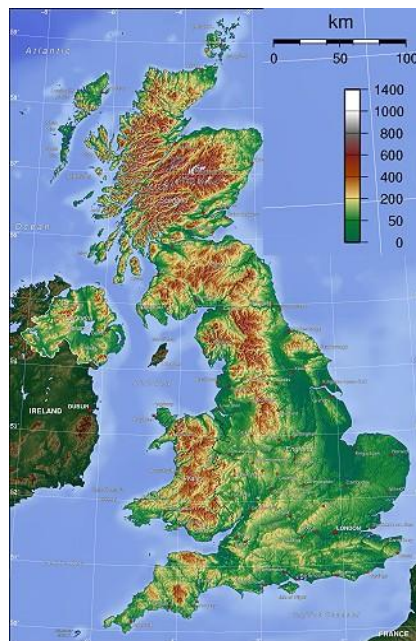


DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN – EAU CLAIRE

THE ROMAN CONQUEST OF BRITAIN:
LOOKING THROUGH A GEOGRAPHICALLY INFORMED CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE,
55 BCE – c. 150 CE



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MAY 2008

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pretium victoriae

-Tacitus

“The Wages of Victory”

Acknowledgements

Thanks to my close friend, Danielle Swartz, for all her help and work making the pictures and maps beautiful.

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Abstract

This paper examines the role of the pre-existing cultures of the British Isles during the first direct Roman contact between the Romans and the Britons that took place in the mid-first century BCE. By looking through a geographically informed cultural perspective of Early Britons prior to the Roman Invasion, which I use in this examination and really has not been approached in previous scholarship. With use of this perspective, a better understanding about the events that took place during Roman Invasion and Occupation, which helps to shed some light about this era in History. Without looking at the pre-existing culture of Britannia throughout history, one is missing an integral part of this time period.

Introduction

No one will deny that there is a cultural differentiation between Scotland and England. This cultural difference developed in the early stages of human habitation of the British Isle with the first migrations into the Highland Regions possibly as early as 12,000 BCE. This cultural separation was in response to different environments which were influenced by the islands geography that existed and still exists today. That difference does not disappear with the Roman conquest and occupation of the island. The Romans perpetuated the separation between the people of the north and the people of the south, but they did not make those distinctions among themselves in prior to Roman invasion. The island's geography of Highland and Lowland regions created cultural differentiations, which changed in response to the Roman invasion, and the physical boundaries they established during their time on the island.

The people of modern-day Britain have inherited a dynamic culture from many different time periods in history and a variety of regions from all over the world. One of the major influences on the modern-day culture in Britain is the Roman conquest. The Roman occupation of Britain, or as the Romans called it, Britannia, was one that changed the overall cultural dynamic and influenced other cultures later in history. It was, no doubt, a very important event in history. The date of 43 CE mark one of history's great turning points from a British stand point, like 1066 CE, the Norman conquest of Britain and the Battle of Hastings, but we must not forget the pre-existing culture and the effects it had on the Roman occupation and how it may have affected Rome itself.

This paper explores the Roman Conquest of Britain from a different angle than previous scholarship, since much of the previous work done on Roman Britain focuses on how the Romans affected the Britons and not on how the Britons may have affected the Romans. Many

scholars qualify this as the “Romanization” period of Ancient Britain. This angle incorporates the preexisting cultural dynamic prior to the Roman invasion in 43 CE and examines these events more from a Briton point a view than from a Roman one. It also looks at the cultural changes that happened, how the preexisting cultures affected the Romans on the island, and how the Britons may have affected Rome.

These two cultures have many aspects that are very different from one another. Roman society and culture during their invasion of Britain was one of the largest empires in history. They had a complex system of government that started with the foundation of the city of Rome in 753 BCE. By the time of the Claudian Invasion in 43 CE, Roman society was patrilineal in origin and had established an empire that made the Mediterranean Sea look like a Roman lake. The Roman Empire governed a vast number of different peoples from a number of different regions throughout Europe. The complexity of Roman control of those regions was similar to the level of a vast state with any number of bureaucracies that controlled many aspects of day-to-day life of a Roman citizen and people under Roman Control. This level of complexity refers to a state level of organization.

Comparatively, Briton society was organized into regional tribes with a number of *derbfine* or clan families contributing to the size and complexity of the tribe’s organization. Each *derbfine* or clan family consists of a line from one person or a couple that each member of the clan descends. There is some recent speculation that parts or the whole island of Britain was matrilineal prior to Roman invasion and occupation. Each tribe had three class distinctions: nobles or warrior class, where the king selected through his display of might, the freedman, which was primarily ordinary farmers and basic tradesman, and finally, the slaves at the bottom of the social hierarchy. A Slave in ancient times was a person, who was captured through

conquest. The freedman class was separated into two groups. One group consisted of the professional members of society like doctors, blacksmiths, artists, and religious officials (Druids). The second group in the freedman class consisted of ordinary farmers, sheep and cattle herders; this class was slightly lower than the first freedman group.

This paper's structure separates into several different sections corresponding with key events in history. The first section focuses on the development of the pre-existing cultures on the island of Britain prior to Roman contact. This covers the period of around 30,000 BCE when the first human inhabitants arrived on the island. The next section covers the time of direct Roman contact with Caesar's invasions in 53 BCE and the time between Caesar and Claudius's invasion in 43 CE. The third section incorporates the initial stages of the invasion by Claudius and the revolts that resulted from the conquest. The initial stages of the conquest cover the years from Claudius's invasion in 43 CE to 63CE. The last section covers the time period between 63 CE through 150 CE, which is the conclusion of Roman expansion on the island. The focus of this section is about the final expansions and the withdrawal of Roman troops in the northern regions of Britain.

Background

c. 30,000 BCE – 53 BCE

The mists of times have always blanketed the island of Britain and in many ways will continue to do so. This mist has covered the prehistoric island of Britain with only a few brief windows in which we could look through for insight about this time and place in history. How much of Britain's prehistoric past has shaped the world we live in today? Every part of the world has been exposed in some way or form to Britain throughout its long history. That history begins with the island rising from the very depths of the sea. It took eons to shape the physical topography of the island and it in turn shaped the culture of the people that made it home.

The topography of the island that we are so familiar with started around 32,000 years ago. At one point before and several points after the first humans inhabited the island, it was covered with vast sheets of ice and water that would advance and retreat with the global cycles that govern all life.¹ The glaciers continued to advance and retreat until their final retreat about 11,000 BCE.² At this period in time, permanent human habitation took root on the island. During this period of glacial retreat, the environment of Britain shaped two distinct land zones, which consists of the Highland regions primarily in modern-day Wales, Scotland, and the lowland regions in modern-day England. During the early migration and habitation of Britannia, only humans utilized the lowland regions, because the population had not increased to the point where the highland regions needed to support human populations.

The Lowland zone consists of much of modern-day England and small portion of southern Wales. This region supports vast plains and large lower elevation deciduous forests.

¹ The island is still being shaped today. The island on average raise a couple of centimeters a year.

