than the Picts or Caledonians, were the genetic and cultural ancestors of the Lowland Scots.

The area to the south of the Wall of Antoninus Pius was of considerable importance, since Sibbald emphasized the introduction of Roman civility in this area. Using Roman coins, he aimed to demonstrate that:

the *Romans* stayed long in this Country: They did introduce Order and Civility where ever they came, and by the Arts and Policy they taught our Ancestors, they tamed their Fierceness, and brought them to affect a civil life: The Order they established in their Colonies, procured the respect we

[119] He also included a number of other illustrations of objects and sites in this publication, some of which had already been included in his contribution to the 1695 edition of Camden.

[120] Sibbald (1707), 6, 27. His account of the monument and inscriptions is to be found on pp. 27–31.

[121] Ibid. 1.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid. 2. Tacitus' Agricola 23 mentions garrisons along the line of the isthmus between the Clyde (Clota) and Forth (Bodotria).

[124] Sibbald (1707), 2.

[125] Ibid. 2–3.

have still for the Civil law, and their Colonies and Garrisons, and Ports, gave rise to the building our best Towns.[126]

This idea supported the eighteenth-century view of a long classical inheritance for the Scots.[127] Sibbald used Calgacus' speech to support the idea that colonies and *municipia* existed 'in this Country' (i.e. Scotland).[128] In fact, the comments that Tacitus attributed to Calgacus (*Agricola*, 30–3) are now thought to relate to sites in the south of the province, since centuries of archaeological investigation have produced no evidence for substantial urban centres to the north of Corbridge (Northumberland).[129]

Sibbald identified a number of colonies in Scotland south of the Wall, including examples at 'Gulon' (Gullane, East Lothian), 'Haddingtoun' (Haddington, East Lothian), and Edinburgh (Midlothian). The remains of a Roman fort and *vicus* at Camelon (near Falkirk) were described as the 'chief Colony'.[130] At this site, Sibbald noted 'The regular Disposition of the Streets, making right Angles, as the Vestiges yet show, and the Vaults discovered under them...'[131] He described the nearby small temple which the 'vulgar' called 'Arthur's Oven' to 'this day.'[132] Regarding Roman *municipia* in Scotland, Sibbald did not discuss sites in detail, but suggested that places with names starting with the prefix 'Cair' were examples.[133] These he defined as towns built by the 'Provincial Britains'.[134] In a later work, Sibbald attempted to identify a number of ports, colonies, and forts to the north of the Firth of Forth,[135] indicating that civility was not restricted to the area to the south of the Wall and suggesting that 'it is certain that many of our Towns took their rises from Vestiges of *Roman* Ports and Camps.'[136]

Sibbald's discussions of colonies and *municipia* were informed by his objective to identify a civil Roman population in southern

[126] Ibid. 51.
[127] See Pittock (1991), 35–6 for relevant works.
[128] Sibbald (1707, 40).
[129] Verulamium is the only known *municipium* in Britain, while York is the furthest north of the colonies.
[130] Sibbald (1707), 41. Camden (1610*b*), 29 had referred to this site as a 'city'.
[131] Sibbald (1707), 41.   [132] Ibid. 41, 44.   [133] Ibid. 40.
[134] Ibid.   [135] Sibbald (1711).   [136] Ibid. 4.

Scotland.[137] The site at Camelon did represent a substantial Roman settlement, but the other colonies he identified, including Gullane and Haddington, are medieval towns with no known Roman past. His wish to see the southern Picts as having been civilized by Rome perhaps led him to entertain the idea that the wall of Antoninus Pius was rebuilt by the emperor Septimius Severus during the late second or early third century,[138] providing a defence behind which the Roman cities and civility could flourish.

Sibbald's study of 1707 did not add anything new to the discussion of the Roman 'camps' of Lowland Scotland, although, in considering the Roman roads of Scotland, he noted that David Buchannan had informed him that there were forts at convenient distances along these military ways, several of which he could name.[139] Sibbald's earlier records of the Roman remains, including his detailed description of the fort at Ardoch, appear to have inspired Scottish antiquaries, who then turned their attention to the impressive Roman military remains surviving in their country. The collection of further information during the eighteenth century was, however, to challenge Sibbald's interpretation of the south of Scotland as a 'civil' landscape.[140]

The Wall of Antoninus and Arthur's O'on

The English antiquarian and natural philosopher William Stukeley (1687–1765) produced a detailed account of 'Arthur's Oon' during 1720, in which he remarked on the 'meagre Surveys and Accounts' of the Roman monuments of the area, encouraging the 'Gentry and Curious of those Parts, more nicely to examine so fruitful a Field

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[137] For the ambiguous status of the area between the Walls of Antoninus Pius and Hadrian, see Kidd (1993), 75, who discusses this region's post-Roman history, but Sibbald's work indicates that its Roman history was also relevant to some Scottish intellectuals.

[138] Sibbald (1711), 9–18.

[139] Ibid. 39.

[140] For some critical observations on Sibbald's writings on Roman Scotland, see Gordon (1727), 43–6. For recent surveys of the military character of the Roman settlement of Scotland, see Breeze (1996) and Hanson (2004).
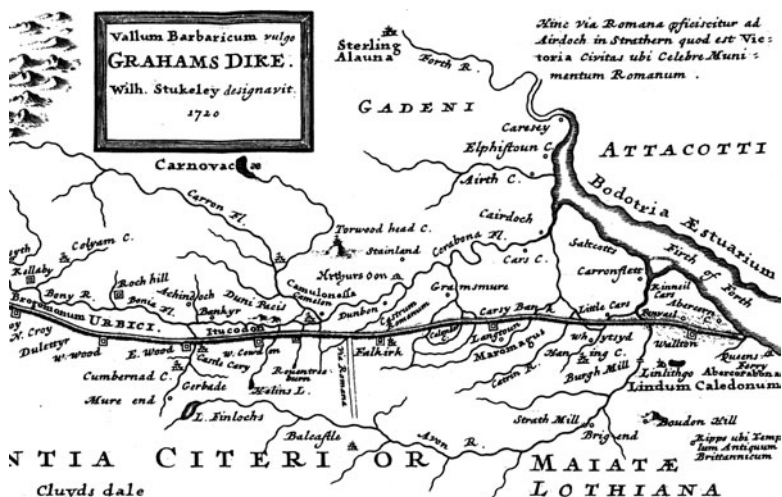
Figure 2.4. 'Vallum Barbaricum' or 'Grahams Dike', from Stukeley (1720), showing central Scotland between Croy and Kinneil.

of antique Enquiry…'[141] His influential account of Arthur's O'on included a short description of the course of the 'Roman Wall in Scotland' and the sites and inscriptions along its length (Figure 2.4).[142] Stukeley attributed the initial construction of the 'Garrisons and Cities' and the Wall to Agricola and the 'Wall of Turf' to Antoninus Pius.[143] He never visited this Wall and he relied on the records and drawings of Arthur's O'on by Andrew Jelfe (Figure 2.5).[144] Jelfe, an architect-mason and friend of Stukeley, had been sent by the Board of Ordnances, during the early eighteenth century, to repair and construct some forts in Scotland and took the opportunity to visit the Scots' Wall, providing plans of Arthur's O'on on which Stukeley

[141] Stukeley (1720), 2. For Stukeley's life and achievements, see Haycock (2002), (2004). Certain areas of Stukeley's activities are still best addressed by Piggott (1985), but note Haycock's comments on Piggott's approach (2002), 6–7.

[142] Stukeley (1720), 5–12.

[143] Ibid. 3–4. These comments are drawn directly from Camden's account (1610*b*), 26–9.

[144] Stukeley (1720), 1. For the other sources drawn upon by Stukeley, see Keppie (1998), 13.
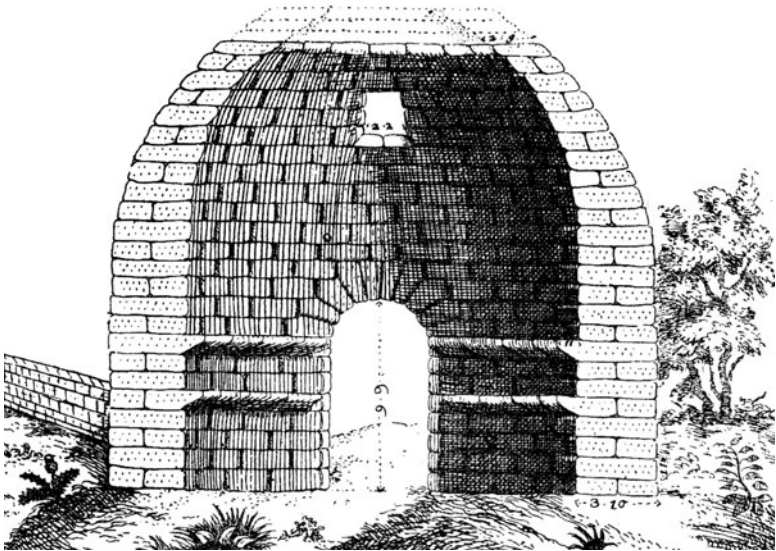
Figure 2.5. 'Arthur's Oon', from Stukeley (1720).

based his account.[145] Stukeley records that 'Mr. Jelf, who is a thorough master of the Theory as well as practic and mechanical Part of Architecture, was surprised with Pleasure at its rude Beauty and noble simplicity.'[146] Close to the site of Arthur's O'on Stukeley described the remains of an 'old City', which 'the Country people

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[145] Stukeley (1720), 1–2; see Piggott (1985), 58.
[146] Stukeley (1720), 15.

say...was called *Camelon* of *Camelot*' and which they thought was '*Metropolis* of the *Picts*, driven thence by the *Romans*';[147] this provides an interesting contrast to Sibbald's view of these remains as those of a Roman colony.

The surviving Roman building served as a source of fascination for antiquaries during the early eighteenth century. It was discussed by a number of authors apart from Stukeley, Sibbald, and Gordon in particular, and plans and elevations were made by the architect William Adam, in addition to those by Jelfe and Adair.[148] Gordon also included a discussion of the building in his account of the Roman north, which included drawings.[149] Sir John Clerk quoted George Buchanan's idea that the building was a temple to the god Terminus, but proposed that it might rather have been a tomb, noting that:

Scotsmen had regarded that building with utmost reverence, taking pride in it as a monument to the bravery of the early Caledonians who had there forced the Romans to set a limit to the empire. It was a frequent source of pleasure, not to me only, but to every lover of antiquity. All the more sad, then, that a Gothic landowner has torn it down...The day the building fell should be reckoned a black day in [the people of Scotland's] calendar. [150]

Clerk himself presumably bemoaned the destruction of the building because it had represented concrete evidence for former Roman grandeur in Scotland (see below). He had led a campaign in 1743 to prevent its demolition, but this did not stop its owner, Sir Michael Bruce of Stenhouse, demolishing the building to build a mill and dam, which were, in turn, destroyed by a storm in 1748.[151] Clerk expressed the view that 'We all curse him with bell, book and candle',[152] while Stukeley, referring to Bruce, wrote:

The demolition of Arthur's Oven is a most grievous thing to think on. I would propose, in order to make his name execrable to all posterity, that he should have an iron collar put around his neck like a yorke [yoke]. At

[147] Ibid. 6–7.   [148] Brown and Vasey (1989).
[149] Gordon (1727), 24–32.
[150] Clerk (1993), 37–8. Translated from the Latin by D. Duncan. These comments were added around 1750 to an earlier manuscript.
[151] Brown and Vasey (1989), 354, Clerk (1993), 37 n. 3. For Clerk's particular interest in the monument, see Sweet (2004), 286.
[152] Clerk (1743), 429.

each extremity a stone of Arthur's Oon, to be suspended by the lewis in the hole of them. Thus accoutred let him wander on the banks of the Styx, perpetually agitated by angry daemons with ox goads, 'Sir Michael Bruce' wrote on his back in large letters of burning phosphorus.[153]

In 1763, Sir James Clerk, the son of Sir John, erected a full-sized replica of the destroyed building as a dovecote and part of a stable block at Penicuik House (Midlothian).[154]

The Picts' Wall

The English Wall appears to have received rather less attention during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries than Graham's Dyke, although Sibbald had discussed it and further accounts soon began to appear.[155] The revised 1722 edition of Camden's *Britannia* contained a significant addition to the information on this frontier, which modern scholarship has attributed to Robert Smith, from County Durham.[156] Smith had made his observations in two journeys to the Wall in 1708 and 1709. The section between Newcastle and Carlisle was examined during the first journey, with a short topographic description on sites such as Chesters and 'Cae-Vorran', each of which was described as a square city.[157] In addition to these 'greater Forts and fortified Cities', the account described the different features of the monument, including a 'great number of little Forts or Castles, which the Inhabitants thereabouts generally call *Mile-Castles . . .*', since they occurred every mile.[158]

According to Eric Birley, Smith produced the first 'reasoned description' of the monument from Carlisle to Wallsend, which included original observations about its structure.[159] This description of the remains may have been responsible for attracting a succession of visitors to the Picts' Wall over the next few years, including Sir

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[153] Stukeley (1743), 242.

[154] Gray (1892), xxvi and Piggott (1985), 60.

[155] Birley (1961), 12 notes a few relevant publications.

[156] Ibid. 13–14, 50–1, drawing upon the work of R. C. Bosanquet. Whitworth (2000), 47 also discusses Smith's visits.

[157] Camden (1722), 1051–8.

[158] Ibid. 1055.   [159] Birley (1961), 14.

John Clerk, Alexander Gordon, and John Warburton.[160] Warburton produced a map of Northumberland in 1716,[161] which marked, for the first time, the main outline of the Roman road system, together with a number of sculptured stones and their find spots.[162] Clerk toured the Tyneside section of the monument in 1724 during a study of the latest developments in English colliery management.[163] He was accompanied on this visit by Alexander Gordon and described the remains of the monument in some detail.[164] Clerk made a return visit to the wall in 1739.[165]

William Stukeley, who had already undertaken extensive antiquarian travels across southern Britain,[166] visited the north of England, including the Wall in 1725, in the company of his son and two friends, one of whom was Roger Gale.[167] The results of this *Iter Boreale* were not published until 1776.[168] Stukeley observed, as had Sibbald, that he felt that the Picts' Wall was comparable to the 'wall of China' as an undertaking. [169] Remarking on 'The amazing scene of Roman grandeur in Britain which I beheld',[170] he noted that the Wall demonstrated how the Romans wished to 'content themselves with the desirable part of Britain, and, by one of the greatest works they ever did, seclude the Caledonians, and immortalise their own name by an inexhaustible

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[160] Ibid.

[161] Warburton (1753), vi. See Joan Evans (1956), 51 and Woodcock (2004) for discussions of the context.

[162] Macdonald (1933), 47. Stukeley (1720), 4 described this map as 'accurate'. Birley (1961), 12–13 mentions the value of the 1716 map and also writes, in an approving fashion, of Warburton's attempts to locate named Roman sites. He also stressed, however, that the map had only a limited impact on the early eighteenth-century rise in interest in the Picts' Wall (ibid. 14). For Warburton's activities on the Wall at this time, see his letters to Roger Gale in Lukis (1887), 74–86.

[163] Clerk (1892), 117–20 contains an account of this trip. Whitworth (2000), 48 presents some of the information included in Clerk's manuscript account.

[164] Whitworth (2000), 48.

[165] Clerk (1739*b*); discussed in Keppie (1998), 154.

[166] Stukeley undertook a series of twelve archaeological tours from 1710 to 1725; see Piggott (1985), 36. These were of varying lengths and explored the country from Kent to Devon, Wrexham to Lincolnshire, and north to the Roman Wall. They attempted to reconstruct the Roman geography of Britain through journeys based on traversing Roman and modern roads, with observations made on antiquities along these routes.

[167] Stukeley (1776*b*), 17; see Birley (1961), 16 and Whitworth (2000), 48.

[168] Stukeley (1776*b*), 17–77; see Birley (1961), 15–16.

[169] Stukeley (1776*b*), 55.   [170] Ibid. 76–7.

fund of monuments, for posterity to admire.'[171] Stukeley proposed that this area was 'the best planted spot of ground in the island: and we may imagine the glorious show of towns, cities, castles, temples, and the like, on the south side of this Wall, by contemplating the prodigious quantities of their ruins and memorials beyond that of any other part of Europe, scarcely excepting imperial Rome.'[172]

The glory of the monument portrayed in this account by an English antiquarian has been reappropriated from the type of perspective outlined by Buchanan to honour the Romans rather than the Scots. Stukeley concluded by stating that 'I hold myself obliged to preserve, as well as I can, the memory of such things as I saw; which, added to what future times will discover, will revive the Roman glory among us...'.[173] In the words of David Boyd Haycock, the study of the Roman remains of Britain at this time would 'inspire the necessary impression of Roman civilization and liberties appropriate for an increasingly imperial country'.[174] By exploring how Roman Britain was made 'perfectly provincial', Stukeley was effectively projecting the surviving remains of Roman Britain into the glorious neo-classical present,[175] the 'grandeur' of the remains of the Roman Wall reflecting the contemporary imperial greatness of Augustan England.

Early eighteenth-century England has often been titled 'Augustan', owing to the manner in which classical models were drawn upon to inspire architecture and the arts.[176] Members of the landed elite in England and southern Scotland acted out their lives on a historical stage, playing the parts of statesmen and soldiers.[177] The classical education of these aristocrats and gentlemen, together with their

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[171] Stukeley (1776*b*), 56.   [172] Ibid. 67.
[173] Ibid. 77.   [174] Haycock (2002), 119.
[175] Stukeley (1776*b*), 77; see Ayres (1997), 96–7.
[176] Augustan literature is mainly associated with the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714), but a preoccupation with classical themes and motifs provided a fixed point throughout the first half of the eighteenth century; see MacDonald and Pinto (1995), 280; Vance (1997), 11–2. For the influence of Roman literature on writers see Stray (1998), for architecture, see F. Salmon (2000), 19. For a discussion of problems with the concept of 'Augustan' England, relating to the idea that many of the preferred parallels drawn upon at this time (including 'liberty' and 'virtue') related to Republican rather than to Augustan Rome, see Ayres (1997), xiv.
[177] Ayres (1997) and R. Porter (1988), 30. Ayres (1997), 2–47 reviews the relevance of political models drawn from classical Rome to the English elite.

experience of the culture of Italy achieved through travel on the Grand Tour, taught morals and manners and offered models for politics and culture. Dana Arnold has proposed that elite culture drew increasingly upon quotations and reinterpretations from the antique, which recreated Rome in the form of an 'invented memory'.[178] In 'Augustan' times, many of Britain's landed gentry attempted to emulate comparable Roman exemplars in their modes of behaviour with the architectural style of their private houses, the design of their landscape gardens, and in the painting and sculpture that ornamented their properties.[179] The architecture and landscape planning of country estates drew upon models derived from classical Rome,[180] while their owners aspired to the cultural standards expounded in the writing of classical authors such as Pliny the Younger and Horace.[181] Authentic classical objects, imported from the Mediterranean, adorned some of these houses and gardens.[182] Roman inscriptions and altars derived from British sites were also used to ornament the gardens and collections of gentlemen and antiquaries across northern England and Lowland Scotland (at Penicuik, Cleugh, Hexham, Maryport/Ellenborough, Naworth, Scaleby Castle, Ribston, and Rokerby).[183]

Perhaps the ancient past of Britain was less relevant to many wealthy individuals at this time than the monuments and writings of classical Rome, particularly as a result of the apparent character of

[178] Arnold (1998b), 110. Stray (1998), 17 and Weinbrot (1993), 16 note that Augustan society in Britain drew on Rome to reflect upon the compromise reached between monarchy and parliament following the revolution of 1688.

[179] Arnold (1998a), 15.

[180] Ayres (1997), 75–83; MacDonald and Pinto (1995), 279–85, and Sweet (2004), 164.

[181] For architecture and gardening, see MacDonald and Pinto (1995), 279–85 and Hunt (2001), 31. For the adoption of models of classical elite behaviour, see MacDonald and Pinto (1995), 280–1.

[182] See J. Scott (2003), 53–63 for the Grand Tour and the importation of classical objects at this time. Moatti (1993), 61 discusses the context.

[183] Horsley (1733), 182, J. Scott (2003), 35, 287 n. 8, and Coulston (1997), 112. Hepple (1999), 9; (2002); (2003), 165–7 discusses the Naworth collection, which was moved, probably between 1746 and 1760, to Rokerby near Barnard Castle. For the Campville collection of Roman stones, which was built up during the later eighteenth century by Charles Francis Forster, see Hepple (2001). The Penicuik collection is discussed below, while some of the other collections were started on the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and have been discussed above.

Britain as a province dominated by the Roman military. Philip Ayres has argued, however, that it was 'in large part out of an attachment to Britain's Roman past' that the 'new Roman present' was constructed.[184] In this context, eighteenth-century Roman 'archaeology' was particularly significant, since discoveries 'turned illusion into reality' by producing a 'tangible Roman Britain' to verify and complement views already held by the Augustan elite.[185] While Mediterranean classical culture was deeply admired, Britain's classical past was also fundamentally significant, since it supported a historical domestic context for the introduction of classical culture which modern Britons were thought to be improving. The classical focus of elite society promoted a favourable reception for the evidence for the Roman past in Britain,[186] encouraging some gentlemen to take a direct interest in Roman remains, while others promoted the antiquaries who researched the evidence. In turn, antiquaries drew on their aristocratic contacts to help them propagate their views and sell their books.

Civility and freedom in the works of Sir John Clerk

Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755) was just such an Augustan aristocrat. Educated at Glasgow and Leiden, he had studied Roman history and then toured Italy in 1697–9.[187] After 1720, he developed an interest in the Roman remains of Scotland, amassing a significant collection of Roman stones.[188] Clerk was also a leading figure on the Scottish side in the negotiations leading to the Act of Union,[189] a man whose whole life was modelled on a Roman pattern.[190]

A strong supporter of the Union, Clerk saw himself as the equivalent of the cultivated classical Roman. He imagined his house at

[184] Ayres (1997), xv. Ayres is referring to the Earl of Burlington and his circle.
[185] Ibid. xvi.
[186] Piggott (1985), 24 and Sweet (2004), 163. Ibid. 164–5 for the sponsorship of various eighteenth-century antiquaries by members of the aristocracy.
[187] For Clerk, see I. Brown (1987*b*), 34–5; (2004); D. Duncan (1993), Mitchison (2004), and Sweet (2004), 121.
[188] Keppie (1998), 14–15.
[189] D. Duncan (1993), 3–4 and Mitchison (2004), 49.
[190] I. Brown (1987*b*), 35 and Sweet (2004), 161.

Penicuik, located to the south of Graham's Dyke, in Roman terms; this is demonstrated by an undated letter (prior to 1741) written in Latin and sent to a friend, Hermann Boerhaave:[191]

The villa is seven or eight miles from Edinburgh. This distance is particularly pleasant to me, and would be, as I suppose, to all men immersed in public affairs, more agreeable than a retreat nearer the city. For, as Pliny, the younger, says of his Tuscan home, here is the most profound and undisturbed ease, there is no need to sport fine clothes, no neighbour calls, and all things give rest and quiet.[192]

This letter is written in a classical Roman manner. The landed gentry across Lowland Britain being influenced deeply by classical models, Pliny the Younger was widely viewed as the anticipation of a perfect English Augustan gentleman.[193] In this context, it has been argued that Clerk was the first in Britain to use the term 'villa' in a way that drew directly upon classical writings.[194] In addition to his house at Penicuik, Clerk also built a new villa at Mavisbank, designing it with the architect William Adam in 1722–3.

The term 'villa' had been in use in Britain since the sixteenth century to address the houses of the elite that were built in a particular style drawing upon Palladian ideals.[195] With his detailed knowledge of the writings of Pliny and other classical authors, Clerk reinterpreted the term to address the secondary seat to which a man of affairs might retreat to escape the pressures of city life.[196] He drew further upon classical concepts to suggest that such an individual should cultivate leisure and friendship in the tranquillity of his rural

[191] For Clerk's friendship with Boerhaave, see Clerk (1892), 17 n. 1.

[192] Extracts translated in Clerk (1892), 236; further details are provided at pp. 237–40. This letter, together with other writings by Clarke about country living are addressed as 'fanciful but revealing' by D. Duncan (1993), 5 n. 1.

[193] MacDonald and Pinto (1995), 280–1. For the significance of Pliny the Younger's writings about the rural–urban antithesis in Renaissance and later Europe, see Ackerman (1990), 12–13.

[194] I. Brown (2001), 19 and Ayres (1997), 127–8.

[195] J. Harris (1994), 105.

[196] I. Brown (2001), 19. For the general context of such ideas during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, see Pittock (1991), 36. It may be relevant that, by 1739, Clerk was aware of the discovery of the remains of Roman villas in southern Britain; see Clerk (1739*a*). Stukeley took Clerk to visit the remains of a Roman villa in Rutland in 1733; see Stukeley (1733).

residence, pursuing the creation of a literary and cultural circle through patronage.[197] Clerk's letter contained references to his collection of antiquities at Penicuik, including imported bronze and marble statues and Greek and Roman coins,[198] but also the inscribed stones he had removed from Roman sites across northern Britain, including sixteen altars.[199] Some of Clerk's correspondence with other antiquaries—including Stukeley, Gordon, and Horsley—survives, indicating the extent of his research and his influence on antiquaries such as Alexander Gordon and Robert Melville.[200]

Clerk's work, *De imperio Britannico*, written 1724–30 but modified later, addressed the Union of England and Scotland, beginning with the creation of the Roman province and considering the subsequent history of the Union down to his own day.[201] This work was never published, but survives in several manuscripts.[202] More than half of the 128 sheets deal with the Roman period,[203] emphasizing Clerk's fixation on the classical past of Britain and also the documentary sources that were available to him. In this work, Clerk stressed:

Among all alliances of peoples under a single government, that of Rome takes pride of place, for whether we regard the vastness of its achievements or the qualities of its people, its equal is not to be found. So the fact that Britain was once admitted to that empire is something of which she can be proud. For the people who lived in this island at that time began to experience new benefits: some became more sociable, some more civilized, some indeed more free; and all were taught to manage arms. . . . only the Romans were worthy of the task of uniting and ruling Britain.

So the first government of any name over the British peoples was established by the Romans. But its authority could never be complete so long as the Caledonians, fiercer than the rest, were eager to retain their own rough freedom. . . . Neither armed force nor treaties could induce them to accept the society the Romans offered.[204]

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[197] I. Brown (2001), 19.   [198] Clerk (1892), 237.

[199] Clerk's collection was donated to the National Museum of Scotland in 1827.

[200] Keppie (1998), 13–14.

[201] D. Duncan (1993), 5–6.

[202] It was written in Latin. Translated extracts are provided in Clerk (1993).

[203] D. Duncan (1993), 10.

[204] Clerk (1993), 34.

Clerk celebrated Latin civility but regretted the reduction of liberty that resulted from the Roman conquest, an attitude that presumably reflected his opinion that Scotland was increasingly dominated by England.[205]

He became a member of the aristocratic Society of Roman Knights, the 'Equites Romani'[206] a group created by Stukeley in 1722 as a forum for the discussion of pre-Roman and Roman antiquities by those who objected to the medieval emphasis in the Society of Antiquaries.[207] The members of the Society of Roman Knights, who included a number of the landed gentry and female members, took the names of Romans and distinguished ancient Britons.[208] Some kept up a correspondence on antiquarian matters, writing under their Roman and ancient British pseudonyms.[209] Clerk was admitted to the 'Praetorium' or annual meeting, probably in 1724.[210] He took the name 'Agricola', an appropriate choice, considering his classical leanings, since this provincial governor is supposed to have reduced Scotland to Roman rule following his defeat of Calgacus at the Battle of Mons Graupius.[211] Clerk's identification with Agricola was particularly apposite, since the identity provided him with an ideal context in which to muse about the benefits of civility, without losing sight of the problems of the reduction of liberty that Roman conquest entailed.[212]

Ancient Scotland provided a lesson for the contemporary situation, since, in Clerk's words, the Caledonians 'continually rejected

[205] I. Brown (1987*b*), 36–9 and D. Duncan (1993), 1, 12 have discussed these apparent anomalies. Duncan (ibid. 1) addresses his approach to history as 'Janus-faced'.

[206] For the Society of Roman Knights, see Ayres (1997), 91–105, Haycock (2004), 116–21, Piggott (1985), 53–6, and Sweet (2004), 121, 164–5.

[207] I. Brown (1987*a*), 116 and Haycock (2002), 117. For the foundation and closing of the original Society of Antiquaries during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see Joan Evans (1956), 8–11 and Sweet (2004), 82–3. For the refounding of this Society in 1717, see Joan Evans (1956), 33–60 and Sweet (2004), 84–6.

[208] Ayres (1997), 92–3 and Sweet (2004), 74–5, 164–5.

[209] Ibid. 165.

[210] Ibid.

[211] Ayres (1997), 93 and Sweet (2004), 121. For the organization and proceedings of this society, see Ayres (1997), 93–4.

[212] See Braund (1996), 147–76 and Haynes (2006) for the way that these conflicting concepts were articulated by Tacitus in *Agricola*.

the society offered as though it were intolerable slavery'.[213] The Romans were unable to subdue Scotland partly because of the bravery of its people and partly because of the rugged terrain.[214] He notes, however, that 'the descendants of those Caledonians today should take care not to boast of their resistance too much, for to be proud of their refusal of Roman rule means admitting that one's ancestors were barbarians with no claim to civilization whatever.'[215] In view of Sibbald's writings, it is possible that Clerk viewed the native population of southern Scotland in the Roman period as having been at least to some degree civilized, but he does not appear to have written about this issue. His comments in 1739 about the walling out of humanity, quoted on page 85, presumably refer to the Picts' Wall.

Ancient Scottish valour and the writings of Alexander Gordon

Alexander Gordon (*c.*1692–1754?) was an antiquarian and a singer of opera, who had received a Master of Arts degree from Aberdeen University; he was also proficient at classics and modern languages.[216] He visited Italy on several occasions as part of his musical activities and had a deep knowledge of classical monuments and of Renaissance and baroque buildings. In 1726, Gordon published a highly significant volume about the Roman remains of Scotland and northern England, *Itinerarium Septentrionale or a Journey thro' Most of the Counties of Scotland and those in the North of England.*[217]

Iain Brown has addressed Gordon as an important compiler of records of Roman antiquity who also pursued 'a game of cultural

[213] Clerk (1993), 38. For the context of these comments, see Kidd (1993), 75.

[214] Clerk (1993), 38.

[215] Ibid. 38–9.

[216] I. Brown (2004). For Gordon's life and contacts, see also and Sweet (2004), 167. Gordon's particular interest in the Roman antiquities of Scotland arose from Stukeley's suggestion that surveys and publications of the Roman remains of Scotland were required; see Gordon (1727), 7.

[217] Birley (1961), 15 notes that some copies of this book have a new title page dated 1727, including the copy that I have examined in Palace Green Library, Durham.

nationalism or political antiquarianism' where the Roman remains of Scotland were concerned,[218] while Eric Birley suggested that his approach had more in common with '"popular" journalism' than with 'methodological study'.[219] Brown suggests that, in the cultural identity crisis that emerged in Scotland following the Union, Gordon attempted to use the Roman military remains of northern Britain to emphasize ancient Scottish achievements and nationhood,[220] in much the same way that contemporary writers emphasized their identity through vernacular literature.[221] Gordon drew a direct parallel between, on the one hand, the ancient Caledonians and Scots of his own day and, on the other, between the Romans and contemporary Englishmen, views that contrasted with those of his mentor and compatriot, Sir John Clerk.

Gordon drew upon these thoughts, developing his fascination for Caledonian resistance to Roman rule.[222] A Scotsman resident in London, he was sent to Scotland through the agency of the Eighth Earl of Pembroke, a friend of Clerk's.[223] Gordon drew on a growing friendship with the latter, who was accumulating his collection of Roman stones at Penicuik House and undertaking his tours of the Roman antiquities of Scotland and northern England during 1723 to 1725.[224] Gordon made what he described as 'a pretty laborious Progress through almost every Part of Scotland' in order to collect the material for his study.[225] In 1724, Gordon and Clerk visited the Roman Wall in England together, while Clerk also provided contacts which helped Gordon to visit Roman monuments.

Gordon's *Itinerarium* contained an extensive summary of the available evidence for earthwork sites of the Roman camps and forts of northern Britain, together with the inscriptions that had been collected by this time. He was at some pains to remark that his fieldwork for his project was by no means complete,[226] but his

[218] I. Brown (2004).   [219] Birley (1961), 15.
[220] I. Brown (1987*a*), 116.   [221] I. Brown (1987*b*), 33.
[222] For the broader context, see Kidd (1993), 24, 75.
[223] I. Brown (1987*a*), 114.
[224] Gordon and Clerk also shared an interest in music; see Mitchison (2004), 48 for Clerk's abilities with the harpsichord.
[225] Gordon (1727), 7; see Keppie (1998), 14–15.
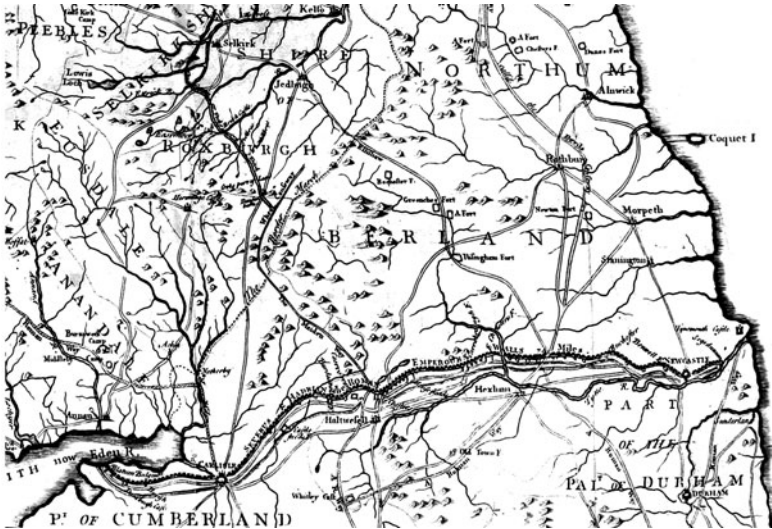[226] Gordon (1727), 7–8.

Figure 2.6. An extract showing southern Scotland, taken from Gordon's map entitled 'Principal Roman Camps, forts, walls, & C'.

book should have appealed to his contemporaries as a very significant contribution to antiquarian studies, since it was a particularly coherent and thorough summary of the available evidence, much of it based on field visits and recording, an approach shared with Stukeley in his tours around southern Britain; it was also illustrated with highly impressive plans of sites, drawings of Roman stones, and a detailed map that marked the Roman frontiers, roads, and fortifications (Figure 2.6). Although Gordon's contribution to the subject has been acknowledged,[227] it is likely that it would have been recognized more fully if his publication had not been followed by volumes produced by Horsley (1733) and Roy (1793); these later studies improved to an extent on Gordon's surveying of Roman monuments.[228] Some of Gordon's contemporaries also had mixed

[227] For example, Haverfield (1924*a*), 74, 77, Sweet (2004), 167, and Todd (2004*a*), 446. Some references, e.g. Birley (1961), 15, are fairly grudging. Sweet (2004), 167 notes that Gordon's work held a place in the international European humanist project.

[228] Sweet (2004), 167.

feelings about his work,[229] which impacted upon his reputation in later times.

Gordon's writings provide fascinating insights into the development of both antiquarian knowledge and current views of Roman Scotland. It is particularly significant that he adopted the developing approaches to classification and mapping that had already been explored by a number of earlier writers, in particular Sibbald and Stukeley, and tried to use these to create a structured understanding of the Roman occupation of Scotland. The description of Part I of his book illustrates both aspects:

Containing an Account of all the *Monuments of Roman Antiquity*, found and collected . . . and exhibited in order to illustrate the *Roman History* in those parts of *Britain* . . . With a particular description of the *Roman Walls* in *Cumberland*, *Northumberland*, and *Scotland*; Their different *Stations*, *Watch-towers*, *Turrets*, *Exploratory Castles*, *Height*, *Breadth*, and all other *Dimensions*; taken by an actual Geometrical Survey from Sea to Sea . . . [230]

Gordon outlines the purpose of his study in some detail, stressing the vital importance of knowledge and addressing the purpose of archaeology. Drawing inspiration from Sibbald's earlier writings (above), he argues:

Knowledge . . . ought to be one of the great and main Scopes of our Lives, which by Nature are but short and uncertain, and, consequently, should be spent with all possible Assiduity to qualify ourselves in Things becoming the dignified Natures of Rational Beings. Amongst all the Varieties, which present themselves before us, in prosecuting of this grand and necessary Work, those Studies which are most Improving, deserve our greatest Application: In the Number of which, *Antiquity* claims a great share, particularly Archiology, which consists of Monuments, or rather Inscriptions, still subsisting; in order to prove demonstratively those Facts which are asserted in History . . . [231]

He emphasizes observations outlined by Sibbald by suggesting that monuments and inscriptions can distinguish 'True History' from 'Falsehood and Imposture'.[232] In this context, he is highlighting the

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[229] Reviewed by Birley (1961), 15 and I. Brown (2004); see further below.
[230] Gordon (1727), cover page.
[231] Ibid. 1.   [232] Ibid.

idea that objects surviving from the past can give an unbiased picture of what happened, showing the advances that had been made in the study of the material traces of Roman society during the previous fifty years.[233]

The monuments from the past that interested Gordon were those created by 'polite nations of the World . . . to perpetuate the Truth of their Famous Actions . . .'[234] Listing the Pyramids and various Roman buildings,[235] he notes the 'Illustrious Ruins of the Ancients' and, turning to Britain,[236] remarks that, although many Roman remains are still visible, 'few of them are . . . of such an exquisite Taste of Workmanship as are to be seen at Rome, and other places of Italy . . . But such Monuments are found in *Britain*, which although made by Military Hands, have however open'd to Posterity, wonderful Discoveries of their Heroic Actions Amongst us.'[237] Gordon abandoned Sibbald's search across southern Scotland for colonies and *municipia* in order to characterize the military nature of Scotland's Roman archaeology. He exclaimed that Italy cannot match the magnificence of the military monuments present in Britain, noting:

But if we consider their Grandeur amongst us with regard to the Military Scene in *Britain*, they have left here such Remains of Magnificence, that *Italy* herself can scarcely boast of greater. For who can, even to this Day, take a View of those stupendous Walls made cross the Island from Sea to Sea, by sundry Emperors and their Lieutenants, but must confess, that (*China* excepted) the whole world cannot shew a greater Sight of amazing Grandeur than what the Romans have left behind them in *Cumberland*, *Northumberland* and *Scotland*.[238]

These comments illustrate Gordon's attempt to play up the significance of the antiquities of southern Scotland and northern England, since the south of Britain contained no known Roman monuments on the scale of these works. Gordon was evidently emphasizing the character of ancient Scotland as the cultural equal

[233] For the context of these comments, see I. Brown (1980), 12.

[234] Gordon (1727), 1–2.

[235] Gordon had travelled extensively in Italy and presumably visited some of these structures.

[236] Ibid. 3.   [237] Ibid. 4.   [238] Ibid.

to Roman Lowland Britain, an observation which developed Britain's ancient (and modern) cultural capital in a European context.[239]

He stresses the suppression of native liberty through his own translation of Tacitus' comments in *Agricola* 21, reflecting that 'gradually they slipt into the Blandishments of Vice and Effeminacy, building sumptuous Galleries, Bagnios and making delicate Entertainments; which Things passed among the Ignorant of them, for *Politness*, but at the Bottom were nothing but Baits of *Slavery*.'[240] Gordon is drawing upon a concern held by many eighteenth-century authors that, although it brought civilized ways, Rome also constrained native liberty. His comments are derived from Tactitus' writings but were also developed in the context of uncertainties about the relationship of Scotland to England;[241] therefore the remains of the Romans in Britain became of significance. He derived and modified these ideas from the views of Clerk,[242] but was also influenced by Sibbald's writings.

Gordon's detailed motivation, and the particular use to which he wished to put his study of 'Archiology' only becomes fully evident towards the end of his discussion of the Roman monuments of Scotland and northern England, where he summarizes their significance, by stressing the valour of the ancient population of Scotland. Roman archaeological remains could be used to assert resistance to the expanding British state.[243] Gordon notes:

If *Scotland* boasts of being numbered among the Nations which never bowed their Necks to the Yoak of the *Roman* Bondage, I think, from the foregoing sheets, it appears plain, that their Pretence is not built upon a wrong Foundation: For, from the Tenor of the whole *Roman* History in *Britain*, it cannot be shewn, that the *Scots* and *Picts* ever suffered the least Part of their Country to lie under Subjection, any considerable Time, without re-possessing themselves thereof, and taking a just Revenge upon their Enemies and Invaders.[244]

[239] Paul Bidwell, pers. com.
[240] Gordon (1727), 32. He notes that the location of the galleries and bagnios are no longer in evidence, having been buried.
[241] Sweet (2004), 156.   [242] I. Brown (1987*b*), 37.
[243] Sweet (2004), 156–7.   [244] Gordon (1727), 135.

The scale, extent, and chronology of the Roman military monuments across northern England and southern Scotland, together with their absence from the Highlands, indicated the strength of former resistance to Rome.

Gordon searched for the battle site of Mons Graupius where Agricola defeated Calgacus. He quoted the speech given to the native leader 'Galgacus' (Calgacus) before the battle.[245] It is noteworthy that Gordon was called 'Galgacus' by some of his friends and adopted this name upon his election to the Society of Roman Knights in 1724.[246] He observes that, despite the defeat of Galgacus:

we plainly perceive, that the united forces of the *Romans* and the Provincial *Britons*, were never able to put a stop to the invasions of the *Caledonians*, who were always acting on the offensive Part; but there can be no greater Proof of the *Scots* never having been conquered, than the very *Roman* Walls themselves, built as Fences against their Hostilities: Which, while there is a stone of them remaining, will be undeniable Monuments of the Valour and Prowess of that Nation.[247]

These final comments indicate that for Gordon, unlike Samuel Daniel and James I, the Roman Walls remained a clear physical statement of the former valour of the ancestors of contemporary Scots.[248]

In Sir John Clerk's letter of 2nd June 1726 to Roger Gale, he reflected on Gordon's book, making a few critical comments but observing that 'it is really a work above my expectations'.[249] He felt it necessary, however, to apologize for the author's use of the speech of Galgacus:

[245] Gordon (1727), 136. For the spelling of the name, see I. Brown (1987*a*), 124 n. 27. The complexity of Roman analogies at this time is indicated by the positive uses made of Calgacus' speech in a number of eighteenth-century English works; see Weinbrot (1993), 180–3.

[246] Sweet (2004), 121. Gordon's letters to Stukeley used this pseudonym.

[247] Gordon (1727), 136.

[248] It is likely that Gordon had discussed the character of the Roman conquests and subjection of northern Britain with others, since he rehearsed in his book a number of counter-arguments to the idea that the Romans were defeated by the valour of the Scots, before dismissing them: one of these ideas was that the Romans were unable to conquer Scotland because of the poverty of the soil and because of problems with the supply of provisions; see Gordon (1727), 137. The debate about the reasons for the failure of the Romans to conquer Scotland has continued to be discussed in comparable terms up to the present; see Breeze (1989), 3.

[249] Clerk (1726), 183. Clerk was concerned about the way that Gordon had used some information in letters that he had sent to him.

I once endeavoured to persuade him that it was onely a fiction of Tacitus, conforming to a liberty usuall among historians, & that there was no reasoning from anything contained in it to the advantage either of Galgacus or of his Caledonians. But Mr. Gordon's high respect to his countrey hath carried him too far, & made him commit a sort of laudable fault . . . The best that could have been said for the Caledonians was that though they had been conquered, yet the Romans could not retain their conquests. I am, I confess, of the opinion of some learned men that it is a reproach to a nation to have resisted the humanity which the Romans laboured to introduce.[250]

Gale replied to Clerk's letter on 24th June, making some critical comments about errors in Gordon's book and amplifying Clerk's own comments, by proposing:

I cannot think it not a scandall for any nation to have been conquered by the Romans, but a great misfortune not to have submitted to their arms, since their conquests were so far from enslaving those they vanquisht, that they tended onely to the civilizing and improving their manners, reducing them under Roman laws and government from their wild and savage way of life, instructing them in arts and sciences, and looking upon them as fellow-citizens and freemen of Rome, the common mother of all that had the happynesse to fall under her subjection . . . [251]

The contrasting views of Gale and Gordon on the Roman conquest articulated what we might call opposed English and Scottish views of civility, ideas that appear to be combined, at least to an extent, in the views of Clerk.

Gordon's fascination with Roman frontiers prompted him to publish a detailed account of the Roman monuments, including Graham's Dyke.[252] He produced a fifteen-page survey of the evidence for the Scots' Wall, fully illustrated with plans of the sites and drawings of the inscriptions. Noting that eleven of the twenty inscriptions from the Wall were dedicated to Antoninus Pius, he repeated Camden's and Sibbald's observation that it was constructed under this emperor.[253] His detailed and relatively accurate description of this monument (Figure 2.7), classified the various elements of the frontier, listing ten

250 Ibid. 184. See Ayres (1997), 100.
251 R. Gale (1726), 87–8; also quoted in Ayres (1997), 100.
252 Sweet (2004), 167.
253 Gordon (1727), 63. Camden (1610*b*), 27, drawing upon the two inscriptions available to him, had already suggested an Antonine date for the monument.
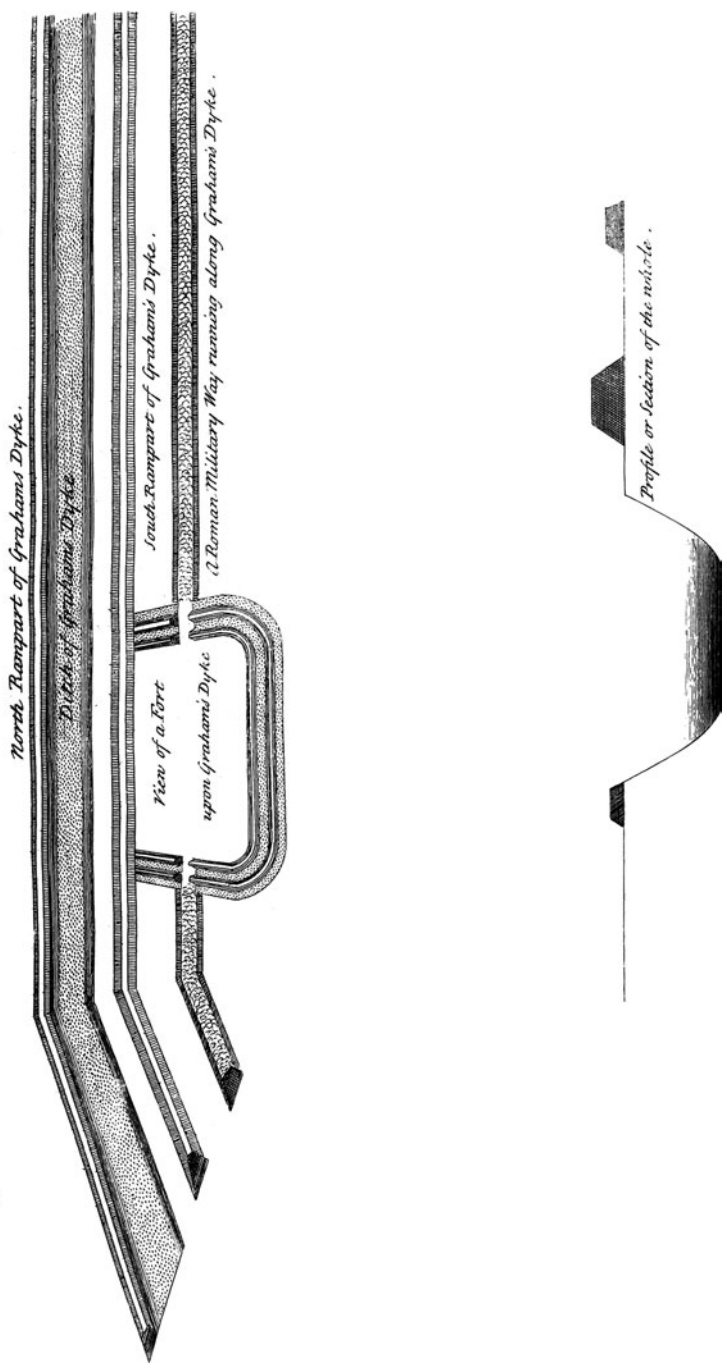
Figure 2.7. 'View of Antoninus Pius's Wall, or Graham's Dyke', from Gordon (1727).

surviving forts where the garrison were stationed, together with three or four other sites where forts probably existed, two or three surviving watch towers and the same number of 'Exploratory Turrets'.[254] Gordon provided an almost equally detailed study of the English Wall and of various other Roman camps and forts in Scotland.[255] It appears that he produced a detailed map of both Walls for sale separately from his volume. Gordon's book refers to a fourteen-foot-long map of the English Wall and a separate six-foot-long map of the Scottish Wall, to be published 'in a few days'.[256] At this time, Gordon had financial troubles and neither map was apparently published.[257]

His focus on the Walls as being symbolic of ancient Scottish valour evidently resulted partly from that fact that he could not identify with any certainty the homes and possessions of the pre-Roman and native Roman-period populations. Gordon thought that various bronze weapons were possibly Roman, but that certain archaeological remains might well be pre-Roman or native British. He discussed the forts on the tops of hills and suggested that these were not Roman; first, 'because they do not have the Elegancy of *Roman* workmanship'; second, because examples occur in Ireland, which the Romans never conquered; and finally because Roman inscriptions were never found at these locations.[258] He suggested that these sites might have been Danish, although he acknowledged that examples in Ireland and Scotland might also have been 'made by their own Inhabitants'. In Part II of his book, Gordon described 'and illustrated Castle Toddan' and 'Castle Tellve' in Glenelg (Highland),[259] which he supposed may have been the homes of native inhabitants prior to Roman times (Figure 2.8); indeed, these are two of the best-preserved brochs of Scotland.[260]

The idea that Gordon's work represented 'political antiquarianism' might be taken to suggest that other contemporary works were generally unaffected by the contemporary situation. It would be

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[254] Gordon (1727), 63. It is not entirely clear what these last structures were.

[255] For his survey of the Picts' Wall, see Birley (1961), 53. Gordon attributed the stone wall to Severus and the vallum to Hadrian (1727), 52–3, an observation that he may have drawn from Stukeley (ibid. 54).

[256] Ibid. 188.   [257] I. Brown (2004).

[258] Gordon (1727), 115.   [259] Ibid. 166–8.   [260] See Armit (2003).
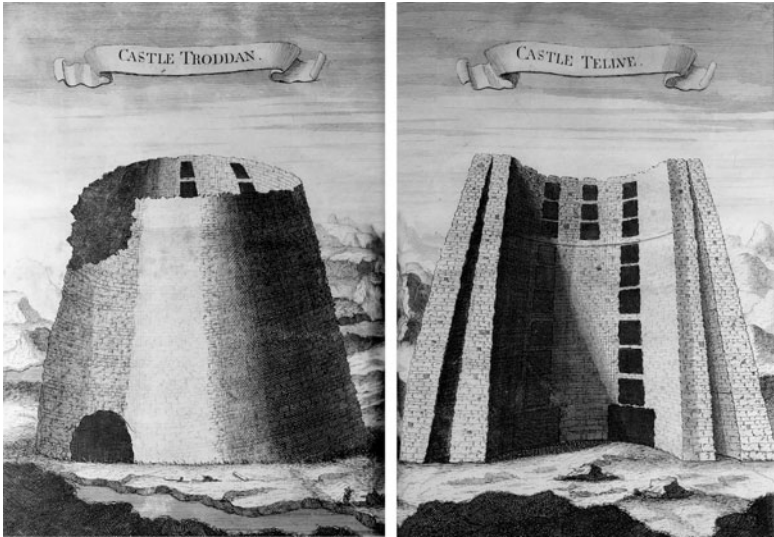
Figure 2.8. 'Castle Troddan' and 'Castle Tellve', Glenelg, Highland Scotland, from Gordon (1727).

more accurate to suppose that Gordon was reacting to another directly political motivation, exhibited in the comments of Clerk, Stukeley, Gale, and others, that the Romans had introduced a civility to southern Britain that had directly led to its contemporary Augustan grandeur. In fact, he was responding to the views expressed in certain contemporary standard works of history that the earliest inhabitants of Scotland were little more than, in his own phrase, 'Hottentots'.[261] He was providing a counter-opinion to the dominant Romanocentric views of many Englishman and Lowland Scotsmen,[262] an approach that survived into the twentieth century and, indeed, to the present day.[263]

At the same time, it is clear that, in the company of other contemporaries, Gordon projected a teleological conception of a Scottish nation back into the classical past. George Buchanan, Clerk, and

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[261] Taken from a letter from Gordon to Clerk discussed by Sweet (2004), 121.

[262] Including Clerk; see Sweet (2004), 121.

[263] Hingley and Unwin (2005), 207. This appears to explain the nature of the observations of some commentators on the political character of Gordon's focus.

Gordon all portrayed the Scots, in their manifestation as the Caledonians or Picts, as a united people, emphasizing their indigenous origins.[264] They linked themselves genetically with the ancient Caledonians described in the classical texts,[265] pursuing a comparable agenda to English authors who had long argued a Roman introduction for their own civility.

LATER EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY WORKS

At the Battle of Culloden on 16th April 1746, the Hanoverian army ended the attempt of Charles Edward Stuart to take the throne of Britain by force. Works by John Warburton and William Roy, written in the thirty years following this battle, drew directly upon Roman military remains to provide an insight into the contemporary political situation in northern Britain; these mapping projects reflect the creation of a more systematic form of imperialism that was subsequently exported across the empire.[266]

John Warburton and the rebuilding of the Roman Wall

John Warburton (1682–1759) was a herald and antiquary, originally from Lancashire,[267] who worked as an excise officer, while also making money from the production of maps. During his time in northern England, he amassed a substantial collection of Roman stones which now form part of the collection of the Old Fulling Mill Museum in Durham.[268] He had a rather chequered professional career, being reduced in grade at one point early in his career for claiming authority in his diary for the details of a survey that he had

[264] D. Duncan (1993), 10 addresses Clerk's writings on the topic of Scottish ancestry.
[265] Ibid.
[266] McLeod (1999), 233.
[267] Woodcock (2004). For the relationship between heraldry and antiquarianism, see Sweet (2004), 48.
[268] They were formerly part of the Cathedral collection; see Macdonald (1933), 48–50.

not undertaken himself.[269] Warburton plagiarized John Horsley's work,[270] but, in his volume *Vallum Romanum*, published in 1753, he drew an interesting parallel between the Roman army in Britain and the Hanoverians in Scotland. This constituted a very different view to that of Clerk and of Gordon and reflected Stukeley's earlier comments. Warburton anticipated the later ideas of William Roy, casting the Roman army in northern Britain as historically analogous to the Hanoverian military.

After the 1715 Jacobite uprising, the government had constructed a series of new garrisons in the Highlands, while between 1725 and 1737 a major programme of road and bridge building was conducted under the influence of Marshall Wade.[271] Roman parallels were drawn for this work. In 1731, the *Gentleman's Magazine* featured two news items, one on a newly discovered Roman road in southern France with milestones set one Roman mile apart and the second describing a new military road constructed across the 'Coriarick' (Corrieyairack) Pass, between Ruthven Barracks and Fort Augustus, in Highland Scotland.[272] The excellence of the engineering of the road is remarked upon and it is noted that it 'is of a fine Gravel, and so sloping, that General Wade's Coach and Six turn'd every Angle, and descended without any Difficulty'.[273] The road 'merits as many monumental Pillars, to distinguish the happy Reign to Posterity, in which it was erected, as are discovered in the Roads of the Polite *Romans*'.[274]

Warburton drew on the same conceptual parallel by claiming an association between the Roman Wall, built to keep the Picts and Scots out of southern Britain, and the military road that had recently been completed by the Hanoverian army which, he claimed, fulfilled a comparable purpose.[275] The needs of the English army at this time

[269] Woodcock (2004). See Macdonald (1933) for further details of Warburton's activities, which that author felt so disreputable that he called him 'sinister' (ibid. 40).

[270] Macdonald (1933), 51–2 and Birley (1961), 18–19; see Sweet (2004), 161, 407 n. 28.

[271] B. Harris (2002), 169.

[272] *Gentleman's Magazine* 1 (November 1731), 487–8. Also quoted by Sweet (2004), 162, 408 n. 34, drawing upon the work of Iain Brown.

[273] *Gentleman's Magazine* 1 (November 1731), 488.

[274] See also Roy's discussion, (1793), 102–11, of 'Roman military ways' and their milestones.

[275] A century later, Bruce (1851), 69–71 made much the same observation.

dictated that military communications between Newcastle and Carlisle should be improved, since the Hanoverian army had faced considerable problems manoeuvring through this terrain during the actions of 1745.[276] Warburton's account was in three books, addressing 1) the ancient state of the Roman Wall, 2) its present state, and 3) the collection of Roman inscriptions and sculptures derived from the Wall.

In his note on book 2, he writes of 'the present State of the Walls, and Military Roads, more particularly that now re-edifying at National Expense, for the Passage of Troops and Carriages from *Carlisle* to *Newcastle upon Tyne*'.[277] The book is dedicated, with an elaborate title page, to Prince William August, Duke of Cumberland, 'Captain General of His Majesty's forces' and the victor of the Battle of Culloden. Warburton states, in a grandiloquent manner, that:

As an introduction to this work, I must inform my readers, that in the memorable years 1715, I caused a survey and plan to be made of the ancient Roman-wall and Military-Way...in order to shew the government the necessity there was at that time, for the said *Roman* road to be repaired and made passable for troops and artillery, from the east to the west sea, agreeable to its use and intention.