² Alistair Moffat, *Before Scotland: The Story of Scotland Before History* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005) 27.

These forests are rich in birch, pine, elm, hazel, oak and several other species of trees,³ similar to what you find here in Wisconsin. The plains like that of Salisbury Plain are rich areas that support medium to large-scale agriculture. The primary reason for this is the conditions of the environment. The Lowland environment is milder than that of the Highland zone. This milder climate supports a larger population with more ease through the development of agriculture. The highland zone is much cooler than the lowlands, which restricts vegetation. These regions are also very steep covered in rocky formations.⁴

The first humans to the island most likely did not come as one huge wave, but in smaller migrations of family or clan groups over thousands of years. With each migration, more people and ideas came across from the mainland and influenced changes with the original inhabitants. Overall, these changes were minor and primarily influenced technological advancements. Even with the new ideas and technology brought over by these small bands of migrants from the mainland, much of the island's early culture remained intact.⁵ This creates a universal cultural base for the original inhabitants minus small regional variation that has very little or no impact on the overall culture, at least from what we can tell through archaeology. For much of the earlier period, the culture that formed on the island was universal and had less demographic differentiation than is present day.⁶

This universal culture of Britain reached its height during the late Neolithic. Stonehenge, one of the most famous world landmarks, was built during this time period. Stonehenge is unique in many ways and there are still many mysteries that surround this ritualistic landscape.

³ *The Penguin Illustrated History of Britain and Ireland: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, consulted editors Barry Cunliffe, Robert Barlett, John Morrill, Asa Briggs and Joanna Brouke, revised edition (New York: Penguin Books, Ltd, 2004) 18.

⁴ See picture on Appendix A on page 35

⁵ Lloyd Laing, *Celtic Britain* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1979) 9.

⁶ V. Gordon Childe, *Prehistoric Communities of British Isles* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1971) 5-8.

One recently solved mystery was the source of the bluestones, which form the inner and outer circular rings that surround the trilithons⁷. The dark gray or black stones, trilithons, comprised of stones quarried only about twenty miles from Salisbury plain where Stonehenge is located. The quarry is located in Avebury, England. The bluestones are from the Perseli Mountains on the west cost of Wales, a location much further away than the larger gray stones. This is one hundred and fifty-five miles away from Salisbury plain. That is a long way to haul a several ton rock c. 2500 BCE with nothing more than stone tools.⁸

The original locations of the stones are very important, because it can tell you a lot about the culture. Archaeologists can make reasonable estimations about the range of influence various regions have over their neighbors and in some cases even farther. They do this by looking at the range of land covered by the materials used in the construction of Stonehenge and make an informed opinion about the connections between different groups. The large the material and the larger the amount of material means more contact between the groups. This also applies to the distanced traveled to retrieve materials. The farther you go from your site of construction the more people you would meet. This happens to be the case with Stonehenge. The original locations of the two types of stones used in Stonehenge means that many villages from large areas of southern Britain were involved with the construction of Stonehenge. One other aspect that supports the view of a relatively universal culture is the sheer number of people needed to quarry and craft the stones, move the stones and finally place the stones in their final resting location. This theory does have a few problems with it. If you apply this theory of a universal culture to the whole island you find areas like modern-day Scotland that would not

⁷ The Three Stoned archways that construct the alter, the three arches that circle around the alter and the large circler pattern Stonehenge is well known for.

⁸ Christopher Chippindale, *Stonehenge Complete*, 3rd edition (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004) 284.

have had to be involved with Stonehenge at all and Stonehenge could still have been constructed. Simply based on the distance between Salisbury Plains and Scotland. The theory of a universal culture enfolding the whole island has some concrete evidence on which it is based. The likelihood is that it is true is slim, because it also does not account for regional variation that all cultures have.

The universal culture theory also has ancient sources to back it up as well. Caesar, during his second campaign, says the only difference between the Britons was in regard to the people living on the coast and the Britons living inland.⁹ This perpetuates the myth that all the Britons on the island have the same or similar enough culture that they are the same essentially. In reality, it is far more likely that a variety of cultures existed on the island; there just is not enough archaeological evidence currently to distinguish between the various groups.

The universal culture theory, to best of our knowledge, changes around 700 BCE on the island. During this point in time, there is evidence a mass earthworks being constructed for the purpose of defense. On top of these mass earthworks, hill forts with wooded palisades were constructed to defend the village which were located behind these wooden walls. By the time of Caesar's invasion in 55 BCE, hill forts were found throughout the island, but they were more heavily fortified and concentrated in areas bordering the highland regions.¹⁰ This development was likely caused by increasing populations on the island that cannot be fully supported by the level of technology the Britons had at that time.

This caused two cultural zones to develop among the Britons prior to Roman contact. The level of technology restricted the food production and land area that could be utilized by the Britons. The environment of the lowlands was milder than the highlands with longer growing

⁹ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 5.12.

¹⁰ *The Penguin Illustrated History of Britain and Ireland*, 34-37.

seasons that allowed them to produce a surplus, which they in turn traded with the mainland.

The highland region has a harsher climate with a very short growing season. The climate is also very cold and wet which shortens the growing season even more. After this point, what developed in the highlands was a raiding society that would come down from the highlands and raid lowland settlements for their surplus of goods, primarily grain. This was why you begin to see defensive fortifications along the highland and lowland regions. The forts slowly spread throughout most of the lowland regions. The hill forts also caused more isolation between the tribal groups and led to the development of more regional variation between the different tribes.

Different trends also developed between the highland and lowland regions. The lowland region's trend was to absorb and assimilate different cultures, ideas, and technologies. This trend was caused by the lowland Britons continuing to have contact with the mainland before and after Caesar's invasions with Rome. The culture of the lowlands became increasingly similar to the mainland of Gaul.¹¹ This passage also makes reference to the Britons inland being indigenous to the island while the coastal and lowland peoples are from later migrations from the mainland. The connection between the lowland regions and the mainland of Gaul continued to form a culture closely connected with each other. However, that does not mean that the highlands and the lowlands are completely separated from each other.

The highland regions of Britannia were more isolated than those of the lowlands. This isolation coupled with the extreme environment prevented large-scale migration into those regions. Therefore, the number of people who migrated into the highland region is smaller in scale and prevented vast cultural changes in the original highland culture. Small-scale migration into a region tends to involve the assimilation of the migrating people coming into the region to

¹¹ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 5.12.

the original culture unlike how large-scale migration tends to assimilate the original culture in to the new arrivals. These factors of increasing population put stress on limited resources. The differentiation of the highland and the lowland regions caused the physical evidence of increasing defensive measures among the people; in the case of Britons this manifests itself in the building of mass defensive earthworks and hill forts.

One of the best examples of a hill fort is the hill fort located in Dorset in southwest England. This location is very close to the highland region of Wales. This hill fort, Maiden Castle, took centuries to built and was finally destroyed by the Romans during Claudian's invasion near 43 CE. What is left of Maiden Castle can be seen in Appendix B on page (). Maiden Castle was the capital of the Durotriges tribe, which is one of the major southern peoples of Britain. When Caesar came to Britain, he encountered these fortifications with his troops. The hill forts on Britain persisted until Roman occupation. They also continued to persist in areas of low Roman influence well into the Middle Ages in Britain.