This plan I shewed to general *Carpenter*, then at Newcastle, on his march against the *Scotch* rebels: On my explaining it to him, he seemed greatly pleas'd, and promised forthwith to recommend it to his majesty; but that rebellion being soon after suppressed by him, and general *Wills*, at *Preston*, in *Lancashire*, this necessary work was forgot, until the late rebellion took place and (when too late) brought my scheme to remembrance.[278]

Warburton had acted as a government informer during the Jacobite rising of 1715 and in his book he claimed that this map of Northumberland, produced in 1716, revived the study of Roman learning in Britain and had the beneficial effect of the refounding of the Society of Antiquaries.[279]

Warburton argued that, despite the fact that his previous suggestion for a military road had been ignored, in the year 1751:

An act of parliament was passed, for 'laying out, making, and keeping in repair, a road proper' for the passage of troops and carriages from the city of *Carlisle* to the town of *Newcastle upon Tyne*...

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[276] Lawson (1966), 185–8.   [277] Warburton (1753), cover page.
[278] Ibid. iii.   [279] Ibid. vi.

Thus after an application of thirty-eight years I at length obtained my desire, and have now the pleasure of being a coadjutor in the re-edification of this *truly royal military road*, which will infallibly prevent all future invasions from Scotland and consequently prove an everlasting benefit to *Great-Britain* in general.[280]

In addition to claiming the main credit for the planning of the military road, Warburton argued that he had a major role in discovering the remains of the Roman Wall. He observed that Camden and Cotton were not able to visit certain sections of the monument, noting:

Such was the wild and baron [*sic*] state of this country, even at the time I made my survey, that in those parts now called the *Wastes*, and heretofore the *Debatable Grounds*, I have frequently discovered the vestiges of *cities*, *towns* and *camps*, that seem never to have been trod upon by any other human creature than myself, since the Roman abandoned them . . . [281]

Reflecting on an old concept of the Wall area as 'Batable', or contested ground, Warburton reflected that the ancient remains demonstrated a former Roman control over these lands, which the establishment of the military road would enable to be mirrored in the contemporary age. Although partly acknowledging Horsley, who, he notes, accompanied him on some of his journeys and commented on various Roman inscriptions,[282] Warburton plays down the materials he had derived from him, which has led one commentator on his work to label it as 'shameless piracy'.[283]

In one regard at least Warburton was ahead of his time. He noted on his cover page that he had produced this collection of material 'as an Inducement to the young Nobility and Gentry of *Great Britain*, to make the *Tour* of their native Country, before they visit foreign parts'.[284] He also discusses the reason for the publication, as providing:

a pocket companion for . . . learned travellers and others, whose curiosity may lead them to visit the superb remains of the famous *Picts Wall*, now justly esteemed the honour of Great Britain. . . . By this means, both pleasure and instruction will accrue to such of our young nobility and gentry who

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[280] Warburton (1753), iii–iv.   [281] Ibid. v.   [282] Ibid. vii–viii.
[283] Birley (1961), 18–19.
[284] These suggestions derive from the earlier ideas of Stukeley, expressed in his *Itinerarium curiosum*; see Ayres (1997), 96.
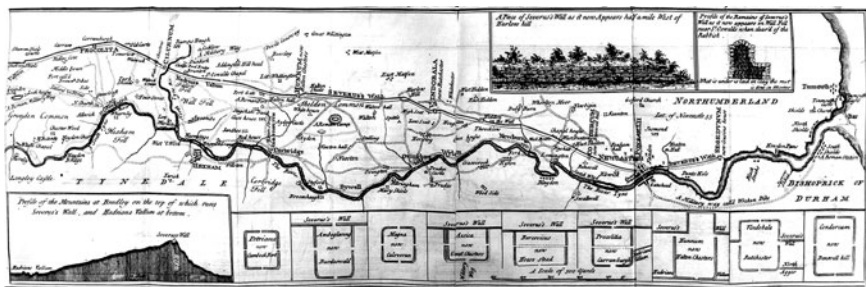
Figure 2.9. Extract from a map of the Roman Wall, from Warburton (1753).

shall travel to see them: An emulation will be raised among our youths of fine genius: *Roman* learning will become their favourite study, and old Rome in time be rivalled by Britain.[285]

He stated that, with regard to the glory of the Wall, all antiquaries who have made the Tour of Europe 'allow the Picts Wall to be the most superb remains of Roman grandeur' this side of the Alps.[286]

Warburton provided an excellent map of the Wall to accompany his account (Figure 2.9).[287] This shows the course of the Wall and details of a number of forts along its line. Although he claimed the map as his own, it has been argued that he copied it from an official survey that had been carried out for the Board of Ordnances, adding details from Horsley's surveys.[288] This latter map, entitled *A Survey of the Country between Newcastle and Carlisle, Representing the several present Roads and the Tract which is proposed for the New Road of Communication between these Towns. As also all the course of the Roman Wall with all the Military Stations, Castella and Military Ways that lye upon this survey*, appears to have been drawn up by two surveyors, Dugal Campbell and Hugh Debbieg.[289] The latter was

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[285] Warburton (1753), vii.

[286] Ibid. For other authors who encouraged the exploration of the British countryside as an alternative or supplement to the Grand Tour, see Haycock (2002), 110–12. For the rise of 'guidebooks' in the second half of the eighteenth century, see Sweet (1997), 107–16.

[287] Macdonald (1933), 54.

[288] Ibid.; Lawson (1966), 190–2. [289] Ibid. 194–5.

also involved in the surveying of the Scottish Highlands at this time and worked with William Roy.[290]

Although it has been remarked that Warburton could not have carried out the survey to prepare the map he used in his book—indeed, he would have been sixty-eight years of age in 1750—there do appear to be some problems in attributing all the details on his map to Campbell and Debbieg.[291] The course of certain existing roads is easier to follow on Warburton's copy of the map than on the original from which he is supposed to have copied it,[292] while it is unclear why the military surveyors would have recorded the course of the Roman Wall in such detail. William Roy was developing an awareness of the remains of Roman military monuments during the late 1740s, although his major focus of interest dates from 1752. It is possible, although uncertain, that Campbell and Debbieg may have mirrored Roy's interests and surveyed the Wall. That the remains of the Wall were used in the building of the Hanoverian military road would not appear to have been a sufficient reason for surveying the Roman remains, unless it was intended to use the stone that they contained in construction work. It is possible that Warburton did have the remains of the monument surveyed at this time, following up his earlier mapping of Roman remains in Northumberland. It could even be the case that the Roman elements of the map were surveyed and recorded by another individual and copied by both Warburton and the military surveyors.

Warburton's attempts to provide a pocket book guide and to encourage visits to the Wall related partly to his own need to raise money,[293] but also to a growing desire in the second half of the eighteenth century to provide indigenous culture for the gentry to marvel over and to supply an indigenous context for a greater appreciation of the treasures that they experienced on the Grand Tour of Italy.[294] His championing of the Hanoverian military road, effectively as a rebuilding of the Roman Wall, has not, however, endeared him to

[290] Kopperman (2004), Lawson (1966), 195–6, and Seymour (1980), 5.
[291] For the idea that Warburton could not have produced the map, see Macdonald (1933), 54.
[292] Lawson (1966), 192.
[293] For his financial difficulties, see Woodcock (2004).
[294] Arnold (1998*b*).

later scholars. The fascination that some military men and gentlemen had for Roman monuments had not saved the Picts' Wall from substantial destruction during the construction of the military road along much of its length during the 1750s.[295] Stukeley attempted to persuade the authorities, and even the Princess of Wales, to move the military road so that wholesale destruction of the Wall could be avoided, but large sections of it were damaged and covered up by building work for the new road.[296] The construction of this road caused a flurry of correspondence.[297] Building was under way by 1751 and the Wall was used as the footing for the military road in much of its eastern section, from Newcastle to Sewingshields, while it was also robbed for material.[298] As a result of Warburton's championing of this new military road, in 1933 Sir George Macdonald described how he still 'bears an evil name as the Vandal who openly boasted' of having prompted the scheme under which Hadrian's Wall was destroyed for many miles, in order to facilitate the building of the Newcastle–Carlisle road.[299]

William Roy and a revived military occupation

The maps included in John Horsley's volume *Britannia Romana* (1733) perhaps inspired the Scotsman William Roy (1726–1790) to compile the first relatively metrically accurate plans of many of the surviving Roman military monuments across northern England and Scotland.[300] Roy was born on 4th May 1726, the son and grandson of factors to the lairds of Milton (Lanarkshire, Scotland). He was educated at Carluke parish school and Lanark Grammar School, where he learnt Latin and mathematics but did not undertake further education; in the army, he eventually attained the rank of

[295] Whitworth (2000), 50.

[296] Stukeley (1754); see Lawson (1966), 198–9; (1973), 188–9 and Whitworth (2000), 50.

[297] Ibid.

[298] Lawson (1966), (1973), (1979), and Whitworth (2000), 50.

[299] Macdonald (1933), 40. It is notable that Stukeley, campaigning for the protection of the Wall in 1754, gave the Princess of Wales a copy of Warburton's book; see Stukeley (1754), 134.

[300] Horsley's work is discussed further on pp. 155–6.

major-general in 1781.[301] His early experience of surveying may have been in his father's company, since factors were often involved in measuring the estates for which they were responsible. He moved to Edinburgh in 1738, or soon after, where he was trained further in surveying and map-making, probably as a draughtsman at the Board of Ordnances.[302]

Roy began his surveying work following the 1745 Jacobite uprising.[303] Between 1747 and 1752, he undertook his major military survey in the Highlands of Scotland with the encouragement and support of his commander-in-chief, the Duke of Cumberland.[304] The uprising that resulted in the bloody Battle of Culloden highlighted the military need for accurate information on the topography of Scotland. The maps available to the Duke of Cumberland and to Prince Charles Edward Stuart, which had been produced in the early eighteenth century at 1:855,360 scale (1 inch to 13.5 miles), were far too small to enable the development of a complex military strategy.[305] Lieutenant-Colonel David Watson of the Engineers, the deputy Quartermaster-General of the occupying forces in northern Britain after Culloden, proposed to the Duke of Cumberland that a military survey should be undertaken, for which the Duke obtained permission from his father, George II, in 1747.[306] Watson had seen Roy's work and appointed him as Assistant Quartermaster in charge of the mapping project. Roy initially worked at Fort Augustus as the only surveyor, but between 1748 and 1750 was joined by more engineers, eventually supervising six survey parties.[307]

In 1752, when the survey of the Highlands was nearing completion, it was decided to extend the work to the whole of Scotland.[308]

[301] Baigent (2004), Macdonald (1917), 163, Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 3, and Seymour (1980), 4–5.

[302] Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 3–4 and Seymour (1980), 5, but see the comments of Baigent (2004); for the early modern origins of the Board, see Seymour (1980), 2–3.

[303] Macdonald (1917), 165.

[304] Baigent (2004); for the significance of this survey work, see Seymour (1980), 4; for Cumberland's life, see K. Wilson (1998), 175–6.

[305] Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 4.

[306] Ibid. and Seymour (1980), 4.

[307] Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 4 and Seymour (1980), 5.

[308] Baigent (2004).

Produced at a scale of one inch to 1000 yards (1:36,000) and covering the whole of mainland Scotland, the maps represented the most extensive survey in eighteenth-century Britain.[309] Their purpose was to provide detailed information as part of the programme of road building and fort construction that had been carried out since the 1710s but which was expanded after 1746.[310] At this time, Wade was developing his plan for road construction throughout the Highlands of Scotland, while Watson supervised the laying out and construction of the roads.[311]

During the late 1740s, Roy developed a fascination in the Roman military monuments of Scotland. His contribution to the understanding of Roman Britain was twofold: first, a major statement of the value of the material remains of Roman fortifications as the source for a detailed understanding of the military history of the northern areas of the province; second, he contributed significantly to the task of classifying the individual types of Roman monument in northern Britain, a project that has continued to be refined ever since. Rather than discussing the ideas expressed in Roy's writings and plans, archaeologists tend to focus upon his maps of more than fifty Roman camps and forts and his plan of the Antonine Wall.[312]

Gordon's concern about the dominating influence of Roman and English control over Scotland, shared to some extent by Sir John Clerk, is not evident in the actions and writings of Roy, who possessed a clear self-identification with Hanoverian (and Roman) military control. Roy's work built on the same perceived association between the Hanoverian military operations in Scotland and those of the Romans that were expressed by Warburton and others.[313] Surveying, road building and the construction of camps and forts, as Norman Vance has observed, were used by both the Romans and

[309] Seymour (1980), 4.
[310] Ibid.; B. Harris (2002), 169–71.
[311] Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 4.
[312] Bowden (1999), 19, Macdonald (1917), and Todd (2004*a*, 447). Others have focused on his maps, e.g. Seymour (1980), 3–9, 13–18, 33–6, 62–3, and the historical and political context of his work; see Vance (1997), 240 and Hingley (2000), 39–40.
[313] Hingley (2000), 40, Maxwell (1990), 9–10, and Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 4. For the continuing sense of military insecurity after the Forty-Five see B. Harris (2002), 148–9. Ibid. 145–65 for the actions of Scots loyal to the Hanoverian government.

the Hanoverians to subdue and control unruly natives.[314] Roy drew
on this comparison in the introduction to *Military Antiquities*:

military men, especially those who have been much accustomed to observe
and consider countries in the way of their profession, in reasoning on the
various revolutions they have already undergone, or on those which, in
certain cases, they might possibly suffer hereafter, are naturally led to
compare present things with the past; and being thus insensibly carried
back to former ages, they place themselves among the ancients, and do, as
it were, converse with the people of those remote times.

The nature of a county will always, in a great degree, determine the
general principles upon which every war there must be conducted. In the
course of many years, a morassy county may be drained; one that was
originally covered with wood, may be laid open; or an open country may
be afterwards inclosed: yet while the ranges of mountains, the long extended
valleys, and remarkable rivers, continue the same, the reasons of war cannot
essentially change. Hence it will appear evident, that what, with regard to
situation, was an advantageous post when the Romans were carrying on
their military operations in Britain, must, in all essential respects, continue
to be a good one now; proper allowances being made for the differences of
arms, and other changes which have taken place between the two periods.[315]

Roy noted that between 1747 and 1755 he made 'sketches' of Roman
works in the course of his 'other observations',[316] presumably his
military surveying. He also added the names of various Roman sta-
tions to the military maps produced.[317] His growing fascination with
the Roman past of Scotland was encouraged when he visited the
remains of a Roman bathhouse in 1752, which had originally been
discovered in 1732 at Netherby House (Dumfries and Galloway).[318]
He noted that his study involved monuments of the 'stationary kind'
(forts and permanent installations).[319] He was not aware of the exist-
ence of Roman camps (i.e. temporary camps) until Captain Robert

[314] Vance (1997), 240.
[315] Roy (1793), i; also quoted in Maxwell (1990), 82. See Southern (1996) for the
idea that the Edwardian, Cromwellian, and Hanoverian campaigns in Scotland can
help to provide insight into the difficulties faced by Roman strategists.
[316] Roy (1793), iv–v.
[317] Vance (1997), 240.
[318] Roy (1793), 197; see Macdonald (1917), 167 and Seymour (1980), 62. For the
excitement cause by the discovery, see Clerk (1734).
[319] Roy (1793), v.

Melville discovered such sites in 1754, after which both men started to map the whole range of Roman monuments.[320] Roy undertook detailed surveys of individual Roman monuments in 1755, including temporary camps around the well-known fort at Ardoch and the Scots' Wall (Figure 2.10).[321] The Seven Years' War (1756–63) interrupted Roy's antiquarian endeavours, since this required 'the observance of the actual manœuvres of modern armies, instead of endeavouring to investigate those of the ancients'.[322] In 1764, the discovery of a camp at Cleghorn in Clydesdale encouraged Roy to make further surveys of Roman monuments in southern Scotland, work that continued until 1771.[323]

In 1763, Roy obtained a full set of the military maps of Scotland from George III and used them to plan and record Roman sites.[324] By 1773, Roy had synthesized his archaeological work, hoping to complete a volume, becoming a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1776. His book, *The Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain* (1793), was not finally published, however, until after his death. This impressive volume provided a detailed discussion of the 'Military Transactions' of the Romans in Britain, a discussion of their system of 'Castrametation' and an assessment of the geography of northern Roman Britain, partly derived from the work of Richard of Cirencester. In reality, a seventeenth-century fake, Richard's work which is discussed more fully below, was highly significant to Roy and to others. It provided a supposedly Roman description of the area between the Forth and the Caledonian Canal as a Roman province, 'Vespasiana', and assigned what Francis Haverfield was later to describe as 'a liberal supply' of Roman roads and named sites to the eastern half of the area.[325] Despite its reference to Richard

[320] Macdonald (1917), 169 and Seymour (1980), 62. R. H. Jones (2006) also discusses the early investigations of temporary camps in Scotland by various antiquaries and considers Roy's friendship with Melville.

[321] Roy (1793), vi, 155.

[322] Ibid. vii; see Baigent (2004) for Roy's activities in southern England and Germany during this time.

[323] Roy (1793), vii–viii, Macdonald (1917), 177–86, and Seymour (1980), 62–3. Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 5–11 and Seymour (1980), 5–9, 13–18, 62–3 provide accounts of Roy's activities between 1755 and his death in 1790.
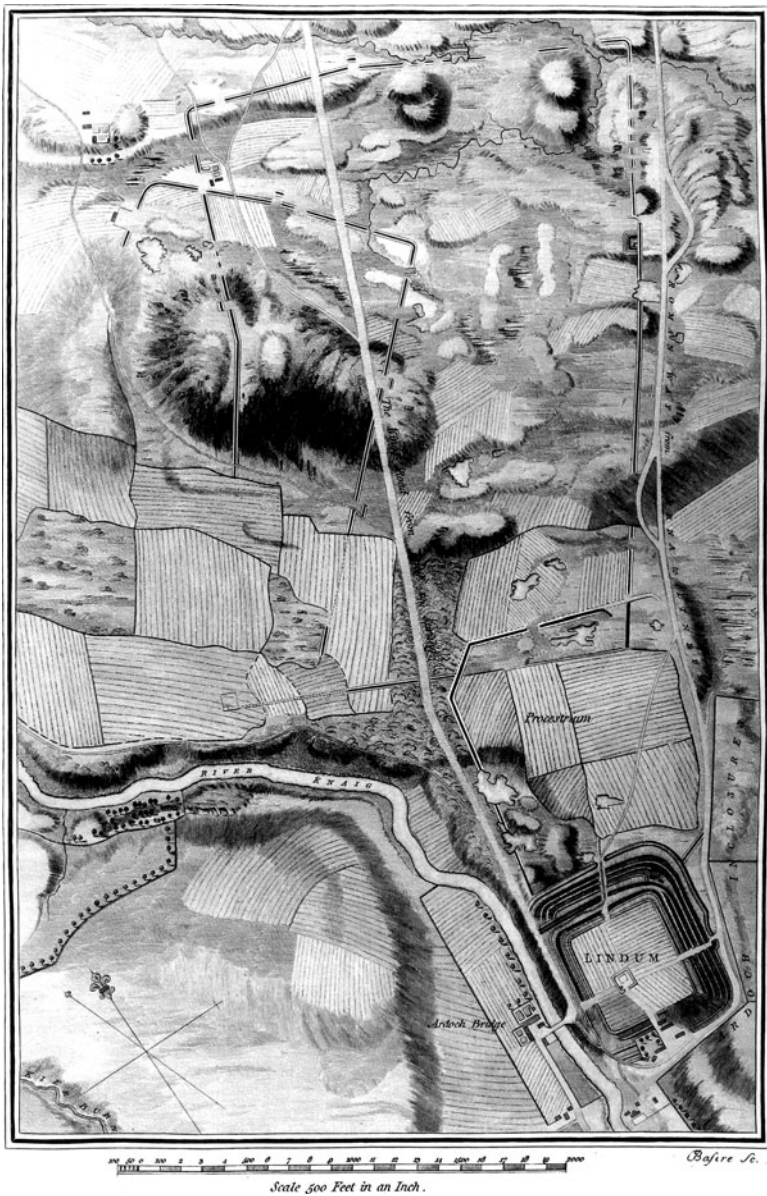
[324] Ibid. 6.

[325] Haverfield (1913), 2.

Figure 2.10. 'Roman Station at Lindum' (Ardoch, Perthshire), showing the fort and temporary camps, from Roy (1793).

of Cirencester, Roy's account, which emphasized the physical remains of the Roman fortifications in northern Britain, was of fundamental significance.

Roy's survey included two 'very curious British posts', the 'White' and 'Brown Cather Thun' (Caterthuns) (Figure 2.11),[326] which he called both British and Pictish without exploring the potential meaning of these terms. Roy discussed how the plans of these monuments demonstrated how they differed from Roman military sites.[327] He also noted the massive rampart of the White Caterthun, remarking 'The vast labour that it must have cost to amass so incredible a quantity, and carry them to such a height, surpasses all description.'[328] Roy's reference to these sites coincides with a growing interest in the potentially British and Pictish monuments of Scotland, indicated by several papers in early volumes of the Society of Antiquaries publication, *Archaeologia.*[329]

The volume also included a map of Roman remains in northern Britain, entitled *Mappa Britanniæ Septentrionalis faciei Romanæ Secundum fidem Monumentorum Perveterum Depicta* ('a map of the north parts of Roman Britain in Roman times compiled in accordance with the evidence of the ancient monuments').[330] Engraved in 1775, it was marked with many of the known Roman antiquities in Scotland.[331] W. A. Seymour has observed, with regard to this map, that 'The mode of delineating the Roman walls, roads and different types of permanent and temporary fortifications leaves little to be desired at the small scale of about one inch to twenty miles...'[332] Roy's and Melville's observations continued the work of earlier

[326] Roy (1793), 205–6; Plates 47 and 48.
[327] Ibid. 205.
[328] Ibid.
[329] For relevant papers, see, for example, Pope's suggestion, (1777), 222, that the 'dune' (in modern terms, broch) at Dornadilla (Highland) was constructed by the supposed pre-Roman Pictish king Dornadilla as a summer hunting lodge—an idea already explored by Gordon (1727), 168—and Anderson's scholarly writings (1777), (1780) on a variety of ancient monuments, including 'circular buildings' (brochs and duns) and 'vitrified walls' (prehistoric forts).
[330] Roy (1793), Plate 1. This map is far too detailed to illustrate in this book.
[331] Roy remarks that his map was based on that produced by Richard of Cirencester (ibid. xii).
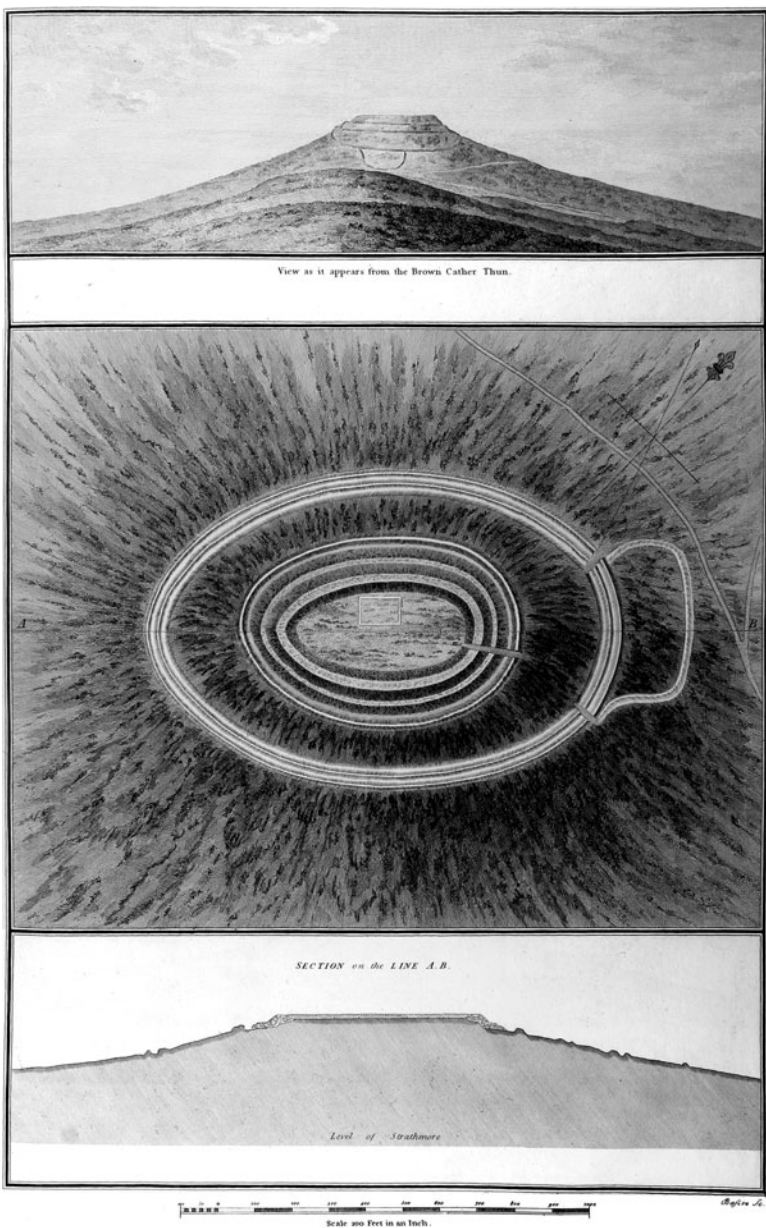[332] Seymour (1980), 63.

Figure 2.11. 'British Post' at the 'Brown Cather Thun', Perthshire, from Roy (1793).

authors on the classification of sites that would motivate the writers of later studies of Roman military archaeology.

Other soldiers and military officials demonstrated comparable interests during the eighteenth century. We have seen that Jelfe surveyed Arthur's O'on, while Captain Robert Melville, a Scottish soldier in the 25th Foot who fought during the Jacobite rising of 1745–6, developed a considerable interest in the Roman monuments of Scotland.[333] Melville had seen Sir John Clerk's collection of Roman antiquities in 1751 and, on a tour of Strathmore in 1754, found traces of four camps while looking for traces of the military activities of Agricola, including the site of the battle site of Mons Graupius.[334] Melville had identified the Roman marching camps at Kirkbuddo, Keithock, Battledykes, and Lintrose.[335] Roy notes that, having found a further site, Melville was then called abroad, and was thus prevented from continuing his studies in Scotland.[336] In 1763, Melville became the colonial governor of the Ceded Islands (Grenada, the Grenadines, Tobago, Dominica, and St Vincent) but, after resigning his commission in 1771, he returned to his earlier interests in Roman history and antiquities. In 1773, he published a short book on the character of the Roman legion, in which he compared and contrasted the military arts of the Romans to those of the modern age.[337] Between 1774 and 1776, he travelled in Europe, pursuing his interest in Roman monuments.[338] Another officer, Captain Shand, pursued Roman military remains in Scotland during the 1780s.[339]

Sir Walter Scott's eccentric antiquary, Jonathan Oldbuck, Laird of Monkbarns, pursued the interests of earlier antiquaries in his

[333] Roy (1793), vi, Cornish (2004), Macdonald (1917), 169–70), and Seymour (1980), 62.

[334] Roy (1793), iv–v.

[335] Seymour (1980), 62.

[336] Roy (1793), vi. Melville served in the West Indies from 1756 to 1763; see Cornish (2004).

[337] Melville (1773). The author noted that this book appeared in print having been 'neglected and almost forgotten' for upward of twenty years (ibid. p. 1 of Advertisement).

[338] Cornish (2004).   [339] Stuart (1866).

search for Agricola and the site of the Battle of Mons Graupius.[340]
Scott has Oldbuck suggest that the battle took place on his
property at the Kaim of Kinprunes, while wondering why his
predecessors, including Sibbald, Gordon, Stukeley, and Roy, had
not identified the site.[341] Oldbuck demonstrates knowledge of the
classification of fortifications, outlined by Melville and Roy, in
describing the earthworks to his unfortunate companion as 'an
occasional encampment' rather than a 'great station', such as
Ardoch or Burnswark;[342] he also refers to the battle as parallel in
significance to the classical conflict at Marathon. Scott's writings
indicate that, by the early nineteenth century, concerns of Scottish
rebellion and descent had diminished, as the pro-Union Scottish
landed gentry promoted the unity of imperial Britain. By the
second half of the eighteenth century, many Scottish writers were
more secure in their identity, as a common ideology of British
identity arose which, evidently, had not entirely subsumed Scottish
cultural difference.[343]

COLONIZING NATIVE LANDS

Classical writings on the subject of ancient Britain were drawn upon
during the later eighteenth century to conceptualize the colonization
of territories at home and overseas.

[340] See, for instance, I. Brown's discussion, (1980), 6–9 and (2004), of the way that
Scott based Oldbuck on Sir John Clerk, Alexander Gordon, and other eighteenth-
century Scottish antiquaries. Maxwell (1990), 72–90 reviews the search for the site of
the battle during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries.
[341] W. Scott (1816), 28–9.
[342] Ibid. 28.
[343] For the rise of this British identity during the decades either side of 1740,
focused upon the Union flag, 'God Save the King', 'Rule Britannia', and the codifica-
tion of the rules of cricket, see Armitage (1997), 63; (2000), 170–1. For the develop-
ment of the empire at this time, see Bowen (1998). See Colley (1992), Kidd (1993),
and Pittock (1997), 135–40 for the rise of British identity and the role of Scots in its
definition. For the increasing involvement of Scots in 'British' colonial ventures from
the late sixteenth to the eighteenth century, see P. Marshall (1998a), 9.

The Highlands of Scotland

The writings of Roy, Warburton, and others drew an association between the Roman officers and officials in northern Britain and the Lowland soldiers and gentry who supported the Hanoverian government. At the same time a comparable connection linked contemporary Highlanders to the ancient native populations of north-western Europe described by the classical authors,[344] drawing upon the 'otherness' of these colonized peoples. The events of 1745–6 had caused panic in Lowland Scotland and England.[345] Contemporary ideas about the identity of the Celtic populations of Britain encouraged the view that the Highland Scots, Welsh, and Irish were descendents of the prehistoric populations of Europe encountered by the Greeks and Romans on the periphery of their Mediterranean world.[346]

If contemporary Lowland elite society had the benefit of Roman civility, for Sir John Clerk the Highlanders retained their classical barbarity. In 1742, he reflected on the nature of Scottish Highland society in two letters sent to Roger Gale. On 17th May, Clerk described a visit to Perth and on into 'Caledonia', where he met 'people just the very same as they are described by Tacitus in Agricola, his speech at the Grampian hills.'[347] He reflected, 'Thus it seems, that even at that time the people of this country abhorred the name of slavery and an arbitrary power; so that you see your people of England have gott very faithfull and constant allies of us against ministerial influence.'[348] On 17th June, he discussed their agriculture and methods of life, observing that 'the Highlanders are just the same people which Agricola left them, so that on my return here

[344] Morse (2005), Smiles (1994), 42, and K. Wilson (1998), 168–9.

[345] K. Wilson (1998), 168–70.

[346] Smiles (1994), 115. For the sixteenth-century origins of such conceptions, see Williamson (1996), 60–6. For the religious content of the oppositions that were defined during the eighteenth century, drawing upon rebel Catholicism and opposing this to English Protestantism, see K. Wilson (1998), 170. For additional observations on Highland 'backwardness' at this time, see Kidd (1993), 161–5.

[347] Clerk (1742*a*, 422). For the highly dismissive views of the Caledonians that Tacitus puts into the mouth of Agricola just prior to the battle of Mons Graupius, see *Agricola* 34.

[348] Ibid.

[Edinburgh], I was tempted to read the speech which Tacitus puts in his mouth, and found it a very just picture of the Caledonians.'[349]

After this date, Clerk developed a greater contempt for the Highlanders.[350] He had to leave his house at Mavisbank during the advance of the rebels across Lowland Scotland in 1745, eventually travelling to England. In his diaries he recorded, 'Thus my wife and I in our old Age came to be in exile, which was often a melancholy reflexion to both of us.'[351] In 1748, after his return home, Clerk planned that a Latin inscription would be cut on a pillar by the highway on Loch Lomondside, to pay tribute to the subjugation of the Highlands by the British army after Culloden,[352] but in the event he did not go to the expense of having this done. He looked forward to a time when the Highland clans would submit themselves to the arts of peace, as he saw the forts and military roads of Scotland as a parallel to the control of the landscape by the Romans.[353] Clerk was drawing upon the parallel of the programme of public works conducted by the Roman governor Agricola and the civility that had, supposedly resulted.[354]

An officer who campaigned in Scotland as a Captain-lieutenant in James Wolfe's regiment after Culloden, Thomas Ashe Lee, saw the Highlanders as barbarians. Drawing upon a quote from Caesar's *DBG* in discussing the surrender of Inverness and Fort William during 1746, he remarked:

I fancied some circumstances of this Campaign might meet some parallels in Caesar, so while I lay upon my straw at a lonesome outguard, I made him my constant companion. I could match his Alps with the hills that never yet knew the absence of snow, which sometimes environ us. The most savage of the Gauls shall be outdone by the gentlest rebels of these Highlanders, & it surprised me to find the confusion at Falkirk printed there in very elegant Latin, for I imagined it was unparalleled in History.[355]

[349] Clerk (1742*b*), 425.
[350] I. Brown (1987*b*), 46.
[351] Clerk (1892), 184–5.
[352] Ibid. 217; see I. Brown (1987*b*), 46.
[353] Ibid. 46–7, reviewing Clerk's writings at this time. For the context, see B. Harris (2002), 149–54.
[354] I. Brown (1987*b*), 47.
[355] Ashe Lee (1746), 9. Partly quoted in Black (1997), 217.

By contrast, the loyal Lowland Scottish population was carefully distinguished from the rebellious Highlanders,[356] which helped to explain the parallels drawn between the Roman and Hanoverian military operations in Scotland made by Melville, Roy, and others.

Following the quelling of the rebellion, the 'civilizing' of the Highlands became a central concern for both the Scottish political classes and the British government,[357] who employed concepts and methods comparable to those used in Ireland in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[358] For example, Duncan Forbes wrote 'Some Thoughts concerning the State of the Highlands of Scotland' in 1745 or 1746.[359] He commented, in a style that is reminiscent of Tacitus, Posidonius, and Caesar, on the barbarians of pre-Roman northern Europe,[360] while also drawing upon earlier writings on the Highlands and the 'wild Irish'. He states:

The inhabitants of the mountains, unacquainted with industry and the fruits of it, are united in some degree by the singularity of dress and language, stick close to their ancient idle way of life; retain their barbarous customs and maxims; depend generally on their Chiefs, as their Sovereign Lords and masters; and being accustomed to the use of Arms, and inured to hard living, are dangerous to the public peace; and must continue to be so, until, being deprived of Arms for some years, they forget the use of them.[361]

Forbes remarked that the Highlands, from Perth to Inverness and then across to the Western Sea (including the Western Isles) had no towns or villages of any consequence that could be used as the seat of a Court of Justice and few inns or places of accommodation for travellers, while:

[356] K. Wilson (1998), 169–70.
[357] B. Harris (2002), 171–2. See other writings quoted by Piggott (1965), 229 and 278 and Hingley (2000), 40–1.
[358] P. Marshall (1998*a*), 9 and K. Wilson (1998), 169.
[359] Forbes (1746), 297–301. Forbes, a politician and judge, was Lord President of the Court of Sessions; see J. Shaw (2004). He had stayed in the north during the Jacobite uprising of 1745, working on a scheme to raise twenty independent companies in the Highlands.
[360] Piggott (1965), 229, 278, giving a view with which Piggott himself concurred, at least in part (ibid. 257).
[361] Forbes (1746), 298.

Of this large tract of land, no part is in any degree cultivated, except some spots here and there in Straths or Glens, by the sides of Rivers, brooks, or lakes, and on the Sea Coasts and Western Islands. The Grounds that are cultivated yield small quantities of mean Corns, not sufficient to feed the Inhabitants, who depend for their nourishment on milk, butter, cheese, & c. the produce of their Cattle.[362]

He argued that it was vital to find some means to 'restrain and civilize those lawless Highlanders',[363] emphasizing the importance of industry, communication, and the imposition of law. He proposed that five or six 'stations' should be established in the 'body of the Highlands' and that these, which might need to be 'secured by some slight fortification', should be used both to disarm the population and for the execution of 'Warrants by Civil Officers'.[364] At these stations, industry should be encouraged and spinning-schools set up, in order 'to draw the idle females of those Counties into that Manufacture'.[365] Forbes suggested that, through these actions, as the areas were settled, 'Burghs of Barony' might be established, resulting, amongst other improvements, in the development of 'some better kind of Husbandry' and the spread of industry, peace, and law. Forbes observed that:

It is remarkable, that in some districts bordering upon the Highlands, where within memory the inhabitants spoke the Irish Language, wore Highland dress, and were accustomed to make use of Arms, upon the accidental introduction of industry, the Irish Language and Highland dress gave way to a *sort of English*; and lowland Cloathing; the inhabitants took to the Plough in place of Weapons; and, tho' disarmed by no Act of Parliament, are as tame as their Low Country neighbours.[366]

Edmund Burke's comments about Roman Britain in 1760 may well also have been informed by current events in Scotland.[367] He proposed that Agricola 'subdued the Britains by civilizing them; and made them exchange a savage liberty for a polite and easy subjection. His conduct

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[362] Forbes (1746).   [363] Ibid. 299.   [364] Ibid. 299–300.
[365] Ibid. 300.   [366] Ibid. 301. My emphasis.
[367] E. Burke (1760). Alternately, he may have been drawing upon British activities in North America, of which he had much experience, since he draws a comparison between Caesar's Britons and the 'savages of America, who have no regular government' (ibid. 6).

is the most perfect model for those employed in the unhappy, but sometimes necessary task of subduing a rude but free people.'[368] Burke's description of Britain at the time of the Roman invasion certainly appears to draw upon military and administrative activities in Scotland at the time. He describes the country as 'extremely woody and full of morasses' and that the absence of roads made the movement of armies very difficult. In addition, there were 'no cities, no towns, no places of cantonments for soldiers; so that the Roman forces were obliged to come into the field late, and to leave it early in the season.'[369] Conquest required that the natives were subdued through the construction of roads and building of 'forts' and 'stations', since to 'conquer the people, you must subdue the nature of the country'.[370]

There were occasional acts of resistance against the imposition of such control across the Scottish Highlands. In *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775), Samuel Johnson recalled that, during his visit of 1773,

After two days stay at Inverary we proceeded southward over Glencroe, a black and dreary region, now made easily passable by a military road, which rises from either end of the glen by an acclivity not dangerously steep, but sufficiently laborious. ... Stones were placed to mark the distances, which the inhabitants have taken away, resolved, they say, 'to have no new miles.'[371]

Gradually, however, the Highlands of Scotland were disarmed and incorporated into the empire.

Overseas territories

Roy's surveying and archaeological work was carried forward by the Ordnance Survey, established in 1791, shortly after his death; many of its surveyors shared his interest in antiquities.[372] Although Roy did

[368] Ibid. 33–4. Quoted by P. Duncan (1836), 14.
[369] E. Burke (1760), 35.
[370] Ibid. 36.
[371] Samuel Johnson (1775), 148; previously quoted by McLeod (1999), 233, who discusses the context of Johnson's comments (ibid. 216–41).
[372] Bowden (1999), 19, Seymour (1980), 4, 63–4, Todd (2004*a*), 447, and Vance (1997), 240–1. For Roy's contribution to the founding of the Ordnance Survey, see Baigent (2004).

not found the Ordnance Survey, he was responsible for the idea of a national mapping scheme and he had a significant role in the development of archaeological surveying and map-making.[373] Knowledge of Roy's work assisted later generations of imperial military officers, administrators, and scholars in the investigation of connections between Roman and British imperial military control and administration.[374]

The Hanoverian mapping of Scotland, one element in the subjugation of the Highlands, heralded the systematization of imperial policy that was to prove vital to the construction of Britain's imperial control over extensive lands overseas.[375] During the second half of the eighteenth century, the methods of military surveying pioneered in northern Britain were extended to British territories overseas.[376] Hugh Debbieg, who surveyed the Picts' Wall prior to the construction of the military road, sailed to North America with Major-General James Wolfe and was present at his death in Quebec in 1759.[377] Both in America and Britain, Debbieg was involved in a series of projects, planning and designing defensive and military works.[378] Several new military maps were produced by other surveyors, building upon the techniques and theories developed for the Scottish Highlands, including the Murray map of Quebec (1760–1), the Holland survey of the east coast of North America (1764–75), the De Brahm map of Florida (1765–71), the Rennell survey of Bengal (1765–77), and the Vallancey map of Ireland.[379]

The colonial legacy of surveying, mapping, and classifying was inherited by later generations of British military men, imperial

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[373] Owen and Pilbeam (1992), 3 and Seymour (1980), 1.

[374] Hingley (2000), 40–1; (2006), Vance (1997), 240, and Wells (1996), 436.

[375] McLeod (1999), 28, 220, 232. See Edney (1997), 1–3 for the ideologies and practices of colonial mapping in the British empire.

[376] Seymour (1980), 6.

[377] Lawson (1966), 196, Kopperman (2004), and Seymour (1980), 6.

[378] Kopperman (2004).

[379] Seymour (1980), 6. For an account of Rennell's mapping efforts, see Bravo (1999) and Edney (1997), 17–18, 135–6. Close (1969), 10 refers to Rennell's interest in classical history and suggests that Roy and Rennell knew each other well. Edney (ibid. 209, 252) also makes two references to Roy's work in his account of the colonial mapping of India during the early nineteenth century.

officials, explorers, artists, and archaeologists who worked abroad.[380] The archaeological techniques of classification, mapping, and inventory represented tools of colonial domination; indeed, the discipline of archaeology derives much of its methodology and theory from the context of its development as an adjunct to imperial power relations.[381] This imperial fixation drew on significant roots in the classical past, but the mapping of Roman military monuments in northern Britain during the eighteenth century played a significant part in the development of these techniques and theories.[382]

One work that has not been addressed in detail above is that of John Horsley in his 1733 volume, *Britannia Romana.* Horsley, unlike many of the other eighteenth-century antiquaries who wrote about northern Britain, did not seek to present lengthy reasons for the contemporary relevance of his study of Roman remains. In fact his work appears more descriptive than the writings of Sibbald, Gordon, and Warburton. Horsley's Preface justifies his researches and writings by suggesting that 'accounts of [past] actions themselves, with the many ancient rites and customs both civil and religious, which are conveyed to us by such monuments . . . must afford equal pleasure and profit to an inquisitive mind.'[383] He suggested that one reason for studying monuments is to enable an assessment of the vanity of this world:

Such vast works, suitable to so powerful and extensive an empire, all laid in desolation! . . . What surprising revolutions and catastrophes may we read not only in history, but in these very monuments! How many men rais'd on a sudden, and then more suddenly cast down again, disgrac'd, and murder'd! . . . all those great men, as well as most of their great works, are now reduced to ashes.[384]

The ruination of the formerly grand Roman monuments provided an analogy for the vanity of human endeavour.

Horsley's work provided a historical framework derived directly from the available classical texts, together with lengthy quotations accompanying many of his descriptions of objects taken from the

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[380] B. Smith (1992), 29. For archaeologists see, for example, Mortimer Wheeler's account (1976) of his 'archaeological mission' to India.

[381] Diaz-Andreu (2004), Hingley (2006), Meskell (1998), 3, and Spurr (1994), 57.

[382] Hingley (2006), McLeod (1999), 220–1, and Vance (1997), 238.

[383] Horsley (1733), iii.   [384] Ibid. iv.

works of other antiquaries. He described and illustrated a large number of Roman monuments, inscriptions, and other objects, but with relatively little original interpretation. This recording of the remains without too much in the way of musing about their significance led to the eulogizing of Horsley's work.[385] Indeed, the increasing detail and accuracy with which individual monuments were mapped during the eighteenth century reflect the broadly descriptive approach promoted by his study. Nevertheless, Horsley's unwillingness to speculate by assessing the significance of the remains to contemporary society limits the value of his writings.

Views on the significance of the two Roman Walls and of other Roman fortifications in the frontier area had changed during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. It is possible, however, to observe an opposition between two particular views about their purpose and significance. On the one hand, there is an image of the Roman works as the frontier of civility, which itself builds on the type of view expressed by the late sixteenth-century 'Epystle'; an opposing interpretation views their monumentality and permanence as indicative of the force of Caledonian/Scottish opposition to enslavement. The Englishmen Stukeley and Warburton drew on the association between the Romans and Lowland British civility, as did the Scotsmen Sibbald, Clerk, and Roy. By contrast, Buchanan and Gordon assessed the valour of Caledonian society, the latter drawing on the opposition to Roman rule as a positive idea in the context of contemporary Union. Clerk articulated elements of both positions, viewing the Romans as having 'walled out' humanity but at the same time celebrating ancient independence in the context of the effective Roman enslavement of the area to the south of the Walls.

Initial views of the Walls constituting a division between the civil Lowlanders and barbarian Highlanders were transformed during the middle years of the eighteenth century, once the English and Scots had been united into a single state with an ambitious imperial programme. Nineteenth-century accounts occasionally built on Horsley's comments by emphasizing the role of these monuments through their potential to provide a reflection on imperial decline, and this will be explored below.

[385] See, for example Haverfield (1924*a*), 75, Birley (1961), 17; (1974), Hunter (1995), 199, and J. Levine (1987), 96. Ayres (1997), 85, 102–4, Haycock (2002), 6, and Sweet (2004), 168–70 provide further discussion.

3

'A colony so fertile'

For great part of four hundred years, the Romans occupied this
island in a state of peace and tranquillity: and a colony so fertile,
and abounding in beautiful situations, must have been inhab-
ited by many Roman adventurers, who migrated hither with
their families, and built villas or country seats, where they lived
in some degree of opulence and elegance. Agricola introduced
architecture. Even the Britons of rank might have built houses
in the Roman taste. Whenever we talk of the Romans in Britain,
we think of nothing but rapine and hostility.

Warton (1783), 59[1]

INTRODUCTION

In *A Specimen of a History of Oxfordshire*, the Reverend Thomas
Warton reflected on the significance of the Roman pavement at
Stonesfield (Oxfordshire) and explored the two main themes which
structure chapters three and four:[2] he writes of Roman settlers who
migrated with their families to Britain but suggests that wealthy and
well-connected Britons might have built villas like the example
uncovered at Stonesfield. From the late seventeenth century to the
beginning of the twentieth, the debate about the nature of society in

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[1] Partly quoted in J. Levine (1987, 120) and referenced in Sweet (2004, 183).
Many of the texts discussed in this chapter are drawn from Sweet's recent study
(ibid. 155–88).

[2] For Warton, see p. 225.

Roman Britain drew upon these contrasting images to explain the character of the Roman occupation of southern Britain. Certain writings of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had developed the idea of the passing on of civility from the Romans to the British, which could be used as a source of patriotic reflection.[3] There was less confidence in this idea during the eighteenth century, when influential works on the Walls and the northern stations promoted a primarily military interpretation of Roman sites in the south.

In the introduction to his volume of 1793, Roy presented a thoughtful assessment of contemporary understanding of Roman Britain and emphasized its military nature. Following earlier examples, he divided the monuments of the Roman empire into two types: the public buildings—the temples, amphitheatres, and baths well known to British gentlemen from their visits to Italy—and the military sites.[4] Roy emphasized that, with regard to military remains of Britain 'perhaps no quarter of their vast empire, not even Italy itself, furnishes so great a variety; and many of them exceedingly perfect'.[5] By contrast, in reflecting on public buildings, he states that 'Britain affords very few vestiges of any consequence'.[6] Indeed, it is true that, by the late eighteenth century, there was very little published evidence for public buildings to compare with the extensive evidence for the military sites of southern Scotland and northern England. Roy argued, 'neither is it probable that the Romans ever executed many of those costly edifices in this island'.[7] At the time Roy was writing (*c.*1773), little excavated evidence had been found for public buildings or ornate architecture anywhere in Britain.

Other eighteenth-century scholars were far less impressed with the remains of the Roman military in Britain, viewing them as symbolic of former subservience to an overseas power. Horace Walpole, who had a distinct interest in Gothic antiquities, made some critical comments on Roman Britain in two letters to his friend, the

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[3] Sweet (2004), 161. Ayres (1997), 87–8 remarks that the works of Camden and Burton are remarkable in this regard, since both authors knew that the colony of Roman Britain was primarily military in purpose.
[4] Roy (1793), iii.   [5] Ibid.   [6] Ibid. iii.   [7] Ibid.

Reverend William Cole.[8] In 1778, he criticized the papers published in *Archaeologia*, the journal of the Society of Antiquaries, proposing that 'Their Saxon and Danish discoveries are not worth more than monuments of the Hottentots; and the Roman remains in Britain, they are upon a foot with what ideas we should get of Inigo Jones, if somebody was to publish the views of huts and houses that our officers run up at Senegal and Goree.'[9]

Developing these points in a further letter to the same friend in 1780, Walpole argued:

Roman antiquities . . . such as are found in this island, are very indifferent, and inspire me with little curiosity. A barbarous country, so remote from the seat of empire, and occupied by a few legions, that very rarely decided any great events, is not very interesting, though one's own country—nor do I care a straw for the stone that preserves the name of a standard-bearer of a cohort, or a colonel's daughter. Then I have no patience to read the tiresome disputes of antiquaries to settle forgotten names of vanished towns . . . I do not say that the Gothic antiquities that I like are of more importance; but at least they exist. The site of a Roman camp, of which nothing remains but a bank, gives me not the smallest pleasure.[10]

A growing knowledge of Italian and Mediterranean classical culture was causing some anxiety about the quality and character of the remains from Britain's Roman past, despite the championing of indigenous antiquities by Stukeley, Gordon, Roy, Whitaker, and others.

The character of Roman Britain as a military province meant that its ancient past was of less relevance to many wealthy 'Augustan' men than the monuments and writings of classical Rome. Jonathan Scott has noted that, despite the experience of significant studies and publications of the Roman remains of Britain, 'most elegant

[8] For the popularity of the idea of Gothic origins for the English during the eighteenth century, see Kidd (1993), 14–15; (2004), 275 and J. Levine (1987), 190–213. Weinbrot (1993), 177–8 addresses how this myth was used to differentiate Saxon Britain from 'Romanized Gaul', partly through the reading of Tacitus' *Germania*. Ibid. 179 for the use of the words Gothic and German as synonyms in the eighteenth century.

[9] Walpole (1778), 116. Also referred to by Smiles (1994), 15 and Sweet (2004), 163. See Joan Evans (1956), 146 for the history of *Archaeologia*.

[10] Walpole (1780), 204. Quoted by J. Levine (1987), 104–5.

connoisseurs' considered that 'fragmentary mosaics, chipped pots and rusty utensils were not worthy of their attention...', leaving them to country parsons and the lawyers and tradesmen of London.[11] Philip Ayres, however, points out that it was 'in large part out of an attachment to Britain's Roman past' during the eighteenth century that the 'new Roman present' was constructed.[12] In this context, eighteenth-century Roman 'archaeology' was of particular significance. While Mediterranean classical civilization was deeply admired, Britain's classical past was also of fundamental importance. It was not only the remains of the Roman military that carried a contemporary cultural message throughout the eighteenth century,[13] since some antiquaries supported an ancient domestic context for the introduction of classical civility, providing a native origin for the reinvented classical culture of Augustan Britain. The prevailingly military interpretation of Roman Britain, however, meant that this claim was difficult to substantiate.

MAPPING ROMAN MILITARY STATIONS ACROSS THE SOUTH

Roman inscriptions, often containing information about Roman soldiers, army units, and military sites, were relatively common finds in the vicinity of the two Roman Walls, encouraging a fixation on the Roman military.[14] Inscriptions from sites across the south of Britain were far rarer, but suggested a comparable military origin for some of the Roman 'stations'. Caesar, Tacitus, and other classical

[11] J. Scott (2003), 34.

[12] Ayres (1997), xv, referring to the Earl of Burlington and his circle.

[13] Some recent writings on the history of Roman studies (e.g. Ayres, ibid. 88) suggest that eighteenth-century views of Lowland Roman Britain emphasized the military infrastructure of the province, and that it was not until the remains of villas were excavated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that civil interpretations emerged. I shall argue, however, that while the major monographs on Roman sites and finds produced at this time—including Gordon (1727), Horsley (1733), and Roy 1793—emphasized a military perspective, writings about civil aspects were not uncommon.

[14] Sweet (2004), 181–3.

writers had described significant events across the entire province, enabling the articulation of this new emphasis on the remains of the Roman military. This provided relevant analogies for British officers and military men in the context of the increasing militarization of contemporary society which accompanied the conquest and control of extensive territories overseas.[15]

Some direct comparisons were drawn between Roman and contemporary institutions. James Brome, Rector of Cheriton and Chaplain of the Cinque Ports, published William Somner's short book on the Roman ports and forts of Kent in 1693, after the author's death,[16] noting that it had been written by an 'eminent antiquary of Canterbury' but never published.[17] The account of a variety of Roman sites, including Richborough, Dover, Lympne, Folkestone, and Pevensey, drew heavily upon the Roman itineraries, Camden's *Britannia*, and the works of other authors. In the dedication that he added to the publication, Brome noted that he has borrowed 'something out of the common treasury of learning' to 'pay my first fruits of duty and obedience' to the Right Honourable Henry, Lord Viscount Sydney of Sheppey, who, among other roles, was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, and a Privy Councillor.[18] Brome drew deeply on a perceived historical parallel between the Count of the Saxon Shore, recorded in classical texts, and the Warden of the Cinque Ports. He observed that the Roman official had had charge of nine ports, while the Lord Warden had five, noting also that both lists included Dover.[19] At the end of the book, Brome included a Catalogue of the Wardens of the Cinque Ports since their foundation.

Research during the late seventeenth century had begun the development of a particular fascination with the network of Roman 'stations', building upon the earlier accounts of Camden and Burton. The antiquarian focus on itineraries and tours of Roman monuments at this time was inspired by improving travel conditions in southern Britain and the building of turnpike roads, enabling a feeling that modern Britons were repeating certain actions of their

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[15] Ibid. 164. For militarization, see Duffy (1998) and Lenman (1998).
[16] Somner (1693).
[17] Brome (1693), p. 2 of the dedication.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid. p. 5 of the dedication. This draws on Camden (1610*a*), 325.

imperial predecessor—and improving them in the process.[20] In 1709, Roger Gale published his father's commentary on the section of the Antonine Itinerary that covered Britain,[21] while, between 1710 and 1712, Thomas Hearne published Leland's Itinerary from the manuscript in the Bodleian Library.[22] These writers drew attention to the reconstruction of the roads and 'stations' of Roman Britain. In response, a number of antiquarian works emerged during the early eighteenth century that attempted to interpret and map the information. Roman military monuments, inscriptions, and texts were of direct interest to scholars and military men, and other sites in the south of the province were drawn into an interpretation based on military dispositions. As Rosemary Sweet has emphasized, due to the limitations of the surviving texts of the classical itineraries, the 'study of Roman antiquities was something akin to a perpetual guessing game in which each antiquary attempted to join the dots of the Antonine Itinerary in such a way as would demonstrate the importance of his own locality within the Roman imperium'.[23] Antiquaries developed the significance of their own sites, or areas, linking them to the glory signified by imperial Rome.[24]

A military focus on the Roman archaeology of Britain is evident in several contemporary works. John Pointer, Chaplain of Merton College, Oxford and Rector of Slapton in Northamptonshire, wrote a short book of fifty-five pages which he published in 1724.[25] This described the Roman antiquities of Britain, with particular reference to the area around Oxford which, Pointer argued, had been 'a very considerable Place even in the Time of the Romans'.[26] His account was accompanied by a map, engraved by Michael Burgers, which shows some of the Roman roads of the province, Roman 'camps', and the Picts' Wall. The camps defined in this work occur in some numbers across England, indicating that Pointer had interpreted the places

[20] Sweet (1997), 101 discusses improvements to the road system during the eighteenth century.
[21] Clapinson (2004).
[22] Joan Evans (1956), 47.
[23] Sweet (2004), 171.
[24] Ibid. 172.
[25] Ibid. 170.
[26] Pointer (1724), cover page. This draws on Plot's earlier suggestion (1677), 330 that Oxford was a notable place before the departure of the Romans.

mentioned in the Roman itineraries and the significant surviving Roman monuments of Britain as 'stations', occupied by Roman settlers and soldiers. His book is partly an attempt at an inventory and includes short lists of Roman coins, roads, and camps. Pointer's understanding of the nature of the Roman settlement of Britain was, however, more limited than that exhibited in Burton's early account since, although he included a wide variety of structures in his list of camps, his knowledge of the road system was far inferior. He also demonstrates a tendency to use Roman coins to directly locate historical events, since he argued from discoveries of their coins that Carausius may have been based at Ewelme (Oxfordshire) and Allectus close to Alchester.[27]

This military fixation is also evident in a broadly contemporary account on the 'Roman Stations' in Britain, by Nathaniel Salmon, produced in 1726.[28] Drawing upon earlier writings and classical texts, Salmon examined the idea of the introduction of 'civility' to the ancient Britons by the Romans:

Their Eagles came not so much to devour as to improve. And the Epithet of Barbarous given to the Nations they made War against was just, if compared with the Civility their conquest introduced.

Our British Ancestors were indeed the better for them, from whom they learned Arts, Sciences, and Œconomy. They had lived till then the unthinking Life of Shepherds. All the Tribute they paid might be raised out of the additional Improvements Rome had made, and they might under her enjoy more than their original Milk and Cheese.[29]

Salmon provided a 64-page description of various Roman places, derived from the Antonine Itinerary and from Camden and other authors. He argued that the Roman roads could have been used to travel 'from one City, Colony, and Station to another'.[30] He could provide no real structure for the sites he described, however, since the knowledge he used to address them did not require a fuller identification of the sites than that provided through the use of the term 'station'.[31]

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[27] Pointer (1724), 31.   [28] N. Salmon (1726).
[29] Ibid. p. 2–3 of the dedication.   [30] Ibid. 1.   [31] Sweet (2004, 171).

Pavements and Roman generals

Antiquarian work helped to develop the interpretation of individual Roman 'stations' across England. Using the premise that Roman Britain was primarily a military province, Roman pavements (tessellated and mosaic floors) were interpreted as the floors of tents belonging to Roman military officers on campaign. During the 1680s, John Aubrey (1626–1697) was at work on his *Monumenta Britannica*.[32] This detailed and lengthy study was first published in 1980, but the manuscript clearly demonstrates the developing interests in ancient sites and objects of Aubrey and his numerous informants.[33] Among the variety of sites and finds he defined,[34] Aubrey noted a number of 'Roman pavements' (mosaics) that had been found across England, mainly drawing on recent discoveries.[35] Mosaics had been found, from time to time during the seventeenth century, but it is only late in the century that discoveries begin to be recorded in any number.[36]

Such features, when disturbed, were relatively simple to identify, but their interpretation was more difficult. The writers of early accounts often appear to have failed to notice the surviving foundations

[32] For Aubrey's work and life, see Fowles (1982), Hunter (1995), 197–9, Parry (1995), 275–307, and Piggott (1989), 28–9.

[33] Aubrey built up a substantial body of information that he tried to shape into books, but his work illustrates that he struggled to find a system to classify the materials that he collected; see Fowles (1982), 613 and Parry (1995), 275–6, 291. The surviving manuscript, however, demonstrates that he was developing an awareness of the importance of the observation of monuments and objects. The second and third books of *Monumenta* are full of information about ancient remains that Aubrey had derived from friends, contacts, and his own visits.

[34] Including stone circles, camps, castles, Roman towns, pits, horns, barrows, urns, ditches, highways, mosaics, etc.; see Hunter (1995), 185.

[35] Mosaics and floors of *opus tessellatum* (tessellated floors) are noted by Aubrey on a number of sites in Gloucestershire, Gwent, Hampshire, Somerset, Wiltshire, and in London. Parts of Roman floors from Cannon Street and Bush Lane (London) were preserved in the Royal Society; see Aubrey (1982), 950–1. Other Roman pavements were located from time to time—see J. Levine (1987), 112–13—including a fine and complete mosaic showing stag and boy with a bow and quiver, located in Leicester in 1675; see Camden (1695), 451. This mosaic was still visible during the late eighteenth century and was eventually lifted and is now displayed in Leicester Museum; see J. Levine (1987), 120–1.

[36] Woolf (2003), 224 n. 12 notes a list produced by Stukeley that includes over a dozen tessellated pavements discovered in southern Britain between 1667 and 1739.

of the walls associated with these floors, presumably as a result of the robbing out of the useful stones. The pavements, by contrast, often survived in a relatively complete state, forming what Robert Plot described as the most 'eminent' of Roman remains.[37] Addressing the Roman remains of north Oxfordshire, he describes 'their *pavement[s]* made of small *bricks* or *tiles*, not much bigger than *dice*, whereof the *Roman General*, amongst their other baggage, were used to carry a quantity sufficient to pave the place, where they set the *Prætorium* or *Generals* Tent, or at least some part of it...'.[38] He informed his readers that these observations were drawn from Suetonius' *Life of Caesar* (*DJ* 46).[39] Plot discussed two types of pavement, relating observations from classical texts to examples of such finds at Great Tew and Steeple Aston in Oxfordshire. The Great Tew pavement is illustrated and described as being an '*opus Musivum*' of four colours, blue, white, yellow, and red (Figure 1.14).[40] He concluded that there is 'no doubt' that these pavements are Roman. Noting that they are not always found near Roman 'stations', or even by Roman roads, Plot proposed that the pavements were 'not set here till they had wholly possessed themselves of this *Southern* part of *Britan*, and might securely enough pass their *Armies* any where'.[41]

The complete 'Stunsfield' (Stonesfield) pavement was first uncovered in Oxfordshire on 25th January 1712.[42] A farmer ploughing a field came across this impressive mosaic floor, which immediately attracted many people to the site.[43] Despite a number of eminent and knowledgable visitors and although the pavement was reminiscent of significant Roman remains found both in Britain and abroad, including examples visited by gentlemen on their trips to Italy, it took some time for a Roman date to be confirmed. The Oxford antiquarian and librarian, Thomas Hearne (1678–1735),[44] dated its construction, because of the 'barbarous' character of the figures, to the period

[37] Plot (1677), 327.   [38] Ibid.
[39] Hunter (1995), 196 n. 65 and Parry (1995), 305 n. 55 discuss the way that this statement confused antiquaries for generations.
[40] Plot (1677), 327.
[41] Ibid. 327–8; J. Levine (1987), 109–10.
[42] See the detailed account by J. Levine (1987), 107–22.
[43] Ibid. 109.
[44] For Hearne's life and works, see Harmsen (2000); (2004), Haverfield (1924*a*), 73, and J. Levine (1977), 181–99; (1987), 114–15.

of 'the *Decline* and *Decay* of the *Roman Power* here', more particularly
to the time of the 'famous General Theodosius' during his visit to
quell trouble in Britain during AD 367.[45] Drawing upon the idea that
mosaics were set up when the Roman army established a *Prætorium*,
or general's tent,[46] but not entirely agreeing with this, he interpreted
the Stonesfield example as part of a considerable 'Hall, or House'
built for a general subordinate to Theodosius and suggested that
other subsidiary buildings were set up for soldiers around.[47] His
polite qualification of the idea that the mosaic constituted the floor
of a general's tent was, presumably, based on his observation of the
remains of the foundations of the Roman building of which the
mosaic formed part.[48] Noting other comparable pavements from
Oxfordshire, he suggested that the Stonesfield pavement was one of
a number of 'small Garrisons or camps' set up at this time of unrest.[49]

   Hearne suggested that the house at Stonesfield survived until AD
476, when its owners burnt it down and left the country, having
carefully covered the pavement to protect it from the incoming Saxon
invaders.[50] The Britons are seen to cooperate to a degree with the
protection of the pavement:

The *Britains* knew well enough that these *curious* Works were cover'd and
kept free from Damage . . . , but then they had too much respect for the
Romans to discover them to the *Enemy*, whom they mortally hated, and were
very desirous of having the *Romans* return again, from whom they had
receiv'd great *Civilities,* and to whom they ow'd their Skills in several Parts
of *useful knowledge.*[51]

Hearne was evidently unable to consider that the Britons were
directly involved in the construction or use of such pavements.

   John Pointer reflected on the Stonesfield mosaic in some detail in a
pamphlet published in 1713, written to counter some of the obser-
vations made by Hearne. He argued that '*Stunsfield* camp' was first

   [45] Hearne (1744), xiii–xiv; see J. Levine (1987), 114–15 and Henig and Booth
(2000), 210–11.
   [46] Hearne (1744), xv. He attributes this comment to Plot, ibid. xv; (1889), 311.
   [47] Hearne (1744), xv. Harmsen (2000), 176, drawing upon diary entries—see
Hearne (1889), 309—observes that Hearne also thought it possible that the mosaic
was derived from the dining room of a rich man's private dwelling.
   [48] Hearne (1889), 397, 400.   [49] Hearne (1744), xiv–xv.
   [50] Ibid. xxix.   [51] Ibid. xxx–xxxii.

erected for an officer of Allectus.[52] Pointer supported his proposal by citing the proximity of the mosaic to the Roman site of Alchester, where substantial Roman remains had been associated with Allectus since Camden, favouring the idea that the 'Al' in its name referred to this individual.[53] He also discussed the nature of Roman mosaics, observing:

the old *Romans* were wont to make such sort of *Pavements*, as were compos'd of little square bits of Bricks and Marbles, about the bigness of Dice; whereof the *Roman* Generals, amongst the rest of their Baggage were us'd to carry a Quantity, sufficient to pave the Place where they set the *Prætorium*, or *General's Tent*; or at least some part of it . . . [54]

Pointer also used Suetonius' writings to support this suggestion, although, like Hearne, he appeared to have had some difficulty with the idea that the remains at Stonesfield represented a tent. Noting 'foundation walls' associated with painted plaster around the mosaic, he proposed that these supported the 'Side-Walls' of the tent.[55] He also noted that the foundations around the mosaic indicated that there were several other rooms around the main tent.[56] Observing a quantity of corn found on top of the mosaic, Pointer proposed this represented provisions for the general's army, left when the pavement was abandoned as being 'too cumbersom for carriage'.[57] He discussed a number of other Roman pavements in Britain, including one from Nether Heyford in Northamptonshire which was connected with the 'Floors, Foundations of Walls, or other Remains of some Ruin'd Building' which he evidently recognized to have been quite extensive.[58]

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[52] Pointer (1713), 22, and see Harmsen (2000), 177. For Pointer's and Hearn's arguments over the mosaic, see J. Levine (1987), 116–17 and Harmsen (2000), 177–8. Pointer (1713), 26–30 includes a discussion of various other tessellated floors known in Britain at this time.

[53] Pointer (1713), 14–21. This proposal is derived from Camden (1695), 271 and Plot (1677), 333. See Henig and Booth (2000), 204.

[54] Pointer (1713), 2.

[55] Ibid. 3.

[56] These are, presumably what Hearne classed as subsidiary buildings occurring around the main hall.

[57] Ibid. 5–6.   [58] Ibid. 30.

Hearne and Pointer had difficulties with identifying the date and significance of the Stonesfield pavement owing to the fact that most previous finds of Roman pavements had not been listed, described, or recorded in any detail.[59] The best record available was probably the 1695 edition of *Britannia*, but this only had one image of a mosaic, from Caerleon. It is unfortunate that Aubrey's *Monumenta Britannica* had not been published, since this provided the closest to an inventory of Roman mosaics and tessellated floors available at this time, including two illustrations of examples. Two engravings of the Stonesfield pavement were made and an account of this discovery published, but knowledge of the site gradually faded away.[60]

The military-style interpretations of Roman pavements evident in these works is echoed in later accounts. In 1737, the Reverend Samuel Carte presented the Society of Antiquaries with an account of a Roman pavement recently discovered at Wellow (Somerset).[61] Carte interpreted the tessellated floor as proof of the former location of a Roman general's tent, but had some concerns over the idea of the potential problems the army would have had in carrying around such a large quantity of stone or tile. He suggested that Julius Caesar might have used an elephant or camels to transport the materials.[62] Carte suggested that the pavement represented the tent or pavilion of 'General Officers' who commanded the legions, proposing that their presence for 'a good while' might have led to the place being 'jocosely called a Villa'.[63] Carte noted that the Roman villa consisted of two houses built together in the country 'for Pleasure' and suggested that the Saxon name 'Wellow' was derived from the word 'villa'.[64]

Despite the evident difficulties experienced by Hearne, Pointer, and Carte in proposing that Roman pavements comprised the floors of generals' tents, the idea persisted. In 1779, John Strange made observations about the military significance of the mosaic discovered at the 'camp' of Caerwent. Discussing the origins of the Roman

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[59] J. Levine (1987), 112–14.   [60] Ibid. 118–19.
[61] Carte (1737). I derive this reference from Sweet (2004), 183, 413–14 n. 111. For further details about the eighteenth-century discoveries at Wellow, see Scarth (1864), 112–13.
[62] Carte (1737), 114–15.   [63] Ibid. 115.   [64] Ibid.

mosaic in 1886 in his monograph on *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, Thomas Morgan suggested that:

the far-seeing mind of the divine Julius, knowing the effect of Roman civilisation upon the nations brought within its scope, did not fail to carry about with him *tesseæ* and *sectilia* for the decoration of the floors of his *prætorium*, wherever this might happen to be, so that the head-quarters of the general might always represent the style and dignity of Roman life.[65]

Further observations of the remains on these sites during the early eighteenth century, however, allowed a number of antiquaries to provide new and very different interpretations which drew more fully on knowledge of the classical remains of Italy and the Mediterranean.

CIVIL INTERPRETATIONS

Challenges to the idea of the military 'stations' of the south began during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, drawing on the initial recognition of pavements as the remains of Roman villas, together with the development of ideas about the origins of several English cities. In this context, ideas that certain native Britons might have become 'Romanized' began to be explored, re-establishing an ancient origin for the roots of British civility.[66]

The recognition of villas

A number of antiquaries with knowledge of classical Mediterranean culture began to recognize Roman pavements as the floors of substantial residences. In the 1680s, Aubrey noted with regard to the newly discovered mosaics at Wellow and Farleigh Castle, close to Bath,[67] that 'Sʳ Chr. Wren says, they were Roman villa's: which they

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[65] Strange (1779), 59 and T. Morgan (1886), xxv.

[66] Sweet (2004), 182.

[67] The mosaic from Upper Hayes, Wellow was found on the manor of Sir Edward Hungerford. It was drawn on the order of Hugh May, one of 'his Majesty's surveyors', and a copy was supplied to the Royal Society by William Holder; see Aubrey (1980), 520; (1982), 937–9.

built with timber in England so that when they were burnt, no foundations of walls are found.'[68] Smart Lethieullier pursued the same idea in two letters written to Roger Gale concerning a Roman pavement recently discovered in Wanstead Park (Essex).[69] He mentions that the pavement, which had first been discovered around 1715,[70] depicted a man on horseback and several borders of 'wreathed work and ornaments'.[71] With regard to the location of the mosaic, he argued:

As it both is, and probably ever was, a retired corner, no vestigia of camps, road, or other Roman antiquitys near it, this pavement can hardly be presumed to have been the floor of a Prætorium or Roman General's tent, as many of these doubtlesse were. Will it bear the face of a tolerable conjecture therefore, that the aforesaid ruins were the foundations of a Roman Villa, the retirement, perhaps, of some inhabitant of Londinium, which is scarcely six miles distant, or of Durolitum, which is hardly three . . . [72]

Lethieullier appears to have been nervous of the reception that his ideas would receive from Gale, since he reflected 'That luxurys of this nature were introduced into Britain will not, I believe, be denied, but I fear I go too farr with my conjecture, and your patience: perhaps the Natale solum prevails, and the fancy that a situation and countrey I love, was approved as pleasant 1200 years ago, may be the onely foundation of these conjectures.'[73]

The subsequent discovery of urns and bones, however, caused him to change his interpretation slightly, reflecting that, rather than being a place of 'mirth and pleasure', this location may have been the mausoleum of a 'private family' whose villa lay nearby.[74]

[68] Aubrey (1980), 520; see Hunter (1995), 196–7 n. 65 for other authors who dismissed the military interpretation for Roman pavements at this time.
[69] Lethieullier (1735), 154–6. Lethieullier was born in Britain but came from a family with origins in Brabant; see Treasure (2004). He had travelled in France, Italy, and Germany.
[70] Lethieullier (1735), 154.
[71] Lethieullier (1746), 73.
[72] Lethieullier (1735), 156.
[73] Ibid. 156. Lethieullier lived in the vicinity of these Roman finds.
[74] Lethieullier (1746), 74. These comments clearly draw on R. Gale's observations on the mosaic from Cotterstock (see below).

In fact, Lethieullier's observations about villas evidently appealed to Gale, since he wrote to Stukeley on 4th May 1739, observing that:

I have been long of the opinion that these tesselated pavements were floors of banqueting rooms, or some of the chiefest and most elegant apartments in the Roman dwelling houses, and not the bottoms only of the General's pavilion in a camp. They might indeed have such there, but that does not exclude the use of them in private buildings, and as none of those found in England . . . seems to have been discovered within the limits of any camp, it is much more likely that they belonged to domestic ædifices. . . . I believe that they were the flooring of the grand apartments, chief rooms, or baths in the private houses of the better sort of people . . . [75]

During the 1730s, Gale and Stukeley had become involved in the exploration of two particular Roman pavements near Stukeley's Stamford home in Northamptonshire.[76]

In 1737, reflecting on a Roman pavement recently discovered at 'Coddlestock' (Cotterstock), Roger Gale remarked, 'Most people imagine this extraordinary work to have been the pavement of a tent belonging to some Roman General . . .'[77] Having examined the site, however, Gale evidently was not satisfied with this idea. Further investigations produced ashes, bones, and fragments of urn which he supposed might indicate that sacrifices had taken place and that this was an 'Ædes Sacra', or 'sacred house', attached to a 'famous dwelling house'.[78] In his diary, Gale recorded that Stukeley had visited the site on 28th August 1736, while describing the remains as the 'villa of some noble Roman'.[79] The Fourth Earl of Cardigan transported approximately one square yard of a mosaic to his house at Deene

[75] R. Gale (1739), 41–2. For the significance of Roger Gale's letters, see Clapinson (2004) and Haverfield (1924*a*), 73. For Gale's life and achievements, see Clapinson (2004). Roger Gale was William Stukeley's brother-in-law and the brother of Samuel Gale, whose work is mentioned later in this chapter.

[76] For Stukeley's time at Stanford, see Haycock (2004).

[77] R. Gale (1737), 34. See Upex (2001) for a full account of the early work on this site during 1736–7 and 1798, together with the subsequent discovery, during the twentieth century, of an extensive courtyard villa.

[78] R. Gale (1737), 35–6, although Gale did note that, since no human bones had been found, the evidence might indicate a sacrifice to a pagan deity rather than a burial site.

[79] R. Gale (1736), 49.
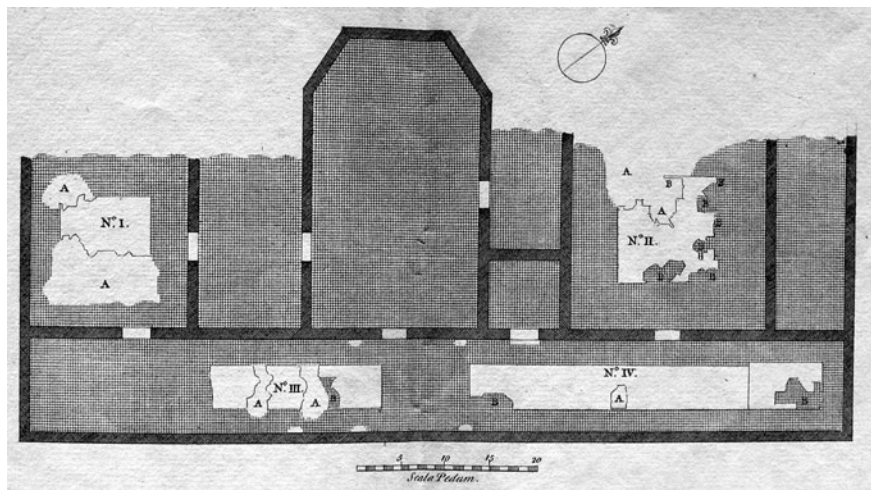
Figure 3.1. Plan of Roman villa found at Weldon, Northamptonshire in 1738.

Park, ten miles away,[80] where it appears to have formed the centre-piece of a summerhouse floor.[81]

At Weldon, another villa was located in 1738 and extensively excavated.[82] Samuel Gale, Roger Gale's brother, presented Stukeley's description and a plan of the site (Figure 3.1) to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in the autumn of 1739.[83] The villa was on the land of Lord Hatton, who evidently took a considerable interest in the remains. Roger Gale, writing to Stukeley on 4th May 1739, noted that the Weldon pavement was the first example in England to find a 'patron to preserve the original'.[84] Stukeley described the results of the investigation of this villa in a letter and plan sent to Gale on 11th October:

'Tis a beautiful remnant of antiquity, and gives us a notion of an intire villa, or pleasure house. It stands on a gentle plain fronting the south . . . The little

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[80] R. Gale (1737), 34; see Upex (2001), 62–3.

[81] Ibid. 62–3. It is not apparent that knowledge of Roman villas in Britain at this time had much of an impact on the architecture and landscape planning of contemporary country houses.

[82] Lukis (1887), 40, n. 5. Subsequent excavation, during 1953–6 illustrated the accuracy of the eighteenth-century plan of the remains; see Neal and Cosh (2002), 240; RCHME (1979), 164–5. Neal and Cosh (2002), 240 call this villa Great Weldon.

[83] S. Gale (1739).   [84] R. Gale (1739), 41.

eminence on which the villa stands is a kind of knoll or promontory... The front is a gallery a 100 Roman feet long; the whole house was a double square, 100 foot long, 50 broad. They have covered over the gallery, but not the entire length, some of the pavement being excluded; and likewise most of the two largest rooms are covered... [85]

The cover was evidently intended to preserve the remains, although Stukeley noted that much of the house (the two 'apartments' and the 'hall in the middle') were left open to the weather.[86] Stukeley observed that other foundations lay nearby, suggesting that a 'town' was in the vicinity of the site.[87] Traces of destruction and burning at the Cotterstock and Weldon villas were attributed, by Roger Gale, to their demolition by 'barbarous nations'.[88]

The study of these two villas, together with the work of Stair at Silchester, discussed below, indicate the early development of archaeological excavation and recording in England.[89] It is often suggested that detailed excavation and recording commenced with the propagation of knowledge about the sites of Pompeii and Herculaneum during the later eighteenth century, but an independent tradition was apparently developing in England prior to this time. Lethieullier, Gale, and Stukeley did not reflect on the identity of those who built and occupied villas and it is probable that they were thought to represent the homes of Roman settlers. Changing interpretations of the towns of ancient Britain at this time, however, often proposed that their origins were, at least in part, native.

Developing urban histories[90]

The writing of urban histories during the first half of the eighteenth century conveys a direct interest in the ancient past of certain towns,

[85] Stukeley (1739*b*), 42–3.
[86] Ibid. Stukeley (1739*a*) also described the building of the gallery over the remains.
[87] Stukeley (1739*b*), 43. Later efforts to preserve and display mosaics on the sites of Roman villas in southern Britain through the construction of sheds and buildings are discussed by Neal and Cosh (2002), 7 and below.
[88] R. Gale (1736), 51; (1739), 42.
[89] It is not clear whether the excavations of Roman buildings in Italy at this time—e.g. Moatti (1993), 61–83—influenced these British excavations.
[90] See Sweet (1997), 3–4 for the significance of urban histories at this time.

as writers attempted to use the remains of buildings and inscriptions to establish historical precedents for particular towns in the pre-Roman or Roman past,[91] ideas which often subsumed national histories.[92] Significant finds made during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries at London, Silchester, Chichester, York, and Bath can be used to illustrate the important changes in understanding that focused attention on the nature of ancient British society and the effects of the Roman conquest, inspiring the design and construction of 'neo-Roman' architecture.

Native origins for Roman London?

Prior to the late seventeenth century, little was known of Roman London, apart from the comments of classical authors used by some antiquaries to challenge the city's mythical history. A significant reference to the Roman town was included in Tacitus' *Annals* (14. 33) where he mentioned that in AD 60–61, though not distinguished by the title of colony, it was a busy centre for merchants and stores. In his *A Survay of London* of 1599, John Stow had discussed the idea that the city might have been founded prior to the Romans, but nevertheless placed a greater emphasis on the classical references to the city.[93] Earlier ideas, derived from Geoffrey of Monmouth, had stressed that that the city was founded by a group of Trojan settlers as 'Troia Nova', or 'New Troy',[94] but Stow was dismissive of this.[95] Stow noted that 'these nether partes of *Britaine* were reduced into the forme of a Prouince by the *Romaines*, who sowed the seeds of ciuilitie over all *Europe*, this Citie whatever it was before, began to be renowned, and of fame.'[96] He mentioned that London, as in the case of other Roman 'Cities and Towns' in Britain, appeared to have been

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[91] Ibid.; Sweet (2004), 9.   [92] Sweet (1997), 2.   [93] Stow (1599), 1–4.

[94] Geoffrey of Monmouth (*HKB* 1, 17–8). See Clark (1981) for a summary of this legend, including the continued attempt to find pre-Roman settlements on the site into modern times.

[95] Stow (1599), 1 commented that Caesar's commentaries are of 'farre better credit, than the relations of *Geffery Monmouth*.' See Holder and Jamieson (2003) for the development of a modern counter-myth that no pre-Roman settlement occurred in the area of Roman London.

[96] Stow (1599), 4.

walled in stone,[97] but he could not draw upon any additional discoveries to discuss its early history. Significant discoveries were made, however, during the rebuilding after the Great Fire of September 1666.

An architect and astronomer, Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723) played a significant part in the development of Roman studies, although many of his thoughts on Roman London were not published until 1750. Wren is particularly remembered for his architecture and was among the more successful architects who introduced concepts of classical building to Britain,[98] designing significant buildings in London, Oxford, Cambridge, Lincoln, and Winchester.[99] Wren used a number of works on classical architecture published in Italy during the late fifteenth to seventeenth centuries to develop his architectural knowledge and had many relevant texts in his library.[100] Many significant examples of 'Gothic' architecture were available for Wren to study in Britain, but there was very little Roman masonry surviving above ground. Wren's architectural works led him to focus his attention on buried Roman remains, uncovering and recording Roman building foundations in London and Winchester.[101] In addition to his architectural, antiquarian, and astronomical activities, Wren played a significant role in the founding of the Royal Society in 1660.[102]

He was appointed as Surveyor General and Principal Architect for the rebuilding of London following the Great Fire,[103] which had destroyed a large part of the city and left the old church of St Paul's

[97] Ibid.

[98] J. Harris (1994), 3–5 discusses Wren's use of Palladio's writings. Ibid. 1–3 for Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) and the inspiration that this architect drew from Vitruvius. Dyson (2006), 5 considers the international context of the work of Wren, while Hunter (1995), 45–65 and Soo (1998) provide accounts of his education and works.

[99] Hutchison (1976).

[100] Ibid. 48–9, 157.

[101] Soo (1998), 7, 18. We know less of Wren's discoveries in Winchester during the 1680s, although John Aubrey recorded that he uncovered a floor of 'opus tessellatum' in digging the foundations for the King's House, together with pieces of 'brick' and coins of Constantine the Great and Otacilia; see Aubrey (1982), 943, 979 and Soo (1998), 252 n. 3. These finds were made on the site of the Palace that Wren designed and partly built for Charles II; see Hutchison (1976), 104–5 for this building.

[102] Ibid. 41–2 and Hunter (1995), 120–34.   [103] Marsden (1996), 11.

a ruin. He made extensive discoveries of Roman buildings during his direction of the excavations for the foundations of new buildings.[104] Wren evidently kept detailed notes of the Roman remains he uncovered and, although he intended to publish a full account of Roman London,[105] this was never completed. We are mainly dependent for details of his work on *Parentalia* (1750), compiled by his son, Christopher, and published by his grandson, Stephen.[106] The published version of Sir Christopher's account was compiled from scattered papers but it appears to contain much primary material.[107] *Of London in ancient Times, and the Boundary of the Roman Colony, discern'd by the Surveyor, after the great Fire* begins with a discussion of the 'state' of the Britons at the time of the Roman conquest, 'and surely we cannot reasonably think them so barbarous, at least in that Age…Their manner of Fighting was in Chariots, like the ancient Heroes of *Greece*, in the *Trojan* War, and occasionally on Foot, with such good Order and Discipline, as much embarrass'd the *Roman* Legions, and put a stop to the Progress of the invincible Cæsar…'.[108] Wren is evidently speculating about the possibility that London was founded prior to the Romans, while also emphasizing the British contribution to the Roman city. He recorded Roman burials and pottery kilns under St Paul's Cathedral, and a Roman road beneath the tower of St Mary-le-Bow Church in Cheapside among other features and finds.[109]

[104] Soo (1998), 18.
[105] Ibid. 18–19: Soo notes that Wren had sent an account of his observations made during construction work in London to Robert Plot, perhaps during the 1690s. J. Woodward, in a letter (1707), 11–12, pressed Wren to produce an account of Roman London that he had been promising and sent him some recent discoveries to supplement the evidence that Wren had already collected; see Soo (1998), 19. Part of this letter, together with many of Wren's finds, was incorporated in a rather basic list of finds from London in the 1720s republication of Stow's *A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster*; see Stow (1720), 21–4.
[106] Wren (1750); see Hutchison (1976), 13 and Soo (1998), 8.
[107] Soo (1998), 10, 18. In particular, J. Woodward (1707), 26–7 had discussed with Wren the value of the information resulting from the uncovering of Roman remains during building to the assessment of the extent and character of the Roman city.
[108] Wren (1750), 246. Wren's second paper on Roman remains is his account of the taking down of the 'vast ruin' of the old Cathedral at St. Paul's, (ibid. 283–7).
[109] Soo (1998), 18–21 and Marsden (1996), 11.

Concerning the remains discovered during the rebuilding of St Mary-le-Bow, he noted:

Upon opening the Ground, a Foundation was discern'd firm enough for the new intended Fabrick, which (on further Inspection, after digging down sufficiently, and removing what Earth or Rubbish lay in the Way) appear'd to be the Walls, and the Windows also, and the Pavement of a Temple, or Church, of *Roman* Workmanship, intirely bury'd under the Level of the present Street.[110]

He noted a Roman causeway in a hole dug nearby, buried 18 feet deep, and interpreted this as a 'high-way' that ran along the north boundary of the 'colony'.[111] As a result of his excavations, Wren wrote about the extent and layout of the Roman city (Figure 3.2).[112] He identified the north–south extent of the colony, arguing that there was a 'great Fen' to the north of the 'high-way' in addition to the wall along the River Thames to the south. Here, he interpreted some monumental remains as a forum while, to the west, he referred to a 'Prætorian Camp' which was attached to the city wall at Ludgate.[113] This latter interpretation was derived from the discovery during the rebuilding of St Martin's Church on Ludgate Hill in 1669 of a military tombstone nearly seven feet tall, dedicated to the memory of Vivius Marcianus, a soldier of the Second Legion Augusta.[114]

From the discovery of burials that he interpreted as British, Roman, and Saxon during the construction of St Paul's, Wren concluded that these deposits belonged 'to the *Colony* where *Romans* and *Britains* lived and died together'.[115] In the light of discoveries and changes in archaeological understanding since Wren's time, his

[110] Wren (1750), 265.   [111] Ibid.
[112] This is Stukeley's map of Roman London, produced in the early eighteenth century, which is an early example of an attempt to plan the uncovered remains of a Roman city. Showing much of the information recorded and described by Sir Christopher Wren, it predates the map supplied in *Parentalia*.
[113] Wren (1750), 265–6.
[114] McKitterick (1997), 111, 113. Soo (1998), 255 n. 20, drawing on Aubrey, notes that the stone was taken to the Ashmolean Museum, where it remains today; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 8–9, *RIB* 17. Soo also observes (1998), 255 n 19 that the Roman fort at London is now known to be located rather further north that Wren supposed.
[115] Wren (1750), 266.
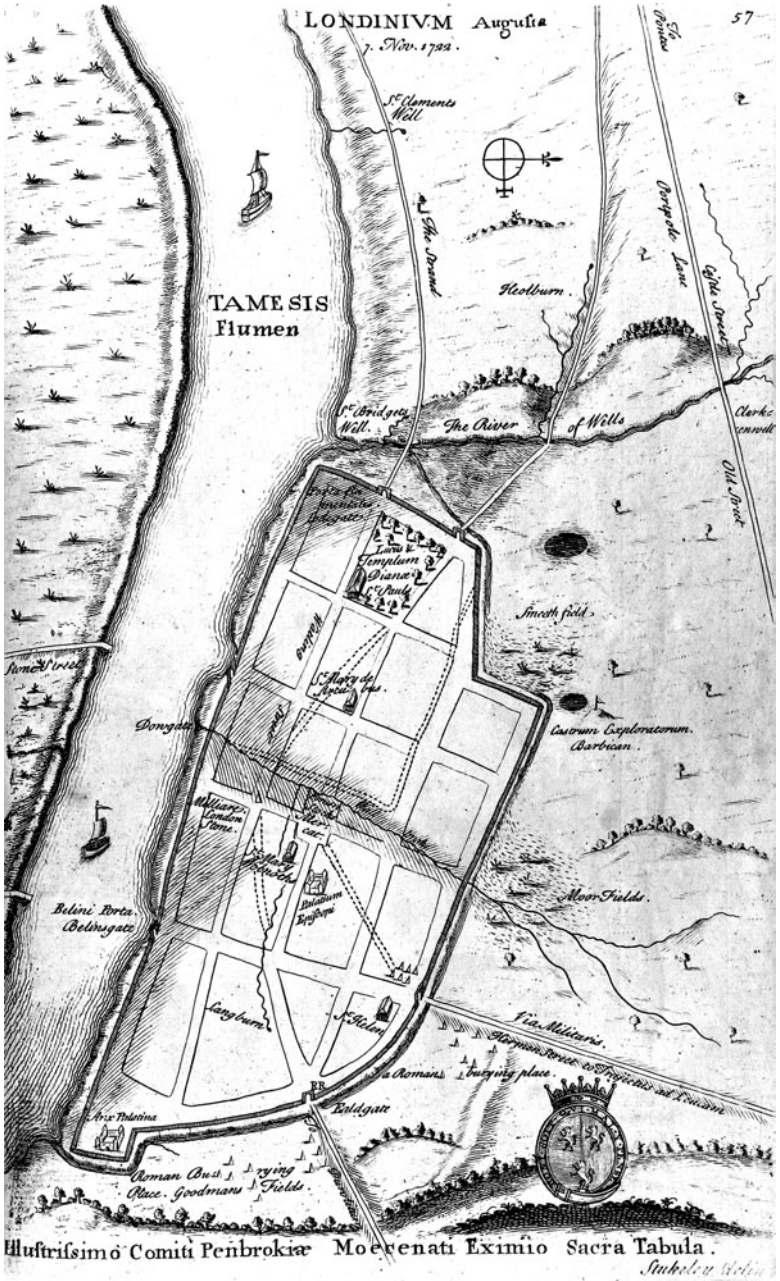
Figure 3.2. Map of Roman London, from Stukeley (1724).

interpretation of the layout and extent of the Roman city may appear incomplete and erroneous; but it is highly significant that he provided an informed discussion of the buried Roman remains and that he attempted to use them to reconstruct the geography of the Roman city. Indeed, this is the first detailed study of the remains of Roman buildings undertaken in Britain. Wren also wrote about the Roman objects that had been found in the city, including '*Roman* Urns, Lamps, Lacrymatories and Fragments of Sacrificing-vessels', which were 'embossed with various Figures and Devices'; he also noted potters' names on some of these vessels.[116] A significant additional find was a large glass vessel from Spitalfields. Wren's focus on Roman objects reflected the interests of a number of his contemporaries and together their works constituted the beginning of the serious study of Roman artefacts.

It is clear that Wren's account of Roman London was the result of the work of several individuals who had been studying, recording and collecting objects and information about deposits. Roman discoveries were recorded in the minutes of the Royal Society and many were placed in its repository.[117] The Society was still the only learned body in England with a journal and a museum and was the natural forum for learned discussion;[118] the Society of Antiquaries was established between 1707 and 1717, but the first volume of its journal *Archaeologia* was not published until 1770.[119] Publications in the Royal Society's *Philosophical Transactions* included antiquarian discoveries from London and other parts of Britain. Robert Hook, a city commissioner for rebuilding, evidently played a significant role in collecting information on Roman London, as did John Conyers.[120] Conyers was a serious collector who occasionally attended meetings of the Royal Society, although he was never elected a Fellow. The Roman objects he had acquired were described by John Aubrey: 'Mr. Conyers (Apothecary) at the White Lion in Fleet Street, hath preserved a world of antique curiosities found in digging of the ruins

[116] Ibid. 266–7.
[117] For this repository, see Hunter (1995), 135–47.
[118] J. Levine (1987), 111. For the early history of this Society, see Joan Evans (1956), 26–8, 31.
[119] See p. 121 for the foundation of the Antiquaries.
[120] Soo (1998), 20.

of London, principally Fleet Ditch.'[121] Conyers also recorded a Roman pottery kiln, uncovered on the north-east side of St Paul's in 1675.[122]

Planning the Roman city at Silchester

Knowledge of other Roman towns gradually developed during the early eighteenth century. Thomas Hearne visited Silchester (Hampshire) in May 1714, observing the impressive walls, 'so intire, that there is hardly any Breach, excepting where the four gates were'.[123] He suggested that the city was built in the time of either Constantius or Constantine the Great and noted that the streets of the city were visible 'towards Harvest, when the Corn is almost ripe'.[124] The south of the city 'was the most principal & Considerable of the whole . . . the Emperors & Princes & Generals & other Great Men used to lodge in that part'.[125] Foreshadowing his comments about the Stonesfield pavement, Hearne argued that, once the Romans had departed, the Britons occupied Silchester because of its defences and repaired many of the houses.[126] He continued his account by suggesting that:

I am, withal, of opinion that even whilst the Romans themselves had it, the Britains were also imployed in those Buildings as were judged necessary either for Convenience & Pleasure, or for an additional Strength to the Place in order the better to keep off the Enemy. For these reasons many of the Bricks found up and down here are to be called British . . . tho' I know that some will not allow any of this kind of Brick found in England to be British, as if the Britains were not capable of making such kind of Bricks. I will indeed allow that when the Romans came first hither the Britains led such a

[121] Aubrey (1980), 510.

[122] Walters (1909), 124–5 and Hunter (1995), 184–5.

[123] Hearne (1898), 359.

[124] Ibid. 360, 363. Hearne develops some earlier tales about Silchester, even suggesting that the emperor Constantius was buried near here. The ideas that Silchester was founded by Constantius or Constantine had been addressed by Camden (1610*a*), 270; (1695), 124–5 and is derived from the eighth-century author Nennius.

[125] Hearne (1898), 361. Hearne notes a large mosaic found some time ago in this area, which was probably the floor of the principal room of the Palace, suggesting that King Arthur was crowned here. Geoffrey of Monmouth (*HKB* 7, 1) had addressed the crowning of Arthur at Silchester.

[126] Hearne (1898), 361.

Life as did not require such works as were made use of by the Romans, nor had they therefore learned the Art of Building. But after the Isle had been conquered & subdued by the Romans, there is no reason to think that they continued as ignorant . . . as they were before. No we are to imagin that the Britains were ingenious, so they learned of the Romans, & that many of them were excellent Architects, & could work as well as many of the Romans themselves . . . [127]

Evidently, Hearne was emphasizing the idea of an introduction of civility to the native population, using bricks as a technological example for the passing on of knowledge.[128]

The Roman remains at Silchester provided considerable opportunities for antiquarian research, since they were largely unencumbered by later settlement, representing 'a place that a lover of antiquity will visit with great delight'.[129] During the 1730s and 1740s, a systematic study of Roman Silchester was undertaken by John Stair, a local yeoman and later a cobbler at neighbouring Aldermaston.[130] In reviewing Stair's work, George Boon observed that it was truly remarkable that a Hampshire villager should have been among the first to attempt archaeological fieldwork in Britain;[131] Stair's researches stand alongside Wren's work at London, and the uncovering of two villas in Northamptonshire, as important early excavations.

Writing in the *Philosophical Transactions* of 1744 and 1748, John Ward noted Stair's remarkable research. In 1744, Ward mentioned a newly discovered inscribed stone from Silchester, which derived from the 'antient Market Place, about four Feet under ground' and was now in the possession of Stair.[132] Ward suggested that the stone

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[127] Ibid. 361–2.

[128] William Somner, in his account of *The Antiquities of Canterbury*, had mentioned 'British' (and Roman) bricks in the town walls and two of the churches in the city; see Somner (1640), 3, 6, 62, and 65, but the suggestion that the ancient Britons produced bricks was dismissed by other antiquaries, e.g. J. Woodward (1707), 21.

[129] Stukeley (1724), 169.

[130] Strutt (1779), 301 n. †), Boon (1957), 31, and Todd (2004*a*), 455. Boon's volumes on Silchester (1957), (1974) draw in some detail on letters and other document in the British Museum which give detail of Stair's activities.

[131] Boon (1974), 22.

[132] Ward (1744), 201; this is *RIB* 67, for which see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 19–20.

originally came from a public building dedicated to Hercules, who is referred to in the inscription.[133] By 1748, Ward had visited Silchester and obtained a 'more perfect account ... than I had expected', from two local informants, John Wright and Stair himself.[134] Ward noted that Wright was a surveyor, while Stair had 'traced our several streets, and other parts of the town, to a considerable exactness'.[135] At the time, Wright and Stair had only produced a rough draft of the surviving remains but promised to send Ward an 'exact copy'; produced in 1745 this was published with Ward's second paper in the *Philosophical Transactions* (Figure 3.3).[136]

Ward described the plan, noting that it showed a reasonably accurate rendition of the substantial town walls, gates, and amphitheatre.[137] Inside the town, the courses of most of the main roads and the location of the 'forum' and other significant finds are shown. Stukeley had already produced maps of English towns, incorporating Roman finds and remains, but the Stair–Wright map of Silchester was far more detailed.[138] Stair had undertaken some fairly extensive

[133] Ward (1744), 202. Silchester was often titled Vindonum or Caer Segont prior to the late nineteenth century, as a result of the discovery of this inscription which included the letters SEGON on its second line; this was supposedly a reference to a people called the Segontiaci, who had been recorded by Caesar in his account of Britain; for a fuller discussion of the origin of the name see Boon (1957), 33–5. Camden (1695), 124 had earlier suggested that Vindonum was at Silchester, representing the capital of the Segontiaci. Horsley, however, argued in 1733 that Silchester was Calleva Atrebatum and the discovery of a fragment of an inscription in 1907 confirmed Horsley's identification, while disproving the earlier suggestions about the Segontiaci; see Boon (1957), 33–4 and Collingwood and Wright (1995), 20, *RIB* 70.

[134] Ward (1748), 603.

[135] Ibid. 604.

[136] Ibid. Boon observes that Stair had produced his first plan of the city in 1741 and had then met Wright, who was a professional surveyor. The 1745 plan was the best record of Silchester until a new plan by Henry Maclaughlan, produced in 1850; see Boon (1957), 32. Stair continued to work at Silchester until 1752. He also built up a collection of objects from this site, which was passed to his son but has since been dispersed; see Boon (1974), 24. Earlier in the century, Stukeley records, (1724), 170, that Robert Betham, minister at Silchester, had collected a 'vast number of coynes and antiquitys found here.' For Betham, see Boon (1974), 22 n. *.

[137] The amphitheatre is less accurately located than the other structures. See Stukeley (1724), 170–1 for the earlier identification of the Silchester amphitheatre. For Hearne's incorrect dismissal of this structure, see Haycock (2002), 222.

[138] Kempe (1838) and Todd (2004*a*), 455. Stukeley (1748) noted the display of this plan of Silchester and the information that it portrayed, including the existence of the forum, at the Royal Society in December 1748.

Philos. Trans. Nº 490. TAB. III. p. 604.

A PLAN of
the ancient city of
SILCHESTER
in Hampshire.
taken by
IOHN WRIGHT
Surveyor.
MDCCXLV.

The Explanation

A. The Wall.
B. The Vallum.
C. The Ditch.
D. The Amphitheatre, greater diameter 50 yards lesser 40.
E. The Church.
F. The Farmhouse.
G. The four City gates which terminate the two chief streets.
H. The Forum.
ik. A Temple.
l. The Roman inscription.
Mn A Fountain.
O. Onion hole.
P. Silver hill.

A scale of 50 statute poles

Figure 3.3. Wright and Stair's 'A Plan of the Ancient City at Silchester'.

excavation, summarized by Ward, and had located the roads by
observing marks in the growing corn over a number of years.[139]
Ward mentions that 'by spitting the ground, and often digging it
up, he found a great deal of rubish, with the plain ruins and foun-
dations of houses on each side of these tracts'.[140] Away from the street
frontages, Stair had not found such remains. By digging close to the
centre of the town, Stair had located 'a number of buildings, in the
form of a long square' (marked as 'H' on the plan), of which Ward
remarked 'it is not improbable [that this] may be the remains of the
antient *forum*'.[141] Stair noted the foundations for what he considered
might represent an altar ('K'), together with evidence for a fountain
('M'). At 'O' was a hole in the town wall; this was called 'Onion hole',
the home of an legendary giant of that name which the local people
said had once inhabited the remains.[142] Coins found here had been
called 'Onion pennies', apparently a misreading of the legend

[139] Ward (1748), 607.   [140] Ibid.
[141] Ibid. 608.   [142] Ibid. 610.

'Constantine' on some,[143] in memory of the giant.[144] Ward recorded that Stair had several hundred coins of 'all metals, and all sizes' from Silchester and that these ranged from Augustus to Valentinian/ Arcadius.[145]

Cogidubnus

While the foundation of Silchester had often been attributed to Constantine, the discovery of one particular inscription at Chichester was to enable Roger Gale and Stukeley to develop the type of argument that Hearne had drawn from his observations of the Silchester bricks, by suggesting that one of the dominant individuals in the first-century city was, by birth, a Briton. Although damaged, the discovery of an inscription in April 1723, with its reference to Cogidubnus (or Togidubnus),[146] created a great deal of interest in the antiquarian community (Figure 3.4).[147] Camden had mentioned 'Cogidunus' in his discussion of the Regni, suggesting that these people were given their title by the Romans since they formed a 'Regnum, that is, a Kingdome'.[148] He recalled Tacitus' (*Agricola*, 14) statement that these people were permitted to remain under a regal government, under Cogidunus' rule; he noted, however, that 'this conjecture seeming to my selfe not probable, and haply to others absurd, I utterly reject'.[149] The finding of the in-

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[143] Boon (1974), 21, who tells us that this explanation is derived from Hearne. Camden (1695), 126 and Hearne (1898), 360 had already described the story about the giant and the Onion pennies.

[144] Stukeley (1724), 170 describes the Onion hole as a 'place much talk'd of . . . by the ignorant country peopl'. Evidently the tale of Onion the giant had a long currency amongst the local population.

[145] Ward (1748), 613.

[146] Recent scholarship has suggested that Togidubnus is likely to be a more appropriate reading of the name of the ancient British leader who has usually been known as Cogidubnus—see Braund (1996), 108–12—but I shall use the latter spelling in this book.

[147] This inscription is *RIB* 91; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 25–6. Bogaers (1979) describes the interest it generated amongst eighteenth century antiquaries and calls it one of the best-known inscriptions from Roman Britain (ibid. 243). Mattingly (2006), 267 describes the continued significance of this inscription to the interpretation of the Roman towns of Britain today.

[148] Camden (1610*a*), 295. [149] Ibid.
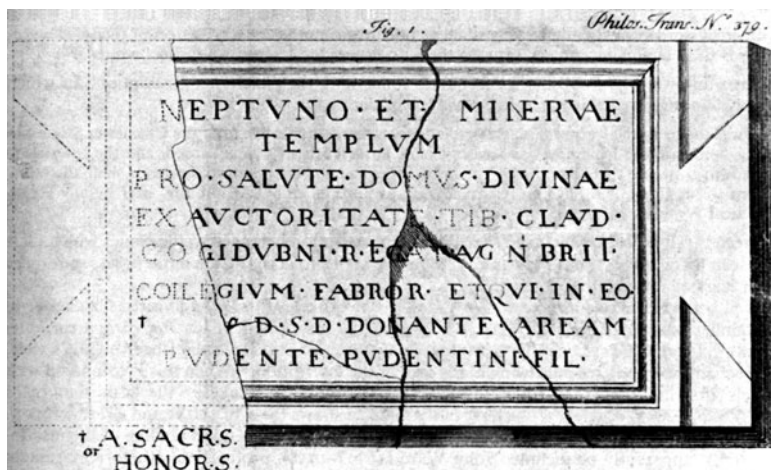
Figure 3.4. The Cogidubnus stone from Chichester, from R. Gale (1723).

scription provided physical confirmation of the accuracy of Tacitus' reference.

Dr Edward Bayly, rector of Havant (Hampshire) travelled to Chichester to examine the find on 6th–7th May 1723 and sent an account to 'a friend', presumably Thomas Hearne, in which he described the significance of and illustrated the stone. Bayly noted that it had been found in the cellar of a building belonging to Mr Lodger, another friend, but that it had, unfortunately, been damaged by the workmen before it was identified.[150] In his later account, Gale states that it was found while digging a cellar under the corner house on the north side of St Martin's Lane and North Street.[151] The stone was found about four feet under the ground, face up. Bayly noted that 'The greatest difficulty of importance is . . . to make out the meaning of *Gidubni* in the fifth Line. I have made it *Cogidubni*, by whom, I suppose, is meant *Cogidunus*, a famous king in Claudius's time in this part of Brittain.'[152] The damage to the stone had removed

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[150] Bayly (1723), xxvii.
[151] R. Gale (1723*b*), 188.
[152] Bayly (1723), xxxviii.

the first two letters from the name. Bayly quoted the section of *Agricola* (14) in which Tacitus had recorded that 'certain *civitates* were given to "Cogidubnus" [he remained the most loyal down to our own times] according to an old and long accepted Roman tradition of using kings also as an instrument for slavery.'[153]

Gale visited the site in September 1723, in the company of Stukeley, and sent a note of his observations (on 31st October) to be included in the *Philosophical Transactions*.[154] At this time, the inscription was in the house where it was discovered, fixed in the wall under a window.[155] Gale made observations on the inscription similar to those already made by Bayly, reconstructing GIDVBNI in the same manner through reference to Tacitus.[156] He noted that Cogidubnus 'in all Probability, was a petty Prince of that Part of the *Dobuni* which had submitted to Claudius [who] . . . had given him the Government of some Part of the Island'.[157] Gale also noted that 'nothing could be more grateful in regard to *Claudius*, nor more honourable to himself, after he was *Romanised*, than to take the Names of a Benefactor to whom he was indebted for his Kingdom, and so call himself TIBERIVS CLAVDIVS COGIDVBNVS.'[158] Gale continues his account by discussing Cogidubnus' potential territory and muses on the significance of Chichester which, he writes 'by this Inscription found at it, must have been a Town of Eminence very soon after the *Romans* had settled here'.[159] Finally, he notes that the two stone walls found nearby were probably the foundations of the temple referred to by the inscription.[160]

[153] Bayly's version of Tacitus' text reads: 'quædam civitates Cogiduno Regi donatæ. is ad nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit, vetere ac jam pridem recepta P. R.[populi Romani] consuetudine, ut haberet instrumenta servitutis & Reges'. The translation above is by Barrett (1979), 227.

[154] R. Gale (1723*a*).

[155] Ibid. 391.

[156] Ibid. 393. The possibility that the stone could relate to some other individual who is not mentioned by the classical authors has rarely been entertained.

[157] Ibid. 393. For a broadly comparable modern reading of the stone, see Bogaers (1979).

[158] R. Gale (1723*a*), 393–4.

[159] Ibid. 399.

[160] Ibid. 400. Bayly (1723), 39 had also noted an old wall under the house where the stone was found, supposing that this was part of the remains of the temple.

Hearne explored the issues raised by this inscription in a paper published in 1723, suggesting that Claudius had made 'Cogidunus' 'King of Great Britain' ('REX MAGNAE BRITANNIÆ') because he 'lov'd him'.[161] Drawing upon the writings of Tacitus, together with a fragmentary inscription then at the Barberini Palace in Rome, he proposed that the conquest of Britain occurred with such ease owing to the 'assistance' and 'particular Direction' provided by 'Cogidunus'.[162] Hearne proposed that tradesmen and soldiers helped to pay for the temple recorded by the inscription.[163]

Stukeley provided a number of impressive plans of ancient sites in his *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), including the town that he called 'Mantantonis' (modern Chichester) which marked the location of the Roman temple projected on to a contemporary plan of the city.[164] Stukeley included the note on the Cogidubnus inscription written by Roger Gale,[165] providing some further speculation that created an origin myth for the ancient inhabitants of Chichester.[166]

[161] Hearne (1723), xlix. For Hearne's interest in Roman inscriptions, see Harmsen (2000), 184, who proposes that his particular interest in this inscription was motivated by his idea of the loyalty of the Britons to the Roman emperor; see Hearne (1723), xlv.

[162] Hearne (1723), xlix. Hearne noted that the inscription in Rome recorded the subduing of British kings without loss (ibid. l). For the discovery in 1641 and the significance of the inscription from Rome (*CIL* 920), which once formed part of Claudius' British victory arch, see Barrett (1991). The inscription, which was built into a wall of the garden at the Barberini Palace, was moved in the last century and is now housed in the Museo Nuovo of the Palazzo dei Conservatori (ibid. 10). Hearne's transcription, which he derived from his friend Mr Calvert, differs in several respects from modern readings of the fragmentary inscription, although it appears to refer to the surrender of eleven British kings, conquered without loss (see ibid. 12–15 for this translation and problems arising from the fragmentary nature of the surviving inscription).

[163] Hearne (1723), li.

[164] Stukeley suggested that Chichester was called Mantantonis in Roman times (1724), 194, Tab. 81. For a modern discussion of the significance of Roman Chichester, see Wacher (1995), 255–71. The Roman name was actually Noviomagus Regnorum—see Rivet and Smith (1979), 427—and the source of the name used by Stukeley is unclear (for Stukeley's 'inventive romantic' approach to Roman place names, see ibid. 7).

[165] The version of Gale's account provided in Stukeley's volume—R. Gale (1723*b*)—differs slightly from that included in the *Philosophical Transactions*—R. Gale (1723*a*).

[166] Stukeley adopted a fairly philosophical approach to the interpretation of remains from the past, trying to understand their value to a comprehension of the ancient past of Britain, which has caused some criticism from historians of archaeology. For a recent discussion of Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* see Sweet (2004), 166.

Stukeley refers to the classical writer Martial's epigrams in which he mentions Claudia Rufina, quoting in Latin. He uses the reference to the name 'Pudens' in the last line of the Chichester inscription to suggest that an individual by this name had granted the land for the temple site to the town.[167] In Stukeley's account, this Pudens is equated with the individual of the same name who, Martial writes, was married to Claudia Rufina. He recalls an earlier tale that Claudia Rufina was actually the daughter of Caratacus, taken to Rome by Claudius, converted to Christianity, and married to Pudens, a Roman senator. Stukeley, however, prefers the idea that Claudia Rufina was the daughter of Cogidubnus,[168] presumably suggesting that Pudens met her in the new Roman town at Chichester. In 1740, Stukeley developed this story further in his diary, suggesting that St Paul visited Cogidubnus, Claudia Rufina, and Aulus Pudens in Chichester.[169] Stukeley deduced from this inscription that:

it appears that the Roman city here at this time was in a most flourishing and stately condition, situated near the sea, on the southern shore of the island, commodious for landing from the southern parts of the world . . . there may be the highest probability that S. Paul preached in this very city of Chichester, and that the Roman governor's family were some of the first fruits of the Gospel he here gathered.[170]

The dedication of the temple in their capital to Neptune and Minerva presumably occurred prior to their conversion to Christianity.

Later in 1723, the Cogidubnus stone was removed from the house under which it was discovered as it had been purchased by Charles, Second Duke of Richmond. It was taken to his house at Goodwood, on the southern slopes of the Downs to the north-east of Chichester, where the Duke was planning to build a Palladian villa.[171] Richmond

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[167] Stukeley (1724), 193. See Vance (1997), 206–7 for a discussion of the origin and context of the tale about Pudens, Claudia, and Caractacus.

[168] Stukeley (1724), 193. Bogaers (1979), 252 noted that Hübner (1873) was strongly and rightly opposed to associating the Chichester inscription with Martial's epigrams and the later association that was drawn between these individuals and the Pudens and Claudia of St Paul's epistles.

[169] Stukeley (1740), 233.

[170] Ibid. For the wish of Stukeley and a number of his contemporaries to find evidence for Christianity in Britain prior to the arrival of St Augustine, see Haycock (2002), 113–15, who also deals with Stukeley's religious beliefs (ibid. 119–20).

[171] Hearne (1723), xi and Connor (1979), 186.

was a member of the Society of Antiquaries, serving as its President for a short time just before his death in 1750.[172] In the event, the Duke did not carry through his proposed rebuilding of Goodwood House, although he did modify the park that surrounded it.[173] An eighteenth-century engraving shows a small pedimented building, known as 'Cogidubun's temple', which presumably housed the inscription for a while and which survived up to the end of the nineteenth century.[174] Richmond also re-erected a prehistoric monolith at Goodwood and built a 'Gothic Seat'.[175]

In Chichester, the Roman history of the town appears to have influenced the construction of a significant public building. To cement his political influence in the town, Richmond was the prime instigator and largest subscriber to the rebuilding of the city's Council House.[176] In 1729, Lord Burlington was commissioned with the design and produced a number of drawings for a building in the Palladian style. Burlington was a highly influential architect, under whose direction Palladian architecture became identified with Georgian England.[177] He also had a considerable interest in the remains of Roman buildings in Britain.[178] John Harris has described Burlington's proposal for the new Council House as 'architecture of the severest sort' that, he suggests, was not unconnected with the evidence for a former Roman temple here.[179] In the event, Burlington's building was never constructed, perhaps because at this time he was designing and building the Assembly Rooms at York. The Council House at Chichester probably designed by Roger Morris to a Palladian design, opened in 1732 (Figures 3.5–6).[180] The design and location of the Council House presumably drew directly upon the discovery of the Cogidubnus inscription close to this spot nine

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[172] Joan Evans (1956), 101–3.   [173] Connor (1979), 187–9.

[174] Ibid. 189.   [175] Ibid. 190.   [176] Ibid. 188.

[177] Ayres (1997), 105–14 and J. Harris (1994), 1–2. For Burlington's life and achievements see Colvin (1995) and J. Harris (1994).

[178] Which Ayres (1997), 107 argues has not been sufficiently recognized. Evidence for this is derived from Burlington's library and sponsorship of studies of Roman sites, ibid. 107–9.