Caesar's Invasions and the time prior to Claudius 55 BCE to 42 CE

After Julius Caesar conquered most of Gaul in the mid first century BCE, he set his sights on the island across the 'Ocean'. This island would come to be known by the Romans as Britannia. Scholars' today debate why Caesar set his sights on this island. These reasons were to punish the Britons that had previously crossed the English Channel to help the people of Gaul fight off Caesar's invasion.¹² Caesar presented his campaign as a means to protect Rome's interest in the province of Gaul, and by continuing his commission he would also avoid his political enemies in Rome. The Greek Historian Plutarch in his account of Caesar's life gave another reason for Caesar to invade Britannia as the glory (*dignitas*) Caesar would gain from expanding Rome's horizons and being the first to do so.

"It was a particularly bold stroke of his [Caesar's] to launch an expedition against the Britons, and he became famous for it. Not only was he the first man ever to take a fleet out into the western part of the Ocean and to attack an enemy by transporting an army across the Atlantic Sea, ... With this attempt he advanced the supremacy of Rome beyond the horizons of the known world."¹³

In all likelihood it was a combination of these factors that resulted in Caesar invading Britannia in the late summer in 55 BCE.

Caesar's preparations for the journey across the channel set off many alarms among the Britons on the island. Several of the coastal tribes sent envoys across the channel to express their desire to surrender. Caesar accepted these tribes' submissions and sent a man, Commius, back with them, who was from Gaul, to try to convince other tribes to surrender before the might of Rome.¹⁴ Due to the close trade connections between Britannia and the northern coast of Gaul, many of the tribes in the southern regions of Britannia were aware of Caesar's pending invasion.

¹² Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.20.

¹³ Plutarch, Caesar, 23.

¹⁴ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.21.

Several tribes used this as an opportunity to establish friendly relations with Rome or prepare for Caesar's invasion. The tribes that offered submission were looking for an ally with Rome in order to combat other tribes on Britannia.

In the late summer of 55 BCE, Caesar crossed the English Channel and attempted to land in Dover, but was not able to because of the Britain force assembled on the shore. He then followed the coastline eight miles northeast to Deal where the famous landing took place.¹⁵ The Britons followed Caesars' ships up the coastline and in light of the resistance of the natives; Caesar's legions were hesitant to disembark. In light of this development the standard-bearer of the tenth legion called out, "Jump, comrades, unless you wish to betray our eagle to the enemy: I, at any rate, intend to do my duty to my country and my commander" then leapt from the ship.¹⁶ This in turn inspired the rest of the troops to follow. Caesar's first engagement was not successful at first, because the Roman troops were not able to establish their formations. This allowed the Britons an initial advantage.¹⁷ Even with the Britons pressing Caesars' troops, Caesar was able to bring the station under control to gain the upper hand by sending reinforcements from the ships where needed. Caesar was not able to press on with success on the beach for a total victory because the ships that held the cavalry embarked from the continent late and were not able to beat the tide, and had to return to Gaul.¹⁸ After their initial loss on the beach, the Britons sued for peace, and Caesar told us "From all parts, chiefs were now coming into his camp, suing for peace."¹⁹ Things were looking up for Caesar. It looked like he might

¹⁵ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.23.

¹⁶ Ibid, 4.25.

¹⁷ The primary Briton Weapon called the Celtic long sword was used in close hand-to-hand combat with a small number of opponents. One of the defining features of a Celtic long sword is the length of the blade: because of the sword's length it is more of a slashing weapon. The tight formations and the effectiveness of Roman Shields had the advantage when pitted against low or leather armed Britons, whose long swords were not maneuverable. See appendix B for a picture of a Celtic long sword from this time period.

¹⁸ Salway, 21-22.

¹⁹ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.27 .

have won with a single battle, but things were about to change.

The tides on the shores of the North Sea are much higher than those on the Mediterranean Sea and the full moon approached just a few days after Caesar's landing. These tides produced intense storms along the coast. According to Caesar, this phenomenon was unknown to the Romans.²⁰ The storm that hit just a few days after Caesar's landing destroyed most of Caesar's fleet to the point that none of them were sea worthy.²¹ This left Caesar and his troops stranded on the island. Even though, it looked like Caesar was stranded with no help, he was able to salvage parts from the worst damaged ships to use on, and by utilizing these parts was able to repair twelve of his ships for travel back to the mainland.

On the one hand, the level of technology the Romans possessed in shipbuilding was well developed for the Mediterranean Sea. The Mediterranean Sea has lower tides and less gale force winds which make much calmer waters than the seas to the north of Europe. The North Sea and the English Channel are known in particular for their high tides and storms that come out of nowhere and batter the coast, indeed, it is one of the major elements that continues to Britannia's coastline. Caesar remarked about the coastline and the difficulty they had getting the ships close to the coastline.²² On the other hand, the Britons had dealt with these seas for thousands of years prior to the Romans and had perfected to use of shallow draft vessels that allowed them to make a closer landing near the shores of high cliffs and for a stable position on the sea during storms. After these experiences, the knowledge of harsh seas help to diversify the Roman naval technology.

The storm that destroyed most of Caesar's fleet was seen as good omen from the gods.

²⁰ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.29

²¹ Salway, 22.

²² Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.23.

The Britons used this time to repair the damage and send for reinforcements from neighboring tribes. However, even with reinforcements, the Britons did not have enough forces to put a dent in Caesar's forces. Caesar kept his forces in a tight hand-to-hand combat formation that both protected his men and impeded the Briton's long Celtic sword.²³ The Britons sued for peace, yet again. This time Caesar took twice as many hostages and demanded a higher tribute that the Britons did pay. Caesar's ships were now repaired and he sailed back to Gaul with every intention to come back to Britannia next year.

Caesar learned from his first landing on Britannia. In the following year, 54 BCE, Caesar brought an even larger force of 28 warships and 600 transport vessels.²⁴ Britannia would soon become what was best described by the Roman Historian Tacitus as, *pretium victoriae*, "the wages of victory".²⁵

Once Caesar landed on the coast, near where he had landed in 55 BCE, he set up a base camp with fortifications, a task that delayed him for ten days. This delay allowed one of the leaders of the Britons, Cassivellaunus to prepare to engage Caesar's forces in the southern regions. Cassivellaunus' forces were able to press Caesar's forces back until Caesar was able to bring the Britons down in a pitched battle. This allowed the Roman infantry to press back in close combat and over take the Britons. The final stroke that ended the battle and proclaimed Caesar as victor was the use of the cavalry to break the Briton's lines and force them to retreat. Cassivellaunus' forces continued to harass Caesar's march inland. Caesar's march only encounters a small number of hill forts that are in the southeastern portion of Britannia.²⁶

Even with Caesar encountering a small number of large hill forts, like Bigberry, he was

²³ Caesar, *The Gallic War*, 4.33.

²⁴ Salway, 24.

²⁵ Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.1.

²⁶ Map of Caesar's path through southeast Britannia. Appendix C on Page 37.

able to gain the submissions of a number of tribes in southern Britannia. One tribe, the Trinovantes, also saw an opportunity to defeat Cassivellaunus by appealing to Caesar for the return of their exiled prince who had been forced to flee to Gaul. Caesar jumped at this opportunity given to him and agreed to this alliance. For it provided important intelligence about his main foe, Cassivellaunus.²⁷ However, Caesar was not able to capture Cassivellaunus before Caesar set off back to Gaul.

There are many reasons why Caesar was not able to finish his conquest of Britannia. There was a growing unrest led by Vercingetorix in northern Gaul. Caesar did not want to risk all that he had gained in Gaul. He had accomplished some of his plan to discharge the Britons from sending reinforcements to help Gaul. Caesar also gained some tribute and hostages for the slave market. He may not have been able to do as much as he wanted to because of unrest in Gaul, but he gained what he could. As Plutarch states, "He [Caesar] did not manage to bring the war to the kind of conclusion he wanted, but before leaving the island he accepted hostages from the king and imposed a tribute."²⁸

The impact of Caesar's two invasions to Britannia is not fully explained in any literary sources. This gap in the record is one of the many issues with the intermediate time period between Caesar's invasions and Claudius' conquest almost a hundred years later. One study looking into the coin distribution on the island and the range and abundance of these coins can tell us approximate the locations and areas of influence of various tribes of Britannia.²⁹ One of these coins was associated with the Iceni tribe located on the far eastern corner of Britannia where modern day Norfolk is located. The map is a consensus of where the major tribes were

²⁷ Salway, 25-26.

²⁸ Plutarch, *Caesar*, 23.

²⁹ Map of possible locations of Tribes in Appendix D page 38

just prior to Claudius' initial invasion.

These coins are possible evidence of Romanization of Britons prior to Claudius' invasion. Many of these coins exhibit Roman influence during this intermediate time period between Caesar's invasions and Claudius' invasions a hundred years later. Some of the coins have the Latin word for King, Rex, on them with the stylized portrait of the tribe's king. This is direct evidence of Roman influence, but many other aspects of the coins are Celtic or Briton in origin. One coin found in a dig at Deal, Kent dated just after Caesar's invasions. This coin on

Picture of Coin found in Salway,
Peter. *The Oxford
Illustrated History of
Roman Britain*. Oxford:
Oxford University Press,
1993. On page 33.

the left has no discernable Roman elements. The only possible element of Roman influence is the long wavy hair of the king. This could be connected to Roman's love of Alexander the Great and how he depicted himself in his portraiture. This connection is highly

unlikely due to the location of the Iceni people and the extent of Caesar's invasion. There are several hundred miles between the two locations and the date on the coin placed it at the time just after Caesar's invasion. Without direct contact between the Iceni and Caesar, it is highly unlikely that the wavy hair of the portrait is from an idealistic view of Alexander's youth in Roman culture. One final contributing factor that leads me to believe that the coin has no Roman influences is the Briton attribute within their culture for long hair. The Romans remark about barbarians' long hair, because they view it as uncivilized.

One other coin closer to the coast does show signs of Roman influences. The coin has Roman letters on it for the name of the king and where that king's power is centered and where his tribe is located. The rest of the coin has wheat on one side and a horse on the other. The horse is very much in the style of Celtic design. The horse is also connected with the name of

the king and that is another aspect of Briton culture.³⁰ The main difference between a Celtic horse and a Roman horse when depicted in art is the Roman horse has reins while the Celtic horse does not because Britons rode horses bareback prior to the Roman occupation.

There is also evidence for continuing contact between Rome and Britannia. Several silver wine cups were found in Hockwold from around the time of Augustus. They may have been gifts to a king in Britannia from Rome, or they could be a result of commerce between Rome and Southern Britannia. The number of cups and the quality of the cups suggest direct contact between Roman merchants and Briton merchants, if the accumulation of these artifacts is due to commerce, which is the most likely cause.³¹

If you look at the distribution of Roman trade goods, a pattern emerges of a core, periphery, and outer zone. The core shows evidence of continuing contact through direct trade between Roman merchants and the tribes of southeast Britannia. Further evidence found in a recent discovery in Sussex, has been found. What are significant about their find is their distinctly Roman figures. One of the excavation sites revealed a V-shaped Roman style enclosure ditch containing Roman pottery from between 10 BCE to 10 CE.³² Other evidence of this trade relation is Roman wine and oil amphorae that were found in several different locations in southeastern Britannia. Several of the southern tribe's coins had that were fashioned in a Roman style. The trade was a two-sided affair. Much of the raw materials, of Britannia like gold, iron and believe it or not hunting dogs, were exported to the mainland.³³ This evidence of a Roman style ditch and straight gravel roads suggest that Romans and the Roman army may have been on the island prior to Claudius' invasion. The most likely explanation for these Roman fortifications

³⁰ Laing, 30-32.

³¹ Salway, 30-33. Picture of Roman trade goods found in a gravesite of a Briton king found in Welwyn dating to the time of Augustus reign. See Appendix E on page 39.

³² Miles Russell, "Ruling Britian", *History Today*, vol. 55, issue 8 (Aug., 2005), 5-6.

³³ Ibid.

is a small military outpost put in place to protect Rome's trade connections. There are several examples of this practice in other places besides Britannia. There were several of these posts along the Germanic border on the continent. One of these fortified trade outposts was located on the Rhine River in modern-day Germany.

This does not indicate that Britons were becoming Romans. There is not enough information for that type of a conclusion. Even with Claudius' successful conquest of southern Britannia and the continuing invasions to the north and west, the Britons did not become Romans. A more likely pattern was a mingling of two cultures into a uniquely different and new one. These cultural changes happened at different rates and with a different focus in a variety of regions throughout Britannia.

The importance of Caesar's invasion established direct contact between Britons and Romans. This direct contact had a couple ramifications for Britons with their culture. They saw the Romans as an allied power that could be worked with without becoming a vessel of Rome. In reality Rome was looking for military opportunities that individual Romans could use to gain more glory to push their social status higher. Even though the invasion temporarily stopped trade between the continent and Britannia, trade relations resumed with even more flourish than what was transpiring prior to Caesar's invasions. His invasion also caused changes to happen in the southeast region of Britannia that was limited or in some places never felt by Britons in the highland regions. The lowland regions in southern Britannia are continually influenced by Romans, while the highland regions are only indirectly influenced through trade with the lowlands or not affected at all.

There was a close enough connection between Rome and Britannia that two exiled kings, Tincomarus of a region north of Hampshire and Dubnovellaunos of Essex, 'seeking refuge' in

Rome by 30 BC. Several emperors after Caesar, Augustus and Caligula, attempted invasions prior to Claudius, but they were not successful.³⁴ The main reason for this was unrest in other portions of the Roman Empire. Much of Augustus' focus was in the eastern portion of the empire and tension with the Parathions in the Near Eastern region.

³⁴ Russell.