[179] J. Harris (1994), 26; ibid. Figures 28–30 for these drawings.

[180] Ibid. 26. The inscription on the front of the building dates it to 1731.

Figure 3.5. The Council House at Chichester, built by Roger Morris and opened in 1732.

Figure 3.6. The inscription on the front of the Council House at Chichester.

years earlier. Cogidubnus' identity as a 'Romanized' British leader (according to Gale) indicates his considerable contemporary relevance to the urban elite of Augustan Chichester.

Roman and Augustan York

Burlington's architectural activities united Chichester and York.[181] The nature of the classical textual evidence for Roman York (Eboracum) led, however, to a rather different architectural and antiquarian response.[182] In 1736, the local antiquary Francis Drake published an extensive volume on the history and antiquities of York, which also explored a number of Roman and pre-Roman sites in the vicinity of the city.[183] Drake was a city surgeon in York and a keen antiquarian friend of Burlington. In his account, he remarked that 'the *Romans* found us a city'.[184] Noting that it was the custom 'in the primary ages of the world' for a more 'civilized' people to 'persuade', or to 'drive' a 'barbarous race' whom they had conquered into cities,[185] he suggested that this enabled subject people to 'wear off that savage disposition'. Drake referred to the actions of the Spanish and Portuguese in Brazil and the Americas as contemporary examples of such a policy. Eboracum was, therefore, according to Drake, an earlier example of a common colonial strategy.

The Britons of northern England appear, however, not to have been fully cooperative. Drake notes that they were 'Unwilling to leave their barbarous customs' and frequently rebelled. Indeed:

some who have had more than ordinary care taken of their education, and been carried children to *Rome* for that purpose, have at their return divested themselves of their reason, as well as cloths, and run naked into the mountains, to starve amongst their few unconquered countrymen . . . Like the *Hottentots* of *Africa*, who have thrown off the finest garments, and left the cosiest diet, to besmear their bodies with stinking grease, and fall to gnawing, again, of dirty guts and garbage.[186]

[181] Burlington also produced plans for another Palladian building in a city with Roman origins, London, where he designed a new Houses of Parliament which, however, was not constructed; see J. Harris (1994), 29.

[182] For a modern review of the status of Roman York, see Wacher (1995), 167.

[183] Drake's volume on York has already been addressed by Ayres (1997), 104–5, 108–12 and Sweet (2004), 164, 166.

[184] Drake (1736), 178.   [185] Ibid.   [186] Ibid.

York, therefore, was the 'settled station of a large army of *Roman* soldiers', positioned to control dirty and uncivil Britons.[187]

Drake's dedication of his book to 'The Right Honourable Sir Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington', is of considerable significance:[188] 'For, where should the history of an ancient Roman *city*, in *Britain*, find greater favour, or meet with a better reception, than from a nobleman, whose particular genius, almost, speaks him of *Roman* extraction?'[189] Drake noted Burlington's connections with the City of York and the 'noble edifice, designed and finished under your particular direction'.[190] This is the Assembly Rooms in York, designed and built by Burlington during the early 1730s, which, according to John Harris, was of a 'pure classical architecture' redolent of 'Antique Rome'; this was a building inspired by York's classical past.[191] Drake wrote:

it will be a lasting monument of the great regard and value you pay to this ancient city. For *York*, by your means, is now possessed of a structure, in a truer and nobler taste of architecture, than, in all probability, the *Roman* EBORACUM could ever boast of [.] Your Lordship's great knowledge in this art, soars up to the *Augustan* age and style; and, the *Pretorian* palace, once in old EBORACUM, made ever memorable for the residence and deaths of two *Roman* emperors, and, in all likelihood, for the birth of a third, must, if now standing, have given place to your *Egyptian* hall in our present *York*.[192]

For the political and social elite of York, Burlington's Assembly Rooms provided a physical link to the grandeur of imperial Rome, drawing upon York's ancient Roman past.[193] Few surviving Roman remains known in Britain at this time suggested a provincial society capable of grand architectural statements. The high status of Roman

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[187] Drake (1736), 178–9. A situation that Drake contrasts with the 'free' population of Verulamium, who enjoyed Roman citizenship.

[188] For Drake and Burlington, see Ayres (1997), 108–12, Cruickshanks (1995), 214, and Sweet (2004), 164, 166.

[189] Drake (1736), pp. 1–2 of the Dedication.

[190] Ibid. p. 3 of the Dedication.

[191] J. Harris (1994), 26, who also includes contemporary architectural drawings of this building (ibid. Figures 31–4).

[192] Drake (1736), p. 3 of the Dedication. Constantius I died at York and Constantine I was proclaimed emperor there; see Wacher (1995), 167.

[193] Ayres (1997), 108, 111.

York, however, was established by the classical texts that connected it with the emperor Constantine.

These observations on Chichester, York, and Silchester, indicate the motivations of those who were driving forward a new understanding of the Roman cities and villas of Britain, while the inspiration behind the design and construction of buildings in York, Chichester, Goodwood, and elsewhere points to the value of a Roman myth of origin to the landed aristocracy and patrons of urban communities. Other eighteenth-century public and private buildings fulfilled comparable purposes. We have seen, for example, that Clerk's Palladian villa at Mavisbank linked a wealthy Scottish landowner to the concept of aristocratic Roman rural life. Comparable rural elite residences, with ornate landscape gardens, were built in substantial numbers across Britain,[194] including Burlington's own magnificent villa at Chiswick House, just to the west of London.[195] The Augustan Roman parallels were an expression of the deep belief in the cultural superiority of Britain over the Continent, fixating upon the idea that the British had inherited the imperial mantle of classical Rome.[196]

The evidence from London, Chichester, and York suggests that physical discoveries had a deep influence on ideas of origin and, in contemporary accounts, the character of individual finds and structures together with the exact locations of their discovery were taking on significance. In his monumental volume *Itinerarium Curiosum* (1724), Stukeley mapped the location and extent of significant discoveries in Roman cities with commentaries on finds that provided detailed information about these places. The Cogidubnus stone was of particular relevance in this regard, since it suggested that a member of the indigenous British elite had a significant part to play in the development of a Roman town. This evidence, together with the

[194] Ackerman (1990), 135–58, Ayres (1997), 126–9, Dyson (2006), 6, J. Harris (1994), 105–6, and MacDonald and Pinto (1995), 279–85. Ibid. 268 for the literary, historical, and sacred allusions of the landscape garden. For the extension of classical ideas to English 'model farms', see Wade Martins (2002).

[195] J. Harris (1994) and Hewlings (1995). For the impact of Palladian architecture in Britain during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see J. Harris (1994), 7–15.

[196] Arnold (1998*b*), 107.

possible British input into Roman London and the British bricks from Silchester, suggested native contributions to the Roman urban fabric.

Rebuilding King Bladud's Bath

The rebuilding of the city of Bath during the early eighteenth century, when it became a fashionable watering place,[197] led to the discovery of Roman remains and so enabled antiquaries to formulate a number of highly contrasting ideas of the significance of the Roman city.

Knowledge of Roman finds from the city had been summarized by Thomas Guidott in a small book entitled *A Discourse of Bathe and the Hot Waters There* (1676). This described the quality of the waters but also addressed the evidence for the city in Roman and later times. Guidott called the tale of Bladud 'uncertain';[198] he also addressed the Roman history in some detail through a description of the Roman coins and inscriptions, including a number that were built into the town wall (Figure 3.7).[199]

In 1708, a Roman inscription that commemorated a soldier called Julius Vitalis was found that caused a number of antiquaries to muse on the potential British origin of some members of the Roman army (Figure 3.8).[200] This tombstone, which was found with a large and a small cinerary urn, was dug up near the London Road (the Fosse Way) in Walcote, half a mile from the Roman baths.[201] This discovery led to the writing of a number of scholarly papers and two books in Latin. Reviewing one of these books in 1713, Philip Yeo suggested that the inscription was of 'greater value' in that it was the only one yet discovered that related to the '*British* Belgæ';[202] in contemporary terms, the tribe or *civitas* of the Belgae, which Yeo noted was based around Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*). Roman inscriptions had been

[197] Cunliffe (1971), 67; (1986), 112–14, and Sweet (1997), 113–16.

[198] Guidott (1676), 55.

[199] Ibid. 68–75.

[200] Horsley (1733), 323–4 reviewed these writings. Harmsen (2000), 184, n. 2 provides a recent discussion, giving further references.

[201] Collingwood and Wright (1995), 51. Samuel Gale (1790), 20 noted that the stone had been set up in a wall at the east end of the abbey, but it is now in the Roman Bath Museum; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 51, *RIB* 156.

[202] Yeo (1713), 283; for a fuller account, see Musgrave (1719), 53, 107.
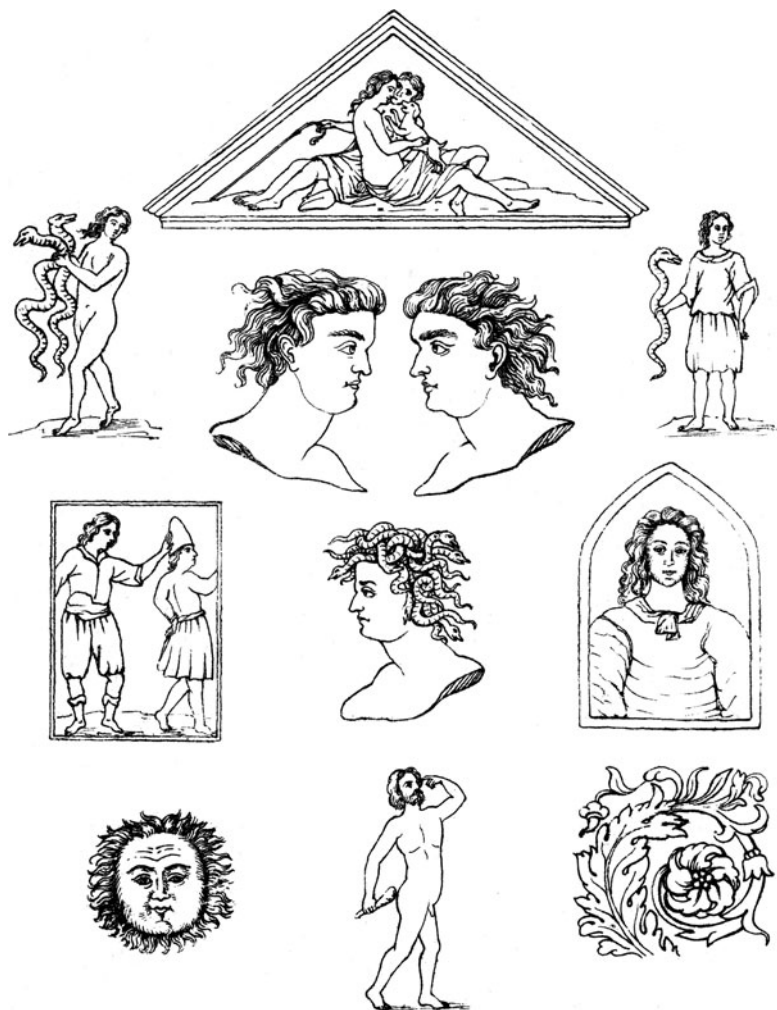
Figure 3.7. 'Sculptures once in the Walls of Bath, selected from drawings given by Guidott', from Scarth (1864).

Figure 3.8. Tombstone of Julius Vitalis from Bath, from Scarth (1864).

discovered and published in some numbers since the late sixteenth century but, when they referred to the origins of individual soldiers and detachments of troops, these were invariably from abroad; hence the importance of the new stone from Bath. It was noted that the Belgae had probably come initially from Germany, after which they settled in Gaul before traveling to southern Britain.[203]

The inscription on the London Road tombstone, which was complete and relatively undamaged, contained information about Vitalis which evidently fascinated Yeo and his contemporaries. Vitalis was a member of the Twentieth Legion and Yeo observed, on the basis that this legion was in Britain for about three hundred years, that it must have been 'of great use in communicating to the *Britains*, the many Arts and Sciences, they learnt of the *Romans*'.[204] The fact that Vitalis would have been a citizen of Rome was taken to indicate that 'The

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[203] Yeo (1713), 288–9.   [204] Ibid. 286–7.

Britains were sometimes call'd *Romans*.'[205] In fact, the term 'Belga' on the inscription is ambiguous and it is not clear that Vitalis originated in Britain; indeed, it now appears more likely that he was from Gallia Belgica.[206] This proposed link with the ancient population of Britain, however, enabled the early eighteenth-century antiquaries who wrote about Vitalis to demonstrate that certain indigenous people took part in controlling and civilizing the Roman province. The considerable interest shown in Vitalis and Cogidubnus by a number of antiquaries illustrates the value of these finds for projecting ideas of the Roman ancestry of native Britons.

In the Vitalis inscription, 'FABRICIES' was taken to indicate a military fabrica, or an 'office for making Arms' at or close to Bath.[207] Yeo observed that 'The Luxury of the XXth Legion . . . manifests from their many Mosaic Pavements',[208] and that this indicates that part of the Legion had their 'Station' here.[209] In fact, modern readings suggest that Vitalis was an armourer of the Legion and that he was buried at the town and spa centre,[210] where he was possibly seeking treatment. The military tombstones that had already been found at Bath, however, suggested to Yeo that it was a 'station' manned by Roman soldiers.

Other contemporary writers emphasized different issues. In 1709, Hearne noted that at Walcote, where the stone was found, '*Accommodations* [were] provided for the Reception of such persons as were troubled with *Diseases* that were *Infectious*, or purpose to prevent the *ill consequences* of these *Distempers* at *Bathe*, which was even *then* frequented by *sick* People from *all Parts* of the *Kingdom*.'[211] Samuel Gale visited Bath in 1705 and recorded a number of Roman finds; in a note of his visit, revised in 1730, he wrote:

[205] Ibid. 289.
[206] Modern scholarship suggests that this tombstone dates to the late first or early second century AD and it would be unusual for a native Briton to be recruited into a legion this early; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 51.
[207] Yeo (1713), 290. See Hearne (1709), 231–4 for a comparable observation. Hearne explored in some detail the nature of manufacture in Bath and the sourcing of the iron from the Forest of Dean.
[208] Yeo (1713), 290.   [209] Ibid. 286.
[210] Collingwood and Wright (1995), 51.   [211] Hearne (1709), 227.

This is the city so celebrated for its antiquity, known to the Romans above sixteen hundred years ago; who, as they subdued the rude and savage Britons, so they likewise taught them humanity, the useful arts of improving life, and introduced them in the manner of government, and gave them the Roman law and privileges, taught them the ornamental as well as commodious parts of architecture, in fortifying their towns, building bridges, raising the great roads and causeways, erecting temples and baths, of which our city of Bath is an illustrious instance...I am of the opinion, that, to this glorious people we owe the original discovery of these famous baths here; notwithstanding the fabulous tale of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who makes king Bladud, a Briton, the first founder; the usual subterfuge of ignorance, rendering the affair still more uncertain, when hoisted up to the time of a person altogether of a dubious, if of any existence.[212]

The concept of Roman influence on the inhabitants of Bath was developed in one particular account of the city written by John Wood the Elder (1704–1754).

A native of Bath, Wood made significant discoveries of Roman remains while building the Mineral Water Hospital in 1738.[213] Inspired by these, he reconstructed the ancient British and Roman history of the city, developing the idea which Samuel Gale had dismissed,[214] Wood proposed that:

the antient Works in Bath, and its *Neighbourhood*..., when considered together, will go a great Way towards a Demonstration that there was a King BLADUD, that the *Britons*, in the early Ages of the World, were a more civilized People than the Stream of Historians have represented them; and that they were capable of performing the most accurate and stupendous Works, long before the *Romans* landed upon our Island.[215]

Wood's discussion of Bladud was derived in part from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.[216] Bath, like Rome and

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[212] S. Gale (1790), 17–18.
[213] Cunliffe (1971), 7; see Wood (1742). For John Wood's campaign of building in Bath, see Cunliffe (1986), 122–34, Forsyth (2003), Mowl and Earnshaw (1988), and Sweet (1997), 114–16. For Wood's life and achievements, see A. Gomme (2004).
[214] See the comments quoted in R. Smith (1944), 12.
[215] Wood (1742), pp. 1–2 of the Preface.
[216] Geoffrey of Monmouth (*HKB* 2, 10) relates that Bladud built the town of Bath and constructed the hot springs, but does not describe his recover from leprosy.

London, possessed a foundation myth that had long fascinated its inhabitants,[217] suggesting that it was founded 863 years before the birth of Christ by Bladud, who had discovered that his leprosy was cured by bathing in the mineral spring water.[218] The great-grandson of Aeneas in some accounts, he later became king of England.[219] Wood argued that the British temples at Bath and elsewhere were built in 'greater Perfection' even than those of the Greeks and that they were constructed entirely out of marble at a time when the Romans were still building in 'common Clay'.[220] He was inspired by certain remains that he uncovered at Bath, which he claimed to be pre-Roman and to represent part of King Bladud's palace.[221] Wood's ideas about the pre-Roman population arose from a growing fascination with the indigenous legendary history of Britain that had emerged from late sixteenth-century roots.[222]

In Wood's account, the Romans are clearly the enemies of the native population during the period of their conquest. He mentions that, under Caesar, 'Fire consumed the Cities, Towns, Villages and other Dwelling Places of the Britons', including Bath.[223] The Britons were forced to take refuge in the woods, which they surrounded with ditches and ramparts, hence Caesar's reference to the primitive nature of British cities. According to Wood, the Romans established a camp near to the point where the hot water rises at Bath. He argued that the remains he had uncovered in 1738, consisting of walls, mosaics, and hypocausts, which he recorded in some detail, were the 'Vestigias' of the 'prætorium' of this camp, probably dating to just after the Romans arrived.[224]

Despite Wood's anti-Roman view, his architecture drew directly on classical inspirations, though modified by his interpretations of

[217] R. Smith (1944), 1.

[218] Wood (1742), 6–8, although Wood was not entirely happy with this date and argued that 480 BC was a more likely one (ibid. 11–12).

[219] R. Smith (1944), 1–2.

[220] Wood (1742), p. 4 of the Preface. For the context of these suggestions, see Haycock (2002), 160–2, 220–1.

[221] Wood (1742), 26–7.

[222] Mowl and Earnshaw (1988), 185. See Smiles (1994) for the general context of ideas of ancient British origins at this time.

[223] Wood (1742), 56.   [224] Ibid. 63.

Britain's ancient past. The classical texts enabled Wood to suggest that a certain mixing of British and Roman ways occurred at Bath. After this, the Romans 'captivated and enslaved' the Britons through the actions described by Tacitus in *Agricola* 21. Wood argued, 'To this Political Scheme we may very justly attribute the turning of the *Roman* camp, pich'd upon the Ground where the City of Bath now stands, into a City adorned with Temples, magnificent Galleries, and sumptuous Baths.'[225] He argued that the temples Agricola had encouraged the Britons to build were without doubt built 'in such a Manner, as was agreeable to their Theology'.[226] Consequently, pre-Roman beliefs, based, according to Wood, on Pythagorean principles, were incorporated into Roman-period architecture.[227] In modern terms, ancient Bath became a Romano-British city, an inspiration for the architectural recreation, by Wood himself, of its former grandeur.

These historical imaginings provided a context for both John Wood's and his son's inspired plans for the architectural reconstruction of Bath as a fashionable spa.[228] In 1725, Wood proposed building in two areas, to the north-west of the walls and to the south-east of the Abbey. He planned to restore an imagined ancient Roman grandeur to Bath by constructing a place of assembly, to be called 'the Royal Forum of Bath'; a second area for sport, to be called 'the Grand Circus'; and a third place for medical exercise, to be called 'the *Imperial Gymnasium*'.[229] In parts, his plans drew very directly upon classical parallels, including the massive proposal for the 'Royal Forum', which, if it had been built, would have spanned the River Avon.[230] Wood's ambitious plans did not find full physical expression at Bath until the final years of his life, when he built 'the Circus', in which the idea of a

[225] Wood (1742), 66.   [226] Ibid.

[227] Wood also explains how the teaching of Pythagoras came to Britain.

[228] Sweet (1997), 115.

[229] Mowl and Earnshaw (1988), 65. See also Forsyth (2003), 18, who quotes from Wood's *Essay Towards a Description of Bath*. See also Ayres (1997), 130.

[230] The original plan is included in Mowl and Earnshaw (1988), 136 and is described as 'Imperial' rather than 'Royal' in its 'scale and imaginative reach' (ibid. 135); see A. Gomme (2004) for additional discussion and an account of the dismissal of these plans.

druidic stone circle (the individual stones transformed into houses) was overlaid by the architecture of the classical theatre.[231] Wood's earlier buildings in Bath are, by contrast, Roman in inspiration and heavily influenced by Palladio.[232]

The pre-Roman and Roman history of Bath provided an ancestry for its existence as a fashionable contemporary spa. In the words of Michael Forsyth, Wood invented a 'British—and specifically Bath-onian—antiquity that surpassed classical antiquity'.[233] It is unclear whether Wood actually fully believed the account of the foundation of Bath—it may have simply suited his architectural purpose.[234] He noted, for example, that another tale, taken partly from Geoffrey of Monmouth, relating how King Bladud learned to fly and broke his neck by falling on to Salisbury Church, was 'believed . . . as Truth' by the population of Bath.[235]

Wood's use of the pre-Roman and Roman history of Bath drew upon a different concept of the past than that represented by the neo-Roman infrastructure at York and Chichester. In each case, however, the physical rediscovery of Roman remains played a vital part in the development of knowledge of the past and present of the city and was used directly to inspire the location and design of buildings.

ELABORATING ROMAN CIVILITY: CHARLES BERTRAM AND THE FORGED ITINERARIES

The work of Charles Julius Bertram (1723–1765) marks a significant episode in the mapping and interpretation of Roman Britain. An

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[231] A. Gomme (2004), Haycock (2002), 221, and Forsyth (2003), 18, 144.

[232] Ibid. 14.

[233] A. Gomme (2004), Haycock (2002), 221, and Forsyth (2003), 18, 14.

[234] Mowl and Earnshaw (1988), 98 suggest that it is as if Wood was playing a game with his pattern of belief to 'see how far he can go on a line of argument or a provocative theory.' Sweet (1997), 116 writes about the way that the myth of Bladud and Bath was satirized during the eighteenth century.

[235] Wood (1742), 8. Geoffrey of Monmouth (*HKB* 2, 10) actually suggested that Bladud fell on to the Temple of Apollo at Trinovantium (London).

instructor of naval cadets at Copenhagen, he also published works on English grammar and pursued an interest in the antiquities of Denmark.[236] In 1747, this young Englishman sent an account of a manuscript on Roman Britain, supposedly written by the medieval monk Richard of Westminster, which Bertram claimed to have found in Denmark. Stukeley subsequently identified the writer with the monk known as Richard of Cirencester and it is with this name that the manuscript subsequently became connected.[237] The manuscript was supposed to date to the fourteenth century and the writer appeared to have used sources on Roman Britain that had subsequently been lost.[238]

Stukeley was very impressed with this information, stating that Richard 'penetrated far and deep in his researches',[239] also suggesting that 'we must justly admire our author's great capacity, in compiling the history of his country from first to last; as far as he could gather it, from all the materials then to be found; in all the considerable libraries in *England*; and what he could likewise find to his purpose, in foreign parts.'[240] He stated that Richard's map of Roman Britain (Figure 3.9) 'exceeds' all earlier maps 'beyond compare', noting that, the more 'we consider it, the more we approve'.[241] Stukeley also declared that it was superior even to the map produced by the 'excellent Mr. *Camden*'. The irony is that Richard's map was a subtle and intelligent mid eighteenth-century fake which drew deeply upon earlier maps and antiquarian ideas about the mapping of the information from the Roman itineraries.[242]

Stukeley persuaded Bertram to publish the work in Latin in 1756, alongside the texts of Gildas and Nennius,[243] while an abridged

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[236] Haycock (2002), 231–3, Piggott (1985), 126–38), and Sweet (2004), 175–81 provide detailed accounts of this manuscript and its eventual dismissal, while Todd (2004*a*, 447) discusses the impact of the map on the study of Roman Britain. For Bertram, see Piggott (1985), 127.

[237] Stukeley (1757), 4–5, Piggott (1985), 135–6, and Sweet (2004), 176.

[238] Ibid. 175.

[239] Stukeley (1757), 8.

[240] Ibid. 11.

[241] Ibid. 21.

[242] Haycock (2002), 232.

[243] Stukeley (1757), 13; see Piggott (1985), 133. Sweet (2004), 175–6 has discussed Stukeley's serious efforts to authenticate Bertram's manuscript; see Stukeley (1757), 13.
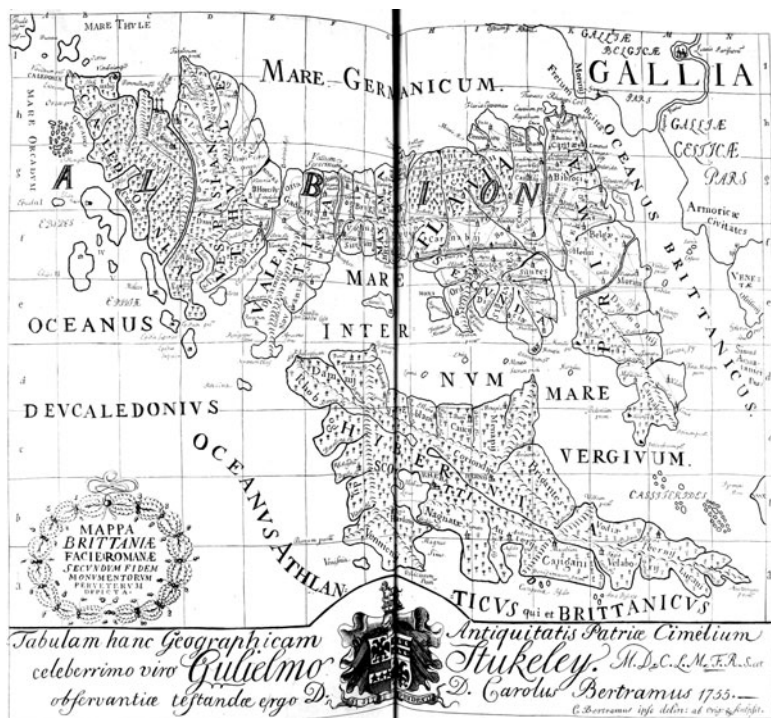
Figure 3.9. Map of Roman Britain derived from the works of Richard of Cirencester, from Stukeley (1776).

version in English was produced by Stukeley shortly after.[244] Stukeley's *An Account of Richard of Cirencester*, provided a useful summary of the manuscripts, including information about the author, his written works, and the rediscovery of the texts. Richard's supposed description of Britain survived, according to Bertram, in four and a half sheets in quarto size, the half sheet being the map.[245] The texts published by Stukeley comprised a summary of materials for eight chapters, eighteen itineraries (journeys), and a map of Britain in the Roman period.[246] The original document included a description of

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[244] Piggott (1985), 126.   [245] Ibid. 127.
[246] Stukeley (1757) and Haverfield (1924*a*), 77. For the structure of the texts published by Bertram, see Piggott (1985), 134–5.

Roman Britain that was supposedly derived from the writings of
a Roman officer; Stukeley suggested that this was Agricola.[247] Much
later, it became apparent that Bertram had actually faked all the
sections of these documents by using the work of Camden, Stukeley,
and others, in addition to the writings of Caesar, Tacitus, and Ptol-
emy and inventing various details himself.

The map included over 250 place names, while it purported to
show the distribution of native tribes in far greater detail than earlier
maps.[248] It gave over a hundred names of cities, tribes, and peoples
that had previously been unknown.[249] In particular, as Stukeley was
at pains to point out, Richard mentioned thirty-eight 'Roman sta-
tions' beyond the 'farthest *vallum* of *Antoninus*' (the Antonine
Wall),[250] shedding new light on the northern monuments studied
by Scottish antiquaries earlier in the century.[251] At certain points,
Bertram made comments that should have drawn critical attention
from antiquaries. For example, writing of the 'Caledonian region', he
proposed that the battle between Agricola and Calgacus occurred in
the area of the Tay and the Grampian hills, recording that 'certain
persons of our [monastic] order who passed that way, affirmed that
they saw immense camps, and other proofs which corroborated the
relations of Tacitus'.[252] Bertram was observing the evidence for
Roman military monuments that had recently been discovered by
Hanoverian military officers and back-projecting this information to
the fourteenth century.[253]

Stukeley noted that the listing of cities in Richard's manuscript
account of Roman Britain was 'quite different' from previous ac-
counts, defining ninety-two 'eminent cities', thirty-three of which
were 'more famous' than the rest.[254] The list divides them into a

[247] Stukeley (1757), 12. He also suggested that the itineraries were the work of the
same individual (ibid. 71–3).

[248] Sweet (2004), 176.

[249] Stukeley (1757), 15, 30–9.

[250] Ibid. 15.

[251] The Xth Itinerary was also felt to provide 'the only remaining monument to
Roman power in *Scotland*', because of its extensive listing of places not mentioned
elsewhere (ibid. 54).

[252] Hatcher (1809), 57 translating Bertram (1, 6, 43).

[253] Although it is interesting to note that Bertram would not have had access to the
works and publication of Roy at this time.

[254] Stukeley (1757), 17.

number of categories, including *municipia*, colonies, those free of Rome, and stipendiary cities.[255] This was particularly significant, even though his information was largely fabricated, since Richard's document was the first to provide a detailed ranking of the Roman cities of Britain, distinctions that were well known in other provinces.[256] Bertram had been adept enough to select all the major Roman sites recorded by Camden and others to make up his list, but he also made additions, including a *civitas* at Inverness, called 'Pteroton', or 'Alata Castra'.[257] The individual itineraries also appeared to provide vital new evidence, since they seemed to be much more complete than the Antonine Itinerary.[258] Together, the map and itineraries named 500 places, of which 150 were 'wholly new', information which, in Stukeley's words, provided 'a great treasure in *Roman* antiquities.'[259]

During the following hundred years, many scholars were deceived by the manuscript and map.[260] They were included in the second edition of Stukeley's *Itinerarium Curiosum* in 1776 and a new edition and commentary of Richard of Cirencester's work was published in 1809. Indeed, the map and itinerary were accepted as a prime source for Roman Britain for over seventy years, before its final rejection as a result of analysis of the Latin text.[261]

The impact of Bertram's work

Earlier writers have inferred that Bertram's documents set the study of Roman Britain back for almost one hundred years, until they were finally accepted as fakes in the mid nineteenth century.[262] Haverfield wrote, 'Almost all that was written on Roman Britain between 1757 and the middle of Queen Victoria's reign is tainted from this source. Inquirers have been set on the wrong track, and attention has been diverted into wrong channels.'[263] Indeed, despite the eventual

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[255] Ibid. 22–3.   [256] Hatcher (1809), xiii.
[257] Stukeley (1757), 23.   [258] Ibid. 63, 71.   [259] Ibid. 94.
[260] Sweet (2004) 174–5, 178–81, who also reviews scholars who were dubious about the work.
[261] Haverfield (1924*a*), 78, Piggott (1985), 135–6, Sweet (2004), 178, and Todd (2004*a*), 448.
[262] See, for example, Piggott (1985), 135.
[263] Haverfield (1924*a*), 78.

dismissal of the document, works on Roman Britain continued to include details derived from Richard of Cirencester's texts until the end of the nineteenth century.[264] It is important, however, as Rosemary Sweet has emphasized, to consider why the manuscript and map were so attractive to antiquaries that they were accepted as genuine.[265] It is also enlightening to consider the positive aspects of the impact of Bertram's work on how the civil population of the Roman province was viewed. Bertram's documents featured a series of names that local antiquarians could adopt in their field inspections of unrecorded Roman sites while also enabling a new focus on the civil element of life in Roman Britain.

As a result, Richard of Cirencester's account offered new opportunities for the development of ideas of ancestry based in particular locales, since it recorded many more sites across much of Britain, from the tip of Cornwall to the Scottish Highlands. It did not, however, overthrow old understandings, since Bertram appears to have carefully designed it in detail. He must have possessed an excellent knowledge of the available information and have been a skilled palaeographer, both to supplement what was already known and to create such a plausible map and manuscript.[266]

The relatively uncritical reaction to the text must have been partly due to the high frequency of Roman discoveries, overwhelming the traditional accounts of the history and topography of the Roman province.[267] The Roman itineraries and other textual sources were proving too limited for understanding the extent and variability of the remains being recognized across Britain at this time. Bertram's documents contained a wealth of new ideas about the names of places not listed in the classical sources and encouraged antiquaries to look for Roman finds in locations not named by other sources. In particular, Bertram's map displayed much more information about the northern areas of the province that was not addressed in the

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[264] Irving (1861) continued to defend the veracity of at least some of the information derived from this source, while Scarth (1883), 189 and Windle (1897), 129 repeated Richard's information for nine colonies in Roman Britain. As Haverfield observed (1924*a*), 78, even after the dismissal of the text as a forgery, writers still repeated Bertram's fiction without being aware.

[265] Sweet (2004), 177.

[266] Piggott (1985), 137–8 and Sweet (2004), 177.   [267] Ibid.

Roman itineraries; consequently, the documents were especially significant for northern antiquaries.[268] Roy mentioned that he partly based his 1775 map of northern Roman Britain on Richard of Cirencester's map.[269] Drawing extensively upon this source, he emphasized the fact that he wished to contribute towards an understanding of the geography of northern Roman Britain so that it would match that already developed in the south. The publication of Richard of Cirencester's manuscript account encouraged Roy to develop his thinking and to consider publishing his own work.[270]

Richard Colt Hoare drew directly upon Bertram's text during the early nineteenth century.[271] He defended the veracity of Bertram's texts by observing that 'his authenticity becomes more established every year, by the discovery of Stations recorded by him in his Itinerary, and omitted in that of Antonine'. We shall see that Hoare discovered the remains of various British and Roman settlements on the chalk downs of Wiltshire, and this reference suggests that his significant work was partly motivated by Bertram's texts.

In the context of the strong interest in the Roman past of Britain, by emphasizing the significance of Roman settlement, Bertram's fakes constituted a catalyst for the development of new perspectives. For example, the claim that eleven cities had municipal status more than doubled the number of known cities and proportionately overstated the civilization of the province.[272] Bath, Chester, and Caerleon were described as large and civilized Roman cities; it is now known that they represented, respectively, a spa centre and two Roman legionary forts with associated civil settlements.[273] In the context of the mid eighteenth-century underestimate of the significance of the public buildings and cities, Bertram's work inspired a re-evaluation of the nature of the province.

Despite the fact that Bertram has usually been condemned for fabricating documents,[274] his manuscript encouraged a developing trend by helping to refocus the study of Roman antiquity from Roman military 'stations' and frontier works towards the early

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[268] Ibid. 175–6.   [269] Roy (1793), ix, xii.
[270] Ibid. ix. Roy notes that many plans of Roman works have been collected and that perhaps the arrangement of them on some future occasion may 'lead to the rectifying of the ancient geography of this part of the island.' (ibid. xv).
[271] Hoare (1821), 29 n. *.   [272] Haverfield (1924*a*), 79.
[273] Ibid.   [274] Ibid. 78, Piggott (1985), 137, and Todd (2004*a*), 447–8.

history of Roman towns, even if some of the ideas they helped to generate were problematic. The documents also created opportunities for antiquaries to discover and interpret new types of sites away from the road systems, while reviving an interest in the mapping of the Roman province.[275]

THE ANCIENT BRITONS: THEIR COINS, HOMES, AND MANNERS

The druids had been a topic of interest for antiquaries from the late sixteenth century but there were new developments in their study during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.[276] The origins and function of the henge monuments of Britain were often explained by reference to the druids. During the mid eighteenth century, the literary movement known as the Celtic Revival developed as people from the periphery of Britain celebrated their home regions, which led to an increased interest in the ancient Celts and the druids.[277] These images were often highly romanticized,[278] including John Wood's speculations about Bath, with druids viewed as learned seers and Celts providing noble ancestor figures for the contemporary population. During the later eighteenth century, however, other writers aimed to provide accounts that were based more fully on evidence drawn from the classical texts and also the objects and houses left behind by pre-Roman peoples.

Cunobelinus' coins

British coins, as we have seen, were the only convincingly pre-Roman objects that could be identified and interpreted.[279] The Reverend

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[275] Sweet (2004), 175.

[276] Morse (2005), 36 and Smiles (1994), 77–9.

[277] Morse (2005), 41–7, Smiles (1994), 16, 83, and Sweet (2004), 135.

[278] Morse (2005), 47–8 and Smiles (1994), 81–5.

[279] See John Evans (1864), 4–10 for the history of the study of British coins during the eighteenth century.

Samuel Pegge's scholarly study of the coins of Cunobelinus, published in 1766, built on the earlier ideas of Camden and other antiquaries.[280] Pegge made a detailed examination of thirty-eight coins of Cunobelinus with illustrations.[281] This work was a reply to the suggestions made by a number of his contemporaries that certain coins considered by Camden and subsequent authors to be ancient British were neither British nor pre-Roman.[282] In Pegge's study, 'This "Noble Set of Coins" is classed, and appropriated to our BRITISH KING upon rational grounds.'[283] Pegge argued that they originated before the Roman invasion, while he also created an important classification of these coins into six sub-categories. Defined on the basis of the presence or absence of certain legends, this approach was developed and elaborated by later writers.[284] Pegge also furthered some of Camden and Speed's ideas about ancient British leaders by drawing observations from these coins.

Pegge remarked that Cunobelinus, 'in whose time it is supposed our Saviour Christ was born', was an 'illustrious British prince', judging by his coinage, which was 'copious, lasting and even elegant'.[285] Observing the Latin legends, Roman gods, and symbols on Cunobelinus' coins, together with the similarity of these to Roman originals, he argued that the coins were either the work of a Roman monier or 'some artist of the province of Gaul'. Indeed, he argued that the name 'TASCIA'/'TASCIO' on some of these coins may have referred to such an individual.[286] Pegge explained the presence of a Roman or provincial Roman monier in the court of King Cunobelinus on the basis that, between the time of Caesar and Claudius, 'a

[280] Pegge (1766). See John Evans (1864), 7, Joan Evans (1956), 131, 159, and Sweet (2004), 135–6. Stukeley also developed a fascination with the coins of the Britons, recording and musing on the origins of a great number of coins—see Allen (1970), John Evans (1864), 7–8, Piggott (1989), 134–6—but a volume that he planned never came to fruition.

[281] Four additional coins, which had been drawn to Pegge's attention, were included in an addendum.

[282] Pegge (1766), 1–2.

[283] Ibid., title page.

[284] For example, Birch (1847) and John Evans (1864), 7.

[285] Pegge (1766), 4. He notes that Cunobelinus is also renowned as the father of Caratacus, 'a more illustrious son' (ibid.).

[286] Ibid. 41, 54. It is now thought that Tasciovanus was the father of Cunobelinus, a conclusion which is drawn from the legends of some of the coins that Pegge attributed to Cunobelinus; see Birch (1847), 32 and John Evans (1864), 7.

continuous intercourse and friendship' existed between the Britons and the Romans and that, as a result, the 'tastes and the execution of these coins . . . are entirely Roman'.[287] Drawing on Strabo, Pegge proposed that either Cunobelinus or his envoy had been to the city of Rome where they would have been 'wrapt in admiration' by the architecture, 'transported with pleasure' by the 'polite and genteel' manners, and 'not least taken by the excellence of the Roman money'.[288]

The Latin on these coins suggested that 'some glimmerings of the Roman arts and sciences' had been introduced to Britain at this time.[289] Pegge's motivation for these comments is evident in his suggestion that the invasions of Caesar, the contact between Cunobelinus and Rome, and the conquest of Britain under Claudius 'seem to have been permitted and directed by an all-wise providence, for the salutary purpose of civilizing and converting this heathen nation, from the grossness of error and superstition, to the truth and purity of the Christian faith.'[290] Experience of Roman manners and customs was felt to have softened the barbarity of the native inhabitants, facilitating the introduction of Christianity.

It has been suggested above that Speed may have drawn some inspiration from British coins for his writings and images; this is clear from Pegge's own comments, since he wrote that:

Caesar tells us, the Britons wore their hair long, but shaved it in every part of the body, except the head and the upper lip . . . And yet there are no signs of this flowing hair upon the coins, the reason of which, I apprehend, may be, that the Princes were exempt from this general rule . . . The same author says, the inland Britons were *habited with skins* . . . a representation which, I think, ought to be restrained to the common sort of people, the Princes and

[287] Pegge (1766), 47, 50.
[288] Ibid. 51.
[289] Ibid. 83. He refers to the ideas about civilizing in *Agricola* 21 as the outcome of these processes operating through time (ibid. 86).
[290] Ibid. Despite his extensive comments on the impact of Rome upon British leaders prior to and after the conquest, Pegge only used the concept of 'Romanized' very sparingly. In particular the term is used to refer to the artist who produced Cunobelinus' coins (ibid. 48, 101), an individual who the author felt was from Rome of from the province of Gaul. Is it possible that within the prevailing conception of Roman Britain, Pegge felt that the degree of cultural transformation represented by the 'Romanized' went too far, even for the elite of Roman Britain?

Druids . . . being better clad, as is evident from the appearance Cunobelin makes on the coins.[291]

Pegge contributed significantly to the creation of the 'cultural space' that was developing for the pre-Roman populations in contemporary accounts, even though his own work emphasized growing civility through the adoption of Roman manners.

Pegge's interest in Cunobelinus was part of a growing focus, during the second half of the eighteenth century, on the ancient British leaders who had opposed the Roman conquest. The fact that Britain was constantly at war during this period provided the context for the appeal of warlike figures such as Boadicea, Cunobelinus, and Caractacus.[292] William Hawkins revised Shakespeare's play *Cymbeline* in 1759, during the Seven Years' War with France, building upon an upsurge of nationalist sentiments.[293] Two years later, David Garrick returned to Shakespeare's original text in his popular production but, crucially, both Garrick and Hawkins suppressed Cymbeline's decision to pay tribute to the Romans, emphasizing the relative independence of the ancient British from the Romans;[294] such a nationalist perspective provides a contrast with Pegge's far more internationally cooperative Cunobelinus. John Creighton has proposed that this manipulation of the story of Cymbeline fits with a late eighteenth-century concern to find a clear divide between Britain and the Continent, one that characterized the study of Roman Britain for most of the succeeding two centuries.[295] The Reverend William Mason's tragedy *Caractacus* (1759) also fits this perspective, since it developed the idea of the valiant opposition of some ancient Britons to wrongful Roman imperialism.[296]

British manners

Robert Henry and Joseph Strutt produced, in 1771 and 1779 respectively, studies of the history of Britain providing new assessments of

[291] Pegge (1766), 99.
[292] Smiles (1994), 137, 153–61. See Lenman (1998) for the military situation at this time.
[293] Brown and Johnson (2000), 6 and Smiles (1994), 137; see Lenman (1998), 159 for the context.
[294] Brown and Johnson (2000), 6 and Creighton (2006), 7.
[295] Ibid.   [296] Smiles (1994), 17, 137.

the pre-Roman populations.[297] Henry (1718–1790), a Church of Scotland minister and historian, wrote an impressive and substantial volume on Britain from the invasion of Julius Caesar to the arrival of the Saxons, the first part of an intended ten-volume series covering British history up to Henry's own time.[298] His first volume contained a series of detailed appendices that included the Roman itineraries and is remarkable in the attention paid to the pre-Roman British population. Henry states, on page one of the book, that he has begun his narrative 'at that period, where we meet with clear and authentic information', with the invasion of Caesar.[299] The author, however, returns at various stages to discuss in some detail the nature of the pre-Roman populations. He was careful to avoid idle speculation, drawing upon classical texts and recent antiquarian writings to address issues such as the constitution, government, laws, state of learning, appearance, and architecture of these people.[300] Today Henry's picture seems rather over-romanticized, although he did achieve a good balance between the two opposed ideas of Roman civility and native valour.[301]

His account includes a detailed description of the 'kingdoms' or 'states' of pre-Roman Britain,[302] estimating that the population might have been 760,000 at the time of the Roman invasion.[303] Emphasizing that ancient British oratory had survived to the present day in the Western Isles of Scotland,[304] he argued that, in pre-Roman times 'the state of learning . . . is evidently sufficient to shew that our British ancestors did not wholly neglect the improvement of their

[297] For the development of the writing of histories in eighteenth-century England, see R. Porter (1988), 38–9.
[298] Eventually, he published the first five volumes, while a sixth posthumous volume appeared in 1793, taking the account up to 1603; see Sher (2004).
[299] Henry (1771), 1.
[300] He also uses various examples from the faked texts of the fictitious bard Ossian. For James Macpherson and the faking of these poems, see Haycock (2002), 233–5 and Sweet (2004), 138.
[301] Smiles (1994), 1–2, 12–14, 119–20, 125 addresses Henry's pro-Celtic views, while Sweet (1997), 155 explores the context of Henry's work. For Henry's balanced conception see his discussion (1771), 490–1 of the positive and negative aspects of the ancient British populations, which concludes the volume.
[302] Ibid. 162–94.
[303] Henry (ibid. 194) worked this out by suggesting that each of the thirty-eight British 'nations' attested in the classical texts had a population of around 20,000 people of both sexes.
[304] Ibid. 279–80.

minds and the cultivation of the sciences; and consequently that they did not deserve that contempt with which they have been treated . . . , nor the odious names of savages and barbarians.'[305] Henry included a detailed discussion of the appearance of ancient Britons, noting that clothes in the Highlands of Scotland perpetuated ancient traditions of dress 'till very lately, and are hardly yet laid aside in some remote corners of the country'.[306] A nine-page summary is included of the current knowledge of British coins, particularly those of Cunobelinus, drawn directly from Pegge. Henry observes that these coins:

afford a convincing proof of that friendly and familiar intercourse which Strabo tells us subsisted between the Romans and the Britons in the reign of Augustus; and that the Roman arts, manners, and religion, had even then gained some footing in this island. For on these coins we see almost all the Roman letters, and many of the Roman Deities, which is a demonstration that some of the Britons at least could read these letters, and that they had some knowledge of, and some veneration for these Deities.[307]

Referring to the account of Diodorus Siculus, he noted that 'The Britons . . . dwell in various wretched cottages, which are constructed of wood, covered with straw.'[308] Henry observed that these houses were not square but circular, filling out his account with information for some examples that had been described by antiquaries. He remarks:

The foundations of some of the most magnificent of these circular houses were of stone, of which there are some vestiges still remaining in Anglesey and other places. It was probably in imitation of these wooden houses, that the most ancient stone edifices, of which there are still some remains in the western Isles of Scotland, were built circular, and have a large aperture at the top.[309]

Among other sources for his observations, Henry refers to Henry Rowlands' volume *Mona Antiqua Restaurata* (1723), which had illustrated and described '*British* Buildings' as 'Clusters of little round and oval Foundations, whose very Irregularities speak their Antiquity',[310] further describing them as 'being at that Time generally

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[305] Ibid. 294.   [306] Ibid. 472.   [307] Ibid. 410.
[308] Ibid. 318.   [309] Ibid. quoting Diodorus Siculus 5.21.5.
[310] Rowlands (1723), 25. For the context of this work, see Haycock (2002), 133–5 and Sweet (2004), 140.

of Timber, except their Ground-works and Foundations which were of Stone and entrench'd Earth, all we can now trace of those Palaces and greater Structures, must be from what are left remaining and visible of those Ground-plots and Foundations . . .'.[311] These sources, together with records of stone buildings in Scotland, enabled Henry to make his observations on the homes of ancient Britons.

Joseph Strutt's *The Chronicle of England* (1779) drew much of its inspiration from Henry's work.[312] Strutt wrote extensively on the pre-Roman people. He argued, with regard to the ancient Britons, that the 'picture . . . is by far too rudely drawn'.[313] In his account of government and laws, he states:

The Greek and Roman navigators, or merchants, who trafficked with the Britons, carried home the most shocking accounts of their ferocity, in order to advance their own fame, and excite the admiration of their countrymen. From these exaggerated reports, the ancient history of this people was penned, so that we ought not to be astonished when we find a great part of them much more civilized than we expected.[314]

Strutt remarked that modern authors have 'unadvisedly confused' the accounts of Britons found in the various classical authors without paying attention to the different times at which these authors were writing themselves, or to what part of Britain their subjects inhabited.[315] He states that, even in the time of Caesar, the south-east of Britain:

had made the first, and most requisite step towards a civil settlement; and by tillage and agriculture, provided themselves with every requisite necessary for the enjoyment of life: mean while the inland inhabitants were not so polished, but wandered around from place to place, supporting themselves by pasturage; and the northern Britons, natives of the wilds of Calidonia, for a long time afterwards were but in a state of nature, and entirely un-

[311] Rowlands (1723), 88.
[312] For Strutt's life and contribution to antiquarian and historical studies, see Haskell (1993), 292–5, Smiles (1994), 11–12, 19–20, and Sweet (2004), 58, 214–15, 331–4. For the wider context of Strutt's work on ancient British costumes and the relative lack of appreciation of his significant work, which presumably arose from his relatively humble background, see Haskell (1993), 287–303, Moser (1998), 96–8, and Sweet (2004), 58.
[313] Strutt (1779), 241.
[314] Ibid.   [315] Ibid.

acquainted with the refinements which had taken place in the other parts of the island.[316]

Strutt provided a detailed discussion of the clothing and appearance of these ancient Britons, derived entirely from classical texts, but developing his observations about regional variations in the civility of these people (Figure 3.10).[317] He observed that, when Caesar invaded, the inland inhabitants wore animal skins but that the people of southern Britain wore clothes; since these latter people, according to Caesar, were far more civilized, this 'almost amounts to a proof' that these people wore garments, probably the mantle or plaid.[318] The Caledonians, by contrast, even at the time of the emperor Severus, were still evidently unclothed, at least when in battle.[319] Strutt's illustration shows a warrior from the south on the left,[320] next to another type of southern Briton;[321] the third figure is an inland inhabitant of the time of Caesar, while the fourth is from the Maeatae (a Caledonian).[322] The woman to the right of this figure is 'Boudicea', for whom 'a perfect description of her person' had been preserved.[323] As Rosemary Sweet has observed, during the later eighteenth century the relative civility achieved by the Britons immediately prior to, or during, the Roman invasion was beginning to be contrasted with earlier phases of British history perceived as uncivilized.[324]

Locating British homes

In the background of this image of the ancient Britons is a megalith and small roundhouse, indicating that Strutt used antiquarian studies to inform his pictures.[325] Strutt also discussed the temporary

[316] Ibid. 242.

[317] In addition to his image of various ancient Britons, he included a second illustration of ancient Germans.

[318] Ibid. 271–2.

[319] Ibid. 273.

[320] For the inspiration behind the helmet and various other features shown on these figures, see Moser (1998), 99.

[321] Influenced by Strutt's account of the inhabitants of the Cassiterides; see Strutt (1779), 272.

[322] The Maeatae were a people of Scotland described in the early third century by Cassius Dio; see Mattingly (2006), 35.

[323] Strutt (1779), 274. This is a reference to Dio's description (62.21.2) of Boudica's appearance and clothes.

[324] Sweet (2004), 148–50.   [325] Haskell (1993), 294 and Moser (1998), 98.

Figure 3.10. 'Figure of ancient Britons, as described by Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Julius Caesar, Dio Cassius and Herodian'. Engraved by Joseph Strutt (1779).

'houses' and 'shelters' of the Britons and he wrote that, at the time of Caesar, they lived in circular houses with conical thatched roofs that were ventilated at the top to emit the smoke from the fire.[326] Strutt and Henry both referred to the more elaborate dwellings, the round-houses that survived from the prehistoric past.

Other antiquaries were examining the potentially more 'ancient' subterranean dwellings of the ancient southern Britons, features described by Strutt as 'holes or caverns in the earth',[327] thereby beginning an exploration of the potential scale of pre-Roman chronology. Roger Gale's miscellaneous correspondence included an undated early eighteenth-century note from the Reverend Conyers Place of Dorchester on 'the aboriginal form of human habitations in general, & British in particular'.[328] He related the common place name 'Burrough', often used to describe earthworks of uncertain date, to the idea of the 'under-

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[326] Strutt (1779), 254.　　　[327] Ibid. 254.　　　[328] Place (no date).

ground lodgings of animals', suggesting that it preserved the memory of a time at which the inhabitants of Britain 'dwelt chiefly underground' rather than in houses built on the surface.[329] He argued that:

Our original Burroughs in their primitive simplicity were but as so many human warrens, consisting of sett of underground caverns . . . & this is but suitable to the savage way of life of the old Brittains in other respects, such as their going naked, which alone cutts off all the ends allmost of raising houses. For what end should men raise houses, who had neither cloaths, nor furniture, nor wanted any guard against the inclemency of the air . . . ?[330]

Place continued his letter by comparing these underground dwellings to those of the 'hutts of the Hottentots or Indian savages, or other uncultivated tribes of men'.[331] He suggested that the tradition of underground living continued into later times and that the Romans built tessellated semi-subterranean floors 'in complyance with the native mode of underground habitations.'[332] He noted a number of British subterranean houses, including Wookey Hole and examples on Rippon Common.

The Honourable Daines Barrington contributed a paper to *Archaeologia* outlining a comparable idea of British pit dwellings.[333] In 1784, he described Cole's Pits, near Little Coxwell (Oxfordshire), suggesting that the numerous pits on this site constituted 'a considerable city of the Britons in the time of the earliest inhabitants of this island'.[334] He suggested that, although such a dwelling did not have the 'convenience of a modern house', to an 'unpolished barbarian' it would have afforded protection from 'cold and tempest'.[335] Calculating that five people might have lived in each pit, he proposed a total population of nearly 1,300, indicating that that Cole's Pits was the '*London* of those rude times'.[336] Barrington argued that the site even pre-dated Stonehenge, since Britain at the time of Caesar was not as barbarous as these pits would suggest and that they must therefore at least be somewhat earlier than the Romans.[337] He turned to native

[329] Ibid. 156.   [330] Ibid.
[331] Ibid. 159.   [332] Ibid. 160.
[333] Also discussed by Sweet (2004), 404, n. 143. For Barrington's contribution to the Society of Antiquaries, see Joan Evans (1956), 150–1.
[334] Barrington (1784), 238. These are actually quarries.
[335] Ibid. 240.   [336] Ibid. 240–1.   [337] Ibid. 238.

societies in the New World to help to explain and to reconstruct the
Cole's Pits features, observing that there were comparable dwellings
among the inhabitants of 'Kamskatka', at 'Oonalaska' and on the
north-west coast of America.[338] Referring to Barrington's paper,
Major Hayman Rooke published an account of fifty comparable
pits near Brakenfield (Derbyshire) that he interpreted as dwellings.
He observed that these lay in two parallel lines and argued that this
'street of pits was a British town'.[339]

Barrington and Rooke were identifying a pre-Roman urban civil-
ization,[340] but their works stand in stark contrast to the growing
contemporary knowledge of the impressive stone-built 'British' and
'Pictish' dwellings of Scotland and Wales, illustrated and discussed by
Gordon, Henry, Rowlands, Roy, and Strutt. Barrington sought to
avoid the potential contradiction presented by the idea that the
people of northern Britain were more advanced than those of the
south by suggesting that pit dwellings were the homes of ancient
Britons who lived at an earlier period than the inhabitants of the
roundhouses.

ROMANIZED BRITONS?

Henry and Strutt also considered the advances to British society as a
result of the Roman conquest, although both authors appear to have
been more interested in pre-Romans than in Romans. Henry ad-
dressed the Cogidubnus inscription from Chichester and its sign-
ificance, before discussing the establishment of the Roman 'planted
colony' at Colchester and Roman public buildings at other colonies
in the empire which 'charmed the conquered nation, and reconciled
them to the domination of a people by whom their several countries
were so much improved and beautified'.[341] Noting the 'free cities' of
Verulamium and London, he remarked that the Romans were 'better
intitled to the admiration of mankind, for their policy in preserving

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[338] Barrington (1784), 241 nn. g and h, 242 n. k.
[339] Rooke (1790), 116. Rooke dismisses an alternative idea that these pits were
hiding places for a defeated army.
[340] Sweet (2004), 146.   [341] Henry (1771), 227.

and governing, than for their valour in making their conquests'.[342] Emphasizing the manner in which the Romans passed on their architectural knowledge to the Britons,[343] Henry argued that, from AD 80 to the middle of the fourth century, architecture and 'all the arts' flourished in Britain:

the same taste for erecting solid, convenient, and beautiful buildings, which had long prevailed in Italy, was introduced into Britain. Every Roman colony and free city (of which there was a great number in this country) was a little Rome, encompassed with strong walls, adorned with temples, palaces, courts, halls, basilisks, baths, markets, aqueducts, and many other fine buildings . . . The country every where abounded with well-built villages, towns, forts, and stations; and the whole was defended by that high and strong wall, with its many towers and castles . . . [344]

Strutt built upon this picture by recounting how, after the Roman invasion, the Romans 'made haste to improve the dwellings of those provincials who had espoused their cause'. He also remarked that, by AD 61, the Roman colony of Camulodunum was a large and well-built town with a temple, theatre, and other 'public edifices'.[345] He drew attention to the section of Tacitus' *Agricola* that deals with the civilizing of the Britons to show that the housing and urbanism of the native population had also changed. Strutt distinguished between Roman 'temporary camps' and 'more consequential stations . . . , namely, their walled cities'.[346] The latter he documented with a very detailed and illustrated account of one of the 'most perfect of these',[347] Silchester. Strutt's account contains a detailed plan of the town, including various objects derived from it. Strutt remarks that the plan of the town was drawn by Mr Stair, who 'was at the pains to measure every part of it exactly'.[348] Using Stair's information, Strutt describes a 'spacious square' near the middle of the city where the foundations of a large structure, defined as a temple, were discovered;[349] he also noted the remains of the amphitheatre.[350] Taking Silchester as representative of a Roman city in Britain, he listed other examples mentioned in the Antonine Itinerary.[351] Strutt also included a plate that shows Roman soldiers standing in front of a well-preserved section

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[342] Ibid. 224, 227.   [343] Ibid. 321.
[344] Ibid. 322.   [345] Strutt (1779), 255.   [346] Ibid. 299.
[347] Ibid.   [348] Ibid. 301.   [349] Ibid. 301–2. This is Ward's 'forum'.
[350] Strutt (1779), 302.   [351] Ibid. 302–3.

of the town wall at the south gate and, although the understanding of the Roman cities of Britain was advancing with the recording and planning of remains, this indicates that these sites remained strongly associated in his mind with the idea of Roman military identity.