The Claudian Invasion and Briton Revolts 43CE – 63CE

Due to Lady Luck, the power hungry imperial family of Rome mistakenly saw young Claudius as mentally retarded due to his physical disabilities. This would become important because of the reign of terror by the Emperor Gaius (Caligula) that ends in AD 41 with his assassination. The conspiracy that resulted in Gaius's assassination was the combined efforts of the Praetorian Guard and the senators.³⁵ By this time in Rome, military might transcended the power of the senate. The military based power was a key factor in the placement of Claudius as emperor. In the case of the assassination of Gaius, the Praetorian Guard played an important part in putting Claudius on the imperial throne. Claudius was not by a long shot mentally incompetent, and to prove this and his strength as an emperor he needed to solidify his status. After a couple of years instituting reforms and proving his family piety, he set his sights on Britannia to prove and increase his military dignitas.

In the year AD 43, Claudius embarked to the island of Britannia, but he was no fool and he waited for the right moment to invade. Claudius made sure that his standing in Rome was secure and the situation in Britannia had become unstable because of the infighting of various princes in several kingdoms.³⁶ The infighting was vitally important to the Romans because of the trade connections established on the island between the Romans and southern kingdoms directly and indirectly involved in the trade. There was also the possibility of immense wealth and *dignitas* that could be gained through successful conquest, as precisely stated by Tacitus, *pretium victoriae*, "The Wages of War". This type of conquest and the resources that would be available to the Empire could pay for itself, but it could also replenish the empire's coffers after

³⁵ Salway, 51.

³⁶ Ibid, 51-52.

the extravagant spending of Claudius' predecessor Gaius.

Once Claudius decided to make the arrangements for the conquest, many of his troops did not want to go across the unknown 'Ocean'. Several of the legions that took part in the invasion of Britannia were the II *Augusta* and XIV *Gemina*. Prior to the Britannia invasion, the XIV *Gemina* was stationed near the Rhine River in modern-day Germany. This legion was a veteran army well versed in barbarian warfare. The warfare and techniques of the Germanic tribes were not the same as those at Britannia warfare, but veteran legionaries are always more beneficial than rookies.³⁷

Unlike Rome, the Britons did not have a standing army, but each individual tribe chose whether to participate in the fighting. This would turn out to be one of their biggest downfalls. A vast majority of the Britons fighting were farmers that would take up arms when called upon by the tribe's chief or leader.³⁸

A Briton warrior would have been equipped with his signature weapon, the Celtic long sword.³⁹ This type of sword is good for fighting in open areas where the fighter is not limited in the force and range of the weapon.⁴⁰ The Romans in their fighting style against the Britons exploited this limitation. Most Britons had very little armor, not only due to expense, but also because of their belief that their strength and bravery would protect them via their Gods. The elite were some of the few who could afford armor, but they also limited the amount they would use in fighting. They wore a helmet and carried a small shield.⁴¹

³⁷ Salway, 54-57.

³⁸ Laing, 20.

³⁹ See Appendix B on page () for picture of a Celtic long sword. The armor of most Britons at this time is very simple compared to the armor of the Romans. Briton armor consisted of leather sewn together by leather lacing. The suit of leather armor covered most of the body except the legs and arms. Leather armor is very useful against other Celtic long swords due to their slashing nature. However, Roman swords, gladius, are shorter and good for stabbing, which allows them to punch through leather armor. This is not looking good for the Britons.

⁴⁰ Salway, 58.

⁴¹ Laing, 23-30.

One aspect of Celtic fighting was the use of a wooden chariot, which is very different from a Mediterranean chariot used by the Greeks or Romans. A Celtic chariot was made with wood as the frame and the bottom of the chariot was constructed with long straps of leather that were woven together to create a suspended platform for the warrior to ride in on. The reason for the suspended platform was so the chariot could move quickly over rugged terrain. One of the advantages of the Celtic chariot besides its ability to replenish the fighters on the front lines, was that it was large enough to carry a few warriors at any one time. This kept the fighters in relatively top form, because this technique allowed them to rest in between bouts of fighting. The one disadvantage of the use of the chariot was its limited ability to work in tight space or terrain. This is how Roman soldiers pressed their advantage, because they were an excellent fighting force in hand-to-hand combat in limited terrain where space was a factor.⁴²

Another advantage the Roman legions had over the Britons was the fact that they were seasoned fighters and by this time in Rome, the legions were strictly a fighting force that continued to train year round, while the Britons only fought when the need arose like in a raid or defense of their villages. Only the elite, which could afford to fight and train like knights, had the ability to practice and hone their skills. This limited the number of formations the Britons could use against the Romans. One prominent scholar on Roman Britain, Peter Salway, also makes note that "The deficiencies of the British armies make it remarkable that they presented the Romans with so much hard fighting."⁴³

Another factor that gave Rome an advantage was several tribes and southern kingdoms that wished to continue their lucrative trade relations saw the opportunity to get on Rome's good side. Several of the tribes had noticed that their neighbors on the continent that had fallen into

⁴² Laing, 101-104.

⁴³ Salway, 58.

Rome's yoke were prospering and living the life of luxury. This was very appealing to the elite in Britannia. Several of these tribes also saw a means to get a protector against larger and more violent tribes neighboring them and to make them stand down or be crushed by the force of the Romans.⁴⁴ These tribes saw the Romans as potential allies.

Peter Salway speculates, "There may have been more Britons ready to welcome the Romans than ordinary Romans keen to go adventuring in the strange land beyond the 'Ocean'."⁴⁵ Claudius even had trouble embarking on his campaign, because the troops refused to go due to their fear.⁴⁶ This may be true about the southern portion of England that was involved in the trade with the Romans and the continent, but that is not the case with the highland regions along the north and west side of Britannia.

The time it takes Rome to conquer the highland regions is significantly longer than that of the lowland regions. It took Rome just under ten years to conquer the highlands of Wales and only four years to conquer most of modern-day England. Evidence of large garrisoned Roman troops were located in two key areas where paths from the highlands of Wales enter the lowlands on the east side of the mountains. Tacitus also makes note of the power of the island of Mona where the Druids power base was located. In this passage, he states "the island of Mona which had a powerful population and was a refuge for fugitives."⁴⁷ The Druids were fundamental in resisting the Roman's invasions in 59- 62 CE. The highlands of Wales are also associated with Briton religion. One of the most wildly excepted theories that have held for the last fifty years about the religious significance of the mountains of Wales is developed around the quarry site

⁴⁴ Salway, 60.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Dio, vol. 60, 2. 5.

⁴⁷ Tacitus, *Annals*, 14. 29.

for the bluestones found in Stonehenge.⁴⁸ The dates of given to us by Tacitus in the *Annals* is around 59-62 CE when the resistance against the Romans existed in this region. The resistance continues for the next ten years before they are subdued enough for the Romans to look elsewhere.