Roman Manchester (or Babel?)

Ideas of Romanized native Britons were, however, beginning to be developed, drawing upon sites, finds, and speculation. The Reverend John Whitaker made an original (or conjectural) contribution to accounts of Roman urban history, in his *History of Manchester, Book the First* (1771), a work that Horace Walpole described as 'rather an account of Babel than Manchester'.[352] Whitaker described how 'the science of Roman antiquities received an extraordinary illumination from the discovery of a work, which contains a very curious account of Roman Britain', Richard of Cirencester's texts.[353] He was absolutely convinced of the authenticity of the documents, remarking that all the 'embodied antiquarians' from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century could not have forged 'so learned a detail of Roman antiquities'.[354] Stukeley had attributed the description of Roman Britain in Richard's work to the Roman general Agricola, but Whitaker suggesting that it had been written by the second-century governor Lollius Urbicus.[355]

Whitaker argued that Richard's itinerary had 'thrown a particular lustre' upon the Roman antiquities of Lancashire,[356] recording a new road, part of another, and two or three new 'stations'. He referred to eight 'towns', of which Richard of Cirencester had mentioned six that were 'not merely…stations but…cities'.[357] In the

[352] Walpole (1775), 368. See Sweet (1997), 153–4; (2004), 5, 20–1, 177–8, 186, 196 for the context of Whitaker's work and its relative success.

[353] Whitaker (1771), 53.

[354] Ibid. 54. Reynolds (1799), xv was uncertain about the reliability of Whitaker's work, observing with regard to his use of the supposed writings of Richard of Cirencester that 'Some future day may prove, that the foundation is not of sound material'.

[355] Whitaker (1771), 55.

[356] Ibid. 57.

[357] Ibid. 202–3. The eight towns are listed as Lancaster, Overborough, Freckleton, Blackrode, Ribchester, Colne, Warrington, and Manchester.

second edition of this book, Whitaker writes of these six 'little fortresses' as 'all equally *Romanized* in their general aspect'.³⁵⁸ Manchester is argued to have originated as a pre-Roman town, which Whitaker describes in some detail.³⁵⁹ He proposed that the Roman phase at Manchester and the other 'stations' in Lancashire originated in AD 79, during Agricola's campaigns in Wales which he claimed as the 'very remarkable epoch of the first erection of our present towns in Lancashire'.³⁶⁰ Writing of the way that Roman influence created a mode of dress and life that was 'partly Roman and partly British', he argued for 'the rapid progress of politeness among the natives of the north; of a civility, which must have been more and more widely diffused, and of a politeness which must have been more and more generally refined, through the course of subsequent ages.'³⁶¹ Roman Manchester itself, following Richard of Cirencester's text, becomes a 'stipendiary' city, comparable to Winchester, Canterbury, Exeter, and Lincoln, and governed by a 'commandant' who was deputy to the 'prætor'.³⁶² The city is said to have enjoyed all the privileges of a colony without the least inconvenience arising from its status.³⁶³ Whitaker proposed that, under the new 'provincial regimen' of the Romans, the 'sovereigns' of the 'tribes' were allowed to 'retain their sovereignties'.³⁶⁴ He quotes 'Cogi-dubnus', who is described as the 'cogi or king of the Dobuni', as an example, discussing the extension of his territories under Roman guidance.³⁶⁵ In this account, the whole of the province was governed by British kings; indeed, at this time, 'Lancashire yet enjoyed the privilege of its ancient monarchy'.³⁶⁶

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³⁵⁸ Whitaker (1773), 243. My emphasis.
³⁵⁹ Whitaker (1771), 19–27; see Sweet (2004), 20–1 for the context.
³⁶⁰ Whitaker (1771), 203.
³⁶¹ Ibid. 231–2.
³⁶² Ibid. 241.
³⁶³ Ibid, 245–6.
³⁶⁴ Ibid, 248–50.
³⁶⁵ Ibid. 249–50.
³⁶⁶ Ibid. 250. The second edition of Whitaker's work (1773), 331–47 elaborates his earlier discussion of the native rulers of Roman Britain, drawing on illustrations of a number of pre-Roman coins; for these 'absurd' attributions, see John Evans (1864), 8.

Romans Britonized and Britons Romanized

Whitaker was working on the concept that native Britons could become Romanized. To support this claim, he took the evidence from various settlements in Lancashire and artefacts from further afield. The Reverend Bryan Faussett (1720–1776) also supposed that native Britons could absorb Roman civility, basing his analysis on various urns that he had discovered during extensive excavations at ancient cemeteries in Kent from 1749 to 1773, uncovering around 750 burials.[367] He was an antiquary with wide interests who made a substantial collection of objects at his house in Heppington (Kent), including over 400 brooches and more than 5,000 Roman and British coins.[368] Faussett's work on the cemeteries is particularly significant, since he produced detailed notes of his discoveries in a journal of his excavations, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*. Charles Roach Smith edited and published this volume in 1856 and provided a substantial introduction.[369] The manuscript had been rediscovered during the mid nineteenth century; few antiquarians knew of its existence prior to the 1840s.[370]

The presence of Roman coins in some of the graves led Faussett to identify the cemeteries as mainly Roman. He was unable to recognize objects of Anglo-Saxon date and it was not till the late eighteenth century that the majority of his cemeteries, with their large numbers of burials and distinctive grave goods, were recognized to be post-Roman.[371] In his account of the excavation of a cemetery with about 380 graves at Kingston Down during 1767, 1771, 1772, and 1773, Faussett recorded a number of 'tumuli sepulchrales', or hemispherical mounds of earth, standing close together.[372] He had proposed that this

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[367] See C. R. Smith (1856), Joan Evans (1956), 132, 155 n. 2, Hawkes (1990), and MacGregor (1998), 129–34.

[368] In his garden Faussett build a pavilion, which displayed seven 'curiosities' on its inside walls, including a quern, several post-Roman objects and a Roman terracotta head from London, each accompanied by an individual Latin inscription produced by Faussett; see Jessup (1954), 3–4. The Roman head, which was dug up in 1773 in London (ibid. 7), was later moved to Canterbury Museum.

[369] C. R. Smith (1856); see Rhodes (1990).

[370] C. R. Smith (1856), i–iii; see N. Ramsay (2004). For the rediscovery of manuscript and finds, see Smith (1856) and Joan Evans (1956), 274, 294.

[371] C. R. Smith (1856), White (1988), and Hawkes (1990), 4.

[372] Faussett (1773), 35.

might have been the place where Caesar fought the Britons during his second expedition, but that his excavations had demonstrated it to be 'no other than a common burying place of Romans . . . but not only of these alone, but also, if not chiefly, of *Romans Britonized*, and *Britons Romanized* (if I may be allowed the use of these expressions), till long after the Romans, properly so called, had entirely quitted this isle.'[373] These individuals were 'people of both nations, who, having mixed and intermarried with each other, had naturally learned, and in some measure adopted, each other's customs'.[374] Faussett was evidently drawing upon the earlier writings of Thomas Browne in discussing the identity and character of these burials.[375]

Faussett observed graves of men, women, and children, many in wooden coffins. A number of the men had been buried with weapons, which he suggested indicated that they had been soldiers at the time of their death, or that they had kept the equipment from their time in the army. He argued that the cemetery had begun life as the burial place for Roman soldiers who had formed a garrison at one of the 'many intrenchments and look-outs in this neighbourhood' before it came to serve the inhabitants of the adjacent 'villages', which were later inhabited by 'Romans Britonized' or 'Britains Romanized'.[376] The coins indicated to Faussett that the cemetery was used into the fourth century and some of the objects suggested to him that it continued to be used until well after the departure of the Romans.[377]

It appears that Faussett, following Browne's example, was identifying urns that are now known to be post-Roman as evidence for Romanized Britons. At a cemetery on Tremworth Down (Crundale, Kent), Faussett collected Roman pots and coins, noting that the burials from which these objects were derived were certainly

[373] Ibid. 37 (my emphasis).
[374] Ibid. 38. Ibid. 102–3, 145–6 for Faussett's observations on comparable communities at Sibertswold Down and Adisham Down, Beakesbourne, both in Kent.
[375] Faussett does not directly refer to Browne's *Urn Burial* in this particular section of his text but does elsewhere, e.g. Faussett (1773), 42, 195.
[376] Ibid. 38.
[377] As Smith observed in the introduction to the published version of this volume (and in the various editorial footnotes to Faussett's records), most if not all of these burials were actually Anglo-Saxon in date, incorporating earlier Roman objects. By the mid nineteenth century additional knowledge enabled post-Roman burials to be identified when this had not been possible earlier.

Figure 3.11. Bryan Faussett's urns of the Romans (on the right) and of the Romanized Britons (on the left) (1773).

Roman; this was indicated by the Roman names stamped on the 'paterae' (Figure 3.11),[378] or pottery vessels, which were, according to Faussett 'of a figure and workmanship so plainly Roman, that there needs no further proof who were their makers'.[379] He writes of the people buried at Crundale as 'Romans',[380] without any discussion of his twin concepts of 'Britonized' and 'Romanized'. By contrast, he describes a burial urn from Kingston Down as '*An urn of coarse red earth*',[381] evidently inferior in workmanship to the Roman examples.[382] We now know that most of Faussett's burials, with the exception of the Roman-period examples from Crundale, were of post-Roman rather than Roman date. The post-Roman urns studied by Faussett and defined as evidence for Romanized Britons are cruder than the Roman examples, from which they had derived some inspiration in form and decoration.

It is significant that Faussett used the concept of Romanized Britons, since many other antiquaries who wrote about Roman-period objects

[378] Faussett (1773), 196.
[379] Faussett (ibid.) is quoting Robert Plot at this point. He also drew upon the writings of Wren to support his suggestion.
[380] Ibid. 193, 195.
[381] Ibid. 66.
[382] See Smith's note on Faussett's text (ibid. 66 n. 1), where he calls this pot a 'degraded copy' of a Roman urn. In the introduction to the volume C. R. Smith (1856), xlvii states that the cruder Anglo-Saxon pots bear a close resemblance to the Roman but 'their manufacture is much inferior'.

and finds did not adopt this terminology until the nineteenth century. Faussett developed one of the most detailed accounts of the possible impact of Roman influence on British culture prior to the late nineteenth century. The term 'Romanized' is used in a number of eighteenth-century accounts of Roman Britain, but usually to address linguistic issues. Roger Gale (1723) had used the concept to explore the relationship of Cogidubnus to the emperor Claudius through reference to his change of name, while Pegge (1766) only used it to refer to the works of a Roman or Gallic monier. 'Romanized' is used slightly more frequently during the nineteenth century, but its relatively limited use suggests that, until the early twentieth century, it was difficult to create the sustained argument for the transformation of British society under Roman influence.

The works of antiquaries such as Faussett and Whitaker indicate that, by the 1770s, the concept was being developed that Roman culture could be passed on to the native Britons, even though the examples used to illustrate this process were very general. British coins, Roman towns, and urns had significance in these accounts, as did the remains of villas. The Stonesfield pavement was rediscovered by labourers in 1779 and an extensive excavation was conducted to reinvestigate the earlier finds, possibly with the patronage of the Duke of Marlborough, on whose Blenheim estates the site was situated.[383] A substantial part of the building was uncovered, revealing a number of rooms and two additional mosaics. The new emphasis in accounts of this date on Stonesfield as a villa building was due to the fact that the mosaics could now be compared to examples uncovered in Herculaneum;[384] indeed, understanding of Roman Britain was gradually changing, from the predominantly military focus of study during the early part of the century to a greater appreciation of civilian aspects towards its close. The Reverend Thomas Warton (1728–1790), writing in 1783, reflected on the reexcavated remains at Stonesfield and other Roman mosaics found in the vicinity and is quoted at the head of this chapter.[385] He proposed

[383] J. Levine (1987), 119.   [384] Ibid. and Henig (1995), 178.
[385] Warton was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London in 1771; he was also a poet and had been Professor of Poetry in Oxford during the 1750s and 1760s. For his life and activities see Joan Evans (1956), 150, J. Levine (1987), 195–203, Reid (2004), and Sweet (1997), 55–6.

that some Roman villas might represent either the homes of Roman settlers or those of native families who had responded to the Roman cultural initiative. The latter interpretation runs directly counter to the idea of Britain as a primarily military province, but it did draw directly upon classical writings at the same time as revisiting notions evident in the works of earlier writers such as Camden, Speed, Browne, and Roger Gale.

IMPERIAL LESSONS?

In 1783, Britain's conflict with the American colonies, which had begun eight years before, ended in defeat.[386] Since 1756, the British territories abroad had expanded considerably but concerns about the potential gradual disintegration of the empire began to be voiced as the thirteen American colonies were lost.[387] Accounts claiming that Britain had improved on the territorial achievements of classical Rome had become commonplace during the later eighteenth century, as Britain became a major world power.[388] The problematic parallel with the despotic character of the Roman empire, which had grown out of the Roman Republic that was so admired, was a developing area of discussion, particularly in the context of increasing imperial instability and the British dictatorial control of colonies.[389]

Ancient British rulers who had opposed Rome were the subjects of various plays and poems at this time. The Reverend William Mason's tragedy *Caractacus* (1759), considered above, was adapted in a pro-

[386] See Shy (1998). For a recent discussion of this conflict, see Sarson (2005), 236–51. For the imperial concern of the 1780s, see Lenman (1998), 164–6 and C. Woodward (2002), 189.

[387] See Bowen (1998) and P. Marshall (1998*a*), 1–2, who discuss the imperial success of Britain from the 1750s to the 1780s and the subsequent crisis.

[388] Ayres (1997), 2, 14–15 and Bowen (1998), 3, 8. For British colonial possessions at this time, see P. Marshall (1998*a*), 2–4; for a decrease in the flexibility of imperial governance after 1763, which may have brought the Roman imperial analogy to people's attention, see Steele (1998), 121.

[389] Hall and Macintosh (2005), 183, P. Marshall (1998*a*), 8, 16, and R. Porter (1988), 28–9. For British policy in India at this time, see P. Marshall (1998*b*) and Ray (1998).

duction of 1776 to argue for a degree of liberty for the colonies, reflecting current concerns about the situation in North America.[390] Contrasting sentiments were expressed in William Cowper's poem of 1782, *Boadicea: An Ode*, in which a druid predicts to the ancient British queen:

> Regions Caesar never knew
>   Thy posterity shall sway:
> Where his eagles never flew,
>   None invincible as they.[391]

Cowper's poem was published at the end of a long period of British territorial expansion and military success, but a year before the final defeat of Britain. Boadicea was adapted to fit the context, by establishing this anti-Roman figurehead as an imperial icon.[392] For Cowper, the British defeat by Rome did not prevent a later development of empire, but required that the Roman lessons of corruption and decline be addressed.[393] Edward Gibbon's masterpiece, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, published between 1776 and 1788, also reflected current ideas and reprojected them,[394] focusing attention on the idea of the problematic issue of potential decline.

Gibbon's seven-volume work, which was inspired by a visit to the ruins of the Capitol in the city of Rome during October 1764,[395] provided a survey of the collapse of Roman rule after AD 180, 'a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth'.[396] The first three chapters of volume 1 assessed the reasons for the success and stability of the empire during the late first and early second centuries AD, providing an image of imperial greatness.[397] Gibbon commented that:

[390] Hall and Macintosh (2005), 184–90 and Smiles (1994), 137.

[391] Cowper (1980), lines 29–32. This poem is discussed in Hingley and Unwin (2005), 150–3.

[392] Ibid. 150–2. Most accounts of Boadicea (Boudica) during the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries developed the former queen in a directly negative fashion, which contrasts with the rendition in Cowper's poem (ibid. 129–46). Ibid. 157–71 for the nineteenth- and twentieth-century development of Boadicea as an imperial icon.

[393] Ibid. 152 for this reading of Cowper's poem. For the general context, Bowen (1998), 8.

[394] See R. Porter (1988), 2, 67–93. Ibid. 42–66 for Gibbon's life and influences.

[395] J. Levine (1987), 73 and R. Porter (1988), 60.

[396] Gibbon (1896, 1).

[397] See R. Porter (1988), 81–2 for the context of these chapters in the book.

In the second century of the Christian Æra, the empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The gentle, but powerful, influence of laws and manners had gradually cemented the union of the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury.[398]

Elsewhere Gibbon proposed that, 'If a man were called to fix the period in the history of the world during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus.'[399] He argued that the considerate and civilized rule of four Roman emperors at this time had created a situation in which the virtues of the abandoned Republican system, including a degree of liberty and freedom, could survive for a while under the rule of wise emperors before the problems inherent in this tyrannical system became fully apparent.[400]

Gibbon addressed in some detail the ways that the empire was created and held together, stressing the self-interest of the various parties involved. He argued that a 'nation of Romans' was gradually formed in the provinces through the 'double expedient' of building colonies and the 'admitting of the most faithful and deserving of the provincials to the freedom of Rome'.[401] He noted that methods of admittance included the recruitment of provincials into the Roman armies. In the West of the empire, including Britannia, civility followed conquest, enabling 'new impressions of knowledge and politeness', including the language and writings of Virgil and Cicero.[402] This led to the 'vanquished nations' blending into 'one great people', the Romans.[403] This idea of a civilizing discourse, so powerful in earlier times, continued to hold relevance for Gibbon and his contemporaries.[404]

[398] Gibbon (1896), 1.
[399] Ibid. 78. See R. Porter (1988), 98, 137–8 for the context of these comments.
[400] Ibid. 96–9, and see also Greene (1998) for the focus of the British on the idea of constitutional liberty.
[401] Gibbon (1896), 35.
[402] Ibid. 37. Gibbon allows for some 'inevitable mixture of corruption' in the provincial understanding of these writings.
[403] Ibid. 43.   [404] Greene (1998), 219, 223.

To document his claims that Roman identity spread across the empire, Gibbon made a survey of the Roman cities and public buildings, including those in the province of Britain.[405] Discussing the evidence from Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and Asia, he argued that 'The spirit of improvement had passed the Alps, and been felt even in the woods of Britain, which were gradually cleared away to open a free space for convenient and elegant habitations. York was the seat of government; London was already enriched by commerce; and Bath was celebrated for the salutary effects of its medicinal waters.'[406] Gibbon used Richard of Cirencester's figures to suggest that there were nine Roman colonies in Britain, contrasting this with the twenty-five colonies of Spain.[407]

Gibbon documented the fact that peoples outside the province were not included in the benefits of this imperial rule,[408] noting that:

The native Caledonians preserved, in the northern extremity of the island, their wild independence, for which they were not less indebted to their poverty than to their valour … The masters of the fairest and most wealthy climates of the globe turned with contempt from gloomy hills assailed by the winter tempest, from lakes concealed in a blue mist, and from cold and lonely heaths, over which the deer of the forests were chased by a troop of naked barbarians.[409]

In an account of the problems of the third-century empire, Gibbon returned to the northern Britons, suggesting that 'Britain had none but domestic enemies to dread; and, as long as the governors preserved their fidelity, and the troops their discipline, the incursions of the naked savages of Scotland or Ireland could never materially affect the safety of the province.'[410] After three chapters on the benefits of imperial rule, Gibbon addressed the history and causes of decline and fall in great detail, establishing a model for later writers. Developments in British territories during the early 1780s ensured that Gibbon's substantial study had a considerable impact.[411]

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[405] Gibbon (1896), 48.   [406] Ibid.   [407] Ibid. 36 and n. 34.
[408] For Gibbon's attitude to barbarism as the antithesis of civilization, see McKitterick and Quinault (1997*a*), 7, R. Porter (1988), 139–43, and Black (1997), 220–1.
[409] Gibbon (1896), 5, who refers to the writings of Appian and Ossian.
[410] Ibid. 360.
[411] For the complexity of the parallels that Gibbon drew between the classical and the contemporary world see Black (1997), 239–41.

In 1790, seven years after Warton made his observations about Stonesfield, an engraving by John Hamilton and John Goldar illustrated the development of native civility in Roman Britain, while raising, once more, the problems of imperial rule (Figure 3.12).[412] It depicts a contemplative Roman governor, Julius Agricola, in a general's tent, addressing and educating Britons, a direct representation taken from Tacitus' writings. The images of ancient Britons draw upon earlier representations considered above. The figure immediately to Agricola's left appears to be more Roman than his compatriot to his own left, in that he wears a toga and his hair is shorter, although longer than Agricola's style. This more 'Romanized' Briton has his hand behind Agricola's back, condoning the lessons that the Roman governor is providing for his animated but barbarian countryman. His compatriot is partly clothed with animal fur, emphasizing his vestigial barbarity. Various people stand in the background, including Roman soldiers and a man who appears to be wearing a tall eighteenth-century hat.[413]

The image serves to project a civilizing discourse,[414] derived from Tacitus' account of Agricola's first-century actions, projected into the contemporary world of Britain and its empire. It also raises an issue of concern to many English people; underneath the image is a caption that states, 'Julius Agricola a Roman Governor in Britain under the Emperor Domitian introducing the Roman Arts & Sciences into ENGLAND, the inhabitants of which are astonished & soon become fond of the Arts & manners of their cruel invaders.' The references to cruelty and astonishment presumably refer to concerns about the loss of freedom that resulted from the imposition of imperial rule, drawing on a worrying analogy between the Roman enslavement of the Britons and the activities of the British overseas.[415]

That a feeling of crisis continued in British thought after 1783 is reflected in the book that incorporated the Hamilton/Goldar image, Edward Barnard's *The New Comprehensive, Impartial and Complete*

[412] Hamilton produced the image and Goldar engraved it; see Smiles (1994), 140. For Goldar's life and works, see Clayton (2004).

[413] Comparable hats are illustrated on the engraving of the battle of La Hogue, 20th May 1692, illustrated opposite page 528 in Barnard's book.

[414] Smiles (1994), 140–1.

[415] Sweet (2004), 156 discusses the general context.

Engraved for BARNARD's *New Complete & Authentic* HISTORY *of* ENGLAND

Hamilton delin. *Goldar sculp*

Julius Agricola *a Roman Governor in Britain under the Emperor Domitian, introducing the Roman* Arts & Sciences *into* ENGLAND, *the Inhabitants of which are astonished & soon become fond of the Arts & manners of their cruel Invaders.*

Figure 3.12. 'Julius Agricola . . . introducing the Roman Arts & Sciences into England', from Barnard (1790).

History of England (1790), which pursued a positive agenda for Britain's ancient past. Noting the current 'VERY IMPORTANT CRISIS' on the title page of his book, Barnard looked to 'the PATRIOTIC VIRTUES of our ILLUSTRIOUS ANCESTORS...to INSPIRE the PRESENT AGE with an Emulation of imitating their GLORIOUS EXAMPLES.'[416] Barnard remarked that:

Great Britain was known to the Romans in the time of the Emperor Augustus, when the Roman empire had attained its meridian splendor. It was then thought the largest island in the universe, but inhabited by a people of inhospitable manners, barbarians, 'a race of men from all the world disjoin'd'.

Yet...its inhabitants remarkable for their inventions and industry, have explored and penetrated regions, the existence of which were unknown to the Romans. They have traversed an immensity of ocean, upon which their aspiring conquerors never dared venture; and by the peculiarity of their situation, the fertility of their soil, innate bravery, ingenuity, naval strength, and beneficial commerce, they have acquired extensive tracts of territory, extended their conquests farther than their conquerors, and have rose to a summit of glory...[417]

The success and extent of the overseas territories controlled by Britain ran counter to concerns about the immediate imperial present.[418]

Drawing upon Britain's ancient past, Barnard included a summary of the information for pre-Roman peoples and the druids,[419] with images derived from earlier examples. He placed greater emphasis on the Romans, stating that 'the conquest of the aspiring Romans laid the foundation, on which was gradually raised the *glory* of the Britons. From hence sprung, amidst the wilds of barbarism, a civil-

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[416] Barnard (1790), subtitle to book. For the crisis, see Lenman (1998), 166.

[417] Barnard (1790), 5.

[418] See Black (1997), 241–2 for the acquiring of new territories by the British between 1886 and 1894 and the attitudes of some contemporaries to this.

[419] Barnard (1790), 7–11. Barnard's cover page mentions that this book is 'Embellished with upward 120 elegant Engravings more highly and curiously finished than those given in any other Work of the Kind whatever', which were produced by the 'most renowned artists in the kingdom' (ibid. iv). In addition to the images of Agricola civilizing the Britons, Barnard included further engravings of the 'Remarkable Personages and Sovereigns', 'Adrian' departing from Rome to visit Britain and the assassination of Carausius, 'the sole Monarch of England'.

ized nation, over whom Christianity has spread her healing wings, and wherein the arts and sciences have obtained their zenith of perfection.'[420] At the end of his description of Roman Britain, having addressed the arrival of Christianity and the decline and fall of the Roman empire, Barnard wrote:

Thus did Britain, like a young phœnix, rise into existence from the ashes of its mother. If a finite mind may be allowed to explore the intricate ways of infinite wisdom, it should seem, the Roman empire was demolished, that the magnificence structure of British glory might be raised upon its ruins; that a nation might flourish, who should not only improve the Roman arts, but enjoy the best form of government, and the purest religion in the whole world.[421]

The Roman history of Britain was made to serve a particular purpose, both in texts and representations, at this time of imperial concern.[422]

Cultural inferiority?

During the middle years of the eighteenth century, excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum had begun to be influential and the recording of classical buildings in Rome and elsewhere in Italy provided inspiration for architects and antiquaries, as well as raising concern about the character of the architecture and culture of Roman Britain.[423] In 1740, accounts of the investigation of these buried cities and their spectacular remains began to appear,[424] although

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[420] Ibid. 12.

[421] Ibid. 29.

[422] Barnard covers a number of British successes during the 1780s in the latter part of his book, providing several graphic engravings of successful battles and events.

[423] See Dyson (2006), 15–18, Parslow (1995), and Schnapp (1996), 242–7 for the excavations at Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Stabiae from 1738 on. English architects had begun to take an interest in the remains on these sites and those at Rome. F. Salmon (2000), 38–52 considers the work of British architects, studying, drawing, and even excavating Roman ruins in Italy and the Mediterranean. Interest in the ancient and classical monuments of the eastern Mediterranean also increased from this time; see Joan Evans (1956), 119.

[424] The artist Allan Ramsay (1741) published an account of the excavation of one of the subterranean towns, which derived from letters sent to him by a contact in Italy.

antiquaries in Britain in general seem to have been slow to respond to this new evidence. During January and February 1775, William Hamilton presented a series of talks on the remains discovered in Pompeii to the Society of Antiquaries and these were published in 1786, accompanied by elevations of various buildings and features.[425] Hamilton's largely descriptive account included information about the town gates, streets, houses (including one with an elegantly painted room and a mosaic floor), the temple of Isis, and a 'sort of Villa Rustica' that was under excavation outside the well-preserved Roman city.

During the later eighteenth century, this new knowledge caused some antiquaries to reflect critically on the remains of the Romans in Britain.[426] In a paper presented to the Society of Antiquaries in 1774 on the antiquity of different modes of brick and stone building in Britain, James Essex provided just such a critical perspective in reviewing Roman architecture. He observed the absence of evidence for pre-Roman buildings, while suggesting that Stonehenge demonstrated that the Britons were able to build in stone.[427] He remarked that it was commonly supposed that Agricola induced the inhabitants to 'adopt the customs of the Romans' and to erect temples, porticos, and 'fine structures both public and private'.[428] He argued, however, that:

it may be doubted, whether all that has been said of those fine structures which once adorned Britain be true, there being no remains of temples of porticos, nor of the bases, shafts, or capitals of the columns which once adorned them; nor any other fragment of an order from which we can form the least idea of their skill in architecture or sculpture, if we except a few altars, & c. which are so wretchedly executed, that they would at this time disgrace the hand of a common mason: and it may indeed be doubted, whether those arts ever arrived to any degree of perfection in Britain while the Romans were masters of it.[429]

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[425] Hamilton (1775). Hamilton was a British representative in Naples from 1764 to the end of the eighteenth century. For his keen interest in the excavations of cities buried by the eruption of Vesuvius from the time of his arrival and his plan to publish a monograph on Herculaneum, see Jenkins (1996), 41–5.

[426] Smiles (1994), 15 has discussed the idea that the relatively late introduction of civilization to Britain made the life of the primitive barbarian ancient Britons rather too close for comfort.

[427] Essex (1774), 74.   [428] Ibid. 79.   [429] Ibid. 87–8.

Noting that the classical author Eumenes (Eumenius) recorded that the emperor Constantius was forced to transport masons from Britain to reconstruct of buildings in his native town Augustodunum (Autun) in Gaul,[430] Essex argued that Carausius would only have been able to build 'walls and fortifications' and that he would have found 'many of that sort of workmen in Britain'.[431] Such an idea reflects the approximately contemporary views of Roy and Walpole concerning the military character of the surviving remains in Roman Britain.

Significant discoveries during the final two decades of the eighteenth century might have caused these three authors some reflection. Roman pavements were uncovered at this time. In 1787, Major Hayman Rooke published a detailed account of the 'splendid remains' of a Roman villa he had located at Mansfield Woodhouse (Nottinghamshire).[432] The site had been located through the discovery of pieces of what the 'country people' called 'fairy pavements' on the site.[433] Despite Rooke's statement that no Roman roads or 'stations' were recorded for this area in the classical texts, he recognized that these 'fairy' works actually represented a tessellated pavement, which led to the uncovering of two Roman buildings. Rooke instructed three men to 'clear away and search for walls' and they soon uncovered seven rooms of a Roman building, a main house which he called the *villa urbana*.[434] Most of the walls of the individual rooms had been stuccoed and painted and the centre room had an 'elegant' mosaic, which was also illustrated in his account. A second building found nearby, which Rooke interpreted as the *villa rustica*, contained a hypocaust and a bathhouse. His published account includes a detailed description of the buildings, accompanied by relatively accurate plans and elevations, together with drawings of several mosaics and selected finds.[435] He also noted that the

[430] This is derived from a panegyric to Constantius (5.21). The reference had been drawn upon by Henry (1771), 322 and a number of other earlier antiquaries.
[431] Essex (1774), 80–1.
[432] Rooke (1787), 376.
[433] Ibid. 364.
[434] Ibid.
[435] Todd (2004*a*, 449) criticizes Rooke's work for the rudimentary measures by which he excavated the remains and for his lack of a grasp of stratigraphy, but his work appears comparable to that undertaken by Lysons, which often receives praise.

landowner of the main part of the site, John Knight, was considering erecting a building over the tessellated pavement 'for the inspection of the curious'.[436]

Rooke suggested that since:

the Romans . . . were masters of the county, and lived in a flourishing state, it is obvious to conceive, that the most opulent rank amongst them, persons distinguished, and perhaps dignified with posts and titles, would be trying to follow and import the manners of Italy, and striving to imitate the examples, as far as the difference of climate would admit, of the rich citizens of Rome . . . It must necessarily have been a villa of some person of note and consideration . . .[437]

Rooke wrote several hundred words to argue that these were the remains of a villa, demonstrating the limited impact that earlier discoveries had made on general perceptions of Roman Britain. Indeed, Sir George Yonge proposed a military interpretation of Rooke's discoveries, reflecting: 'that this villa was probably the residence of some Roman military commander, and that there was probably some Roman camp or station, or some military Roman road running near it'.[438] Writing about the potential value of Roman military studies in a manner reminiscent of the interests of Hanoverian officers in Scotland, Yonge proposed that the Society of Antiquaries should sponsor 'an investigation of all the Roman roads, camps and stations throughout the kingdom' for the purpose of 'ascertaining the connected military system and principles of which they were formed'.[439] Rooke followed Yonge's advice and attempted to locate Roman 'stations' in the vicinity of Mansfield Woodhouse, but his results were rather disappointing.[440]

[436] Rooke (1787), 376.
[437] Ibid. 375. Rooke referred to Castell's *Villas of the Ancients* (1728) to support his suggestion.
[438] Yonge (1788), 193. Yonge was a senior military man.
[439] Ibid. 195.
[440] Rooke (1788). Other late eighteenth-century discoveries of Roman villas pursued a comparable military interpretation. A Roman villa at Ringwell (Kent) was located in 1794 on a site that was formerly thought to be a town or station—see Walford (1801), 62—and stamped tiles from the excavation were marked 'II' and 'VI', being attributed by the excavator to the Second and Sixth Legions (ibid. 66).

The villa at Pitt Mead, near Warminster (Wiltshire), was explored and recorded at this time through the 'zeal and curiosity' of Catherine Downes.[441] Finds had originally been made on this site by workmen in 1786, but when a note was published in the *Salisbury Journal*, Downes became interested in the discovery and, 'being urged' by what Richard Colt Hoare was later to title 'a very laudable curiosity', she request permission from the owner to dig and explore the site.[442] She uncovered several mosaics and sent two letters to the Society of Antiquaries on 21st January and 2nd February 1787 describing her discoveries some of which she drew; her records later enabled Hoare to describe the remains. The excavated site subsequently deteriorated, but one of the pavements was removed by Lord Weymouth, who owned the site, and taken to his house at Longleat, where a fragment was still visible in the 1820s.[443]

Despite certain dismissive comments about Roman culture in Britain towards the end of the eighteenth century, ideas about the civilization of the indigenous pre-Roman and Roman populations of Britain were significant, since they provided a counter-focus to the military fixation of much antiquarian research. Writings about ancient British coinage and culture, Romano-British towns, urns, and villas helped to contribute to a changing interpretation of the Roman history of the province which has been emphasized in this chapter. Despite an increase in the number of works addressing the idea of civil Britons, we shall see that the image of the military identity of the province continued to be highly significant throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

[441] For an account of this discovery, see Hoare (1821), 111–15. Sweet (2004), 76 also notes Downe's work. For the relative lack of involvement of women in antiquarian and archaeological research prior to the mid nineteenth century, see Sweet (2004), 69–76 and Hingley (2007*b*). For the work of another female antiquary, see the report on the excavation of the villa at Acton Scott (Shropshire) during 1817 and 1844 in Stackhouse Acton (1845).
[442] Hoare (1821), 112.   [443] Ibid. 113–14.

4

'The Roman occupation of Britain and our own occupation of India'

> The comparison has been justly made between the Roman occupation of Britain and our own occupation of India, for in both cases the intention of the conquering race has been, whilst firmly holding the dominions of which they have become possessed, to interfere as little as possible with the natives so long as they were content to submit quietly to the demands of their conquerors.
>
> B. Windle (1897), 11

INTRODUCTION

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were a time of significant social change, with the industrialization of society and a massive increase in population, but there was no sudden transformation of ideas about Roman Britain.[1] During this period, significant new archaeological finds came to light as a result of development associated with the industrialization of society,

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[1] For an account of the relevance of ancient Rome to the Victorian British, see Vance (1997). For the core value of classical studies in Britain at this time and the relationship of the study of Greece and Rome, see Stray (1998) and articles in C. Edwards (1999*b*). For accounts of Victorian studies of Roman Britain, which are drawn on below, see Dyson (2006), 126–30, Vance (1997), 22–3, 200–7, 236–46, and Hingley (2000). Dyson (2006) discusses the international context of the development of classical archaeology, while P. Levine (1986) considers the balance of antiquarian, historical, and archaeological studies in Britain between 1838 and 1886.

including the excavation of quarries, the construction of sewers, canals, and railways,[2] while deep ploughing located further buried remains in the countryside. Writing in 1849, Charles Tucker suggested that the scale of development since the mid 1820s had contributed 'so extensively to more certain knowledge of the habits and manners of the early occupants' of Britain.[3] Improvements in public transport resulted in a wider popular interest in the past, with the creation of national and regional archaeological societies,[4] including the British Archaeological Association, which held its first meeting in 1844.[5] These new organizations held meetings at which antiquaries could discuss archaeological discoveries, while the published proceedings disseminated knowledge.[6]

The realization of the antiquity of the human race brought about a serious and sustained challenge to the biblical story of creation during the middle of the nineteenth century.[7] Gradually, with the developing knowledge of geology, 'prehistory' was seen to represent a great depth of time and this made it possible to conceive of a chronologically based understanding of the 'primeval' past.[8] Understandings of Roman Britain, however, were slower to change, since they were based on more firmly established roots derived from centuries of

[2] Brooks (1998), 3–4 and Vance (1997), 23.

[3] Tucker (1849), 321, discussing the early history of Cirencester.

[4] Bowler (1989), 1, Dyson (2006), 126, Hudson (1981), 43, P. Levine (1986), 2, Smiles (1994), 23, and Vance (1997), 23.

[5] Brooks (1998), 16, Joan Evans (1956), 227, P. Levine (1986), 48–9, and Wetherall (1994), (1998). A number of new clubs and learned societies were established during the first half of the nineteenth century, including the Society of Noviomagus (1828), the Numismatic Society (1838), the Yorkshire Philosophical Society (1822), the Oxford Architectural Society (1839), the Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1840), and the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society (1849); see Joan Evans (1956), 227–8, Hudson (1981), 15, and Wetherall (1994), 9. For the establishment of other societies in the nineteenth century, see P. Levine (1986), 40, 46–7.

[6] The impact of the publication of articles in *Archaeologia* from 1770 onward is evident in the previous chapter, while the early nineteenth century witnessed the start of a number of other national and regional archaeological journals. There was an increase in the number of professional archaeologists during the nineteenth century, although it remained largely amateur; see P. Levine (1986), 8, 32–5.

[7] Bowler (1989), 75–97, Hingley (2007*b*), P. Levine (1986), 3–4, Morse (2005), 127–50, and Smiles (1994), 4–5.

[8] P. Levine (1986), 56, but see Torrens (1998) for an alternative viewpoint. The term 'prehistory' is an invention of the later nineteenth century; see P. Levine (1986), 95.

study of classical texts, artefacts, and sites.[9] Nevertheless, important discoveries helped to formulate new ideas.

The period from the 1780s to 1820 was highly significant with the impressive architectural remains discovered at Bath and at a number of Roman villa sites, demonstrating the wealth of some elements of society in Roman southern Britain. The context for reflection upon these archaeological remains was transformed through the actions of British collectors in the Eastern Mediterranean who, from the 1840s, brought home classical monuments and artefacts for display in the British Museum.[10] A renewed focus of interest in 'the Roman Wall' developed in the mid nineteenth century, while significant new work was undertaken on the buried Roman remains at London, Cirencester, Silchester, and Verulamium. The excavation of later prehistoric settlements commenced at this time, building upon earlier work, such as Richard Colt Hoare's early nineteenth-century identification of 'British villages'. Towards the end of the century, Pitt Rivers followed up Hoare's work by identifying and excavating additional 'villages' which appeared to witness a degree of 'Romanized' life. Despite certain Roman attributes, these sites were seen to contrast directly with the Roman roads, towns, and villas still associated by many with Romans officers settled in Britain.

Many nineteenth-century antiquaries continued to struggle with the idea that Roman culture could spread to the Britons to any significant degree, drawing upon contemporary associations derived from British rule in India.[11] This parallel was popular but raised difficult issues, since it could be viewed as reducing Roman Britain to the same status as colonized India.[12] Some nineteenth-century

[9] P. Levine (Ibid. 90) reviews the continuation of older classically bound notions of archaeology during the nineteenth century.

[10] Cook (1998). For the complexity of attitudes to classical Greece and Rome at this time, see Bell (2006), Bowler (1989), and Vance (1997). For the foundation of the British Archaeological Society in Rome in 1865 and the continued interest of British visitors in the classical remains, see Vance (1997), 19–21.

[11] For the extent of British territory in India in the nineteenth and early twentieth century and its considerable economic and political significance to Britain, see Moore (1999), A. Porter (1999*a*), 5–6, and Washbrook (1999).

[12] Majeed (1999), 108. Some scholars of language during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, proposed cultural connections between 'Celtic' and 'Anglo-Saxon' Britons and Indians; see Ballantyne (2002), 23–38, 190. Such

antiquaries referred explicitly to the potential parallel between British India and Roman Britain and it became a source of fascination for certain late Victorian and Edwardian writers.[13] We shall see that the ideas of a Teutonic origin for the contemporary population of England enabled some writers to attribute the idea of colonized and enslaved ancient Britons to the ancestors of the current populations of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland.[14] In this context, cultural associations were often drawn between the Roman settlers of the villas and towns of Britain and contemporary British colonial officers who were resident in India.[15]

For others, the idea of a Roman cultural origin for English civilization was fundamental.[16] This interpretation stressed a continuity of British society during post-Roman times, often drawing upon a claim of continuity for British Christian faith and civilization. During the early twentieth century, the theory of Romanization communicated a new conception of the cultural integration of Britain into the Roman empire which contradicted any simple and direct comparison of the British in India with the Romans in Britain.[17]

associations will have provided an alternative context for the comparison of the colonized Indians and the native populations of Roman Britain. From the mid 1850s these ideas of cultural connections became less influential as a result of Indian opposition to British rule.

[13] Hingley (2000), 51, 66–7 and Majeed (1999). The influence of ideas derived from British rule in India on others antiquarians, including Hoare and Wright, may have been unconscious.

[14] For the dominant nineteenth-century myth of the Teutonic racial origins of the current population of England, see Bowler (1989), 56, 60–2, Floyd (2004), P. Levine (1986), 4, 79–82, and Smiles (1994), 113, 120–6. The growing trend toward Hellenism during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century at the expense of an interest in imperial Rome, for which see Stray (1998), 17–21, may have contributed to this refocusing of attention away from an idea of Roman ancestry for the English at this time.

[15] For the nature of the British military control of many areas of India, see Moore (1999), 427–30 and Washbrook (1999), 404–8.

[16] An alternative idea of racial origin to that of the Teuton related the mixed character of Englishness, drawing on the racial contribution of various past peoples, including the Romans; see Ballantyne (2002), 41 and below.

[17] Bowler's (1989), 9–14 discussion of how 'progressionist' and 'cyclical' views of the human past competed in Victorian society is highly relevant to the contrasting views of pre-Roman and Roman Britain outlined in this chapter. Progressionist views were strengthened by developing ideas of biological and social evolution, while cyclical ideas drew upon growing knowledge of the decline and fall of classical civilizations across the Mediterranean and Near East; the cyclical concept raised difficult questions about Britain's current territorial control of its empire.

ROMANS AND BRITONS AT THE TURN
OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

During the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, know-ledge of Mediterranean classical culture resulted in a more systematic approach to the excavation of Roman sites.[18] This drew upon the methods followed by those who were uncovering the classical monuments of Italy in a search for antiquities and new knowledge.[19] The work of Richard Colt Hoare on the 'British villages' of Wessex presents a persuasive picture of the indigenous population; this contrasted dramatically with the evidence for the Roman stations, roads, and villas of the province and encouraged the formation of the concept of an enslaved British population.

Roman architectural elaboration

The growing popularity of the spa at Bath led to the extension of the Pump Room during 1790–1, and the discovery of evidence for a substantial classical temple close to the springs.[20] Significant finds were made during digging on the north front of the King's Bath, including a pavement of large square stones, buried twelve feet below the level of the street, and various sculptural fragments, pieces of cornice, columns, pilasters, and two or three sections of friezes.[21] The excitement generated by the discoveries resulted in antiquaries from all over England visiting the remains; this was clearly a classical temple of the type well known to architects and gentlemen travellers from their visits to the Greek and Roman sites of Greece, Italy, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean.

Sir Henry Englefield journeyed to Bath soon after the discoveries were made and, in 1791, having visited the site for three days, sent a report of the discoveries to the Society of Antiquaries. His detailed

[18] P. Levine (1986), 97.

[19] J. Scott (2003), 92–6.

[20] Cunliffe (1971), 9; (1986), 142–5. Finds had already been made during 1755, when traces of the Roman baths had been found; see Warner (1797), viii–ix and Scarth (1857), 271.

[21] Englefield (1791), 316 and Pownall (1795), 1.

description of the remains was accompanied by some rather dismissive comments on the quality of the architecture represented by the fragments of the temple:

The style of the different parts of this building, the high pitch of the pediment, and the irregular ordonnance of the cornice, seem to refer the area of its erection to a period when architecture had considerably sunk from the elegance of the best Roman times: and the inaccurate execution of the ornaments, particularly of the fragments of human figures; indicate that the skills of the workmen was still inferior to that of the architect.[22]

Rosemary Sweet has suggested that, in the context of the discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum, the remains of this Roman temple were seen as suggesting provincial inferiority.[23] Other antiquaries, however, used the discoveries to challenge such an interpretation.

Thomas Pownall, the former Governor of Massachusetts, was far more impressed.[24] He emphasized that these fragments 'exhibit not only a degree of masterly design, but of mechanical workmanship, scarcely, if ever, yet seen in antiquities discovered in England'.[25] In response to the critical assessments of the merit of the sculpture, Pownall remarked that the '*Symbolic Head*' (Figure 4.1), identified as Mercury in his character of Sol,[26] while it appeared to have been a 'very ordinary rough piece of sculpture', would have given 'the proper effect' when positioned at the top of the pediment of the temple.[27] He remarked that it was 'the tympanum of a pediment of some considerable building...it appears that the vestibule of this building must have been of a very rich Corinthian order...about thirty feet square in breadth and height; and that, most probably, the interior space of the temple was a double cube of these dimensions.'[28]

In 1797, the Reverend Richard Warner, Curate of St James's Parish, published an inventory and discussion of the Roman finds discovered and preserved at Bath. He reviewed suggestions derived from 'Jeffery of Monmouth' that Bath was founded as a 'considerable figure' of a city some centuries before the Christian era, before dismissing this

[22] Englefield (1791), 327.   [23] Sweet (2004), 185.

[24] For Pownall's colonial interests and involvement with the Antiquaries, see Joan Evans (1956), 152–3 and Sweet (2004), 23–5.

[25] Pownall (1795), 1.

[26] Ibid. 3. Warner (1797), 75 gives the same identification.

[27] Pownall (1795), 2.   [28] Ibid.
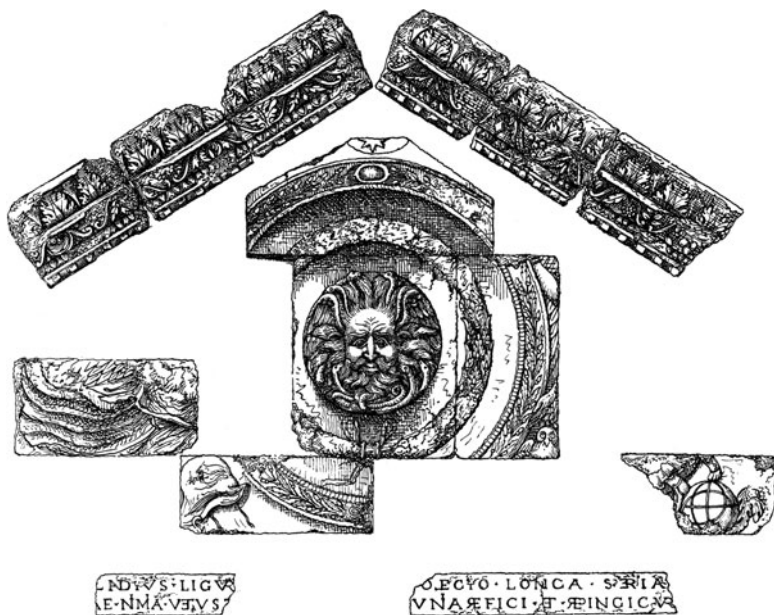
Figure 4.1. 'Pediment of temple' at Bath 'and inscriptions supposed to belong to it', from Scarth (1864).

idea as 'wild dreams of the cloister'.[29] He argued that 'the page of classical history' illustrated that 'the original inhabitants of our county little deserved the splendid character thus attributed to them. Scarcely emerged from those simple modes of life which are denominated the *hunter state*, the Britons, when first discovered by the Romans, did not by any means present a picture of national refinement.'[30] Warner, quoting Richard of Cirencester, titles Bath a Roman colony,[31] which suggested to him that it was probably mainly inhabited by legionaries who did not allow 'natives' to 'incorporate with them'.[32] Bertram's faked text, drawn upon by Warner, stated 'The

[29] Warner (1797), i–ii; see Sweet (1997), 126.

[30] Warner (1797), i–ii.

[31] Ibid. vi, n. 1. Stukeley (1757), 22 had also repeated Richard's comment that Bath was a colony; there is, in fact, no evidence that this Roman spa centre had such a status and Bertram evidently faked this suggestion.

[32] Warner (1797), xii. Warner deduces the policy of the Romans toward natives in their colonies from Tacitus' comments on the colonies at Colchester and London (although Tacitus makes no observations about the exclusion of native peoples from

Baths, which were also called Aquæ Solis, were made the seat of a colony, and became the perpetual residence of the Roman who possessed this part of Britain. This was a celebrated city . . . remarkable for its hot springs, which were formed into hot springs at a great expense.'[33] Warner argued that Bath was the 'chief theatre' of Agricola's operations during his actions in Wales.[34] The centre, Warner suggested, contained the prætorium, the residences of the centurions and military tribunes, the 'spacious baths', and a temple to Minerva.[35]

Warner argued that Bath was founded when the Romans located the 'warm and medicinal springs':

The Romans enervated by luxury, or worn out with toil, sought strength and renovation in those very streams which give health and energy to the disabled of the present day; and our British ancestors themselves, quitting, by degrees, the wild recesses of the neighbouring forests, and the rudeness of savage life, would at length be brought to admire the elegancies, and participate in the delights of Aquæ Solis.[36]

Observing the limited information for the foundation and character of Roman Bath available in the classical texts,[37] Warner turned to antiquarian discoveries to discuss the character of the city. He noted that the 'numerous' discoveries of classical architecture 'prove, beyond a doubt, that it must have been a magnificent city, in which the fine arts flourished, and were liberally cultivated'.[38] Warner listed, described, and illustrated these objects. The fragments of the classical temple 'attest its former elegance' as the only example in Corinthian style yet found in Britain.[39]

New accounts of the Roman towns of Britain were compiled at this time. In *Iter Britanniarum* (1799), the Reverend Thomas Reynolds considered these sites with continental parallels in mind. He suggested, with only slight exaggeration, that:

the settlement of London; indeed, despite Bertram's claim, there is no evidence that London was a colony at this time).

[33] Bertram (1, 6, 14), translated by Hatcher (1809), 38.
[34] Warner (1797), xv.
[35] Ibid. xii.
[36] Ibid. x–xi.
[37] Ibid. xvii.
[38] Ibid. xvii.
[39] Ibid. xii, n. 1. For a recent discussion of this sculpture, see Henig (1995), 39–41.

The towns mentioned in the [Antonine] Itinerary have been unanimously considered by all British antiquaries, as places appropriate to military uses, or stations for the soldiery. They are by all of them called . . . stations, and that name is particularly used now to signify these Antonine Towns. And if their inquiry proceeded no further than Britain, which I find no traces of its having done, there must be allowed very good grounds for this opinion. In the part of our small island, south of Hadrian's Wall, the Romans kept no less than three Legions . . . But if we take a view of the state of some other countries, there will appear no reason for believing, that these towns had not all any such appropriate purpose.[40]

Reynolds discussed former uses of the term 'station', observing that past authors were not very exact in their use of the term.[41] He suggested that not all the towns recorded in the Antonine Itinerary in Italy, Spain, and North Africa could have been military, since there would not be enough soldiers to occupy them. Reynolds therefore regularly addressed the places mentioned in the classical texts as 'towns' rather than as 'stations', appending other terms (*colonia* and *municipium*) where these were given by the classical texts.[42]

In 1809, as part of the republication of Bertram's papers, the Reverend Thomas Leman wrote a commentary on Richard of Cirencester's Itinerary.[43] He observed that the Romans built their towns and fortresses in a 'like manner' to the planners of modern military fortifications, constructing temporary and permanent works according to the same general principles.[44] The towns are of a 'regular figure', rectangular or square, and bounded by lines as straight as the shape of the ground will permit.[45] As examples of Roman towns, Leman lists Colchester, Winchester, Caerleon, Caerwent, Caistor by Norwich, and all the 'military stations' bordering the 'wall of Severus'. Leman also defines 'British towns', which he evidently considered existed in some form before the Roman invasion. He contrasted these with the Roman towns, observing that 'the British towns, which were occupied by the Romans, although irregular in

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[40] Reynolds (1799), 9–10.   [41] Ibid. 9 n.*.

[42] Ibid. 10.

[43] For Leman, see Toller (2001), 125.

[44] Leman (1809), 102–3.

[45] Leman notes that the placing of Roman posts at regular intervals down roads and at places where roads meet also follows the same principles as modern fortification (ibid. 103).

shape, still partake of their original figure'; he listed Bath, Silchester, Kenchester, and Canterbury as examples.[46] This basic classification of Roman towns into two groups is evident in many nineteenth-century accounts, although we shall see that it was not unchallenged.

There were also significant advances in the study of Roman villas, which were being uncovered in increasing numbers. The late eighteenth-century finds at Bath attracted the interest of the lawyer, antiquary, and artist Samuel Lysons (1763–1819), who became a prominent figure through his excavation campaign during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[47] The son of a Gloucestershire clergyman, Lysons became vice-president and Director of the Society of Antiquaries and conducted a truly remarkable series of excavations on Roman sites across southern England. The importance of this work, together with that of Hayman Rooke, is that, unlike most of the previous studies of Roman monuments in Britain, the excavations were described in some detail and the finds received detailed treatment.[48] Lysons's early excavations were carried out in his native county, particularly at the villas of Withington, Great Whitcombe, and Woodchester,[49] but he also explored a number of sites further afield, including the substantial villa at Bignor (West Sussex).

In 1789, Lysons reported on the discovery of a tessellated pavement at Comb End Farm, near Cirencester, which he considered indicated the site of a Roman house.[50] Following the excavation of several rooms, he suggested that this was the 'villa of a Roman of some rank, from the neighbouring station of *Corinium*'.[51] From 1793 to 1796, Lysons excavated the monumental villa at Woodchester in order to uncover and record its impressive mosaic, which had been known since the end of the seventeenth century. On 2nd January 1794, he wrote to his friend Sir Joseph Banks with a report of the progress of the excavation, which Lysons described as 'a winter

[46] Ibid. 102–3.

[47] Joan Evans (1956), 231, L. Fleming (1934), and Todd (2004*a*), 448. For Lysons's life and achievements, see Goodwin revised by Frith (2004).

[48] For Lysons's excavations at Woodchester, see J. Levine (1987), 121.

[49] Todd (2004*a*), 448.   [50] Lysons (1789).   [51] Lysons (1813*a*), 113.

Campaign'.⁵² Lysons's impressive 1797 volume, which was also pub-
lished in French, was dedicated in Latin to George III and was
adorned with excellent illustrations of the site, its mosaics, and the
finds made.⁵³ A copy of the volume was presented to Napoleon,⁵⁴
who was fascinated by the monuments of the city of Rome.⁵⁵ In the
account of Woodchester, Lysons discussed and illustrated the re-
mains of the Roman buildings, including the mosaics, hypocausts,
and bathing facilities, drawing parallels from the writings of classical
authors, including Vitruvius, Seneca, and Tacitus, to interpret his
findings.

Lysons uncovered a number of artefacts, including sculptures,
columns, pottery, coins, and other objects. He describes a fragment
of a statue of a young man as 'in the same attitude as the Meleager in
the Vatican Collection', while he also recorded the base and capital of a
small column of the Doric order.⁵⁶ He found the fragments of Cupid
and Psyche in white marble and 'of pretty good sculpture', noting 'the
attitude is nearly the same, though not so good, as that of the group in
the Grand Duke's Collection'.⁵⁷ These finds were highly significant,
since they indicated that some objects of art available to the Roman
aristocracy in Britain were comparable in quality to the sculptures of
the Greeks and Romans in the Mediterranean, objects that had long
been imported to form the collections of the British landed gentry.