The sites for Claudius's landing are unclear there are several sites that are possible. One of the possible bases for the legions was Richborough. The reason for this and the other likely base and landing area, Chichester, was these tribes in these two areas wished to ally themselves with Rome and they provided a haven for the Roman legions. One other factor that delayed the first military engagement between the Britons and the Romans was that the campaign was later in the season and the Britons were worried about the harvest. They also know that it would take a lot of effort on their part to combat the Romans due to sheer numbers on the Roman side.

After the initial delay, a major battle was fought as the Romans tried to cross a river usually indentified as Medway, the Romans said it lasted two days.⁴⁹ One of the major leaders of the Britons was Togodumnus. He was killed shortly after Britons had retreated across the Thames. It looked like the Romans had won this battle and the war was over, but that was far from the case. The death of one of Briton's leaders according to Aulus Plautius "[he] was so alarmed at a new spirit of unity among the Britons, brought together by the desire for revenge, that he halted his forces to hold what he had won and sent for the Emperor."⁵⁰ This passage explains the resistance that the Britons displayed at what they viewed as morally wrong. Much of the previous scholarship, takes very little note of the level of resistance seen by the Romans and made the assumption that this delay in advancement was do to the Emperor's orders. That might not be the case and the resistance of the Britons was sufficient enough to cause the

⁴⁸ Chippindale, 82-95.

⁴⁹ Salway, 63.

⁵⁰ Citation found in Salway, 63.

Romans to take more time in the campaign. This type of assumption is based on the Historical sources that have a bias skewed in favor of the Romans. One aspect that exists throughout both accounts of Dio and Tacitus is the glorification of the Romans during battle. This glorification is a common theme in Roman written and art sources.

There is a dispute among the various sources about this stage in Claudius's campaign. Two of the three sources, Suetonius and a Jewish historian named Josephus, down play the successfulness of Claudius's campaign stating it was "of little importance". While Dio Cassus, treats this portrayal of Claudius's campaign in a much different light. He states that Claudius captured Colchester, another important leader of several tribes against Rome, and continued to defeat several more tribes by both diplomacy and force.⁵¹ Two triumphal arches, one in Gaul and one in Rome, states, "by the Roman Senate and People because he [Claudius] had received the surrender of eleven British kings, defeated without loss, and for the first time had brought barbarian peoples beyond the Ocean under Roman rule."⁵² Tacitus also tells us,

"The first of the men of consular rank appointed as governor was Aulus Plautius, and after him Ostorius Scapula, both excellent at war. Little by little the part nearest [to Gaul] was reduced into the usual form of a province (*in formam provinciae*), and a colony of military veterans was added [Colchester]. Certain of the tribes (*civitates*) were given the Cogidumnus as king. The latter survived, ever most loyal, to within our own memory. This was in accordance with the long-accepted Roman habit of making even kings instruments for the imposition of servitude."⁵³

Britannia was seen by the Romans as any new province, similar to Gaul in many ways. The Romans soon after the southern east portion of Britannia was under their control, and established some form of legal administration within the province. The administration that all provinces had during this time in history came in parts. One section was the military arms controlled by

⁵¹ Dio, vol. 60.20.2.

⁵² Citation found in Salway of inscriptions on two Triumphal Arches erected by Claudius, 64.

⁵³ Tacitus, *The Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, 14.

the governor, who was responsible for the protection and advancement of territory, and the second section was responsible for the financial burden controlled by the *procurator provinciae*. The governor was usually was an ex-consul and the financial administrator was taken from the equestrian class.

At this early stage of the conquest, much of the island was still outside of Roman control. Once the Roman legions had stabilized the area around the old main center of control in southeastern portion of the island, Colchester, they were able to control this portion of the island. The capitol of the early province continued to be at this location for several generations. Large areas conquered by the Romans were still under military control. The employment of client kings was an instrumental part of the overall conquest of Britannia. These client kings were what Tacitus is referring to as "instruments of servitude".⁵⁴ Several of the tribes that were a part of this client king relationship were the Brigantes along the northern portion of modern day England and the Iceni in Norfolk. Several of those client kings controlled large tracks of land and many different regional peoples.⁵⁵ Many of these client kings were for the most part pretty independent from Rome. They considered themselves independent from Rome; they saw themselves as allied kingdoms that paid their dues. Although, Rome, specifically Paullinus, considered them a part of the Roman Empire (*membra partesque imperii*), the Britons thought of themselves as independent.⁵⁶

While Claudius was still on the island, Paullinus conquered the Isle of Mona and subdued two warlike tribes (*validissimae gentes*).⁵⁷ There is a problem with the statement of warlike tribes. What made them different from the rest on the island? There is not any more information

⁵⁴ Tacitus, *The Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, 14.

⁵⁵ Map of tribes found in Appendix D on page 38

⁵⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.29-31.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 14.29.

given by the Roman literary sources about the context of those warlike tribes. This is one of the references that are made about the regional variation found in the highlands of Wales and the center of religious power mentioned in the early written material. Scholars have not been able to solve this issue. One possibility is that this region of Britannia devolved hill-forts and mass earthworks to protect the hill-forts, this may account for the reference to warlike tribes.

After about four years of continuing conquest, most of the south and east lowlands were under Roman military control. One of the best ways to identify the area under Roman control is by identifying the 'Fosse Way Frontier'. It's a Roman road that runs "diagonally across Britain from the sea at Topsham in Devon to Leicester and Lincoln."⁵⁸ Peter Salway steers away from the conventional view that this line marks the boundary between Roman-controlled Britannia and Briton-control Britannia. He states that this line should be looked at like a road connecting both of these regions, the north and west parts of southeastern England. In a way, this line is a boundary and a major road connecting these areas. This line also separates the lowland in the southeastern portion of the island and the highlands in the northwestern portion of the island.

One of the most important events that took place during the initial phase of Roman Invasion was the revolt of Warrior Queen Boudica. In 47 CE Boudica's husband, Prasutagus, died leaving Boudica sole ruler of the Iceni people. It was not uncommon among Britons for women to hold positions of power. A possible factor for this was some scholars speculate that Britons were still matrilineal during the first century CE. The picti in the highland regions of Scotland were matrilineal until their fall around the tenth century CE.⁵⁹ The Romans did not understand why Briton men would allow a woman to have as much power as a man.⁶⁰ The

⁵⁸ Salway, 70.

⁵⁹ Moffat, 285-335.

⁶⁰ Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.35.

Romans viewed Boudica, Queen of the Iceni, as nonthreatening because of the fact she was a woman. This was a BIG mistake on the part of Rome. In the process of raiding all of the Iceni's goods and not just those Prasutagus' willed goods to the Emperor Nero, Boudica stood up against this crime in her eyes. The troops were ordered to whip her and rape her two daughters.⁶¹ The Romans preformed this final injustice against the Briton people that pushed them to revolt. Boudica's revolt almost forced the Romans to abandon their campaign of Britannia. The status of women in Briton society was in stark contrast to the status of women in Roman society.

The differences between the two cultures was one of many factors that contributed to the Romans difficulty in subduing the Britons and why some many revolts continued to take place decades after the initial invasion of Claudius. One other major contributing factor was the Romans mistaken impression that the whole island of Britannia had only one type of people.

⁶¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.35.