Lysons concluded that the building complex at Woodchester con-
stituted the remains of a Roman house, 'or rather, perhaps, of a
villa'.⁵⁸ He noted the similarity to villas described by classical writers
and compared aspects of this building to a villa excavated close
to Pompeii.⁵⁹ He concluded that Woodchester had a special sign-
ificance:

From the magnitude of this building, and the richness of its decoration, it
does not seem possible that it belonged to any private individual. It is more

⁵² Lysons's letter is quoted in L. Fleming (1934), 21–2.
⁵³ The publication of this volume in English and French suggests that it was
intended to find a place in 'noble libraries' throughout Europe; see Henig (1995), 178.
⁵⁴ L. Fleming (1934), 22.
⁵⁵ Dyson (2006), 20–3, Moatti (1993), 188–90, and F. Salmon (2000), 54–8
consider Napoleon's archaeological activities in Rome.
⁵⁶ Lysons (1797), 10.   ⁵⁷ Ibid. 11.   ⁵⁸ Ibid. 16.
⁵⁹ Ibid. 16–17, n. 48.

likely that it was a public work, built for the residence of the *Proprætor*, or, at least, of the governor of this part of the province, and occasionally, perhaps, of the Emperor himself, as it is well known that several of the Roman Emperors visited Britain...[60]

Proposing that the villa might have been constructed at the time of Hadrian,[61] Lysons remarked that, despite the writings of classical authors (including Tacitus) on the subject, the idea that the Romans 'erected magnificent edifices' in Britain had 'of late been doubted, because no remains of such buildings had been found'.[62] This work at Woodchester helped Lysons to argue for the existence of such buildings in Britain, proposing that many others might yet be traced, although their 'superstructures have been more completely effaced than in other provinces'.[63] In 1795, Lysons uncovered the remains of building at Cherington (Gloucestershire) that he interpreted as having been used for agriculture or manufacture due to the absence of a hypocaust or pavement.[64]

Travel restriction between Britain and the Continent as a consequence of the Napoleonic Wars (1796–1815) resulted in the worlds of classical Rome and Roman Britain being drawn closer together,[65] as antiquaries focused their attention upon the classical antiquities of Britain.[66] Some of these early villa excavations evidently excited the particular interest of the landed aristocracy.[67] Lysons, already well known and well connected, benefited from this situation. In 1796 and 1797, he turned his attentions to the villa at Frampton (Dorset). Lysons's letter to Banks from Frampton on 8th September 1796 notes that 'I am here encamped, having under my command a party of the Lancashire Volunteers... and am pushing forward the discovery as far as possible.'[68] Lysons mentions that 'their Majesties' and three of the princesses would visit him tomorrow. Lysons had evidently met the King a few days before and Sir William Pitt had swiftly arranged

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[60] Ibid. 17–18.   [61] Ibid. 20.
[62] Ibid. 19.   [63] Ibid. 19.
[64] Lysons (1813*a*), 117. The plan that he supplied suggests that it was an aisled building.
[65] Henig and Booth (2000), 213. See Duffy (1998) and Dyson (2006), 19 for the international context.
[66] The restriction on foreign travel also drove Richard Colt Hoare to excavate barrows and British villages at this time; see Hutchings (2004) and below.
[67] Todd (2004*a*), 448.
[68] Quoted in L. Fleming (1934), 23; see Henig (1995), 178.

for men from the Royal Lancashire Regiment of Fencibles to help Lysons with the work.[69] In a further letter to Banks, sent on 2nd October 1797, Lysons said that he had at Frampton 'a *grand encampment*, three tents, an artillery Wagon, and Two and twenty men' from the South Gloucestershire Regiment of Militia.[70]

In 1800, Lysons uncovered the remains of an entire Roman villa of 'moderate size' at Rodmarton (Gloucestershire).[71] He recorded that a peculiar local tradition suggested that the village church was originally intended to be located in this field, but that each day new building work was removed by the devil and placed where it now stands. During October 1811, he conducted excavations at an extensive villa recently discovered during ploughing at Withington (Gloucestershire), uncovering an impressive mosaic depicting Orpheus.[72]

Lysons went on to excavate the villa at Bignor (West Sussex), following the discovery of a mosaic during ploughing in 1811. Lysons directed the excavations between 1811 and 1817, although he was only present on site for short periods of time.[73] The farmer George Tupper and John Hawkins of Bignor Park, who owned much of the site, undertook the work of uncovering the substantial buildings,[74] while further excavation was conducted after Lysons's death in 1819.[75] Hawkins had travelled extensively in Europe and had rebuilt Bignor Park in neo-classical style; the excavation of the villa provided access to classical remains at a time when it was difficult to visit the monuments of Rome and Italy.[76] The excavation revealed the plan of a very extensive courtyard building and Lysons produced several accounts, including colour illustrations of the mosaics (Figure 4.2).[77] Surviving letters written by Hawkins to Lysons indicate that he was very concerned about the deterioration of the villa's mosaics after they had been uncovered and, in June 1812, work commenced on the erection of a protective structure of brick and local greensand

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[69] Lysons's letter, quoted in L. Fleming (1934), 24 and Lysons (1808), 3.

[70] Lysons's letter, quoted in L. Fleming (1934), 26 and Lysons (1808), 5.

[71] Lysons (1813*a*), 113–14.

[72] Ibid. 118–21 and Lysons (1817*a*).

[73] L. Fleming (1934), 39.

[74] Henig (1995), 179; see the letters included in Steer (1966) for George Tupper's considerable contribution to this work.

[75] Tupper (no date).

[76] Henig (1995), 179.   [77] Lysons (1815), (1818), (1820); Tupper (no date).
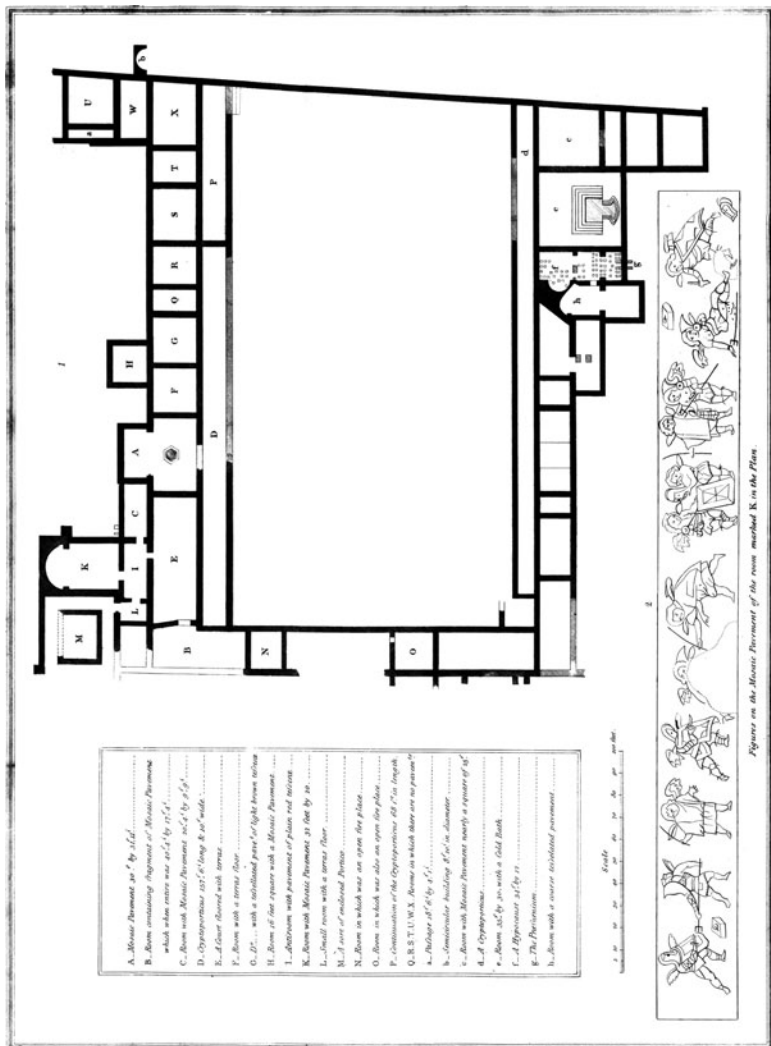
Figure 4.2. Plan of the remains of a Roman villa discovered at Bignor in Sussex, from Lysons (1815).

blocks.[78] The site was a considerable tourist attraction during the excavations and remains open to the public today.

Having described the details of the villa, Lysons passed on to a 'few conjectures' about the origin and use of the building.[79] He proposed, on the grounds of the 'extent and magnificence' of the apartments of the villa, 'far exceeding in number what we have commonly discovered in similar remains', that it belonged 'to some person of consequence, if not a public work, intended for the residence of the *Proprætor*, or at least the legate or governor of the province'. He proposed that the 'province' (in modern terms, the *civitas*) of the Regni was conquered by Vespasian and argued, by comparing the Bignor mosaics with examples from elsewhere in the empire, that they dated to as early as the reign of Titus (79–81).[80] Drawing attention to Tacitus' writings about Agricola's assistance with the building of substantial temples, houses, porticos, and baths, he recalled that the Chichester inscription (p. 184) had made it clear that 'Cogidunus' was made legate in Britain and ruled in this 'province of the Regni' and proposed that he had built the villa at Bignor.[81] Although further research indicates that the Bignor villa was of later date than proposed by Lysons, it was, perhaps, natural for him to conceive of Cogidubnus as being the owner of such an elaborate villa in the vicinity of Chichester.[82]

In 1818, labourers uncovered parts of the villa at Great Whitcombe (Gloucestershire) and Sir William Hicks of Whitcombe Park arranged for part of the building to be uncovered.[83] Lysons quickly published a summary of the results, which included an extensive and elaborate winged building, including a bathhouse and mosaics. He

[78] Lysons (1815), (1818), (1820); Tupper (no date).

[79] Lysons (1815), 219.

[80] Lysons mentions examples at Avenches in Switzerland and at Pompeii (ibid. 220–1). It is now recognized that the Bignor mosaics are actually late third or fourth century—see Henig (1995), 90, 124—while the earliest structures on the site are probably late second century; see Tupper (no date).

[81] Lysons (1815), 219–20. For comparable observations made by him in a short guidebook to the remains, see Lysons (1820), 34.

[82] The interpretation of the Roman villa at Fishbourne, near Chichester, excavated during the 1960s, followed a very similar logic; the elaborate first-century building was tied in with Cogidubnus because of its early date and Mediterranean architecture; see Cunliffe (1998), 21, 108–9.

[83] Lysons (1818–19), 178.

suggested that 'no spot in this island could perhaps be pointed out, more likely to have been fixed on, by one of the superior officers of the Roman government in Britain, for the erection of such an edifice'.[84] He noted the excellent view from the villa and the fact that it was positioned about three quarters of a mile from the Roman road linking the neighbouring Roman cities of *Corinium* (Cirencester) and *Glevum* (Gloucester).

Knowledge of the villas of southern Britain was accumulating and Lysons used this in a collection of information produced in three colourful and impressive volumes between 1813 and 1817, *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ*, dedicated to King George, which concentrated mainly on villas with mosaics but also provides detailed of the recently discovered temple fragments from Bath.[85] These impressive remains enabled Lysons, in the introduction to the first volume, to argue that 'sufficient remains have been discovered beneath the surface of the earth to shew that they were very abundant; and perhaps it is not too much to say, that no province of the Roman Empire contained a greater number of extensive and richly decorated villas.'[86] Lysons's monumental work was intended to 'offer to the Public representations of the most remarkable' of the Roman antiquities discovered in England.[87]

Other villas were uncovered during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but detailed records were not always kept.[88] Henry Hakewill's excavations at North Leigh villa (Oxfordshire) from 1813 to 1816 were of a comparable standard to Lysons's work,[89] while a number of his contemporaries produced high-quality engravings of mosaics from other sites in southern Britain.[90] The

[84] Lysons (1818–19), 179.

[85] Lysons (1813*b*), (1817*a*), (1817*b*). Volume 1 included papers on various finds and objects made across England, volume 2 contained illustrations of remains and finds from across Gloucestershire, and volume 3 illustrated the recent excavations at Bignor. For discussion, see Henig (1995), 179–80 and Todd (2004*a*), 449.

[86] Lysons (1813*b*), iii. Also quoted by Henig (1995), 180.

[87] Lysons (1813*b*), iii.

[88] See for example discussions of the discovery of the villa at Horkstow (Lincolnshire) during 1796: Lysons (1813*c*) and Neal and Cosh (2002), 148.

[89] T. Morgan (1886), 111–13, 117–20, Ellis (1999), and Henig and Booth (2000), 213.

[90] Henig (1995), 180–1. See the review of nineteenth-century mosaic discoveries by T. Morgan (1886), xxii–xxiv.

interest of the landed gentry in the excavations of Lysons and others on villas is evident from the account given above. Although many of those who speculated on the origins of villa owners refer to the idea that these villas were built for senior Roman officers and officials living in Britain, a more domestic interpretation was proposed at Bignor. It was only Tacitus' reference to the high status of Cogidubnus, however, that enabled Lysons to suggest that this villa was the home of the British leader. It *is* probable, however, that landowners who encouraged antiquaries to explore such remains, and who sometimes incorporated mosaics from these sites into the buildings on their estates, imagined a link between their own rising prosperity and that of the Roman elite in Britain.[91] Retired military men were able to draw on a colonial analogy between themselves and Roman officers settled in Britain. The concept of the 'Romanized' Britons, an idea already explored by antiquaries including Browne, Warton, and Roger Gale, might have suggested that Cogidubnus was not the only Briton to possess such elaborate buildings, but antiquaries do not appear to have explored this idea in their accounts.

'British villages'

Early nineteenth-century volumes of *Archaeologia* contain accounts of later prehistoric monuments, often called 'Celtic' or 'Danish', but comprising only descriptions and plans. The excavation of ancient settlements had hardly commenced prior to the 1860s.[92] Many hillforts and other earthwork sites were known to antiquaries and had often been described as pre-Roman in date, although some were occasionally attributed to the Danes and Romans. Antiquaries had

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[91] Todd (2004*a*, 448). Occasionally mosaics were removed from their original contexts and incorporated into country houses or their outbuildings. A Roman site was discovered at Thenford (Northamptonshire) in the early nineteenth century, when a mosaic appears to have been moved to Thenford House; see Neal and Cosh (2002), 7, 260–1. Another mosaic from Castor village was uncovered in 1821 and moved to the dairy of Milton Hall, Peterborough (ibid. 7, 63). A further mosaic, from Whittlebury (Northamptonshire), discovered in 1850 and presented to Queen Victoria, possibly because it featured a figure of Victory, was probably displayed in the dairy of Windsor Castle (ibid. 7, 264–5).

[92] C. Smith (1985*b*), 83.

also observed the earthworks of hut circles on Dartmoor and other upland areas, while knowledge was developing of the monumental stone buildings of later prehistoric Scotland as a result of a number of excavations.[93] One particular piece of sustained fieldwork and excavation at this time stands out from this body of work, since the excavation was interpreted in relation to the Romanized Britons.

While researching British and Roman Wiltshire, Sir Richard Colt Hoare (1758–1838) studied the evidence for well-preserved British 'towns' or 'villages' on the chalk downs.[94] Hoare was a landowner and antiquary, whose highly significant work was published as three impressive tomes in 1812, 1819, and 1821.[95] This developed a body of evidence that contrasted dramatically with the growing knowledge of Roman villas and towns and helped to articulate nineteenth-century views of the subservient relationship of Britons to the Roman settlers. Hoare's work also drew on the idea that Britons could adopt elements of Roman culture and he used the term 'Romanized' to address these people.

In his 1810 volume, Hoare discussed Wiltshire as 'a county so abundant in British and Roman Antiquities' and provided a masterful description and analysis of pre-Roman and Roman sites and finds.[96] He explored the earthworks of 'camps', which he considered to be 'the works of a barbarous and uncivilized people',[97] although he was unable to provide any direct evidence for their pre-Roman date. Considering other sites in Wiltshire and building upon earlier observations about pit-dwellings, he stated:

We have undoubted proofs from history and from existing remains, that the earliest habitations were pits or slight excavations in the ground, covered

[93] Armit (2003), 18–21.

[94] Hoare (1810), 16 noted that the discovery of these 'British towns is justly and solely due' to the antiquarian William Cunnington.

[95] For Hoare's life and writings, including a considerable interest in classical literature and remains, see Hutchings (2004), Morse (2005), 87–94, and Piggott (1989), 154. The final two publications focus on Hoare's contribution to barrow digging but do not address the considerable significance of his work on British villages. Bowen and Fowler (1966) and Fulford et al. (2006) provide important assessment of the evidence for nucleated Roman settlements in Dorset but do not refer to Hoare's seminal work.

[96] Hoare (1810), 1.　　　[97] Ibid. 16–18.

and protected from the inclemency of the weather by boughs of trees, or sods of turf. The high grounds were pointed out by nature, as the fittest for these early settlements, being less encumbered by wood, and affording a better pasture for the numerous flocks and herds, from which the erratic tribes of the first colonists drew their means of subsistence ...'[98]

Hoare argued that the increase in civilization at the time of the Romans enabled the Britons to clear the valleys of trees in order to 'seek more sheltered and desirable situations'.[99] He returned to these comments in a later volume in which he observed that the Romans introduce the 'art of civilization, and the hitherto unknown luxuries of life' to the Britons.[100]

Using the evidence of two sites on Knook Down, Heytesbury, near Warminster (Wiltshire; Figure 4.3), which Hoare had planned and excavated, to illustrate the nature of 'numerous towns and villages' of the Britons,[101] he observed that 'on our bleakest hills we find the luxuries of the Romans introduced into the British settlements, flues, hypocausts, stuccoed and painted walls, & c. & c.'[102] He noted:

The site of these villages is decidedly marked by great cavities and irregularities of ground and by black soil; when the moles were more abundant, numerous coins were constantly thrown up...as well as fragments of pottery...On digging in these excavations we find the coarse British pottery, and almost every species of what has been called Roman pottery, but which I conceive to have been manufactured by the Britons from Roman models...[103]

Hoare also remarked on the discovery of fibulae, bracelets, nails, hinges of doors, locks, keys, and Roman coins. Turning to the nature of the buildings, he argued that, in digging these British villages,

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[98] Hoare (1810), 84. Hoare (ibid. 37 n.*), drawing upon Barrington's earlier work, discussed how such pit houses find parallels in a contemporary context in Kamskatka and elsewhere.

[99] Ibid. 84.

[100] Hoare (1821), 12–13.

[101] Hoare (1810), 83. For the significance of the fact that Hoare excavated, see Daniel (1950), 31, but for the limitations of his techniques, see Piggott (1989), 156.

[102] Hoare (1810), 84.

[103] Ibid. 84–5. Elsewhere, Hoare writes of the 'finer pottery of the Romanized Britons' (ibid. 37).
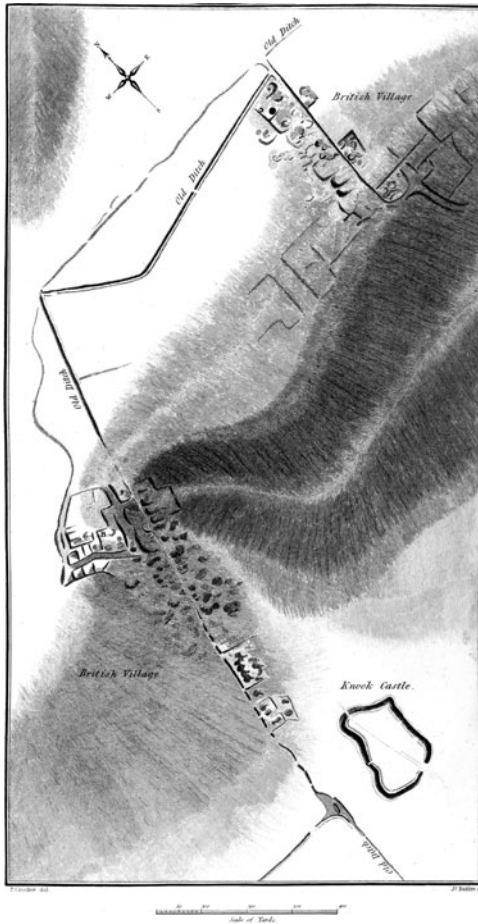
Figure 4.3. Knook Castle and British Villages, Wiltshire, from Hoare (1810).

we have but rarely discovered any signs of buildings with stone or flint; but we have several times found very thin stones laid as floors to a room. The fire places were small excavations in the ground, in which we have frequently found a large flat hearth stone; and in two parts of this extensive village we have discovered hypocausts similar to those in the Roman villa at Pitmead near Warminster. These are regular works of masonry, made in the form of a cross, and covered with large flat stones well cemented by mortar. We have

also, during our investigation of this spot, repeatedly found pieces of painted stucco, and of brick flues . . . [104]

Hoare observed that, both in these and other British villages he has surveyed, lines of houses and the streets or the hollow ways that connected them were visible. Straight banks along the hillsides were taken to mark the extent of cultivation.[105]

Returning to the changing nature of British civilization, Hoare remarks that a burial on Knook Down including a 'black celt' (stone axe) indicated occupation from a very early period. He observed that the area 'continued as a settlement of the *Romanized* Britons, for a considerable length of time'.[106] Hoare though this evidence for British villages was 'highly interesting', since 'we are enabled to trace the *progress* of British population from the rudest to the most civilized æra'.[107] It is evident from his writings that, unlike burials of pre-Roman peoples and settlements of Romanized Britons, Hoare was able to say relatively little about pre-Roman settlements, beyond describing artefacts and burial mounds.

In his 1821 volume, *The Ancient History of Wiltshire, Volume II*, Hoare illustrated and discussed an exceptional British village on Gussage Cow Down (Dorset), observing that 'I have never found so large or perfect a British settlement, which is rendered still more interesting by having been subsequently fixed upon by the Romans as a station on one of their great roads.'[108] He argued that this very extensive series of earthworks was connected with the Roman station of Vindocladia, or Ventageladia, recorded in the Antonine Itinerary and by Richard of Cirencester.[109] Hoare identified 'the rude, but grand outlines of an original British settlement', which was 'the

[104] Ibid. 85. Hoare's 'hypocausts' would now be interpreted as corn drying ovens or malting kilns.

[105] Hoare (1819), 10–11, for example, reviews evidence for the British village at Huish Hill near Marlborough.

[106] Hoare (1810), 85–6 (my emphasis).

[107] Ibid. 16 (my emphasis).

[108] Hoare (1821), 34, n.*.

[109] Ibid. 29–30. Warne (1848) later followed Hoare's identification of this site as that of Vindocladia. More recent work associates this name with the Roman settlement beside the Iron Age hillfort at Badbury Rings, Dorset—see Rivet and Smith (1979), 500—or, possibly, with a newly discovered 'small town' two kilometers to the southwest; see Putnam (2007), 75–7.

irregular works of a rude nation, living on the produce of their flocks and herds, upon the exposed heights of our chalk downs'.[110] He noted that he had dug in several places at the southern extremity of the settlement and had found Roman pottery, brick flues, and 'stuccoed walls painted'.[111] He proposed that 'the Roman finding, perhaps, an easy conquest . . . took possession of the British settlement, and very probably lived ever after most amicably with their former enemies, teaching them their arts and trades; and by the progress of civilization, rendering them a happier and more enlightened people.'[112] As on Knook Down, at this village Romans and Britons lived together and shared the fruits of civilization. Hoare concluded that 'It was the wise policy of the Romans to civilize, as well as conquer; and we can produce evidence to prove, that after having taken possession of the British settlements, both conquerors and conquered resided together; the former introducing many arts, comforts and luxuries of life . . . to which the Britons had been strangers.'[113]

ROMANS SETTLERS AND ENSLAVED BRITONS

Hoare's comments on Romanized Britons were drawing on an influential idea, originating in the classical and early modern world, that imperial domination enabled the civilizing of the colonized and assisted political control. This was challenged during the nineteenth century by a growing focus on race as a determinant of character,[114] which some interpreted as emphasizing the subservience of the 'Celtic' ancient Britons to their Roman masters. The English were thought of as descendants of the 'Teutonic' Anglo-Saxon settlers and so were unconnected to ideas of ancestral subservience.[115] Thomas

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[110] Hoare (1821), 31.   [111] Ibid. 33.
[112] Ibid. 34.   [113] Ibid. 127.
[114] For the origins of this concept of race in third quarter of the eighteenth century see Smiles (1994), 120; for the rise in the popularity of a more extreme form of racial reasoning during the second half of the nineteenth century, see Bowler (1989), 59, 106–28, A. Porter (1999*a*), 22–4, Smiles (1994), 120, and Majeed (1999), 100–6.
[115]

Wright and Francis Thackeray both wrote accounts of the effective enslavement of the native population of Roman Britain within a highly militarized province. In this context, many nineteenth-century authors interpreted the 'British villages' examined by Hoare and others as the homes of enslaved and peasant Britons, a notion that drew upon the colonial parallel of British India. In these terms, the towns and stations of Roman Britain were seen to represent the homes of incoming Roman settlers.

Military stations and frontiers

The Roman military inscriptions found at a number of towns during the eighteenth century, including London and Bath, provided support for a picture of such places as the homes of settling Romans and this, in turn, drove a dominantly military focus of interest in the archaeological materials. In 1837, Alfred J. Kempe emphasized the significance of the impressive surviving remains of the Roman town at Silchester, noting that 'a beautiful and accurate plan' of the Roman road between Silchester and Staines had been produced in a survey undertaken by officers studying in the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst.[116] Writing of Silchester as a Roman 'colony',[117] Kempe updated Wright and Stair's eighteenth-century plan to include the remains of a Roman bathhouse discovered during the laying of drains.[118]

During 1835–6 three Roman tombstones, two of soldiers and one of a trader, were found at Watermore, close to Cirencester (Figure 4.4). A well-informed article, published by Conrad Leemans (First Conservator of the Museum of Antiquities at Leiden), concluded that the stones provide 'fresh confirmation' that Cirencester 'ranked among the most important of the Roman stations in the county'.[119] Leemans fixed the date of the inscriptions to the period between

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[116] Kempe (1838), 414–15.

[117] Ibid. 418.

[118] See Joyce (1873*a*), 14 for a full discussion of the bathhouse.

[119] Leemans (1838), 227. These stones are *RIB* 108–10, Collingwood and Myres (1995), 32–3. Leeman's particular interest may well have been related to the tribal origin of one of the soldiers among the Frisii, a tribe of the Upper Rhine Valley.
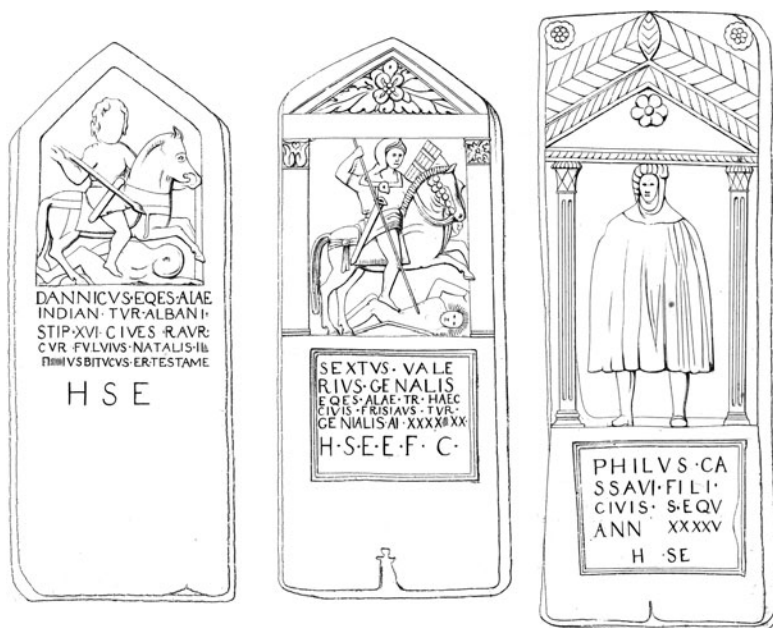
Figure 4.4. Roman tombstones from Watermore, Cirencester, from Leemans (1838).

Agricola and the reign of Marcus Aurelius and his first successors,[120] which indicated the early Roman military focus for this town. He also proposed that, if excavations were carried out, they would 'undoubtedly lead to discoveries which would throw new light on the early state of this country, and furnish many interesting hints for its history during the time of the Romans'.[121]

New discoveries in Cirencester a decade later emphasized the wealth of this Roman 'colony'. The construction of sewers, which clearly had a good Roman pedigree, under the Health of Towns Commission, led to new discoveries, including a well-preserved mosaic in Dyer Street, uncovered in August 1848.[122] In a paper on the mosaic published the year after its discovery, Charles Tucker proposed that the Romans were attracted to Cirencester as it was already a town 'of some consideration' at the time of the Roman

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[120] Leemans (1838), 225.   [121] Ibid. 227.   [122] Tucker (1849).

invasion.¹²³ The location of the mosaic and other earlier finds in the same neighbourhood was taken to indicate the existence of a 'Patrician quarter' in this area of the town.¹²⁴ Two years later, the substantial and impressive volume, *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art, in Cirencester, the site of Ancient Corinium*, was published by Professor J. Buckman and C. H. Newmarch, a year before the Great Exhibition.¹²⁵

The great interest aroused by this volume is show by the nine and a half pages of subscribers included.¹²⁶ As the preface made clear:

This work has . . . been written with a view to collecting the memorials at present extant with regard to these remains, and, by means of *accurate drawings and descriptions*, to afford to the antiquary, and the man of taste, an opportunity of forming conclusions as to the state of the people who occupied this interesting station at a period long prior to the one marked by modern civilization.¹²⁷

Buckman and Newmarch placed particular emphasis upon the impressive mosaics, including a detailed and very well-illustrated account of the Roman building recently uncovered in Dyer Street (Figure 4.5),¹²⁸ but also illustrating and describing the pottery (Figure 4.6), coins, glass, and other Roman finds.

The authors proposed that Cirencester was an ancient British settlement colonized by the Romans, who '*Romanized* the settlement' and its British name.¹²⁹ Referring to the Roman tombstones found at the site, including those discussed by Leemans,¹³⁰ Buckman and Newmarch called the town a 'station' and, although they proposed a pre-Roman origin for the settlement, at no point did they discuss the possibility that Britons were living within its bounds. They proposed that the countryside around the Roman town was 'thickly populated', although they noted the remains of various 'camps' in the

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¹²³ Tucker (1849), 322.   ¹²⁴ Ibid. 326.
¹²⁵ Buckman and Newmarch (1850). See Henig (1995), 183, 185 and Todd (2004*a*), 454–5 for discussion of this volume.
¹²⁶ Henig (1995), 185.
¹²⁷ Buckman and Newmarch (1850), v.
¹²⁸ Ibid. 35, 61–9.
¹²⁹ Ibid. 8–9 (my emphasis).
¹³⁰ Ibid. 113–15.
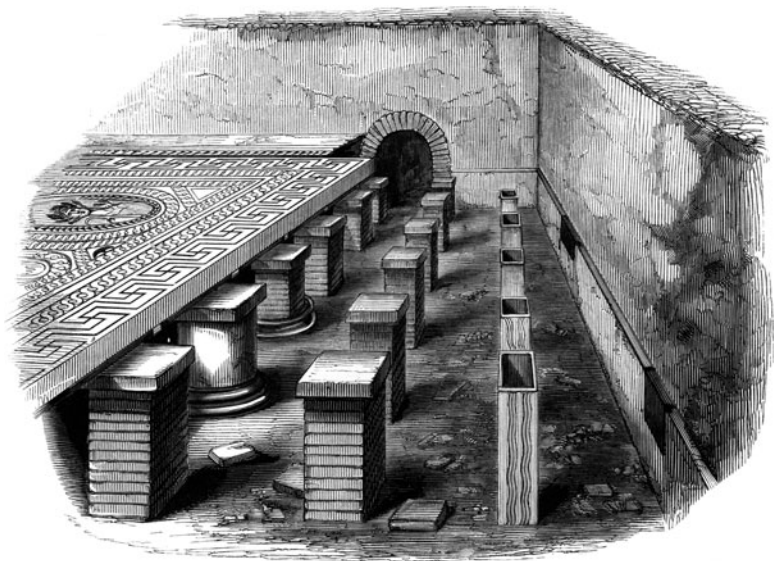
Figure 4.5. Dyer Street Roman building, Cirencester, 'Showing the position of the Pilæ, or supports of the Floor... on the removal of a portion of the Pavement', from Buckman and Newmarch (1850).

Figure 4.6. A Group of Roman pottery from Cirencester, from Buckman and Newmarch (1850).

area around the town,[131] that saw 'not only warlike proceedings, but . . . peaceful and refined occupancy'.[132]

Considerable emphasis was placed upon the Roman character of Corinium; for example, the authors observed that 'There are no objects connected with the antiquities of Cirencester of greater interest than such remains of *stone work* as tend to show that, under Roman rule, this colonial settlement possessed Temples and Dwellings of like magnificence, and evidencing the same principles of design as those which characterized the mother country.'[133] Buckman and Newmarch based this observation on the fragments of pillars and cornices that had been found at Cirencester and also on knowledge of the late eighteenth-century discovery of the Roman temples at Bath. In the absence of impressive remains of public buildings, they stressed the quality of the mosaics from the Roman Cirencester, quoting the remarks that they have 'a further claim to our attention for the quality of the art exhibited on them'.[134] The Seasons mosaic from Dyer Street and earlier finds from the town are described as superior to any other examples found in Britain; while the Dyer Street building is interpreted as the 'Villa or residence of some Roman magnate',[135] its style and ornamentation indicating that it was the 'residence of a person of importance'.[136] Buckman and Newmarch emphasized that, since, with the exception of the Dyer Street building, no systematic excavation had been carried out in Cirencester, only the objects survived to illustrate the former grandeur of the Roman buildings.[137]

Other Roman towns were interpreted in comparable terms as the homes of Roman soldiers and settlers. In 1848, Thomas Falmer Dukes addressed the origins of Uriconium (Wroxeter, Shropshire) and, conscious of the military tombstones from the site, observed that, while some authors had attributed the origin of the town to the Britons, it was actually founded by the Roman military invaders.[138]

[131] Most of which are hillforts, which the authors dated, at least in part, to the Roman period on the basis of finds that had been made in or near them (ibid. 6).
[132] Ibid. 16–17.
[133] Ibid. 18.
[134] Ibid. 46. See Henig (1995), 69 for an assessment of the high quality of the Cirencester mosaics.
[135] Buckman and Newmarch (1850), 67.
[136] Ibid. 71.   [137] Ibid. 19.   [138] Dukes (1848), 67.

Dukes's account agrees with modern understanding of the history of Wroxeter, while his short description of the remains emphasized the value of the station as a strategic military location.

The Roman Wall became a renewed focus of attention at this time. Small-scale excavations had been undertaken during the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries,[139] but major advances occurred during the middle years of the century. The Reverend Doctor John Collingwood Bruce (1805–1892) published two highly significant studies, *The Handbook of the Roman Wall* (1848) and *The Roman Wall* (1851) that had a considerable impact on the knowledge of the frontier.[140] Bruce had decided to visit the Wall in 1848 rather than risk a journey to Rome through a Europe convulsed by revolutions.[141] *The Roman Wall* emphasized the Hadrianic origin of the monument, while the *Handbook*, a compact guide for visitors, has been updated through numerous editions and remains in print today.[142] Bruce also established the first 'Pilgrimage' to the Wall in 1849 and gave regular lectures, which helped to popularize the monument and to encourage visitors.[143]

Serious archaeological study of the Roman Wall commenced around this time, with the fieldwork carried out by John Clayton (1792–1890) from his country house close to the site of Chesters (*Cilurnum*, Northumberland), which placed knowledge on a firmer footing.[144] Between 1840 and 1870, Clayton focused upon 'disinterring' a number of stations and milecastles he owned in the central section of the Wall.[145] He submitted a series of illustrated reports on this work for publication in *Archaeologia Aeliana*,[146] but he left Bruce to summarize the results of his work.[147] Clayton's main aims were to

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[139] Birley (1961), 20–3 and Stephen Johnson (1989), 17.

[140] Birley (1961), 26–7 and Stephen Johnson (1989), 13–18. See Breeze (2003) and Miket (1984) for the significance and context of Bruce's work.

[141] Birley (1961), 26 and Miket (1984), 243.

[142] The latest is Breeze (2006). For earlier references to the stone wall as Hadrianic, see Birley (1961), 60.

[143] Birley (1961), 25–7 and Breeze (2003), 3. For the history of the first eight Pilgrimages, see Birley (1961), 25–47.

[144] Ewin (2000), 11–12 and Todd (2004*a*), 450. For Clayton's other professional activities, see Vance (1997), 245–6.

[145] Birley (1961), 63 and Ewin (2000), 11–13.

[146] Ewin (2000), 12.   [147] Birley (1961), 63.

dig out stone structures and recover artefacts for display to visitors and for publication.[148] This included his work at Chesters, where he excavated and displayed the remains of the Roman fort in the grounds of his house. The work of Bruce and Clayton gradually led to a more detailed understanding of the Wall and the Roman sites along its course.

Enslaved natives and military occupiers

Thomas Wright (1810–77) published his influential book, *The Celt, the Roman and the Saxon*, in 1852.[149] It was a success, reprinted in 1861, 1875, and 1885, and remained a standard work until the end of the century. Wright used knowledge about the Roman Wall and towns, along with Hoare's studies of British villages, to provide an account of the early inhabitation of Britain until the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity.[150] Wright remarked that there was no popular history of the 'Primeval Period' and justified his work by remarking that antiquarian studies had widely increased in popularity in the past few years.[151] He addressed the pre-Roman period, but refused to adopt the new idea of the three-age system which was beginning to influence antiquaries in Britain.[152] Wright also exhibits a powerful focus on the idea of clear racial groups in Roman Britain. Despite using the word 'Romanized' on a few occasions, his writings suggest that he was unable

[148] There was very little methodology behind Clayton's excavation; see Ewin (2000), 11–12, 25.

[149] Joan Evans (1956), 264, P. Levine (1986), 22, and Thompson (2004) review aspects of Wright's interests and writing, including his considerable influence on the study of Old English, Middle English, and Anglo-Norman texts and his involvement in the founding of the British Archaeological Association. Joan Evans states, (1956), 276, that Wright's book of 1852 was a 'popular work' that contributed 'nothing new'. Thompson (2004) suggests that Wright was a disseminator of knowledge rather than a great advancer of it, but that this book probably had more influence on Wright's contemporaries than is sometimes admitted.

[150] Wright was also a close friend of Charles Roach Smith (ibid.) and will have been aware of the recent work on Roman London discussed below.

[151] Wright (1852), v–vi.

[152] Ibid. vii. For the context, see Joan Evans (1956), 281, P. Levine (1986), 95, and Smiles (1994), 5. For the context of Wright's rather extreme views on the three-age system, see Thompson (2004).

to comprehend how native Britons could have survived in the Roman province except as slaves or downtrodden agricultural peasants.

Wright's attitude to the Roman conquerors is evident in his statement that, after the rebellion of Boadicea 'people had irrecoverably lost their independence, and they soon lost their nationality, when their new rulers began to divide the province into departments. The very nations, many of whom had so bravely fought for their freedom, lost their names, and gradually merged into Roman subjects, or rather Roman slaves.'[153] He notes that Verulamium and Camulo-dunum were built early on, after some British 'chiefs entered into relations with the Romans',[154] but he also argued that the 'assumption' that Roman towns were built on the site of pre-existing British towns was 'without authority'; indeed, he emphasized the manner in which Roman soldiers constructed the urban centres and the roads that connected them.[155]

Wright drew upon a primarily military interpretation of the Roman towns of Britain. Considering the question of 'who were the Romans in Britain?',[156] he provided an interpretation that was deeply influenced by contemporary views of race. He argues that the evidence leads us to 'doubt the existence among the ancients of those deeply implanted sentiments of nationality which are observed in modern times. The moment a new country was subdued, its inhabitants seem to have rivalled one another in their eagerness to become Romanised, and to have soon relinquished the manners, the worship, and even the language which they had received from their forefathers.'[157] He suggested that the recruitment of auxiliary soldiers and construction of colonies may have led to the 'gradual amalgam-ation of the different peoples who composed the empire'.[158] Despite these comments, however, his writings illustrate that Wright was unable to think through or to accept the consequences of such an approach, since his Britons and settled foreigners retained much of

[153] Wright (1852), 40. Wright's perspective on Roman Britain appears to have been derived in part from Gildas' writings (*DEB* 7.1) on the slaughtering and enslavement of the Britons. M. E. Jones (1996), 128–9 has suggested that Gildas' writing 'calls into question the alleged success of Romanization in Britain'.

[154] Wright (1852), 95.

[155] Ibid. [156] Ibid. 249.

[157] Ibid., 253. [158] Ibid. 249.

their original identity throughout the Roman occupation of the province.

Drawing upon the textual sources, particularly the *Notitia Imperii* (*Notitia Dignitatum*), and inscriptions from Roman sites in Britain referring to legionaries and auxiliaries from overseas, Wright proposed that various 'races' settled in the province early in its history and remained to the end.[159] He lists these groups in detail, suggesting 'Thus we learn...that Othona (supposed to be the lost town of Ythancester, on the coast of Essex), was occupied by a body of Fortensians, who came from the town of Fortia in Asiatic Sarmatia. Dubræ (*Dover*) was held by Tungricanians, supposed to be only another form of an error of the scribe for Tungrians.'[160] Speculating on the nature of the Roman towns indicated by these sources, he proposed that 'Perhaps, if we examine closely the names of Romano-British towns, and could compare them extensively with those of the countries from which their founders came, we should find, as in British America at the present day, that they also were more or less commemorative of the lands they have left.'[161] Despite his comments on the integration of the native peoples of the Roman provinces (above), Wright evidently felt that their racial identity prevented their full assimilation into an international Roman culture.[162]

He emphasized the transformation of Roman Britain, remarking that, by the fourth century 'the face of the island was strangely altered from that which it presented when visited by Cæsar. Well inhabited and well cultivated, it was divided like a network by innumerable roads,...which formed a communication between a multitude of flourishing cities and towns.'[163] He noted in his review of villas that over a hundred examples were known,[164] providing an 'extraordinary notion of the condition of the island'. Wright stressed that it was

[159] Wright (1852), 250–3.

[160] Ibid. 250. Wright's list of racial groups continues for over a page.

[161] Ibid. 254.

[162] Such a view goes directly against the approach to Romanization that characterized studies of Roman Britain in the twentieth century (see below), but it is ironic that recent interpretations have begun again to emphasize the ethnic identity of certain groups of auxiliary soldiers in Roman Britain; see, for example, Mattingly's review (2006), 223–4, of Hilary Cool's work on the Roman fort at Brougham, Cumbria.

[163] Wright (1852), 120.   [164] Ibid. 199.

impossible to discover to what 'class of the community' these villas belonged, but that we can 'hardly doubt' that their owners were 'men of wealth, who sought here that splendid country retirement to which we know the Roman gentry were much attached'.[165] He proposed that the ranges of rooms arranged around courtyards indicated that the 'lord of the mansion had a numerous household, troops of slaves, and menials, and clients'.

Wright suggested that the general peasantry 'lived in huts, slightly constructed, and of perishable materials, either separately, or grouped together in villages . . . called British villages'.[166] He explored these British villages in some detail, drawing directly upon Hoare's studies and quoting almost verbatim the information from the excavation of the two settlements on Knook Down,[167] while noting that similar settlements had been found in Leicestershire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire.[168] He argued that they were villages occupied by the pastoral and agricultural population of Roman Britain and suggested that the 'peasantry' who inhabited these settlements were chiefly of the 'old British race',[169] presumably those 'enslaved' by the Romans. Significantly, Wright did not follow Hoare's argument that the finds and structures at these villages indicated that the Britons were learning Roman ways, although he wrote briefly that 'British pottery' was a 'commoner and rougher' form 'of Roman ware'.[170]

In speculating about what happened to the original British population in this pattern of distinct ethnic groups that appear to have typified Roman Britain,[171] Wright notes that British auxiliary soldiers were based overseas and that some inscriptions on the Roman Wall appear to indicate the existence of British 'tribes' or *civitates*, arguing that this suggests a certain degree of 'political existence'.[172] He argued, however, that, although there was very little relevant information available, they were probably 'gradually reduced to the

[165] Ibid. 205.   [166] Ibid.   [167] Ibid. 87–8.
[168] Ibid. 87.   [169] Ibid. 89, 205.
[170] Ibid. 89.   [171] Ibid. 255.
[172] Ibid. Wright was drawing on the inscriptions from the Wall that recorded the names of British *civitates*. An example is the inscription from Howgill (Cumbria) that mentions the 'CIVITATE CATVVELLAVNORVM', the Catuvellauni; see Horsley (1733), 192, 258–9. Wright also notes a number of other inscriptions that appear to record Britons in the Roman army.

lowest degree of dependence. In the towns of the legions or of the auxiliaries they would not be allowed to enjoy any rights, and it is probable that in the latter part of the Roman period the British blood in the south was found chiefly in the peasantry.'[173] Wright's account reconstructed a race of native Britons who were genetically (or politically) unable to modify their ways to accommodate themselves to the occupying power. His views project a developing mid-Victorian concept of identity, suggesting that race determined the shortcomings of primitive societies. Under such an approach, the 'Celtic' peoples of pre-Roman and Roman Britain could be seen to lack the same potential for civilization as the descendants of the Saxon invaders, who were thought by many to have replaced the Celts across southern Britain.[174] The cities, villas, and roads, by contrast, remained firmly associated with the Roman invaders although, in Wright's account, these people were drawn from widely spaced parts of the Roman empire.

It is evident that Wright's picture of Roman Britain was deeply influenced by contemporary ideas about the world, but he interpreted British villages in a very different manner from Hoare. In his book *Researches into the Ecclesiastical and Political State of Ancient Briton under the Roman Empire* (1843), Reverend Francis Thackeray envisaged third-century Britain as comparable to the state of 'Hindostan' when it was first subject to the English.[175] The Romans encouraged the Britons to learn 'eloquence and the Arts', but only to soothe the 'vanity' of their masters and to divert their attention from 'military pursuits and from reflecting too deeply' on their 'condition'.[176] Thackeray proposed that the Romans fulfilled a messianic role in spreading Christianity to the West, but that the 'calm eye of the philosopher, and, much more, of the Christian, detected many latent springs of dissatisfaction and misery'.[177] We are told that, south

[173] Wright (1852), 255.
[174] Although Wright (ibid. 90) also noted the possibility that some Britons lived on after the Saxon invasion on village sites. Elsewhere, I have defined this Victorian image of Celts' subservience to the ancient Roman, the Saxons, and the contemporary English as the myth of the 'Celtic subaltern'; see Hingley (2000), 65–8. For works of art of this date that encapsulate this conception, see Smiles (1994), 142–4.
[175] Thackeray (1843), 213; see Hingley (2000), 65.
[176] Thackeray (1843), 213.   [177] Ibid. 212.

of the Wall of Severus, towns, 'neat villages', and 'elegant villas' 'multiplied on every side', while the Romans and Britons began to intermarry; but Thackeray's Roman Britons, while perhaps slightly less oppressed than Wright's, only differ in degree.

CHRISTIAN INSPIRATIONS

Thackeray was one of several writers to draw on the potential significance of Christianity in Roman Britain. This association could stress a very different concept of national origins to that of the enslaved Celtic Britons and the subsequent settlement of England by Teutonic ancestors.[178] The Christian focus in Romano-British studies drew upon evidence for the religion in Roman times, often claiming a continuity of belief to the contemporary age.[179]

Claudia, Pudens, St Paul, and Boudica: musing on Chichester and Chedworth

Some clerics and antiquaries sought to locate evidence for Christians in first-century Roman Britain. In 1848, John Williams, the Archdeacon of Cardigan, produced a small book in which he wrote about Claudia, Pudens, St Paul, and the first-century Christians of Chichester.[180] Drawing upon Stukeley's writings, Williams noted that St Paul's Second Epistle (chapter 4, verse 21) referred to three individuals named Pudens, Linus, and Claudia.[181] Williams raised the possibility that Martial mentioned the same Claudia and Pudens as being residents

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[178] The fifth- to sixth-century author Gildas (*DEB*) and the eighth-century author Bede (*EH*) had emphasized the Christian history of Roman Britain. Thackeray drew deeply on these writings, as did the authors discussed below. By contrast to a number of his contemporaries, Wright, (1852), 296–9, was fairly dismissive of the evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain.

[179] For Victorian writings on Christianity in the Roman empire and in Roman Britain, see Turner (1999), P. Levine (1986), 85, and Vance (1997), 204–8.

[180] Thackeray (1843), 96–8 had discussed Claudia Rufina and Pudens but was presumably unaware of Stukeley's earlier writings about the Cogidubnus inscription.

[181] J. Williams (1848), 8.

of the city of Rome in two of his epigrams. The earlier epigram (4.13) is addressed to Claudia who, by the time the later epigram (11.54) was written, was the mother of three children. Following Stukeley, and drawing upon the Chichester inscription, Williams argued that Claudia Rufina was the daughter of Cogidubnus.

In his translation of Martial's second epigram, Williams wrote:

Seeing Claudia Rufina has sprung from the azure Britons,
How comes she to have the feelings of a Latin maid?
What grace and beauty! With the daughters of Italy she may pass
As a Roman, with those of Attica, as an Athenian Matron.
Thanks to the Gods, she has borne many children to her holy husband,
And still young, hopes to see sons and daughters-in-law;
So may the Gods grant that in one husband,
And her three children, she may always find her happiness.[182]

Williams uses these observations to reflect on the 'Origenes' of the 'mighty British nation…It is a people "sui generis", formed by a wonderful and gradual intermixture of Races and blood, which render it a well-digested amalgamation between the lively Celt and the sluggish Dutchman.'[183]

He noted in the dedication:

To Victoria Adelaide Mary Louisa, the Princess Royal of England, is inscribed this essay, with an intention of showing that early in the first century of the Christian era, there lived a Royal Princess of the British Race, who could vie with the highborn maidens of Rome and Athens, in beauty of person and elegance of mind, and who merited by her Christian graces of faith and obedience the commendation of the great apostle of the gentiles, and the friendship of Timotheus, his son in the faith and disciple.[184]

In 1860, in a reflection on the Life and Epistles of St Paul, the Reverend W. J. Conybeare and the Reverend J. S. Howson reinvestigated the idea that Claudia Rufina was the daughter of Cogidubnus

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[182] J. Williams (1848), 11–12. Williams (ibid. 12–13) admits that these three references to Claudia need not all refer to the same individual, but gives reasons to support the idea that they do.

[183] Ibid. viii.

[184] Ibid. cover page. Timotheus was a companion of St. Paul's; see Conybeare and Howson (1860), 210–11.

and a Christian.[185] They noted Martial's two Epigrams, proposing that they may be the same Claudia and Pudens recorded in a salutation to Roman Christians in St Paul's Second Epistle. Further noting the Cogidubnus inscription,[186] Conybeare and Howson suggested that Cogidubnus' daughter was given the cognomen 'Claudia' because Claudius was the patron of this first-century British king and that the daughter had been sent to Rome, as a pledge of Cogidubnus' fidelity and was educated there. Furthermore, Conybeare and Howson claim that, in Rome, Claudia came under the patronage of Pomponia, wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror and first Roman governor of Britain. Pomponia is recorded in Tacitus' *Annals* (13.32) as being tainted with 'a foreign superstition', which Conybeare and Howson suggest was Christianity, and that Pomponia converted her 'protégée' Claudia.[187] They pointed out that the problem with this interpretation was that the Pudens referred to on the Chichester inscription had evidently 'acted as a pagan'. This, they proposed, indicated that either he had concealed his faith or that his relatives, in their anxiety to protect him, 'did idolatrous acts' in his name.[188]

Tales of Christianity in Roman Britain inspired other mid-Victorian authors to look for a potential racial continuity with pre-Romans and Roman populations. In 1867 and 1868, J. W. Grover published two short accounts of 'Pre-Augustan Christianity' in Britain, drawing in particular on the recently excavated evidence from the Roman villa at Chedworth (Gloucestershire). This impressive country house had been discovered in 1864 on the estate of the Earl of Eldon, who had arranged for careful plans of the remains to be made, erected sheds over the pavements and built a museum to display the excavated relics.[189] Grover studied the distribution of Roman Christianity through the discovery of its most obvious symbols, noting that, although finds

[185] Ibid. 500–2 n. 7. I derive this reference from Vance (1997), 206, 302 n. 14. The authors remark that their observations are based on the 'ingenious essay' by J. Williams (reviewed above) but do not appear aware of Stukeley's earlier writings.

[186] Conybeare and Howson (1860), 500–1 n. 7; see Vance (1997), 205.

[187] Conybeare and Howson (1860), 500–1 n. 7.

[188] Ibid. 502 n. 7. This tale survived as an origin myth in Chichester into the early twentieth century (see below).

[189] Scarth (no date).

were rare, this was probably due to the absence of a 'careful system of research'.[190] He drew attention to the Chi-Rho on a Roman mosaic pavement from Frampton (Dorset) that had been found in the previous century,[191] while also noting a 'most important discovery' by the Reverend Samuel Lysons (nephew of the earlier excavator of the same name) at Chedworth, where two examples of Christian monographs had been found.[192]

Grover thought that a generally Roman culture had survived in the Chedworth area, arguing:

In no part of England are the remains of Roman art and civilization so extensive as in East Gloucestershire, and nowhere are finer churches and country residences to be seen nowadays. Can the architectural taste implanted by the Latin lords eighteen hundred years ago have descended to those modern times in the popular mind? Teams of oxen are still used in this country at the plough, as they were in the days of the legion; and perhaps the ancient love of field-sports, so conspicuous in the remains and representations in the villa, may, now find its development, in a greater degree, in the fox-hunting and coursing so fondly and conspicuously followed here.[193]

Grover proposed that we may as well call ourselves 'Anglo-Romans' as 'Anglo-Saxons'.[194]

Nevertheless, Grover was not satisfied with the idea that Chedworth villa was owned by a Christian in the fourth century; instead, in order to create a story to rival that of Claudia and Pudens, he argued a first-century origin for the introduction of Christianity to rural Gloucestershire. He observed that tiles from the parish were marked 'ARVIRI' referring to the legendary Arviragus, a tributary

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[190] Grover (1867), 221.

[191] Ibid. 222. See Lysons (1808), 6 and L. Fleming (1934), 24–5 for Lysons's discovery of this pavement.

[192] Grover (1867), 224. For the younger Samuel Lysons, see Goodwin revised by Baigent (2004) and Goodwin revised by Frith (2004); he is described as 'a very minor figure among antiquaries' compared to his uncle; see Goodwin / Baigent (2004). Lysons the younger had already published a novel entitled *Claudia and Pudens; or the early Christians in Gloucester* (1861), a tale that involves Cogidunus, Caractacus, and Arviragus in addition to the heroes of its title. Claudia and Pudens in this novel have a Christian marriage on 15th October AD 44 in the presence of the emperor Claudius at the 'palace' of Cogidunus (ibid. 167–71).

[193] Grover (1868), 133.   [194] Ibid.

British king under Claudius,[195] who supposedly 'ruled in state' at Cirencester 'when Vespasian was engaged in converting its rude wigwams into noble Roman palaces'.[196] Drawing upon a legend, Grover proposed that Arviragus was the father of Boadicea, suggesting that was 'pretty evident' that he lived at Chedworth, while 'it is, perhaps, not too much to say that these pavements have been trodden by the royal feet of Boadicea'.[197] Noting that Boadicea had married 'Prasiatagus' (Prasutagus), Grover called attention to a stone from the villa inscribed 'PRASIATA', which he suggested had the role of 'singularly confirming history'.[198] Grover called on the reference in an old chronicle that Arviragus was converted to Christianity by Joseph of Arimathea and proposed that, although this story had been regarded as a fable, the Chedworth find 'seems to indicate' its truth.[199] Observing that there was a bath at the villa, Grover suggested that this constituted a baptistery.[200] Scarth noted, in a swift reply to Grover's paper, that 'it would be a bold step' to relate the inscriptions from Chedworth to Prasutagus and Arviragus; instead, he proposed that the villa and its inscriptions were of fourth-century date, on the basis of the form of the letters on the inscription.[201]

Henry Coote and the Romans of Britain

Henry Charles Coote (1815–1885), a solicitor with an interest in England's past, wrote two thought-provoking books that derived a deeply Christian message from the evidence for Roman Britain, *A Neglected fact in English History* (1864) and *The Romans of Britain*

[195] Grover (1867), 225. For this supposed ancient British figure mentioned by Juvenal, who may actually be an invention of the author, see Braund (1996), 151, 199 n. 22. For the way that Arviragus was addressed in earlier English accounts and his supposed relationship to Vodada (Boudica), see Floyd-Wilson (2002), 103. For a late eighteenth-century play about Arviragus, see Smiles (1994), 139.

[196] Grover (1868), 132.

[197] Grover (1867), 225; (1868), 132.

[198] Grover (1867), 225.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Grover (1868), 132. This identification, however, was swiftly countered by Scarth on the basis that a 'heathen altar' was found in its remains; see Scarth (1869), 219.

[201] Ibid. 216–7, 223.

(1878).[202] These works promoted a particular view of the significance of the Roman past which influenced some later accounts of Roman Britain. Coote was writing against an influential tradition that emphasized the greatness of national history by focusing on the early medieval and medieval origins of English society, the Teutonic myth of English origins. Coote took an almost directly opposing position by arguing a direct Roman ancestry for the English, but without abandoning the idea of a partial inheritance of English blood from the Teutons.

In his earlier book, Coote proposed that the dominant Anglo-Saxon view of English origins required the 'extermination' of the 'provincial Britons' and created 'a *tabula rasa* of Roman Britain'.[203] Such an idea was, in Coote's terms 'disparaging to the national pedigree'. It:

post-dates the English *origines*, and dries up the springs of our early history, the merits and interests of which are by this supposition lavished upon a race of strangers. It disentitles a large portion of Britons of Imperial Rome to the sympathies of the present race of Englishmen. It asserts that the arts and civilization which the Mistress of the World imposed upon her subjects and pupils have conferred no derivative benefit upon ourselves, between whom and the Eternal City it leaves a gap without connexions or transition. Provincial Britain becomes a lost nation, and four centuries of historical associations, with their momentous consequences, are divorced from our annals.[204]

Coote argued in detail that such a supposition, of the replacement of the Roman population of Britain by Anglo-Saxon invaders, was 'entirely irreconcilable with the leading phenomena displayed in the political, social and legal condition of England'.[205] He drew attention to a number of institutions and traditions that united Roman Britain

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[202]   These works have already been discussed in Hingley (2000), 69–70. For Coote's life and writings, which included work on legal topics, see Anon revised by Banerji (2004). Coote's ideas about continuity between Roman and post-Roman England had been first advanced in the *Gentleman's Magazine* before he published his first book on the topic. Coote's work was well received by some; see G. Gomme (1887*a*), vii; (1887*b*), vii, and Windle (1897), 170.