The Recovery and Advancement North (Frontier life) 63 CE – c. 150 CE

After the several revolts and general resistance of the Britons and in some cases harsh treatment by the Romans⁶², a period of general stability was reached in much of the southern half of Britannia. This was a critical time period in Britannia, because after many of the revolts much of the elite classes of the Britons were needed to create a stable province. If an agreement between these two groups, the Romans and the elite that had the power and influences to incur resistance and keep Britannia in a state of war, could be made then conflict, given time, would decline and disappear given time. Tacitus makes a reference on how the wounds of the elite were won over by the Romans under Trebellius Maximus during his term of governorship starting around AD 63,⁶³ The effectiveness of Trebellius Maximus' governorship is best observed by what did not happen in Britannia after the suicide of Nero in AD 68.⁶⁴ The Britons under military control did not revolt during this most opportune time. The subsequent civil wars finally resulted in the placement of Vespasian as the emperor of Rome. The legions were not initially supporters of Vespasian until it became clear that he would become the victor.⁶⁵

Due to the revolt of Boudica, Vespasian replaced the current governorship of Roscius Coelius with Petillius Cerialis. One aspect that had changed during the governorship Cerialis was the reliance of client kings. Many aspects of Roman rule on Britannia were on the way of changing. Due to the nature of the last governor of Britain, the legions were in bad shape and Cerialis saw the cure to this as getting the armies back into the field. After the troops were suitably whipped back into shape, the conquest to the north and west, into the highlands of

⁶² Treatment of Boudica as one example of this.

⁶³ Quote on Appendix F, Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.73-77.

⁶⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.64-65.

⁶⁵ Tacitus, *Histories*, 1.1.

Wales, went under way. Cerialis had done a responsible job of subduing modern-day northern England in the three years of governorship.⁶⁶ Julius Frontinus was appointed after Cerilius. He turned his head to the highlands of southern Wales. He was overall successful in "subduing the Silures and their rugged terrain."⁶⁷ But the surrender of southern highlands of Wales did not come easy. Many forts and garrison had to be transferred from areas like Lincoln to areas closer to the east mountains of Wales.⁶⁸ One of the main reasons for the troubles faced in tiring to take this region of the highlands and the highlands in general is the building of mass hill-forts that took considerable time and effort on the Roman side to conquer.

One of the best examples of this type of hill-fort is Maiden Castle.⁶⁹ These types of hill-forts were built as large hills that in some cases classify as small mountains⁷⁰. Then the earth around the center of the hill was worked by the Britons to create trenches and ramparts that protected the settlement that was centered in a wooden palisade.⁷¹ One of the ways the Romans would combat these types of forces was with the use of the shield formation of the tortes and the use of long-range ballista bolts.⁷²

Towards the end of Frontinus' term as governor many civic works were started in many of the larger settlements like London and other growing settlements in the south eastern portion of the island. These civic works were most likely started prior to the new governorship of Cnaeus Julius Agricola, the father-in-law to the Roman historian Tacitus. Agricola was appointed the governorship in either 77 or 78. He is known for his unique start to his governorship. Even though he arrived very late in the season for combat, he started a campaign

⁶⁶ Salway, 93-95.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 95.

⁶⁸ Salway, 73-75.

⁶⁹ See appendix A for picture of the earthwork were Maiden Castle hill fort was located.

⁷⁰ Over a thousand feet high.

⁷¹ Laing, 19-23.

⁷² Salway, 69. Evidence of ballista bolt used against Britons see Appendix G on page 41.

against what was left of the Highland of Wales, the Ordovices tribe. The total amount of time it took to subdue the Britons in the highlands of Wales was almost twice as long as that needed to conquer less than the fourth of the land in the lowlands.

In Tacitus's life of Agricola, he describes the original inhabitants of the Britannia Island, Britons. "The Britons, however, exhibit more spirit, as being a people whom a long peace has not yet enervated."⁷³ This might in part be Roman written historical evidence of why the Britons in certain regions like the highlands were more difficult to subdue than the rest of the Island. One other quote from Tacitus is his description of 'warlike tribes'⁷⁴. These two quotes from Tacitus appear in his writings when he is writing about people in the highland regions. He does not give these titles to the lowland tribes of southern Britannia. This is an indication that differences between the cultures of the lowlands and highlands are different in the level of violence they exhibit.

Besides Agricola's military achievements, he did an extensive amount of work in the civic region of Britannia.⁷⁵ The most notable achievement of Agricola is his ability to reach the right balance of compassion/persuasion with the right amount of pressure and violence.⁷⁶ This balance allowed Agricola to expand the empire to the north into Scotland. After several years of successful campaigning in the north of modern-day England and into modern-day Scotland, he was able to stabilize much of this region.⁷⁷ In the eighth year of his term as general, he claimed that he had conquered the whole of Britannia.⁷⁸ In reality, this was not the case, he knew at the time of this claim that he had not conquered the highlands of Scotland. Many tribes in this

⁷³ Tacitus, *The Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, 11.

⁷⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, 14.29.

⁷⁵ Tacitus, *The Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, 21.

⁷⁶ Salway, 87-93.

⁷⁷ Tacitus, *The Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, 22-27.

⁷⁸ Tacitus, *The Life of Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, 33.

region managed to prevent him from continuing his campaign into the highlands of Scotland.

After this expansion northward by Agricola, no other Roman General will reach as far north as he does. In 83 CE, the Roman Empire reaches its farthest extent in Britannia.⁷⁹

Over the next four decades, the Romans lose the land gained under Agricola all the way back to present day Hadrian's Wall, the boundary of modern-day Scotland and England. During these four decades between the building of Hadrian's Wall and Agricola's military campaign north, the Rome goes through a period of losing and gaining back some more of what they lost in the region of modern-day southern Scotland. It is not until Emperor Hadrian with his defense of the frontier policy that Rome has a stable boundary in the northern region of Britannia.

In 117 CE, Emperor Trajan dies and Hadrian becomes Emperor. Hadrian was a very different emperor than Trajan. He believed in consolidating the empire not expanding it. Hadrian also loved to portray himself as a master builder. During his visit to Britannia in 122 CE, he proclaimed that a great wall was to be built on the northern frontier of Britannia (*Britanni teneri sub Romana dicione not poterant..*).⁸⁰ Hadrian's Wall is eighty miles in length stretching from the coast on the east, New Castle, all the way to the west, Carlisle. This wall cuts the island in half. The wall was ten to twenty feet in height depending on the landscape and ten feet thick.⁸¹ The construction took several years to complete and much expense on the Roman treasury.

Hadrian's Wall was critical because it established a permanent boarder on the Roman Frontier. This boarder persists throughout the Roman occupation of Britannia. One unique

⁷⁹ See Map in Appendix H on page 42.

⁸⁰ Fronto, vol. ii. In an extended latter by Marcus Corelius Fronto to Emperor Lucius Verus. This letter was written later about this time period.