[203]   Coote (1864), iii.

[204]   Ibid. viii–ix.   [205]   Ibid. iv.

and Victorian England, including law, the '*Civitates*', civilization, art, manufacture, Christianity, and even 'imperial coinage'.[206]

In a statement reminiscent of Camden's *Britannia*, Coote proposed that the '*civitas* of London' embraced within its territory what subsequently became Middlesex, that the territory of *Camulodunum* became Essex, while that of *Lindum* became Lincolnshire.[207] The supposed continuation of urban institutions and Roman law is, in these terms, taken to indicate the survival of the Roman cities into the Saxon period and beyond.[208] Coote distinguished two 'classes' in Britain at the end of the Roman period, the '*colonus*' or 'original inhabitant', who tilled the land, and the '*possessor*' or man of Roman origins.[209] This idea of the original inhabitants, evidently, corresponded well with the writings of Hoare, Wright, and others, although Coote did not use archaeological evidence to support his claim. The 'possessors' are thought to have survived the Roman invasion in the cities, while the Anglo-Saxon settlers took control of England.

Coote developed his ideas further in his second book, in which he sought to answer some problems that had been raised in reviews of his first.[210] He repeated much of the theory outlined in his earlier work and attempted to develop the elements that linked modern England directly with the classical Romans. He re-emphasized that the Roman population of Britain were descendants of the original Roman colonists and that they lived alongside the indigenous people, who they turned into 'prædial slaves', the 'labourers of antiquity'.[211] The indigenous people of the south-east were, according to Coote, actually Teutonic rather than Celtic.[212] The Romans of Britain had

[206] Ibid. iv–v. For the history of the earlier focus on the use of the ancient Britons to provide an ancestral origin for British Christianity and the conflict this caused with a Saxon myth of origin, see Kidd (1999), 103.

[207] Coote (1864), 65.

[208] Ibid. 123.

[209] Ibid. 130. The concepts are derived from Coote's reading of the Theodosian Code, which refers to British *coloni* (ibid. 30, 50).

[210] Coote (1878), v–vi. Coote mentions an 'elaborate review' of his earlier work by E. A. Freeman. For the context of Freeman's critique, see Anon revised by Banerji (2004) and P. Levine (1986), 80. Freeman's adherence to the Teutonic myth of English origins would have made him highly critical of Coote's claims; see Bowler (1989), 65.

[211] Coote (1878), 3, 124–32.   [212] Ibid. 3, 21.

survived the Anglo-Saxon conquest in the 'ark' of their cities, but could not prevent certain 'savage customs' being introduced by the Germanic settlers.[213] In turn, the 'Norman, or Gallo-Roman', conquest of 1066 had then relieved the 'depression' that had resulted from the Anglo-Saxon and Danish conquests and subsequent periods of control. With Gallo-Roman support, the Romans of England then became 'the creator, under providence, of the mediæval and modern greatness of England'.[214] This legacy included the Christian religion, which Coote argues to have been well established and to have survived the Anglo-Saxon conquest.[215] As a result:

The best portion of [England's] . . . population retains both in mind and body the characteristics proper to this great origin. The physical identity of the gentle and middle class Englishmen, with the same sections of Society in Italy, is plain to those who really know the county. Equally have the moral peculiarities by which the old Roman was distinguished been prominent in the Englishman.[216]

Coote's views of racial continuity in post-Roman Britain required that these habits were a direct inheritance from Roman forebears.

The lack of any detailed understanding of the late Roman and post-Roman history of the cities of England enabled Coote to argue in this manner, although he ignored almost all of the available archaeological information,[217] basing his analysis on a particular reading of the historical and philological materials. His deeply Christian continuity model reflected an increasing interest in the early origins of British Christianity during the late nineteenth century.

ROMANIZED BRITONS

If it could be demonstrated that ancient Britons had adopted Roman ways, this would support Coote's and Grover's idea of continuity

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[213] Coote (1878), 4.   [214] Ibid. 4–5.
[215] Ibid. 413–23.   [216] Ibid. 11.
[217] Occasionally, Coote drew on archaeological information to support his narrative, as in his use of the information from the Roman temple on Jordan Hill (Dorset) and other sites in southern Britain to support a point about Roman land allotment (ibid. 105–12). Archaeological finds of Roman date in his account became direct evidence for the colonization of Britain by Roman settlers (ibid. 120).

between pre-Roman Britain and contemporary England. Antiquaries and archaeologists working on Roman towns in the mid to late nineteenth century began to produce possible evidence for Romanized Britons; information that supplemented the eighteenth-century accounts.

Indigenous urban centres

Despite the influential interpretations of Roman towns as military settlements, nineteenth-century discoveries indicated a civil infrastructure of houses and public buildings. Those who discussed these new finds sometimes stressed a potential native input into urban histories.

London: a pre-Roman and Roman town?

Charles Roach Smith (1806–1890) was a pioneer of Roman archaeology during the middle of the nineteenth century. He developed a particular interest in Roman pottery, but his researches also focused on the Roman period in London, where he lived and worked.[218] The rebuilding of London Bridge and its approaches, together with the improvement to the sewage systems of London during the 1830s and 1840s, led to a dramatic increase in knowledge about the Roman archaeology of this area.[219] Smith produced an extensive record of the Roman remains uncovered during these works.[220] He amassed a very substantial collection of Roman finds from excavations made for sewers and dredged up from the bed of the Thames;[221] this was

[218] For Smith's life and achievements, see Haverfield (1924*a*), 84, Hingley (2007*b*), Rhodes (1990), Sheppard (1991), 9–21, Todd (2004*a*), 452, 455, 457, and Vance (1997), 244. Rhodes (1990), 28 describes Smith as the major force amongst the generations of archaeologists from the mid 1830s. Smith was a chemist, whose considerable contributions to Roman and Anglo-Saxon archaeology were not always fully recognized by his contemporaries. I will not consider Smith's significant work on the Saxon Shore forts—but see Todd (2004*a*), 452.

[219] Sheppard (1991), 9.

[220] See C. R. Smith (1836), (1841), (1844), (1859); see Marsden (1996), 14–18.

[221] Henig (1995), 185–6 and Sheppard (1991), 10. For the history of Smith's collection of finds, see MacGregor (1998), 134–6.

acquired in 1855 by the British Museum after lengthy and difficult negotiations.[222] Smith's *Illustrations of Roman London* (1859) was an account of his observations.[223] He had long felt that the 'disconnected' 'facts' that derived from development work in London could be drawn upon to develop a Roman 'topography of London' and in his book Smith sought to 'convey a notion of Roman London from the antiquities themselves'.[224]

The book included a general introduction that addressed the nature of the Roman occupation of Britain, arguing that 'war, the various accidents of time, and especially the increase of population and commerce' had denuded England of Roman monuments. Smith claimed, however, that those who would 'underrate the prosperity of Britain must have studied both history and existing remains to very little purpose'.[225] His account emphasized the scale and impact of the Roman settlement, stressing that many of the towns were 'of large extent' and:

were adorned with edifices of considerable grandeur and architectural importance, and their public places were often embellished with statues. One bronze equestrian statue, at least, decorated Lincoln; a bronze Statue of the tutelary deity of the place, stood in the temple at Bath; a statue in bronze, of Hadrian, of heroic size, was one of the public ornaments of London; one of the temples at Colchester bore an inscription of large letters of bronze, and Verulam possessed a theatre for dramatic representations, capable of holding some two or three thousand spectators.[226]

Smith noted that both these and other remains, which 'speak of former luxury and magnificence', had only been discovered by accident.[227] He proposed that the 'spacious' villas across Britain indicated the types of building that would have existed in the towns, noting that only mosaics provided an idea of the 'extensive and

[222] Sheppard (1991), 11–20.

[223] C. R. Smith (1859), 1.

[224] For the proposal about topography, see C. R. Smith (1836), 151; for the development of the notion, see C. R. Smith (1859), iii.

[225] Ibid. 3.

[226] Ibid. 3–4. The statue fragments that Smith mentioned had been found at various times in the fairly recent past; see Henig (1995), 61, 97. The Verulamium theatre is addressed below.

[227] C. R. Smith (1859), 4.

commodious edifices' from which they were derived, since their superstructure had been entirely removed.[228]

Turning more specifically to London, Smith argued that it was 'Once the capital of the rich and fertile province of Britain; occupying a larger extent of ground than any other town in the island; and renowned for commerce.'[229] Despite this former grandeur, no surviving remains of 'public edifices' existed and only the sites of one or two 'can be reasonably conjectured'.[230] Smith supposed that the British coins found in England 'imply a well-founded policy at home and friendly relations with the imperial court at Rome',[231] while he suspected that the development of such a system required the foundations of established towns. He noted that Verulamium and Camulodunum were places where British coins had been minted, but that no mint had been found at London. Despite this lack of evidence, he supposed that the urban centre at London might also have originated before the Roman conquest. He argued that, as at Verulamium and Camulodunum, by the time of Claudius' invasion, London might have 'advanced to some degree of consequence'.[232]

In an earlier paper, Smith had noted that the numerous Roman works of art discovered in London 'afford us copious materials for studying the habits, manners, and customs of the Roman colonists; the introduction and state of many of the arts during their long sojourn in Britain, and their positive or probable influence on the British inhabitants.'[233] He also noted that many of these remains related to the 'mercantile and trading population of this ever mercantile town'.[234]

Most of Smith's well-illustrated book described the extent and nature of Roman London, dividing Roman objects from his collection into sections: inscriptions and sculptures, tessellated pavements, wall paintings, bronzes, pottery (including samian), clay statuettes,

[228] C. R. Smith (1859).   [229] Ibid. 6.   [230] Ibid.
[231] Ibid. 8. For similar observations on British coins, see John Evans (1864), 44.
[232] C. R. Smith (1859), 8–9. Elsewhere Smith (1844), 109 was less confident about the pre-Roman history of London, stating that there were no remains to indicate British settlement, nor pre-Roman works of art. Archaeologists today remain divided on whether London was a pre-Roman or Roman foundation; see Hingley and Unwin (2005), 83.
[233] C. R. Smith (1841), 159.   [234] Ibid.

Figure 4.7. Burkitt's view of the fragments of Classicianus' tomb, found in 1852, from Burkitt (1853).

lamps, tiles, glass, personal ornaments and toilet implements, sandals, implements and utensils, and coins.[235] Smith listed more than 2,000 Roman coins that had passed through his hands.[236] One of the fragmentary inscriptions had been found in August 1852 on Tower Hill (Figure 4.7);[237] Smith noted that the monument from which the inscription was derived was of 'a very superior class' and proposed that it was 'within the bounds of probability' that it was the tomb of Julius Classicianus, Procurator of Britain at the time of Nero.[238]

[235] Interest was increasing in Roman pottery and other finds in the decades prior to C. R. Smith's volume on London; see, for example, Birch (1858); C. R. Smith (1845), (1848).

[236] C. R. Smith (1859), 163.

[237] This was originally published by Burkitt who noted that part of the inscription read CLASSICIANI, arguing that it might have been related to the Roman navy; see Burkitt (1853), 241.

[238] C. R. Smith (1859), 28. Classicianus is mentioned in Tacitus' *Annals* (14.38). Additional fragments of the monument were found in 1933 and it is still thought that

Some years after Smith's departure from London, a mosaic was uncovered during the construction of the extensive foundations for the Union Bank of London in Mansion House Street, Bucklersbury.[239] There was considerable pubic interest in the discovery and more than 50,000 people visited the uncovered pavement over the three days in 1869 set aside by the developers.[240] A notable effort was made to record this almost complete mosaic before development continued and it was carefully lifted and placed in the new Library and Museum at Guildhall.[241] Drawing upon Smith's earlier ideas, John Edward Price argued:

Among the many illustrations of the domestic life of Roman London there are few, perhaps, more interesting or attractive than the tessellated pavements of the buildings. Viewed *in situ* with their surroundings they convey to the mind more readily than can any description a notion of the style of dwelling existing in our metropolis some fifteen centuries ago, and, considered as works of art, by their variety and character they indicate a refinement of taste which will bear comparison with the artistic feelings of modern times. The genius displayed by the ancients in their architecture, sculpture, painting, pottery, and even in minor matters, bespeaks the high state of their civilization; and, viewing the discoveries recorded, we trace a wide diffusion of art amongst the general population, with a universal adaptation of its principles to matters of every-day life.[242]

Such architectural features could have been constructed by or for Roman officers such as Julius Classicianus who were evidently resident in the provincial capital, but Tacitus' writings and a wish to find continuity between the classical and contemporary pasts of London drove an alternative interpretation of the Roman town which emphasized the involvement of Britons.[243]

it relates to the provincial procurator who took over in Britain after Boudica's revolt; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 5–6, *RIB* 12, Grasby and Tomlin (2002), and Henig (1995), 30.

[239] Price (1870), 1–2 and Sheppard (1991), 22.
[240] Price (1870), 2–3.
[241] Price (1870), 3. See Sheppard (1991, 22–4) for the new Guildhall Museum in which the mosaic was housed.
[242] Price (1870), 4.
[243] Grew (2001) provides a useful discussion of the relevance of colonial models for the interpretation of Roman London, but I shall not consider the later works that he addresses in this book.

Reappraising Bath

The Reverend Harry Mengden Scarth (1814–1890) produced inter-
pretative works on Bath that drew upon earlier discoveries.[244] In a
lecture delivered at the Guildhall in Bath on 2nd March 1853, he
discussed the temples, walls, and some of the antiquities.[245] He
explored the idea that some of the remains of past people in Britain
are 'deeply interesting', if they 'exhibit a great knowledge of art, if they
shew the hand of a people highly civilized'.[246] Bath itself, he noted, is
'richer in ancient Roman remains' than probably any other city in
England.[247] He reviewed the impressive finds from the site, suggest-
ing that the inscriptions on the votive altars showed 'the piety and
devotion of the Romanized Briton, or the Roman himself'.[248] Scarth's
religious motivation is evident in his comments, 'Here we have
preserved to our times the remains of two temples, monuments to
heathen idolatry—records of what once prevailed in this land. They
carry our minds back to ages when this country was under the
domination of Pagan superstition, and when men were bowing
down to worship false gods and devils.'[249] He remarked on the
sufferings imposed on the Britons by the invading Romans but
noted that they were also 'the first to pave the way for that civilization
which we, by the blessing of God, now enjoy, and to kindle the light
of Christian truth in the land'.[250]

    In 1857, Scarth provided a fuller summary of the archaeological
evidence. He proposed that the origins of Bath remained obscure but
that the Romans may have settled there around AD 50.[251] He dis-
cussed the walls and buildings, noting that the plan of the city wall

[244] Scarth (1853), (1857), (1864). For Scarth's life and writings, see Hunt revised
by Baigent (2004). These authors suggests that Scarth ranked amongst the 'best'
English authorities on Roman antiquities but that he 'overstated the influence of the
occupation'. I shall argue that, in fact, Scarth provided a fairly balanced view of
Roman Britain, although one that was influenced by Coote's interpretation of
Christian continuity.
[245] Scarth (1853).
[246] Ibid. 5.
[247] Ibid. 6.
[248] Ibid. 14.
[249] Ibid. 18.
[250] Ibid. 19. Scarth (1864), viii contains comparable comments.
[251] Scarth (1857), 257–8.

was pentagonal, similar to Silchester and Wroxeter.[252] Noting that earlier commentators had suggested that this indicated a British origin, he argued that the walled circuit merely reflected the nature of the ground. Scarth proposed that Bath exhibited the Roman policy in Britain:

The passage of Tacitus, wherein he describes the gradual enervation of the native character of the Britons through the policy pursued by Agricola, seems particularly adapted to this city. We may conceive the natives . . . looking down upon the Roman settlement of Aquæ Sulis in the valley, induced gradually to mix with the new comers, and assume their dress and manners, as we know they did, and become imitators of their luxury.[253]

Scarth's substantial volume on Bath, *Aquæ Solis, Or Notices of Roman Bath*, published in 1864, aimed to catalogue the significant finds that had been made and to produce a study of the Roman city comparable to Smith's book on Roman London.[254] Between 1864 and 1896, James Thomas Irvine, Richard Mann and Major Charles Davis uncovered the Great Bath in the city and published information about the Roman buildings which highlighted Bath's significance during the Roman period.[255]

Colonial Verulamium

Extensive excavations took place at Verulamium (St Albans) between 1849 and 1869, revealing further sections of the town wall and several buildings including a theatre (Figure 4.8).[256] The new information was summarized by J. W. Grover in a paper comparing the remains to those uncovered at Pompeii.[257] He proposed to 'gaze adown the corridor of time for eighteen centuries', to see Verulamium as it was in its 'infancy, its pride of manhood and its decay'.[258] At first, according to Grover, Verulamium was:

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[252] Scarth (1857), 260.   [253] Ibid. 264.

[254] Scarth (1864), vii. Scarth's impressive volume included discussions and illustrations of the inscriptions, buildings, and artefacts from Roman Bath.

[255] Cunliffe (1971, 11–14) discusses the limitations of this work. For the context, see Todd (2004*a*), 454. I will not address these excavations here.

[256] For a detailed discussion of this work, see Niblett (2001), 12–17. Further excavation occurred in 1898–1911.

[257] Grover (1870).   [258] Ibid. 46.
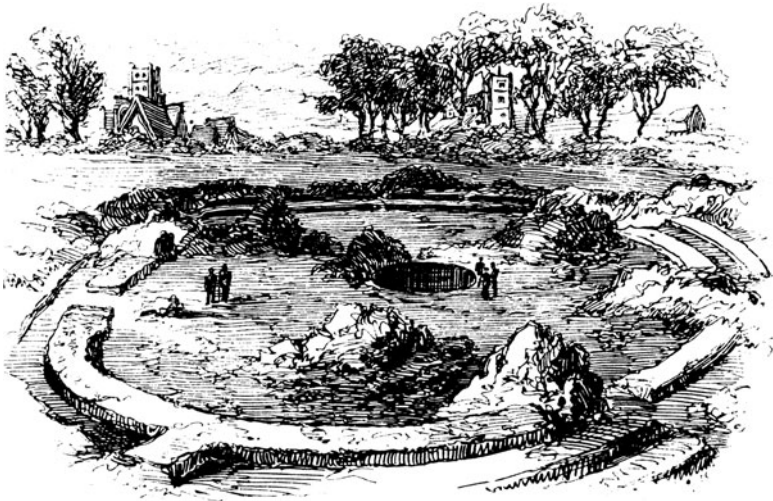
Figure 4.8. A sketch by F. W. Fairholt of the excavations in the theatre at Verulamium in 1849, looking toward the east.

a *congeries* of low wigwams[,] of humble thatched shanties, covering the holes in the ground into which our British forefathers were wont to creep as the Esquimaux do now. The defences of the primitive settlement were probably a strong stockade and a trench, like a New Zealander's paah ... Through the deep gloom of the woods[,] British clearings or trackways, hardly to be honoured with the title of roads, ran in crooked lines ... Skin-clad warriors drove their flocks and chariots along these devious ways ... [259]

After another century:

Claudius, the Emperor of 'Reform Bill' celebrity, determined to add Britain to his unwieldy empire. He came, and saw, and conquered; and lo! Verulam is changed as by a magician's wand—a new city rises amidst the wigwams, and long straight streets of lordly mansions take the place of hovels. The princely frescoed villa rises where the hut stood. Then came temples to new gods; the forum, the *basilica*, and the law courts, filled with the *curiæ*; knights, slaves, clients and a long array of imperial officials and tax-gather-ers. The burnished helmets of the legionaries sparkle amongst the eagles of Rome; the grim centurion's voice tells of discipline and order and despotism,

[259] Grover (1870).

stern and unbending as of Prussia now...Civilisation, with its blessings and curses, amazes the simple islander. A long cycle of magnificent imperialism for four hundred years has to be endured.[260]

Grover proposed that the Roman theatre uncovered here indicated a 'civilisation...of no contemptible kind which enabled the inhabitants of this remote province to appreciate the drama of Plautus and Terence, or the cadence of a Greek chorus'.[261] After discussing the inevitable collapse of Roman Verulamium under the force of the invading barbarians during the fifth century, Grover explored the possibility that a late Roman church was established on the site of its medieval successor.[262]

The Reverend James Joyce at Silchester

Studies of the Roman town of Silchester from the 1860s to the early years of the twentieth century constituted a major contribution to the interpretation of Roman Britain. The extensive excavations at this site made it one of the best-known towns of the Roman empire and, in turn, helped to articulate a new focus on the British adoption of Roman civilization,[263] an idea that drew on the evidence for a pre-Roman *oppidum* at Silchester.

The second Duke of Wellington, landowner of Silchester, encouraged the Reverend James Gerald Joyce, who lived nearby, to undertake excavation between 1864 and 1884.[264] Joyce proposed that Silchester was originally a stronghold of the 'Saegontiaci', a native British tribe.[265] He described the remains in poetic terms:

[260] Grover (1870), 46–7. Also quoted by Niblett (2001), 15.

[261] Grover (1870), 51.

[262] Ibid, 48–9.

[263] Boon (1974), 20 proposed that these nineteenth-century excavations have become 'an archaeological feature' in themselves, to be treated as such in studies of Silchester. Ibid. 31 for an assessment of the significance of this work to the archaeological study of Roman Britain; and see Todd (2004*a*), 455–6. Todd (ibid. 451–6) has reviewed work on a number of other Roman towns and forts at this time, including York, Chester, Caerleon, and Exeter.

[264] Joyce (1865), (1867), (1873*a*), (1873*b*). See Hudson (1981), 58–9 and Todd (2004*a*), 455. Boon (1957), 35 suggests that the Duke of Wellington was inspired by his acquisition of coins and other objects from the site.

[265] Joyce (1873*a*), 10.

It is now certain that hidden within the dark bosom of this strange city, guarded still by the almost unbroken circle of those weird walls which defy time and tempest alike, there sleeps many a Roman home, with its waifs of common things undisturbed by hand of man for thirteen centuries. Among these silent and buried streets are the temples of their gods, whose traces remain to this day; whilst in the very heart of all lies the yet unwakened Forum, a place of great magnitude, and which crowned the most commanding site within the walls.[266]

Joyce recorded the surviving remains of the amphitheatre, walls, and gates before turning his attention to the town buildings (Figure 4.9). Joyce had revealed the remains of substantial houses, the forum, and a circular temple. He noted that there was *some* evidence for Latin literacy, namely an inscribed roof tile and an inscription referring to Hercules.[267]

Joyce's main achievement was to uncover the remains of the forum (Figure 4.10), providing the first detailed plan of such a building in Britain.[268] He discussed the function of the forum and basilica, drawing upon the writings of Vitruvius, noting that it was the 'nucleus' of life in every Roman town of any consequence.[269] Joyce observed, 'Intensely interesting to us as the uncovering of this very perfect forum and basilica is, it is very disappointing in one particular. It might have been reasonably expected that statues, or at any rate their bases, that altars to the gods, and inscriptions of some kind, would have rewarded our search.'[270] In the event, only some fragments of a Purbeck Marble inscription and the famous 'bronze eagle of the basilica' (Figure 4.11) were discovered.[271]

Joyce summed up his discussion of Silchester by re-emphasizing its significance. Drawing a comparison with Pompeii and ignoring centuries of stone-robbing and cultivation, he argued, 'It remains at this hour exactly as it was when the hand of destruction first overtook it. Hence almost every detail of plan and dimensions is complete.'[272]

[266] Joyce (1865), 416.   [267] Joyce (1873*a*), 20–1.
[268] Ibid. 21–6. Fulford and Timby (2000), 5 have discussed the advanced nature of Joyce's excavation techniques, including his attempt to interpret the chronology of the building, which is a 'notable undertaking' for this period.
[269] Joyce (1873*b*), 349.
[270] Joyce (1873*a*), 24.
[271] For a recent discussion of the eagle, see Henig (1995), 97–8.
[272] Joyce (1873*a*), 26.
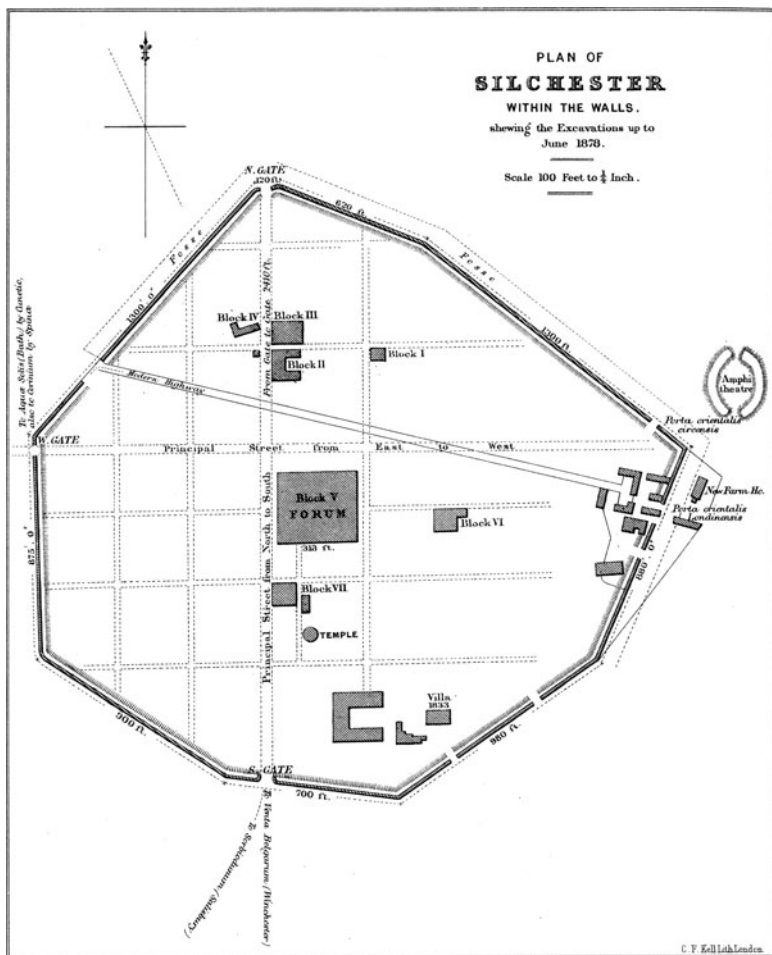
Figure 4.9. 'Plan of Roman Silchester' in 1873, from Joyce (1873).

His work was followed later in the century by a more extensive excavation of Roman Silchester.

Roman Britain in 1883

The new information derived from these excavations enabled Scarth to speculate on the potential native contribution to the Roman
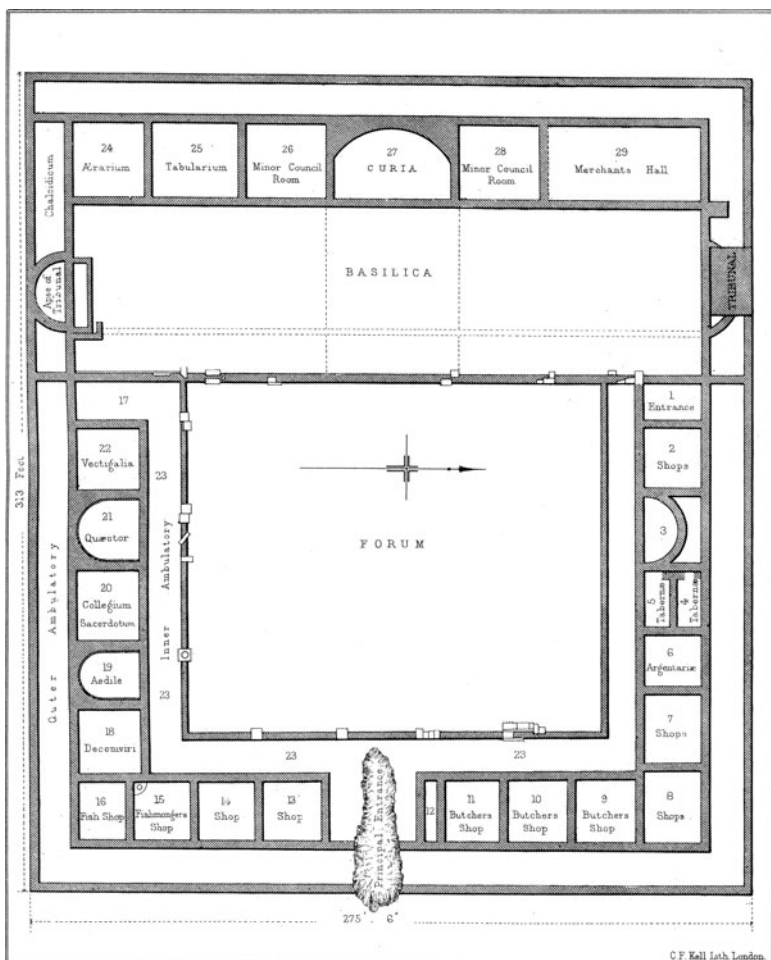
Figure 4.10. 'Forum and basilica, Silchester', from Joyce (1873).

culture of Britain. His book *Early Britain: Roman Britain*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge during 1883, exhibits a willingness to engage with the idea of an indigenous element to the Roman population of Britain and provided a popular summary of the history of Roman Britain. Scarth by this time was Prebendary of Wells, Rector of Wrington (Somerset), and Vice-

Figure 4.11. 'Bronze eagle found in the forum, Silchester', from Joyce (1873).

President of the Archaeological Association,[273] who believed that archaeology gave a 'life and colour' to history, to which it was a 'handmaid'.[274] Coote's work enabled Scarth to develop his ideas about Christianity in Roman Britain.[275] Scarth wrote that 'every event that has happened in past ages has been overruled by the Almighty to man's eventual good'.[276] He argued that, despite the events of the fourth and fifth centuries, 'civil culture' and 'the teaching of a better faith still clung to the soil, until in after-ages they were revived and rekindled so as to become permanent'.[277] Scarth amplified the idea that the 'Romano-British population' continued to live after the Anglo-Saxon conquest and that its 'culture, learning

[273] Scarth (1883), vii.   [274] Ibid. viii.

[275] Appendix I in this book (pp. 223–31) gave examples of Roman influences existing in Britain after the departure of the Romans, much of which is derived from Coote's work.

[276] Ibid. ix.   [277] Ibid.

and religion' were not totally extinct.[278] To justify his claim, he placed a heavy emphasis on the limited evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain,[279] while producing *some* evidence to support the idea that Britons had become Romanized.

Discussing the apparently military origins of the towns of Wroxeter and Cirencester, Scarth emphasized that, by contrast, Silchester had originated as a 'previous British stronghold'.[280] He noted that the plan of the forum at Silchester had been uncovered, along with evidence for a comparable building at Wroxeter,[281] while Bath was a place for the recovery of health rather than a place of military importance.[282] These 'inland cities' were fortified and held by Roman garrisons but they were not 'stations of the legions' like Colchester and Lincoln.[283] Scarth wrote that the cities and villas of Britain indicated 'the amount of Roman civilisation and refinement' evident in this distant region of the Roman empire.[284]

In Appendix II, Scarth outlined the results of recent work at the 'city' of Sanxay near Poitiers in France, where major excavations had been undertaken in 1882.[285] The fact that these significant discoveries are placed in an appendix suggests that, although Scarth felt these excavations were of vital importance, he did not have sufficient time to work through their consequences before completing his book. Sanxay is described as 'an entire Romano-Gallic city', comprising temples, bathhouses, a hostelry, and a theatre.[286] Scarth observed that the extensive excavations 'throws considerable light' upon the remains of British cities and Roman rule in Britain.[287] First, he suggested that these succeed earlier sites which were the central points for religious and political tribal gatherings. Silchester, Wrox-

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[278] Scarth (1883).

[279] Ibid. 196–216. It is notable that Scarth does not include Claudia, Pudens, or the supposed Christian first-century owners of Chedworth villa in his summary.

[280] Ibid. 144.

[281] Ibid. 144–5.

[282] Ibid. 148.

[283] Ibid. 149.

[284] Appendix I in this book (pp. 223–31) gave examples of Roman influences existing in Britain after the departure of the Romans, much of which is derived from Coote's work. 178.

[285] For an account of Sanxay, which was published the same year as Scarth's book, see Vachon (1883).

[286] Scarth (1883), 232–3.   [287] Ibid. 231, 233.

eter, Winchester, Kenchester, and Bath are therefore proposed as the meeting places of the tribes who inhabited the districts surrounding the individual sites.[288] Second, the discoveries at Sanxay demonstrated what might be brought to light on sites in Britain if more 'careful and systematic' excavations could be undertaken.[289] Third, Scarth observed that the form of the buildings differed from the 'usual' Greek and Roman models, as did the ornamentation of capitals of columns and other art,[290] having 'assumed a national character, based upon Roman models' which was probably as relevant to Britain as to Gaul.

These Gallo-Roman finds enabled Scarth to make the most explicit statements about the influence of Rome on the indigenous British people. He used the term 'Romanized' occasionally in his book but did not refer to Tacitus' comments in *Agricola* 21, despite addressing Agricola's military activities in some detail.[291] The planting of colonies by the Romans is seen to have 'entailed a great change in the habits and manners of the people'.[292] He did not, however, develop the idea of the growing Romanness of native people to any great extent. Scarth noted that colonists married 'natives' and argued that 'Roman blood mingled with the population, and Roman blood has flowed ever since in English veins, and we believe ever and anon given proof of its refining influence'.[293] Nevertheless, Scarth's writings suggest that he struggled to find very much support for the idea of the transferring of Roman civilization to the Britons, despite the fact that this was fundamental for his message of Christian continuity. Scarth and his contemporaries appear to have had difficulty in believing that the Britons became like the invading Romans in any significant way, although his response to the discoveries at Sanxay indicate that he was modifying his views as a result of these important new finds.

British villages and Romanized pottery

Augustus Henry Lane Fox concentrated on the 'Late Celtic' populations of Britain during the 1860s to 1880s, excavating several hillforts.

[288] Scarth (1883), 233.   [289] Ibid. 234.
[290] Ibid. 234.   [291] Ibid. 57–65.   [292] Ibid. 181.
[293] Ibid. 220.

In 1880, he inherited a large estate and became General Pitt Rivers, turning his attention to the Bronze Age and Roman sites on Cranborne Chase. During the late 1880s and early 1890s, Pitt Rivers and Arthur Evans developed new perspectives that linked ideas of the Romanized Britons directly to pre-Roman and Roman objects and sites. To fully appreciate this work, some significant studies of the pre-Roman population of Britain that had emerged between 1840 and 1880 will be examined.

The first half of the century had seen the gradual amassing of later prehistoric objects in museums and private collections, including weapons, art objects, and coins.[294] Scholars began to establish a chronology for the pre-Roman people of Britain during the 1850s to 70s, attributing the name 'Late Celtic' to finds of the immediately pre-Roman period.[295] While advances were being made in the comprehension of metal objects, the very common pottery finds from pre-Roman settlements were more difficult to categorize. During the earlier nineteenth century, few antiquaries followed Hoare's example by excavating pre-Roman settlement sites, but from the 1840s a number of sites were excavated and pottery and other finds collected and studied.[296]

[294] Cunliffe (1991), 1. For the general context, see Bowler (1989), 77–96.

[295] Morse (2005), 128. During the 1850s a number of significant discoveries came to the attention of the London archaeological community, including the Battersea Shield (ibid. 135). In 1863 an important work, *Horae Ferales; or, Studies in the Archaeology of the Northern Nations*, was published by John Kemble, Augustus Woolaston Franks, and Robert Gordon Latham. This had a significant impact, since it illustrated various pre-Roman objects and placed them within the three-age system, adopted from the framework proposed by the Danish scholar C. J. Thomsen. A particular focus occurred in this book upon the objects that belonged to the 'late Celtic' period—what is today called the Iron Age; see Morse (2005), 138. Franks, after he became Keeper of the new Department of British and Medieval Antiquities, also organized the growing collections of the British Museum according to the same system. The significant discovery on the continent of the sites at Hallstatt in Austria (1846 to 1862) and La Tène in Switzerland (1858) provided a wealth of finds that enabled a new and more detailed classification of later prehistoric objects from Britain and, after 1872, British archaeologists were able to start to use this system to classify their objects as the European nomenclature gradually gained acceptance; see Cunliffe (1991), 1 and Morse (2005), 140. During this period, John Evans also produced his magisterial survey, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (1864), which contained an extensive survey and description of uninscribed and inscribed coins.

[296] I shall provide only a brief summary of excavations on Late Celtic settlements in order to set the studies of Pitt Rivers, Arthur Evans, and Haverfield in context.

These excavations helped to indicate a distinct difference between the sites of the Late Celtic period and the villas, towns, and even the villages of Roman Britain. W. D. Saull's work on ancient British 'pit dwellings' argued through ethnographic analogy for 'the law of progress'.[297] Saull compared some simple holes dug in the ground with the houses of people encountered by Captain Cook, while the more advanced houses were 'residences of a higher character', circular, oval, or semi-circular in plan with margins 'formed of rough stones, raised to a such a height, that the occupants might be enabled to stand upright in their dwellings'.[298] Other excavations supported Hoare's observations on the continuity of sites from pre-Roman to Roman times, since 'Late Celtic'-type settlements sometimes produced Roman finds.

William Owen Stanley studied a number of hut circles on Holyhead Mountain (Anglesey) which produced finds that enabled him to argue that the buildings spanned the period from the Stone Age to the Roman period.[299] In 1875, the Reverend G. Rome Hall presented an account of 'hut-circles' associated with 'ancient towns' in Northumberland, close to Hadrian's Wall.[300] On the basis of finds from his excavation of a site near Birtley (Figure 4.12), he proposed that 'Celts' descended from a 'pure British or else Romano-British race' inhabited these 'primitive abodes' during pre-Roman and Roman times, but that 'Teutons' occupied the site after the Anglo-Saxon conquest.[301] He recorded that the 'Roman masters of the land' left few relics, but that the 'unmistakable evidence of their civilizing influence' was demonstrated by 'the scattered fragments of stone-coloured and Samian ware' on the site.[302]

[297] Saull (1848), 153, who (ibid. 159) writes of the comparison of 'our present houses, replete with comfort' with the 'rude uncouth domiciles . . . which seem to be adopted by most rude tribes.' For mid-Victorian concepts of progress, see Bowler (1989).

[298] Saull (1848), 154, 157. For the excavation of the Highfield pit dwellings in 1866–9, see Stevens (1934). For the eventually dismissal of the idea of pit dwellings, see C. Evans (1989).

[299] Stanley (1867); (1870), 149; see C. Smith (1985*a*) and (1985*b*).

[300] Rome Hall (1875).

[301] Ibid. 372–3.

[302] Ibid. 373. Rome Hall also speculated about whether the occupants of the site were 'Romanised Britons' or were actually Romans (ibid.). For a slightly earlier account of 'British villages' in Cornwall, see Blight (1861). Evidently, Late Celtic sites were being studied in some numbers at this time.
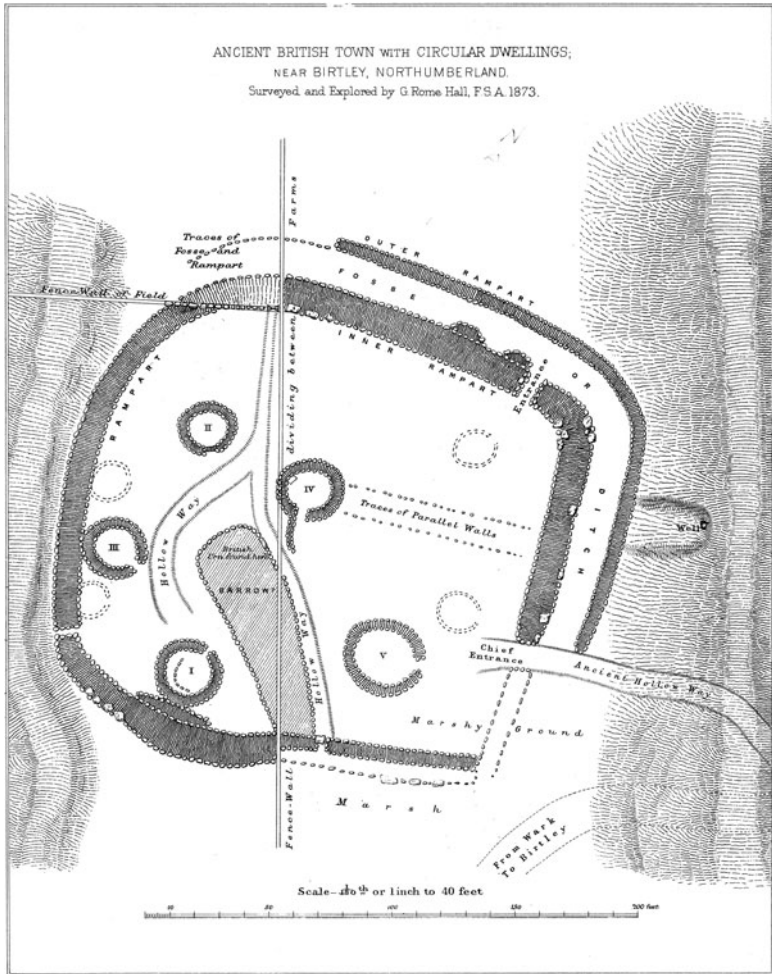
Figure 4.12. 'Ancient British Town with Circular Dwellings, near Birtley, Northumberland', from Rome Hall (1875).

Pitt Rivers's work built on these observations.[303] Between the 1860s and 1880s he excavated a number of hill forts in Sussex and argued for a pre-Roman date for these by drawing attention to the

[303] For Pitt Rivers's life and actions see Bowden (1991) and P. Levine (1986), 34. References to his publications in the bibliography are listed under Lane Fox until 1880, after which they are listed under Pitt Rivers.

Figure 4.13. Aerial Photograph of the surviving remains of the 'British village' at Woodcuts.

significant ways in which they differed from Roman forts.[304] He had very few artefacts to draw upon,[305] although his excavations at Cissbury and Mount Caburn supported the idea of a Late Celtic date.[306] In 1880, Pitt Rivers inherited the Cranborne Chase estate on which there were a number of archaeological sites, including two 'British villages'.[307] The archaeological monuments were particularly well preserved, since the Chase had been a medieval hunting reserve.[308] He totally excavated the two villages at Woodcuts and Rotherley Down (Figure 4.13),[309] which, following in the tradition of Richard Colt Hoare, he interpreted as typical, relatively low-status native sites. In an address to the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, delivered during its visit to Dorchester in 1897, Pitt Rivers justified this work by observing that:

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[304] Bowden (1991), 67–71, 77–83.   [305] Ibid. 69.

[306] Lane Fox (1868), (1878); see Bowden (1991), 77–81.

[307] Bowden (1991), 103–40. My attention is devoted to the Roman sites explored by Pitt Rivers. For sites of other dates, see Bowden's account.

[308] Bowden (1991), 103.

[309] Pitt Rivers (1887), (1888).

Whilst others have been occupied with the examination of the towns and military works of the Roman Age; Silchester, by a committee of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Roman Wall in Northumberland by a committee of North Country Antiquarians, my attention . . . has been given chiefly to an agricultural district of the same period . . . Both are of equal interest. From the richer and more populous localities objects of greater intrinsic value and more advanced art might be expected, but from the poorer agricultural regions not less valuable evidence of the social conditions of the settled mass of the population of the country may be obtained.[310]

These comments drew upon Hoare's work on the 'villages of the Romanised Britons';[311] Pitt Rivers noted that Hoare had not examined these sites in detail but had made careful plans. In many ways, Pitt Rivers developed the ideas expressed in Hoare's studies, but his careful excavation, recording, and publication of the information for the two villages provided a far more detailed account.

Pitt Rivers noted that 'in the region around Rushmore [on Cranborne Chase] my attention has been drawn more especially to the *Romanised Britons*, as being the race for whose study the district appears capable of affording the greatest facilities.'[312] Woodcuts and Rotherley were 'satisfactorily proved' to be of the 'Roman age but of British construction' by the coins and other 'contents';[313] both sites produced a few British coins, in addition to numerous Roman examples, samian pottery, coarse wares, ornaments of various types, and painted plaster.[314] Pitt Rivers, following Hoare's example, planned and described 'hypocausts' at Woodcuts,[315] proposing that these were a 'rude British imitation of the hypocausts . . . which are so often found beneath Roman habitations'. Unlike earlier antiquaries, Pitt Rivers did not view the pits on his village sites as the homes of their inhabitants, noting that they were too small at the base.[316]

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[310] Pitt Rivers (1898), 12.   [311] Pitt Rivers (1888), 65.
[312] Pitt Rivers (1887), xiii (my emphasis).   [313] Pitt Rivers (1888), 65.
[314] For a modern interpretation of these two sites and surrounding earthworks, see Bowden (1991), 114–17.
[315] Pitt Rivers (1887), 16–17. These are not recognized to represent corn dryers or malting ovens rather than hypocausts; see Bowden (1991), 117. They were probably used in agricultural operations rather than providing underfloor heating.
[316] Pitt Rivers (1888), 60. By contrast he did label a pit of pre-Roman date at Winklebury camp a 'pit dwelling' (ibid. 242). See Bowden (1991), 116, 157 for the context.

Pitt Rivers saw the study of these Roman villages as providing information to assess the extent to which the Saxon invasion and conquest of southern Britain had led to an extermination of the indigenous Britons. He proposed instead that it is likely that a good deal of Celtic blood continued to run in the veins of the contemporary population of England,[317] thereby countering earlier ideas of Teutonic origin.[318] Disruption to the lives of the occupants of Woodcuts appeared to be indicated by three skeletons in a pit, including a child who had been killed by a sword cut.[319] He observed that a fragment of samian indicated that the 'massacre of these people, if such it was...took place after the Romans had occupied the village'.[320] From the burials at the two villages he reconstructed a 'remarkably small race' of people, proposing that they had been reduced in size from an earlier and taller group during the Roman era through the effects of slavery and by the drafting of larger men to serve in the legions overseas.[321]

Pitt Rivers established a museum in Farnham (Dorset) to exhibit the results of his researches and 'restored' the Roman villages and the tumuli in the neighbourhood for visitors.[322] On the village sites, he left 'sufficient indications to mark the various parts discovered'.[323] His excavations provided a late Victorian model for how to undertake and record archaeological work that was to have a major impact upon the development of both archaeological methodology and theory.[324] The works on the hill forts provided a body of dating material that Pitt Rivers was not able to analyse in detail, but which later helped to establish a chronology for what came to be known as the Iron Age.[325] As well as informing his contemporaries, Pitt Rivers's

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[317] Pitt Rivers (1887), xiv; (1888), 63.

[318] For contemporary accounts that pursued a comparable agenda, see Hingley (2000), 86–95.

[319] Pitt Rivers (1887), 11–12.

[320] Ibid. 12.

[321] Pitt Rivers (1887), xv; (1888), 66. His discussion of the existence of at least two 'races' in this area (ibid. 63–4) draws upon characteristics of the current population in addition to his archaeological finds.

[322] See Bowden (1991), 141–4 for the Farnham Museum and for Pitt Rivers's interest in public education.

[323] Pitt Rivers (1887), xviii.

[324] Cunliffe (1991), 2.   [325] Bowden (1991), 112.

two Roman-period sites continued to provide models for 'peasant' settlements in accounts of Roman Britain until the 1960s, since Roman archaeologists generally continued to concentrate on the towns, villas, and forts of the province.[326]

The developing knowledge of 'Late Celtic' chronology was supplemented by the discovery and excavation by Arthur John (later Sir Arthur) Evans (1851–1941) of the Aylesford cemetery (Kent) in 1886 and the detailed publication of the results in 1890.[327] In this work, Evans demonstrated the ways in which the artefacts of these people differed from those of the earlier phases of later prehistory and traced their cultural origins to northern France.[328] Evans used two uninscribed British coins to support his claims, since coins of this type occurred on both sides of the channel.[329] Through a very well-informed study of the pottery and metalwork, he dated the cemetery from the middle years of the first century BC down to the time of the invasion under Claudius and identified parallels for the Aylesford material across the south-east of Britain.[330] This was the first time that later prehistoric pottery had been studied and illustrated in such great detail in order to establish the date and associations of a site. Evans defined two types of British pottery: the 'coarse-grained hand-made vessels' derived from Neolithic traditions and the better-made pottery, some of which appeared to be influenced by classical prototypes (Figure 4.14).[331] Evans's pottery was dated through its association with material from the Continent and also as a result of the metal objects and coins found during his excavations. He proposed that some of the late pottery from this site and other pieces of the same date may well exhibit '*Romanising* influences', noting that some aspects of this pottery continued through into the repertoire of 'Romano-British' pots.[332] Evans also wrote of the 'astonishing pro-

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[326] Hingley (2000), 119–20, 141–2; see the use of made of Rotherley and Woodcuts by Bowen and Fowler (1966), 46.

[327] For Arthur Evans's life and works, see Myres revised by Snodgrass (2004). Evans was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford from 1884 to 1908 and is famous for his excavations at Knossos. For the significance of Evans's work at Aylesford, see Morse (2005), 165–8.

[328] A. Evans (1890); see Cunliffe (1991), 4–5.

[329] A. Evans (1890), 327.

[330] Ibid. 350–1, 382–5.

[331] Ibid. 328.   [332] Ibid. 351 n. c, 356, 383 (my emphasis).
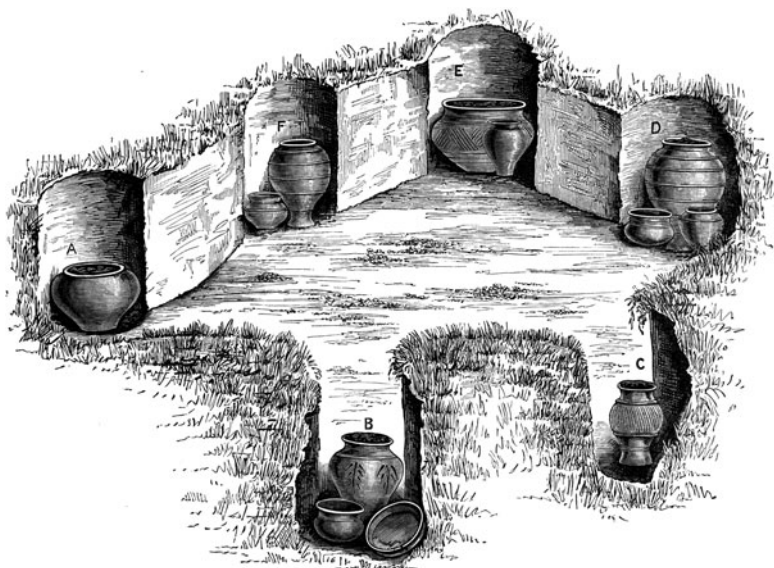
Figure 4.14. 'Sketch-plan of the graves forming "family-circle"' at Aylesford, Kent; Evans (1890).

gress of Romanizing fashions' among the southern tribes of Britain during the two generations preceding the Roman invasion, noting that the coins of this time indicated that the official speech of the 'courts' of various pre-Roman 'princes' was Latin.[333]

Interpreting the Aylesford finds, Evans quoted Caesar's observations that the coastal parts of Britain had been settled by 'Belgic' invaders from the Continent.[334] Caesar (*DBG* 5.12) had stated 'The inland part of Britain is inhabited by tribes declared in their own tradition to be indigenous to the island, the maritime part by tribes that migrated from Belgium to seek booty by invasion.' This observation was developed in subsequent studies to form a major element in the explanation of the later Iron Age during the first half of the twentieth century.[335] The Aylesford excavation was followed by the discovery of finds from Welwyn (Hertfordshire) and Swarling

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[333] Ibid. 384–5. Evans was, at this time, working on terms to express this process of cultural transformation; see Evans (1885).
[334] Ibid. 388.   [335] Cunliffe (1991), 5–6.

(Kent), related burial sites which became linked to Caesar's Belgic settlers.[336]

Pitt Rivers's and Evans's use of the term 'Romanized' and 'Romanizing' drew on the writings of Browne, Faussett, Hoare, Pegge, and others. Significantly, Pitt Rivers and Evans were able to develop the idea that the immediately pre-Roman and Roman peoples of Britain were inspired by Roman examples in modifying their own culture.

Return to Silchester

Joyce died in 1878, but the work at Silchester was continued by the Reverend G. N. Munro and the Reverend Thomas Langshaw.[337] F. G. Hilton Price, a banker and antiquarian, published a note of these excavations, stating that the wish of those involved in the study of Roman Silchester was to uncover, describe, and note the Roman buildings 'until the whole or greater part of the city should be placed on the Ordnance map'.[338] In June 1890, the Society of Antiquaries began a new campaign to uncover the entire area within the walls.[339] The work was undertaken by George E. Fox and W. H. St. John Hope and the extensive excavations continued until 1904 (Figure 4.15).

At the beginning of these excavations, Fox and St. John Hope outlined their aims, mentioning the mosaics of London and Cirencester and the massive fragments found at Leicester, Bath, and York, which show how much 'lies beneath our feet'.[340] They proposed, following earlier arguments, that the form of the city led to the 'supposition' that the Roman surveyors 'laid out the lines of the city within the mounds of a Celtic oppidum which they found on this spot, perhaps the chief place of strength of the Atrebates'.[341] Observing the scarcity of knowledge about the 'habitations of the citizens' in the Roman towns of Britain, they noted that the buildings uncovered by Joyce 'differed considerably' from the well-known types of houses seen in southern Europe and argued the need for more excavation if these were to be understood in any detail.[342] It was

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[336] James and Rigby (1997), 12.　　[337] Hilton Price (1886).
[338] Ibid. 265; see Boon (1974), 27.　　[339] Ibid. 28.
[340] Fox and St. John Hope (1890), 86.
[341] Ibid. 87.　　　[342] Ibid. (1890), 89–90.
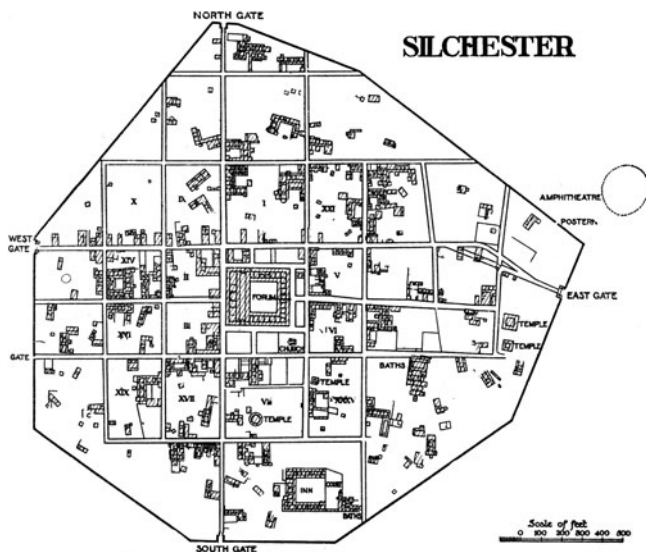
Figure 4.15. Silchester Roman town, 1915, from Haverfield (1915).

not clear to them, however, whether these differences related to the people who built the houses, or the climate in which they were built: 'the Greco-Roman or Roman house seen in Pompeii would have proved uninhabitable in Britain'.[343] Summing up, they proposed that 'What has been done, and extensively done, by General Pitt Rivers to display the village life of the native race under its Roman masters in the south of England ought also to be done to elucidate the lives of the cities.'[344] This statement avoids effectively the issue of who inhabited Roman Silchester, Roman settlers or native provincials.

A series of reports on the work, well illustrated with plans and photographs of the impressive remains (Figures 4.16 and 17), were published in *Archaeologia*, disclosing a variety of structures across the area of the whole town,[345] including a building, located in 1892, which was interpreted as a Christian Church (Figure 4.18).[346] In their account of their 1895 excavation of house 2 in Insula XIV, Fox and

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[343] Fox and St. John Hope (1890), 90.   [344] Ibid. 92.
[345] For the character of these excavations, see Boon (1974), 29–31.
[346] Fox and St. John Hope (1893), 25–30. It is no longer clear that this building was a church, since it appears to have been turned over to industry during the fourth
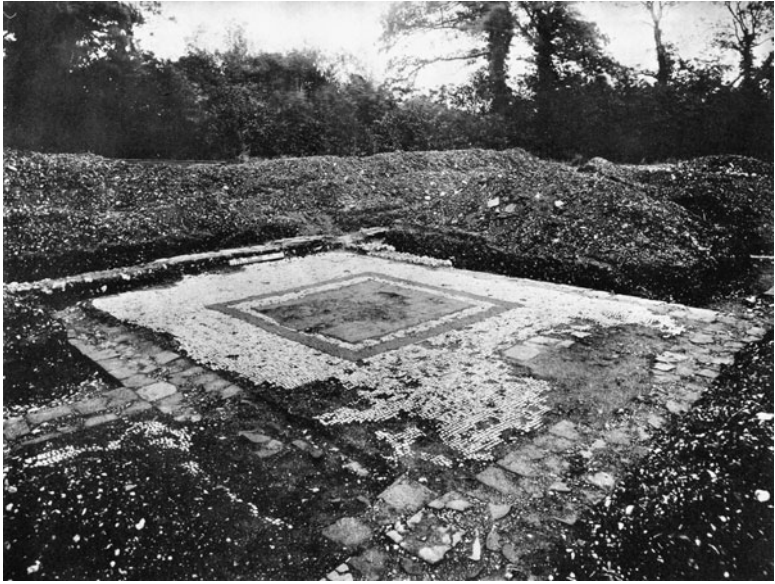
Figure 4.16. 'Silchester—mosaic pavement—house No. 2, room 22, Insula XXIV', from Fox and St. John Hope (1901).

Figure 4.17. 'Silchester—remains of a blocked sluicegate in the city wall', from Fox and St. John Hope (1895).
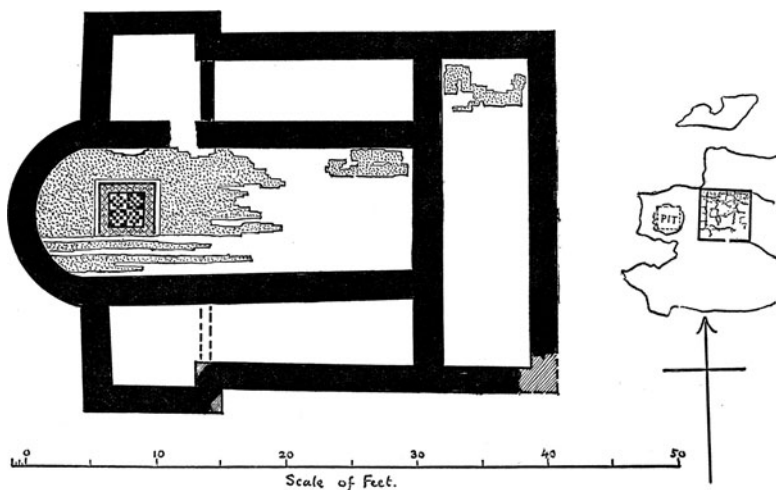
Figure 4.18. 'Plan of church in south-east corner of Insula IV', Silchester, from Fox and St. John Hope (1893).

St. John Hope reported on the *lararium* (shrine to the household gods), proposing that the '*Romanised* Britons' who lived there had adopted the fashion from a Roman source.[347] This word was only used on occasions by these authors, but it does indicate that they viewed at least some of the urban houses as those of Romanized Britons.

In 1894, Francis Haverfield drew upon the work at Silchester in a short article for *The Athenaeum*. He noted that the recent excavations had failed to throw any light on the chronology of the town's history or the date of its foundation. He observed that only the remains of the Roman town were now visible and that there were only 'traces, perhaps, in the coins and earthworks' of its probable British predecessor.[348] He noted that the few inscriptions from the site were of little use and that the pottery could not, in the present state of knowledge, provide a precise date. He suggested that the street plan and forum are

century, just as Christianity would be expected to have been taking over in Britain; see Casey (2002), 94. This discovery presumably provided the motivation for Francis Haverfield to write a summary in 1896 of the evidence for Christianity in Roman Britain.

[347] St. John Hope and Fox (1895), 238 (my emphasis).
[348] Haverfield (1894).

of the same date and observed that coins of the Flavian emperors were common. Referring to *Agricola* 21, he stated: 'Hence it may be allowable to conjecture that Silchester was "laid out" during (or shortly after) the governorship of Agricola, and that the date of its foundation is somewhere near AD 80.'[349] Haverfield also developed some earlier observations on the plans of Roman towns by placing a new interpretation on the evidence, 'there is a certain resemblance between the ground plans of Silchester and of Verulamium, and the latter, as is well known, was amongst the earliest Romano-British towns. Silchester, then, was, on this hypothesis, a native copy of a Roman town, such as occurs in countries ruled by a nation of higher civilization than the subject race.'[350] The Roman town at Verulamium provided a particularly significant comparison, since Tacitus wrote of it as a *municipium*, a town with a higher status than Silchester.[351]

Haverfield did not use the term 'Romanized' in this discussion of Silchester, but he did draw upon archaeological discoveries to articulate the idea of the possibility for the Britons to become Roman; not all Haverfield's contemporaries, however, thought in such terms.

IMPERIAL LESSONS

The counter-traditions of the Romanized population of Roman Britain and the Roman military identity of the province survived into the early twentieth century. These ideas were developed in a new context from the mid nineteenth century, as imperial Rome in general and Roman Britain in particular took on an increasing significance in the context of concerns about the British empire.[352]

[349] Haverfield (1894).   [350] Ibid.
[351] See Niblett (2001), 66 for reflections on Tacitus' comment.
[352] For growing military and economic stresses in India and the empire from the 1870s, see Burroughs (1999), 341–3 and Green (1999), 348–9. For other writings that address the growing concern about the future of the British empire and the relevance of the Roman empire and Roman Britain, see Hingley (2000), 28–37, Knox (1998), McKitterick and Quinault (1997), 9–10, A. Porter (1999*a*), 26–7, Quinault (1997), 318, and Vance (1997), 234, 246. For contrasting discussions of the comparisons that were drawn between the Roman and British empires, see Bell (2006), Hingley (2000); (2007*a*), Majeed (1999), Vance (1997), and Vasunia (2005).

Continuing military associations

Interpretations of the character of the province continued to draw upon the high visibility of the military structures in the north. In 1860, Bruce had drawn a distinction between the north and south of the province, observing the 'camps' and Walls of the north and the 'cities' of the south and commenting on the 'comparative security and luxury of those who were fortunate enough to live in the south'.[353] He further observed that tessellated pavements are unknown in the three most northerly counties of England and in Scotland,[354] a situation that remains true today.[355] The military interpretation of Roman Britain emphasized the Roman stations of the province and attributed villas and elaborate public buildings to incoming Roman settlers; this idea continued to be highly favoured in the late nineteenth century. In view of the high visibility of the Roman military monuments of the north, some writings about southern Britain maintained the focus upon a dominant population of military settlers.[356]

Thomas Morgan's volume, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* (1886), discussed the 'stations' and villas and concentrated on the military conquest and subjugation of the province.[357] He also drew on the interpretation of Christian continuity by proposing that 'Old Roman civilisation has never ceased to prevail' and that the Saxon invasion did not entirely replace earlier culture, including the Christian religion and the techniques for creating mosaic floors.[358] His description of the known mosaics, ordered by county, suggested that they indicated the 'depths of heathen mythology' and should 'inspire us with a feeling of thankfulness that we live in a more advanced age

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[353] Bruce (1860), 343.   [354] Ibid. 344.   [355] Hingley (2004).

[356] The military conception of Roman villas had continued throughout the nineteenth century, as illustrated, for example, by the interpretation of the Roman remains at Borough Hill (Northamptonshire) on the two occasions when they were uncovered in 1823 and 1852; see Botfield (1853). Haverfield (1887), 299 noted that the preface to the seventh volume of the Corpus of Roman inscriptions—Hübner (1873)—emphasized the military character of Roman Britain.

[357] T. Morgan (1886), xvi–xxi. Henig (1995), 186 discusses this volume.

[358] T. Morgan (1886), 60–6. Morgan drew attention to various artefacts, building types, and forms of decoration that he feels prove that the Saxon invasion did not totally replace pre-existing Christian society.

of the world than when these mosaics were laid down, and under a different dispensation of Divine Providence'.[359]

Bertram Windle, Professor of Anatomy at Mason College (Birmingham), published *Life in Early Britain* in 1897, in which he stated that it is 'important to note how essentially military in character was the occupation of the country'.[360] He wrote that this statement was proved by the 'Earthworks, great fortified cities, magnificent military roads, provided with change-houses and stations, not to speak of that remarkable triumph of military engineering, the Roman wall'. He remarked, however, that 'At the same time, the number and magnificence of the villas built for the occupation of Roman officials show that the settlement was regarded as permanent in its nature, and that the builders of these mansions considered themselves firmly rooted in the soil of their adopted country.'[361] Drawing on the supposed parallel between British rule in India and the Romans in Britain, Windle observed that the Roman occupation of Britain was not accompanied by the 'extermination of the races which they found in occupation of the land'. He argued that 'the policy of the Romans, here as in other parts of their empire, obviously was, as far as possible, to permit the natives to continue in occupation of their lands and properties, and in the practice of their own customs, whilst subject to and taxed by their foreign masters'.[362] Reviewing the influence of the Romans on the Britons, he arrived at the conclusion that the occupation was 'military' and not 'social'.[363]

In Windle's terms, 'Roman Britain was little more than the few thousand luxury occupiers of the villas, the merchants of the cities, together with the various garrisons in the military stations which dominated the country.'[364] He allowed that 'several centres of Roman life' gathered around them 'numerous British followers, and by this

[359] T. Morgan (1886), xiv.
[360] Windle (1897), 11. Windle's writings draw fairly directly on the earlier comments of G. Gomme (1887*a*), v–vi. Windle had evidently not read Haverfield's (1887), (1888) stinging reviews of G. Gomme's work, which concluded 'The study of Roman Britain is already in a sufficient muddle, and can be extricated only by an accurate and scholarly work'; see Haverfield (1888), 147.
[361] Windle (1897), 11.
[362] Ibid.
[363] Ibid. 168, again taking the argument from Gomme's earlier comments.
[364] Ibid.

means permeated a portion of the British population with Roman manners and ideas'.[365] Such influences did not change the course of English history, however, since the failure of the Britons to repel the Saxons indicated, to Windle, that the majority had not adopted Roman ways.[366] In a statement that harked back to certain writings of the early eighteenth century but that drew a clear contrast with Coote's claims,[367] he wondered if the 'Romano-British chiefs and princes' moved into the country villas and the towns on their abandonment by the Romans settlers; but, if they did, he emphasized that they failed to keep up the system of government, hence the fall of Roman Britain. Windle argued 'we find that the Roman conquerors found the country occupied by tribes of more or less barbarous people, and they left it with the tribal organisation still practically unbroken'.[368] He concluded, therefore, that Roman 'influences did not set loose to any appreciable degree the social forces of a higher civilisation upon an intelligent though barbarous people'.[369]

In the context of these military associations, a number of writers drew upon the Walls to reflect upon the British empire. Bruce had stressed the significance of the evidence derived from the frontiers, drawing upon the concept of ruination with regard to both Roman Walls to reflect upon contemporary Britain.[370] Evidently influenced by Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, a powerful analogy for Britain and its empire,[371] Bruce emphasized the contemporary relevance of the most physically visible reminder of Roman rule in Britain.[372] In 1851, he observed:

In no country of the world are there such evident traces of the march of Roman legions as in Britain. In the northern parts of England especially, the footprints of the Empire are very distinct . . . Every other monument in Britain yields to THE WALL. As this work, in grandeur of conception, is

[365] Ibid. A statement copied almost exactly from Gomme's text.
[366] Ibid. 169.
[367] To which Windle (ibid. 170) makes reference.
[368] Ibid. 170; see G. Gomme (1887*a*), vii.
[369] Windle (1897), 170.
[370] C. Woodward (2002) provides an account of the use of ideas of ruination and the construction of faked ruins in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
[371] Quinault (1997), P. Levine (1986), 98, Vance (1997), 246; (1999), 117–18, and Hingley (2000), 29.
[372] Ibid. 29–37.

worthy of the Mistress of Nations, so, in durability of structure, is it the becoming offspring of the Eternal City.[373]

Hadrian's Wall was, in Bruce's words: 'the chief monument of imperial power which time has left us', which indicated the 'might of Rome' although 'it is the might of a giant laid prostrate'.[374] Reflecting on the Wall's ruination, the 'broken column and prostrate altar',[375] Bruce observed:

Another empire has sprung into being of which Rome dreamt not . . . In that island, where, in Roman days, the painted savage shared the forest with the beast of prey—a lady sits upon her throne of state, wielding a sceptre more potent than Julius or Hadrian ever grasped! Her empire is threefold that of Rome in the hour of its prime. But power is not her brightest diadem. The holiness of the domestic circle irradiates her. Literature, and the arts of peace, flourish under her sway. Her people bless her.[376]

Turning to the theme of imperial comparison once more, Bruce suggests:

We can hardly tarry, even for an hour, in association with the palmy days of the Great Empire, without learning, on the one hand, to emulate the virtues that adorned her prosperity, and on the other, to shun the vices that were punished by her downfall. The sceptre which Rome relinquished, we have taken up. Great is our honour—great our responsibility.[377]

The ruined remains of the Wall provided an opportunity for Bruce to muse on the condition of the British empire and its relationship to former Roman grandeur (Figure 4.19).[378] Bruce's writings emphasized the barbarity of Roman Britain and the perceived contrast with a contemporary British empire in which literature and the arts flourished.

    In 1888, he developed these comments in a paper on 'The Wall of Antonine', with a particular emphasis on the recent damage to this

[373] Bruce (1851), 1; see Smiles (1994), 144.
[374] Bruce (1851), 40.
[375] Ibid.
[376] Ibid. 40–1, quoted in P. Levine (1986), 82.
[377] Bruce (1851), 449–50.
[378] For another explicit argument for the direct significance of Roman military planning to the organization of the British army following the battle of Balaclava in the Crimean War (1854–6), see Bruce (1857).

Figure 4.19. 'ROMAE AETERNAE ET FORTVNAE REDVCI', from Bruce (1851).

monument due to its location in a district traversed by the main communication links between Edinburgh and Glasgow. He concluded that the Wall was a 'wreck of its former self',[379] but mused on its potential current significance:

The mighty people who reared these structures, and were masters of the world, have passed away. And why? Because they gave way to luxury, impurity, and sin of every kind.

We may be said to be their successors. Queen Victoria wields a sceptre which is obeyed by a population four times as great as that over which the great Julius ruled. Let us demean ourselves wisely, humbly, and holily, and then we may yet be, for ages to come, by the blessing of God, able not only to maintain but to improve our position, and to be a blessing to the whole world.[380]

Bruce's reflections on potential imperial decline foreshadowed later accounts that drew on this idea.[381]

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[379] Bruce (1889), 137.   [380] Ibid. 144.
[381] Hingley (2000), 30–3 and Vance (1997), 234–5, 246 review late Victorian and Edwardian writings on potential British decline and fall.

The military lessons derived from Roman Britain featured significantly in two influential and popular works of the early twentieth century, Rudyard Kipling's novel *Puck of Pook's Hill* (1906) and C. R. L. Fletcher and Kipling's *A School History of England* (1911).[382] In *Puck*, the Roman elements of the story interpret Roman Britain as a parallel for British India, making the defence of Hadrian's Wall relevant to frontier policy in British India.[383] Kipling was one of several imperial writers who wrote accounts between 1906 and 1914 focusing on the frontiers of Roman Britain and the empire as analogies for the imperial margins of the British empire, particularly the North-West Frontier in India.[384] Kipling's writings were directed explicitly at British youth with the objective of instilling an attitude of imperial valour into the younger generation of Edwardian Britain.[385]

In *A School History*,[386] Fletcher and Kipling explored how 'Roman gentlemen' settled in their 'country-houses', at first talked about 'exile, shivered and cursed the "beastly British climate", heated their houses with hot air and longed to get home to Italy'.[387] But many of these people stayed until the 'spirit of the dear motherland entered, and became a passion'.

Then there was always a 'Scottish frontier' to be guarded, and along this frontier the Emperor Hadrian, early in the second century, began the famous Roman Wall.

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[382] I have considered these works elsewhere—see Hingley (2000), 43–5, 56–8, 68–9—and will only provide a summary of the points that they make here. For *Puck*, see also Collingwood (1923), 15 and Rivet (1976).

[383] Hingley (2000), 43.

[384] For the history of the North-West Frontier in India, see Kirk (1979). Other Edwardian writers, who explored the contemporary imperial relevance of Hadrian's Wall, include archaeologists, ancient historians, and imperial officials and military men (Haverfield, Lord Bryce, Lord Curzon, the Earl of Cromer). Hingley (2000), 44–8 and (2007*a*) discusses these works, while Whittaker (1994), 1–9 considers the international context of a broader Western European concern with frontiers at this time.

[385] The impact of *Puck* on Edwardian teaching is indicated by its inclusion as a 'helpful book' for the teaching of the 'social side' of the Roman occupation of Britain at Standards IV and V in *A Suggested History Course for the Elementary Schools* (1909).

[386] See Hingley (2000), 182 n. 34 for Fletcher's extreme views and the considerable success of this book.

[387] Fletcher and Kipling (1911), 19.

To the north of the wall roamed, almost untouched, certainly unsubdued, the wilder Celts whom the Romans called 'Picts' or painted men; the screen of the wall seemed a perfectly sufficient defence against these. But prosperity and riches are often bad for men; they lead to the neglect of defences. I fear that Roman Britain went to sleep behind her wall, recruiting fell off, the strength of the legions became a 'paper strength'.

And not only in Britain. The greatest empire that the world had ever seen was slowly dying at the heart, dying from too much power, too much prosperity, too much luxury. What a lesson for us all today![388]

The writings of Bruce, Kipling, and Fletcher indicate that the 'Roman Wall' had ceased at this time to hold relevance as a separator between the civil and the uncivil within Britain. By the second half of the nineteenth century, with the Scots incorporated fully into the British imperial effort, the Roman frontiers took on a new symbolic role as a metaphor for the limits of British control across the empire, particularly in India.[389] Roman military policy and the frontiers continued to provide a source of fascination for many writers well into the twentieth century, reflecting continuing British concerns about imperial stability.[390]

The Romanization of Roman Britain

In a paper presented to the British Academy in 1905, Francis Haverfield outlined his approach to 'Romanization', translating earlier ideas of the Romanized Britons into a new intellectual framework. He saw Roman Britain as fully participating in the international culture of Rome, a view that contrasted dramatically with the established interpretation of Britain as a militarized northern province.

Francis Haverfield (1816–1919) was the most eminent Roman archaeologist in Britain of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[391] He had a considerable international reputation as a

[388] Fletcher and Kipling (1911), 21–2.
[389] Vance (1997), 240 and Hingley (2000), 42–8.
[390] Hingley (2000), 42–8, 56–9. For Roman military studies in Britain during the last century, see James (2002).
[391] Hingley (2000), 12–15; (2007*a*), Freeman (1996), and Macdonald revised by Freeman (2004).

scholar and conducted highly significant work on the military and civil occupation of Roman Britain, becoming Camden Professor of Ancient History in Oxford in 1907;[392] he also contributed both to the growing professionalism of archaeology as an academic discipline and to the Edwardian obsession with comparing the achievements of the Roman empire to Britain's own imperial problems.[393] His emphasis on the Romanization of Britain was partly a reaction against ideas of a province entirely dominated by the Roman military. He may well have had the writings of Windle and Kipling in mind when drafting his address to the British Academy. This was published as *The Romanization of Roman Britain* in 1906; this paper proved highly influential and was republished as a small book on several occasions.[394]

Haverfield developed a coherent account of Roman Britain that dealt effectively with many of the contradictions that had characterized views of the province since the early eighteenth century.[395] He criticized the idea that Roman Britain constituted a direct parallel for British India, writing that, in 'Britain, as it has been described by the majority of English writers, we have a province in which Roman and native were as distinct as modern Englishman and Indian, and "the departure of the Romans" in the fifth century left the Britons almost as Celtic as their coming had found them.'[396] He suggested that the antiquaries who had advanced the military interpretation had been too influenced by the writings of Caesar and Tacitus. These had portrayed Britain as a land dominated by Roman soldiers, while Victorian writers had been influenced by the idea of the British in India who were seen as analogous to the Roman settlers of Britain. In many of the accounts, the Romans of Britain had been thought to

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[392] Piggott (1971), 8 notes that Haverfield's appointment to this Chair would have delighted the founder.

[393] Hingley (2007*a*).

[394] Haverfield (1906), (1912), (1915). Several later editions were also produced.

[395] Hingley (2000), 130–52.

[396] Haverfield (1906), 190; the same text is repeated in Haverfield (1912), 19. Haverfield (1896), 428–9 contains an earlier critique of the idea of the 'military character' of the Roman province of Britannia. Perhaps Haverfield's growing knowledge of the Roman north, resulting from the work that he conducted on Hadrian's Wall for a number of years from 1893—see Haverfield (1899*b*), 337—enabled him to establish a clear division between military north and the civil south.

comprise officers and officials, often from Italy, living in fortified cities, fortresses, and impressive villas and surrounded by a population of native slaves or peasants.

Haverfield was able to draw fully on centuries of investigation to elaborate a new interpretation of the province based on the idea of 'Romanization', a significant idea for Edwardian Britons. 'Romanization', which suggests a more active process of social transformation than the earlier terms 'civility' and 'Romanized', evidently built on the later term, which had been used sparingly prior to the end of the eighteenth century and during the nineteenth. Hoare's (1810) observations regarding homemade Romano-British pottery and the 'British villages' where it occurred, stand out for their originality and the term 'Romanized' came to be used slightly more frequently during the second half of the nineteenth century.[397] Coote (1864), Scarth (1883), and Windle (1897) use the term, but often to address settlers from overseas rather than native Britons. 'Romanized' was also adopted by the well-informed children's author G. A. Henty in his novel about Roman Britain, *Beric the Briton* (1893), in which a companion tells Beric, who has lived amongst the Romans, 'You are half Romanized, Beric.'[398] The concept was used rarely, however, until the very end of the century, suggesting that it was difficult to create a sustained argument for the transformation of native British society until this time.

Haverfield's writings in 1899 and 1900 adopt the term 'Romanized', but after 1905 he used 'Romanization'. Archaeological discoveries had a significant role in providing the information to develop this idea, but the recognition of the depth of pre-Roman time and developments in social theory during the nineteenth century had also made possible the idea of progress as a gradual evolutionary process.[399] An approach to change was developing that allowed for

[397] For an additional example not discussed above, see Kell's use of Richard Colt Hoare's comments about 'Romanised Britons' in his discussion of 'rude' pit villages in the Isle of Wight: Kell (1855), 311.

[398] Henty (1893), 12. For the context of Henty's book, see Vance (1997), 201 and Hingley (2000), 82–4. Beric becomes fully Romanized during the course of the novel, eventually marrying a Christian lady in Rome, returning to Britain as a friendly king, and building a villa.

[399] Bowler (1989) and Hingley (2000), 121–3.

variations in the manner and degree of the adoption of Roman culture. The development of the terminology for this changing interpretation may be traced in Haverfield's writings.

In 1900, writing about Romano-British Hampshire, he outlined the gradual transformation of the province. He argued that Britain, like all provinces of the Roman empire, 'became Romanized'.[400] Haverfield accepted that it may have become Romanized later and 'less perfectly' than other provinces, but in 'the end' the Britons adopted Roman speech and civilization and, as in all Western Europe, 'the difference between Roman and provincial practically vanished'. He argued that many 'smaller towns' originated as 'Celtic tribal centres', but that they grew into Roman towns under Roman influence in the same way as the tribal centres of northern Gaul.[401] Turning to the recent excavations at Silchester, he remarked that two-thirds of the town had been uncovered, perhaps making it better known than any other provincial town.[402] He noted the British coins with the abbreviated legend for the name Calleva and possible pre-Roman earthworks, but also that the excavations had thrown 'no light' on the early history of the town.[403] While no real evidence had been produced to indicate who the inhabitants of the Roman town were, Haverfield re-emphasized Tacitus' comments about Agricola's activities in Britain, repeating the idea that Silchester was a result of 'such encouragement and action'.[404]

Haverfield discussed in detail how the urban and rural villas in Britain and northern Gaul differed from those of the Mediterranean, proposing that a pre-existing 'Celtic' style of building influenced the design of the Roman houses.[405] He emphasized that some of the landowners of the province may have been immigrants from Italy, but that doubtlessly, as in Gaul, they were mostly the 'Romanized upper classes of the natives'.[406] He proposed that the usual idea that these buildings were the homes of Roman 'officers and officials' should be set aside as being 'rarely, if ever, correct'.[407] Regarding the peasants who worked the villa estates, Haverfield repeated previous understand-

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[400] Haverfield (1900), 267. 'Romanized' is also used in Haverfield (1899*a*), 323.
[401] Haverfield (1900), 268.
[402] Ibid. 274.   [403] Ibid. 273.
[404] Ibid. 276.   [405] Ibid. 269.
[406] Ibid.   [407] Ibid.

ings by suggesting that they lived in 'rude hamlets, sometimes in pit dwellings, sometimes in huts, with few circumstances of comfort or pleasure'.[408] Significantly, however, he also argued that their 'civilization ... was purely Roman in all such matters as the better objects in common use or the warming and decorating of their houses'.[409]

In 1906, Haverfield developed these arguments through a more detailed study of the archaeological evidence and using the concept of 'Romanization'.[410] Theodor Mommsen used the word 'Romanisierung' in his *Römische Geschichte* (first published in 1885).[411] E. G. Hardy's 1887 review of this book had addressed Mommsen's perspective by using the term 'Romanisation'. Hardy proposed that 'We get from [the sparse references in the writings of classical authors] an impression, if no more, that the provinces during the first two centuries were on the whole flourishing, some of them indeed as they have never been either before or since, that their administration was efficient and continuous, and their Romanisation in many cases complete.'[412] Hardy stressed that this picture had only been developed by Mommsen as a result of the collection of 'Texts', together with the 'more valuable evidence of inscriptions, coins and archaeology'. Mommsen's thorough review of the literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence for the Roman provinces had transformed

[408] Ibid. 269–70.

[409] Ibid. Haverfield's ideas may have changed since an earlier paper that he published, (1896), 429, where he suggested that 'Roman civilisation' was 'perhaps limited to the nobles, clergy and better educated' of Roman Britain.

[410] Haverfield (1906). The approximately contemporary writings of Vinogradoff (1905), 37–8 about 'Romanisation' form an interesting contrast to Haverfield's writings. Vinogradoff, who mentioned that Haverfield draws a 'more favourable general estimate' as to the strength of Roman influence in Britain (ibid. 100 n. 2), was more critical about the extent to which Roman culture spread through Britain, arguing, for example, that most of the objects and inscriptions found in Britain bear a 'military stamp' (ibid. 37) and that the 'vestiges' of Roman municipal life, which formed such a conspicuous element in other provinces, 'are very insignificant' (ibid. 38). Vinogradoff's comments were published the year before Haverfield's first full publication of his Romanization paper. That Vinogradoff had obtained advice on the Roman part of his book from Haverfield and Professor Pelham (ibid. vii) may, however, indicate the source from which he drew the concept.

[411] Mommsen (1885), 176. For the context of Mommsen's writings on the Roman provinces, see Dyson (2006), 91–2 and Wulff Alonso (1991), (2002), and for the reception of Mommsen's work in Victorian Britain, see Vance (1997), 76–8.

[412] Hardy (1887), 61.

understanding. In the first English translation of Mommsen's book (1886), however, W. P. Dickson translated 'Romanisierung' as 'Romanising',[413] while in an amended translation (1909), the word had been changed, possibly by Haverfield, to 'Romanisation'.[414]

Occasional late nineteenth-century uses of the word had included the American linguist William Dwight Whitney's writings in 1867 about 'Italy after its first Romanization'.[415] Arthur Evans's comments in 1885 about the personal names on gravestones in Roman Illyricum noted that they provided striking evidence for the 'thoroughgoing Romanization' of particular parts of the region.[416] J. Loth used 'Romanisation' in 1892 in the title of a book that addressed the transformation of the languages of Gaul and Cornwall under Roman influence, while providing an assessment of the character of Roman Britain and its 'population romanisée'.[417] In 1906, Haverfield utilized a pre-existing term that related to the adoption of Latin language and writing to assess the character of the transformation of material culture, following Mommsen's example.[418]

This use of the new concept appears to have helped Haverfield to consider the textual and archaeological evidence for Roman Britain, stressing that some of the native population of Roman Britain, including those who occupied the 'British villages' excavated by Hoare and Pitt Rivers, were part of the way through a process of adopting Roman ways. The villages appeared to be slightly more 'evolved' versions of pre-Roman settlements, and they produced a few items of Roman pottery, a few coins or a hypocaust, which enabled Haverfield to articulate the idea of the partly Romanized Briton, a concept which had existed since the time of Thomas

[413] Mommsen (1886), 193.

[414] Mommsen (1909), 193. Haverfield (1909), xiii notes that he made some changes to Dickson's translation to reflect inaccuracies in the original translation together with changes that Mommsen had made to his original German text.

[415] Whitney (1867), 167. For Whitney's contribution to comparative philology, see Silverstein (1971). I am grateful to Guy de la Bédoyère for drawing my attention to this reference.

[416] A. Evans (1885), 127.

[417] Loth (1892), 11–17.

[418] A number of additional uses of 'Romanization' during the late nineteenth century, most of which relate to the adoption of the Latin language, are discussed in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1991, second edition, revised and corrected, vol. 14, 64).

Browne but which was not clearly articulated prior to Haverfield's writings.

In order to deal with the idea of Romanization, perhaps drawing on Bruce's earlier comments, Haverfield divided Britain into the 'civil and military districts' (Figure 4.20), in the latter of which were no villas or towns and the population had not acquired 'much Roman character'.[419] By contrast, the civil district, which contained both towns and villas, was interpreted by drawing on Haverfield's considerable knowledge of the Western empire, arguing that Roman civilization had taken 'firm root' in the lands 'sheltered' by Rome.[420] He dealt in some detail with the ways in which the provinces were Romanized, by the settlement of retired soldiers in 'provincial municipalities' and by attracting the provincials to adopt Roman civilization. In 'material culture' Romanization is seen to have advanced 'no less quickly' than the spread of the Latin tongue, as 'one uniform fashion' drove out 'native art'.[421]

Haverfield turned once again to Silchester, arguing that the language and material culture of the town was distinctly Roman.[422] Across the province in general, 'the material civilization . . . , the external fabric of its life, was Roman, and the native element almost wholly succumbed to the foreign conquering influence'.[423] In relation to villas in Britain, Haverfield remained uncertain as to whether they were built by indigenous Britons. He suggested that the difference in character of the elite houses of Britain from those of the Mediterranean suggested that they represented a 'Roman modification of some Celtic originals'; but he felt that this may no more imply that their occupants were Celts than that the use of a bungalow in India proved that the inhabitants were Indian.[424]

[419] Haverfield (1906), 192; for an earlier observations by Haverfield on the division between military and civil Roman Britain, see Haverfield (1900), 266. Haverfield's fuller summary of the archaeological evidence for this military district area was published posthumously; see Haverfield (1924*b*).

[420] Haverfield (1906), 186. I will summarize this work rather than addressing it in any detail, since I have already written extensively on the topic; see especially Hingley (2000), 114–29.

[421] Haverfield (1906), 188.

[422] Ibid. 193–5.

[423] Ibid. 196–7.

[424] Ibid. 197. Haverfield (1912), 31, 34 repeats the same points.
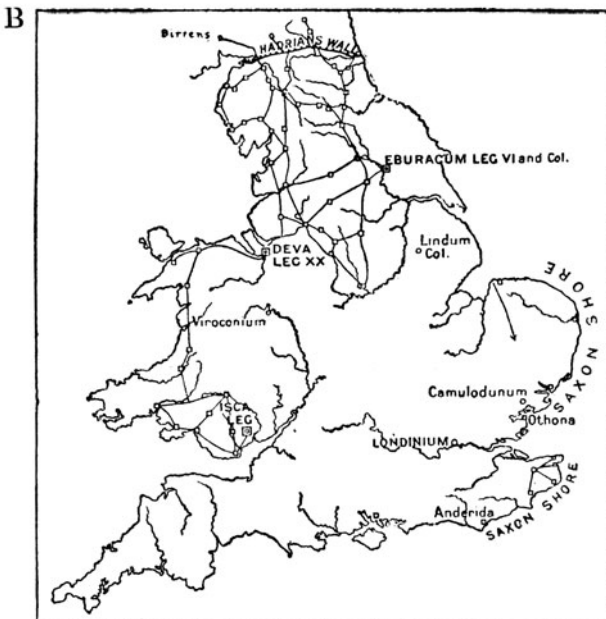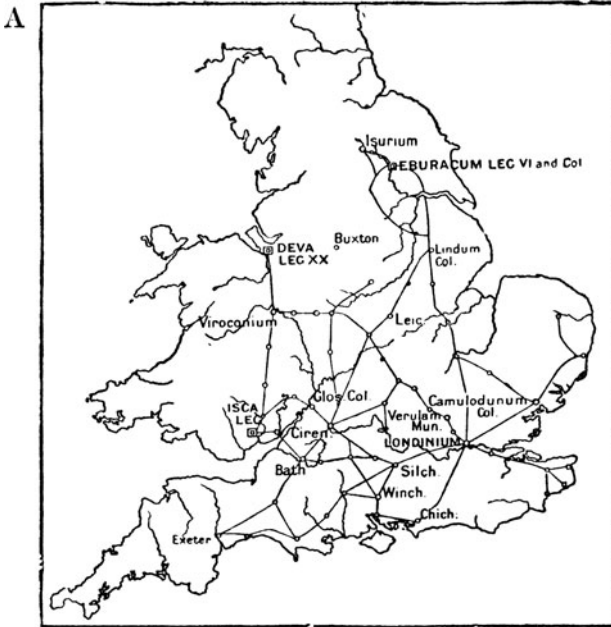
Figure 4.20. The civil and military districts, from Haverfield (1912).

Referring to the work of Hoare and Pitt Rivers, Haverfield empha-
sized that hypocausts and 'painted stucco, copied, though crudely,
from Roman originals, have been discovered in poor houses and in
mean villages'.[425] Discussing Pitt Rivers's excavations at Woodcuts on
Cranborne Chase, he suggests, 'Perhaps the villages knew little
enough of the Roman civilization in its higher aspects. Perhaps
they did not speak Latin fluently or habitually. They may well have
counted among the less Romanized of the southern Britons. Yet
round them hung the heavy inevitable atmosphere of the Roman
material civilization.'[426] Haverfield felt that, although the evidence
was limited, these people were 'less thoroughly Romanized' and were
'covered with a superimposed layer of Roman civilization' with a
remaining 'Celtic element'.[427] By contrast, in the towns and among
the 'upper class', Romanization was 'substantially complete'.[428]

Haverfield outlined a structure for the government of Roman
Britain that remains largely intact today,[429] drawing upon the exist-
ing archaeological information and the fuller information available
for the organization of Roman Gaul. He discussed the colonies in
Britain and the single *municipium* at Verulamium and argued that a
system of tribal *civitates* existed across the civil district, focused upon
a number of towns that formed tribal centres, including Silchester,
Cirencester, and Bath.[430] These are seen as native elaborations of the
concept of the Roman town, rather than as imposed Roman colonies
of foreign settlers.

Romanized Britons and imperial discourse

This view of a widespread Romanization of elite and peasant in an
integrated and civilized Roman Britain participated in intellectual

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[425] Haverfield (1906), 198. Haverfield stresses that he cannot find the division
drawn by Vinogradoff (1905), 39 between the exotic culture of a higher order and a
vernacular culture of a primitive kind. Vinogradoff provided a strong emphasis on
the 'primitive' nature of such 'villages', stressing the character of the pit dwellings and
'a very strange promiscuity of the living and of the dead' (ibid.), which referred to the
burial of human corpses among the houses.

[426] Haverfield (1906), 203.

[427] Ibid. 211; see Hingley (2000), 119–20.

[428] Haverfield (1906), 210–11.

[429] M. J. Jones (2004) and Millett (2001) provide some discussion.

[430] Haverfield (1906), 205–9.

thought on the contemporary condition of the British empire. Haverfield argued that this significance related to the topic of how provincials, including Britons, were 'incorporated and denationalised and assimilated' through the actions of Rome.[431] For Haverfield and other contemporary imperial analysts, the Roman empire provided a worrying lesson with regard to the topic of assimilation: the Romans were seen to have effectively incorporated native 'races', while the Edwardian British could be seen to be failing in emulating their example.[432] Roman Britain and Romanization constituted a lesson in how contemporary administrators and politicians might concern themselves with imperial integration.

Haverfield wrote that in the 'west' of its empire, including Britain, 'Rome found races that were not yet civilized, yet were racially capable of accepting her culture', and that consequently 'it was possible, it was easy' for Rome to Romanize these peoples.[433] He observed, by contrast, that 'we know well enough the rule of civilized white men over the uncivilized Africans or Asiatics who seem sundered for ever from their conquerors by a broad physical division'.[434] Haverfield suggested that in contemporary empires 'race and colour' divide 'Englishman from Indian' and 'Frenchman from Algerian Arab'.[435]

Haverfield returned to this theme in later addresses.[436] In 1910, he argued that, during the second and third centuries AD, the Roman empire 'brought (I think) more happiness to more of the known world than any age till the French Revolution, and that happiness was not confined to a dominant race or an upper class'.[437] He did allow

[431] Haverfield (1911), xviii. See Majeed (1999), 88 and Hingley (2000), 37 and (2007*a*) for comments on these observations.

[432] See comments on the Edwardian writings of Lord Bryce, Lucas, and Hogarth included in Majeed (1999), 101–6 and Hingley (2000), 48–52 and the revised assessment of some of these works in Hingley (2007*a*).

[433] Haverfield (1906), 186. His later publication (1912), 12 repeats these comments almost unchanged. He notes that these people, unlike those of the Greek east, were not marked off from the Romans by any ancient culture, which might have caused conflict where the 'individualities of two similarly civilized races clash' (ibid.).

[434] Haverfield (1906), 186.

[435] Ibid.

[436] Hingley (2007*a*).

[437] Haverfield (1910), 106. For the context of these comments, see Hingley (2007*a*).

for 'misgovernments' and errors on the part of the Romans but noted that, in the west, there were peoples 'racially akin' to the Italians, people who, although initially 'uncivilised . . . rapidly became Italian, and in time formed modern Europe'.[438] In the east, however, the old coherent force of 'Greek civilisation' and 'Oriental culture' prevented Rome bringing 'progress' and so these areas did not become 'Romanised'. The prevention of the 'assimilation' of the people of the eastern empire was the result of the fact that 'civilisation had crystallised into definite form'. In this context, Haverfield remarked that he had been told that the British might 'assimilate in some sort the uncivilised hill-tribes' of India, while, since the 'civilised Hindoos and Mohammedans have crystallised' they resist such a process.[439]

The imperial administrators Lord Cromer (Evelyn Baring) and Sir C. P. Lucas, and the academic Lord Bryce all wrote about the same issue of imperial assimilation in the years between 1910 and 1914, expressing concern about the comparative lack of integration of the Edwardian British empire as a potential source of its current weakness.[440] Indeed, in his book Lucas included a whole chapter on class, colour, and race, contrasting the success of the Romans in the 'fusion' of 'race' with the trend toward greater 'diversity' in the British empire.[441] Cromer's observations on assimilation in his address to the Classical Association led to a detailed reply on the topic from the Oxford historian D. G. Hogarth.[442]

These early twentieth-century works contrasted directly with earlier writings that had developed the concepts of civility and of the Romanized Britons in order to articulate a justification for the colonial control of a subject people. Jacobean texts written in the context of the colonization of Virginia and Hanoverian texts addressing the civilizing of Highland Scotland have been reviewed. Writing in 1838 about education in colonized India, Charles E. Trevelyan also presents a very different point of view to Edwardian concerns about the assimilation

[438] Haverfield (1910).
[439] Haverfield (1910), 106. For the context of these comments, see Hingley (2007*a*). 106–7.
[440] Hingley (2000), 49.
[441] Lucas (1912), 100; see further discussion and the quote from Lucas's work in Hingley (2000), 49.
[442] Hogarth (1910).

of indigenous peoples, drawing Tacitus' writing (*Agricola* 21) into a contemporary colonial context.[443] Noting the spread of English language and literature in contemporary India, alongside education in Sanskrit and Arabic, he remarked that 'The past history of the world authorizes us to believe that the movement which is taking place in India, if properly directed and supported by the Government, will end in bringing about a decided change for the better in the character of the people.'[444]

Towards the end of his book, Trevelyan proposes that the British should pursue a policy of linguistic education in India, and argues:

In following this course we should be trying no new experiment. The Romans at once civilised the nations of Europe, and attached them to their rule by *Romanising* them; or, in other words, by educating them in the Roman literature and arts, and teaching them to emulate their conquerors instead of opposing them. Acquisitions made by superiority in war, were consolidated by superiority in the arts of peace...The Indian will, I hope, soon stand in the same position toward us in which we once stood toward the Romans. Tacitus informs us, that it was the policy of Julius Agricola to instruct the sons of the leading men among the Britons in the literature and science of Rome, and to give them a taste for the refinements of Roman civilization...We all know how well this plan answered. From being obstinate enemies, the Britons soon became attached and confident friends; and they made more strenuous efforts to retain the Romans, than their ancestors had done to resist the invasion.[445]

At the end of the Trevelyan's book is a note of a discussion generated by his proposals, in which a Reverend Mr Duff argued that a comparable introduction of English language and sciences among the Scottish Highlanders had changed society there, despite the fact that 'no people were more superstitious, more wedded to their own customs, and more averse to leaving their native country'.[446] These

[443] Trevelyan (1838). I derive this reference from Mantena (forthcoming). See C. Edwards (1999*a*), 84–6 and Majeed (1999), 91–8 for the context of Trevelyan's writings.

[444] Trevelyan (1838), 36.

[445] Ibid. 195–7 (my emphasis). It is interesting that Trevelyan (ibid. 196) records that the provincials of Italy, Spain, Africa, and Gaul had no 'ambition except to imitate the Romans, and...remained to the last faithful subjects'. This may suggest that, like a number of his contemporaries, Trevelyan was not entirely confident about the Roman identity of the provincial Britons.

[446] Grant et. al. (1838), 219.

early nineteenth-century writings suggest that a constructive attitude to the political value of education existed and that a classically inspired civilizing ethos, developed in the context of Ireland and Scotland, could be exported to the vitally important British territories in India.

A perception of the failure of colonized peoples to assimilate into the British empire caused a Late Victorian and Edwardian sense of foreboding.[447] Enculturation had long been interpreted as a method by which Rome had created an imperial stability that had evidently lasted for centuries, while the failures of the British to assimilate indigenous peoples into their empire was, by the early twentieth century, perceived as a threat to future security.[448] This concern helped to emphasize the significance of the evidence for the assimilation of indigenous peoples by the Romans and also of the establishment and maintenance of the imperial frontier.[449] It gave the study of Roman Britain a particular significance at this time of imperial crisis.

I have explored a variety of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideas about populations of Britain in the immediately pre-Roman and Roman times. In many ways, these ideas built directly upon earlier interpretations, remoulding the evidence in the context of changing political circumstances. I have suggested that two broadly contrasting traditions had emerged during the eighteenth century—a military focus and an interest in the Romanizing of the Britons—and these continued to structure the thoughts of those who addressed Roman Britain during the nineteenth century. Francis Haverfield's contribution was particularly significant, since it incorporated both traditions into a new, geographically focused, and internationally well-informed interpretation.

[447] Majeed (1999), 103 and A. Porter (1999*a*), 23–4. P. Burke (1999), 125 argues that the 'social gulf' between Europeans in Asia in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was less wide than in the nineteenth, quoting British India as a particular example. Ballantyne (2002), 44–52 studies how the Indian revolt against British domination in 1857–8 created a more critical view of the idea that the British could be related to Indians. Some Edwardian authors, e.g. Hogarth (1910), appear, however, to have remained more optimistic about the possibilities of integration.

[448] Although it should be noted that stressing this racial heterogeneity was also given by the British as an excuse for rule, since it was claimed that only thus could unity be created; see Majeed (1999), 102.

[449] Hingley (2000), 42–8.

Conclusion

> The ruins that litter the British landscape are ... no foundation
> on which to build a unified nation; they invite competing and
> contradictory narratives of national origin at the same time as
> providing evidence of previous conflicts and broken historical
> development.
>
> <div align="right">H. Griffiths (2003), 91</div>

The works examined above have been explored through a chrono-
logical study based upon the four overlapping themes of *civility/
Romanization*, the *walling out of humanity*, *Roman incomers*, and
ruination, emphasized through a reading of the sources to explore
how the discovery of objects and sites has helped to inform a number
of contrasting interpretations that went in and out of fashion. A
number of more local and fragmented tales have also been addressed
in passing and it is evident that a very different account could have
been articulated if I had drawn more directly upon such ideas. Tales,
such as those of Onion the Silchester Giant, Graham's creation of a
breach in the Antonine Wall, King Arthur and his 'O'on' at Camelon
in central Scotland and the activities of the devil at Rodmarton,
provide information about how local people interpreted the physical
remains of the Romans in Britain. The focus on elite tales in this
book should not detract from the potential of local myths, but a
thorough study of such material remains to be undertaken. Instead,
this book has emphasized stories that have been told about the pre-
Roman and Roman history of Britain that served to develop relevant
national and imperial tales.

COLONIAL TALES

The significance of the civilizing of the ancient Britons drove a particular approach to the ancient sources during the early seventeenth century that emphasized the passing on of Roman civility to people of England (or Lowland Britain). From this point of view, the ruined Roman Walls projected the territorial limit of civility, beyond which were the lands of barbarians. Towards the end of the century, a new interpretation arose that placed emphasis on the Roman settlers, their 'stations', and roads, reflecting the contemporary military aspect of society while envisaging England (or Lowland Britain) as the inheritor of Roman civility. This military conception was redefined and updated during the succeeding centuries as an analogy for the extension of state control over the Scottish Highlands and later for the exploration, documentation, and domination of territories in India and elsewhere. By the late eighteenth century, the ruination of the Roman Walls took on an international significance as a metaphor for the imperial frontier of 'civilization'. Ideas of the decline and fall of empire as a contemporary lesson appear to focus particularly, from the mid nineteenth century to Edwardian times, on the spectacular ruination of the Roman imperial frontier in Britain, while parallels continued to be drawn with the north-west frontier of the British empire in India well into the twentieth century.[1]

During the eighteenth to twentieth centuries, the military concept was also used to interpret Roman remains across the south of Britain, but I have consciously emphasized the significance of the idea of the Romanized Britons, reviewing the works of Browne, Faussett, Hoare, Haverfield, and Pegge; these writers reconceptualized earlier comprehensions of civility, drawing in particular upon one core classical text—Tacitus' *Agricola* 21; through their works, the idea of civility was developed as a powerful colonial tool of control.[2] Certain writings,

[1] See Kirk (1979).
[2] The debate about the origin of the 'Roman' population of southern Britain continues today. Late twentieth-century accounts, e.g. Millett (1990), often emphasized the agency of the native Britons, using contacts and abilities to achieve Roman identity. Recent reassessments based on a critique of the idea of Romanization suggest, however, that many of the impressive civil constructions in the province

including the Jacobean colonial texts, together with those of Charles Trevelyan and Francis Haverfield, emphasized the lengthy currency of this powerful colonial concept in changing historical circumstances.

The colonial tale of civility/Romanization came to the fore, in particular during late Elizabethan and Jacobean times, and again during the latter part of the reigns of Victoria and Edward VII. Its significance was heightened by Britain's international situation, although the idea was current throughout much of the period considered in this book. It is tempting to look for continuity in attitudes to the Romanized Britons among writers of Jacobean and later dates, such as the inappropriate adoption by modern authors of the concept of 'Romanization' in the context of Jacobean culture. I have emphasized, however, that the colonial value of civility was transformed during the three subsequent centuries. By the later nineteenth century, when the term 'Romanization' was first used, there was a much greater appreciation of the time depth of prehistory, while ideas of race and evolution had transformed earlier conceptions of the change from barbarity to civility. An apparent continuity in understanding can, in reality, be seen to embody a vital transformation. The changing perception of Hadrian's Wall, from a boundary for national civility to the powerful Edwardian analogy for the British north-western frontier in India, illustrates a comparable transformation.

Significant ideas were received, reintroduced, and reinvented at various times, establishing what we might call a 'chain of causalities':[3] The continuities of knowledge explored above resulted from the fact that antiquaries, archaeologists, and scholars often took inspiration from particular passages in classical texts, or from the work of revered earlier scholars, while reinterpreting received ideas and new finds to tell relevant tales for their own times. The possibility of 'displacements', or 'transformations', of knowledge must be pursued

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may have been built by settlers from overseas, although we should not dismiss the efforts of members of the native elite to 'become Roman'; see Hingley and Miles (2002); Mattingly (2004), (2006).

[3] Barkan (1999), 136. The centrality of classical education helped, throughout the times studied here, to give the classical texts that referred to Britain a privileged status; see J. Levine (1987), 73–6.

through the discussion of works that contradict established patterns of thought in order to establish new understandings.[4]

THE CHALLENGE OF DISCOVERY

Numerous artefacts, deposits, and sites were interpreted in order to articulate such tales. These stories projected and developed ideas from contemporary times, drawing the information derived from Roman Britain into debates about urban, regional, and national identity, religion, colonialism, and empire. Observations of objects and sites evidently had a vital role in these imaginings, but how effective were new discoveries at challenging existing interpretations? Objects and sites discovered in the towns and countryside were often incorporated into pre-existing discourses, but can we say that their discovery necessarily drove historical change, as Barkan seems to suggest? Instead, I have emphasized that finds were selected for study, interpretation, illustration, and documentation within the time-bound conditions of interpretation because of their particular value in communicating powerful tales about the past that had relevance for the present.[5]

Finds with inscriptions and legends had a particular significance. British coins, for example, have had great potential for transforming understanding from the time of Camden, since they could be used to identify and highlight the pro- and anti-Roman leaders that figured in the classical texts, presenting secure information for the existence of these people and also representations of how they might have appeared; they also helped to explore the influence of Roman culture on the pre-Roman leaders, challenging alternative readings of savage ancient Britons. During the mid nineteenth century, coins took on an additional value as indicators of the likely territorial extent of pre-Roman peoples, or tribes, as knowledge of Late Celtic society developed.

Roman inscriptions provided the opportunity for new understandings. Many of the Roman inscriptions recorded soldiers and

[4] Foucault (1989), 5–6.
[5] Barkan (1999), xxi, drawing upon the work of Foucault, acknowledges that this is actually bound to be the case.

settlers from overseas and this helped to drive a strongly military emphasis of study that survived until the early twentieth century and beyond. Occasionally, new finds did enable accounts of native civility to be developed. One inscription stands out in my account since it allowed the idea of the Romanized Briton to be explored. The Cogidubnus inscription from Chichester constituted one of the most important examples of the physical act of discovery since it had a significant impact upon earlier interpretations, including Camden's earlier dismissal of the textual evidence for Cogidubnus. Found in 1723, this object swiftly became a focus of attention since, with the writings of Tacitus, it assisted the documentation of a first-century Romanized native leader. This supported earlier ideas of the possibility that Britons became Romanized, communicating directly with 'Augustan' antiquaries and their audiences. William Stukeley linked this inscription with a tale of first-century Christianity, enabling the creation of an effective origin myth for the Augustan civic elite of Chichester that led to the construction of a neo-Roman building with an impressive monumental inscription during the 1730s. The knowledge derived from this stone may have helped Stukeley and Roger Gale to develop the idea of Lowland civility, evident in their interpretations of the remains of villas at Cotterstock and Weldon, which contested the interpretation of Roman pavements as the floors of the tents of campaigning Roman generals. The idea of native civility had considerable impact during the succeeding century, as the Chichester inscription was drawn upon by Samuel Lysons to suggest that the villa at Bignor was built for Cogidubnus. Ideas about the origins of Christianity and urbanism in Britain during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also drew upon this inscription (Figure 5.1).[6]

Objects and structures did not always need to be marked with text to prove useful. The monumentality of the two Roman Walls led to

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[6] In a book on Roman Britain, published by The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in 1903, Edward Conybeare repeated the suggestion that Claudia Rufina was 'very probably' the daughter of Cogidubnus. Linking Claudia and her husband Pudens to the relevant section of St Paul's Second Epistle, he concluded that short of 'actual proof' it would be hard to imagine 'more morally convincing' evidence than that linking the Chichester inscription to St Paul's and Martial's texts; see Conybeare (1903), 257. The final line of Conybeare's book argues that 'Her faith and her freedom are the abiding debt which Britain owes to her connection with Rome' (ibid. 268). A

THE "PUDENS" ROMAN INSCRIPTION OF CHICHESTER:
CONNECTING ST. PAUL WITH THE CITY.
(Stone now inserted in Wall of the Assembly Rooms.)

In A.D. 1723, in foundation of a house at North Corner of St Martin's Street, where the road turns into
North Street, was found this Dedication Stone of the Roman Temple of Neptune and Minerva:
"PUDENS" .... GIVING THE GROUND.

Figure 5.1. The Chichester inscription on a postcard dating to 1907.

their use in determining ideas of contrasting English and Scottish identity from the sixteenth century onwards; interpretations that drew on their locations and physical structures. Even in this case, however, the discovery of numerous Roman inscriptions that could be dated and which supplied the names of Roman officers, soldiers, and 'stations' nevertheless proved to be vitally significant. The scale and long life of the Roman frontiers also enabled Scots to create oppositional stories, arguing that major works were required to keep their Caledonian ancestors out of a province populated by the servile ancestors of the English. In a contradictory fashion, the position of Graham's Dyke enabled certain Lowland Scots to imagine a Roman origin for their own civility, while helping to project classical conceptions of barbarity on to the Scottish Highlanders living far to the north of the former provincial frontier.

postcard, produced in Chichester in 1906, presents an image of the Cogidubnus inscription, while the reverse notes that this dedication stone connects the Roman Senator Pudens, the British Princess Claudia, and St Paul with the city of Chichester; see Bogaers (1979), 251–2. In 1906 or 1907, the inscription was presented to Chichester Corporation and built into the west face of the eighteenth century Council Chamber; see Collingwood and Wright (1995), 25–6.

Physical remains from Roman towns, villas, 'British villages', and cemeteries were also significant in musings about the character of British civilization. Some pots, apparently crude copies of Roman urns with identifiable name stamps on their bases, were interpreted as evidence for Romanized Britons by Thomas Browne in the mid seventeenth century and by Bryan Faussett in the eighteenth. The perceived 'rudeness' of these objects, together with their stylistic similarities to the finer Roman wares, enabled the formulation of early ideas of a partial transformation of native Britons toward a Roman way of life.

During the late eighteenth century, the impressive finds at Bath and on the villa sites excavated by Lysons began to allow ideas of the civilized character of Roman Lowland Britain to be projected; a contrast was gradually drawn between the civil south and the military north. During the nineteenth century, the excavation of the Roman villa at Bignor, the Chesters station, and the Rushmore British villages were incorporated into genteel landscapes of the elite, reinforcing the tradition of the collection and display of classical antiquities at country houses. This gradual accumulation of knowledge enabled ideas of social change to be articulated in new terms. At the end of the nineteenth century, Sir Arthur Evans adopted an approach which was broadly comparable to the earlier ideas of Browne and Faussett in his study of the Aylesford cemetery.

It is significant, however, that all these actions took place because the objects and structures found by accident, or uncovered with intent, assisted the imagination of a challenging and/or supportive ancient past. It would appear from the sources studied above that although individual discoveries of objects did not often challenge pre-existing perceptions directly, the accumulation of evidence gradually came to impact on views of the province.[7] As E. G. Hardy observed in 1887, the concept of the Romanization could not have been articulated without the collection of information from classical texts, inscriptions, coins, and archaeological finds.[8] Haverfield articulated his idea of Romanization in 1906 by developing opposing concepts of the military and the Romanized civil districts of Roman Britain; such understanding could not have been formulated without three centuries of surveying, excavation, and discussion of the material remains.

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[7] Hingley and Unwin (2005), 220.   [8] Hardy (1887), 61.

REBUILDING ROMANS

Historians, antiquaries, and archaeologists collected objects, wrote about and illustrated the past in order to comprehend it. Architects and others also sought to recreate elements of the Roman past in monumental form through the design and manufacture of objects, buildings, and landscapes. Such acts helped to create the present by building upon the foundations of past culture. Often architects and landscape planners drew upon the classical monuments of Italy and the Mediterranean for inspiration, but on occasions particular individuals studied the evidence from Britain to create new objects and buildings. At Conington, Robert Cotton's collection of Roman stones was the inspiration for new burial monuments. Christopher Wren and John Wood also drew on indigenous remains for inspiration. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the discovery of ancient remains at Bath, Bignor, Chesters, Chichester, London, Manchester, and York enabled ideas of cultural origins to be articulated which influenced material representations in the form of neo-Roman urban public buildings, rural country houses, and landscape gardens.

Knowledge of the physical character of the Picts' Wall was used during the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries to inform two proposals for managing the frontier with barbarian northerners. Roman remains across this northern landscape, together with classical texts that described Caledonian and Pictish society, were used during the eighteenth century to inform a new imperial order based upon an infrastructure of roads, frontier works, and stations built to dominate the Highlanders. This neo-Roman colonial landscape, together with the acts of mapping on which it was based, formed a powerful model for later colonial actions in Ireland, America, India, and Africa.

In the context of creating public buildings, private houses, and new colonial landscapes, the creation of knowledge of the Roman past of Britain—through writing, illustrating, mapping, and construction—performed a fundamental colonial purpose.

THE RISE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Studies of the history of archaeology have sometimes proposed that a progressive and ever-increasing mastery of evidence and knowledge of the past has developed through time, but this book focuses on the idea that this is not the only way to interpret the origin of knowledge about Roman Britain. Physical information for past society was collected and interpreted throughout the late sixteenth to early twentieth centuries and the techniques used for excavation, planning, surveying, and publishing the results of this work gradually became systematized through innovation, practice, and replication. The techniques of artefact illustration and the surveying and mapping of monuments, begun in late Elizabethan and Jacobean times, gradually became more systematic over the succeeding centuries. Excavation did not commence on any scale until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, with the works of Samuel Lysons and others. The realization of the length of human prehistory during the second half of the nineteenth century enabled a new focus in the study of the Roman past, while also leading to further developments in the methodology and theory of archaeology.

Although authors such as John Horsley and Augustus Henry Pitt Rivers can be seen to have pioneered a more descriptive and analytical approach to the recording, analysis, and publication of remains, all works are by their nature interpretative.[9] The contributions to the study of British history reviewed in this book used ideas derived from pre-Roman and Roman times to reflect upon the identity and colonial purpose of the peoples of Great Britain. During the twentieth century, Roman Britain continued to provide a particularly powerful series of conflicting and contested images and ideas with a great potential for reflection on contemporary politics and international relations, building upon the earlier perspectives. Of course, all works are tempered by these observations, including my own study, and this is evident in the themes and sources that have been explored above.

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[9] As Mary Beard has observed (2005), 5–6, by its nature archaeology cannot provide authoritative answers.

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