⁸¹ Guy de la Bedoyere, *Hadrian's Wall: History and Guide* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus publishing Ltd, 2005) 12-26.

aspect of Hadrian's Wall is that it separated most of the highland regions except for modern-day Wales from the lowland regions. This is further evidence that the highland and lowland regions had an effect on the Roman conquest. Even though, Hadrian's Wall is a boundary it can also be seen as a point of interaction between two cultural groups. The people north of the wall had contact with Romans but were not controlled by the Romans. They were independent from Rome and were free to develop relatively outside of Roman control.

In the subsequent centuries after Hadrian's Wall was built a culture emerged from this region. They are known as the Picts.⁸² They are called the Picts because Pict in Latin means painted one. The Pict's culture had its roots in the indigenous culture that existed on the island prior to Roman contact. That does not mean that Roman culture did not have influence on the culture north of the Wall. The country of Scotland that developed in this region is synonymous with the instrument, the bagpipe. The bagpipe is originally Roman. It was called the sheep stomach slung under the shoulder. Roman soldiers used to play the Roman bagpipe along the battlements of Hadrian's Wall. Hadrian's Wall helped to perpetuate the differences among the highland regions and the lowland regions of Britannia.

⁸² Moffat, 385-335.

Conclusion

By looking through a lens of the cultural differences among the preexisting peoples of Britain, one can develop a better understanding of the events that took place during the Roman conquest of Britain and why certain events took place. The prehistoric culture of Britannia is one that was filled with regional variation as well as an existing demographic differences between the lowlands located primarily in the south eastern(England) portion of the island and the highlands primarily located in the west(Wales) and the northern(Scotland) portion of the island. Due to the different environments that existed in these two regions of Britannia, two distinctly different cultures emerged from prehistoric times. These two cultures had many aspects that are very similar to each other, but due to the nature of the environments that exist in the past and in the present, these two cultures had a few key differences.

One of these key differences of the lowlands is their ease at which they adapt to incoming cultures and technologies. This trend was most likely due to the intense trade and continuing contact with the continent that existed well before contact with Rome. So, when Britons first come in contact with Romans, through the minor invasions of Caesar, it was only through contact in the lowlands of the island. This also holds true for the first twenty years of the initial invasion of this region. Even then, the Romans had trouble bring the lowland region under control, which was a result of their misinterpretation and understanding of the lowland culture. A key example of this is Boudicca's revolt that almost forced Romans from the island.

The key difference that separated the highland and lowland cultures was the lowland trend to adapt to incoming influences and the highland trend to adsorb incoming influences and show very little change or in many cases none at all. This was caused by the harshness of the environment and isolation of many of the inhabitants in these regions of the island. There are

several different cases where this trend is seen both in prehistory and during the invasion of the Romans. The best one is the fact that Romans were never able to subdue the highlands of Scotland. Another case of this difficulty felt by the Romans is when encountering the highland regions when they tried to subdue them. The best example of their difficulty but ultimate success was in conquering the highlands of Wales. It takes them almost a total of ten years to bring the tribes from this region to heel, but there continued to be small bands of raiders that continued to plague the surrounding lowland region for several more decades.

Agricola's expansion north in 83 CE coupled with the building of Hadrian's Wall built in 122 CE, resulted in the perpetuation of a growing culture change among the Britons. Examination of the Roman Occupation that place about two hundred years after the final stage of the Conquest is one aspect future scholars to study. This would help establish the importance of culture difference that developed among the Britons south of Hadrian's Wall and the Picts north of the wall.

Appendix A

Picture found in Moffat, Alistair. *Before Scotland: The History of Scotland Before History*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005. In the middle of book where the pictures are located. The pictures are not listed on any page numbers

This picture was taken from eastern Wales at the boarder of the highlands and the lowlands. It illustrates the difference between the land in the highlands from the lowlands.

Appendix B

Picture of Maiden Castle earthwork found in *The Penguin Illustrated History of Britain and Ireland: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, consulted editors Barry Cunliffe, Robert Barlett, John Morrill, Asa Briggs and Joanna Brouke, revised edition (New York: Penguin Books, Ltd, 2004) on page 35.

This is a mass earthwork left over from Maiden Castle. This picture illustrates the use of trenches and ramparts.

Picture of Celtic Long sword found via a Google search for a Celtic long Sword. This picture found on page www.exchange3d.com

This sword is a replica of a Celtic long sword, which was the weapon of choice for the Britons

Appendix C

Map provided by Salway, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. 25.

Appendix D

Map of tribe locations found in Salway, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. On page 29.

Map of tribal locations based on coin distributions.

Appendix E

Picture of Roman cups found in Salway, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. On page 30.

Picture of Roman Goods found in Britannia in a grave during the time of Augustus.

Picture of grave goods found in Salway, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*.
Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. On page 32.

More grave goods found at the site.

Appendix F

The Reason why Roman generals and emperors came into your territories and those of the other Gauls was not a desire for gain, but at the invitation of your forefathers. They had become so exhausted by internal strife that they were close to collapse, and the Germans whom they had called in to help had seized power over friend and foe alike.... We did not occupy the Rhineland to protect Italy, but so that another German leader like Ariovistus should not impose his rule on the peoples of Gaul ... Until you conceded to us the right to govern you. There were wars among you, and local despots in control all over Gaul. Yet, though we have often been provoked, we have used our victories to impose only those burdens that are unavoidable if peace is to be preserved. Peace between nations cannot be maintained without armies; armies need paying, and that means taxes. Everything else is shared with you. You and your fellow countrymen frequently command our legions and govern these and other provinces of the Empire.

-Tacitus, *Histories*, 4.73-77.

Appendix G

Picture of photo found in Salway, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993. On page 69.

A black and white photograph of a Roman ballista bolt imbedded in the spine of a Briton.

Appendix H

Map found in *The Penguin Illustrated History of Britain and Ireland: From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, consulted editors Barry Cunliffe, Robert Barlett, John Morrill, Asa Briggs and Joanna Brouke, revised edition (New York: Penguin Books, Ltd, 2004) On page 18.

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Caesar. *The Gallic Wars*. Oxford World's Classics, trans., Carolyn Hammond. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

Caesar provided a written account of his battles with both the people of Gaul and Britannia. This narrative is a firsthand account of the events that took place with Caesar's invasion written by Caesar.

Dio Cassius. *Dio's Roman History*. Trans. Earnest Cary, PH.D, version of Herbert Baldwin Foster, PH.D. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1914.

Dio Cassius provided an alternate narrative my mine Roman historian. There were many times when the Dio and Tacitus did not agree.

Fronto, vol. ii. In an extended latter by Marcus Corelius Fronto to Emperor Lucius Verus. This letter was written later about this time period.

I use this one quote in Latin to demonstrate Hadrian's purpose in building his wall.

Plutarch. *Caesar*.

This historical narrative provided a second angle to Caesar's telling of his invasion in Britannia.

Tacitus. *The Annals and The Histories*. intro. Shelby Foote, trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb, ed. Moses Hades. New York: The Modern Library, 2003.

Tacitus provided most of the narrative for the Roman Conquest of Britannia. I also used several of his discriptions of Britons as evidence of the differation between the Britons of the highlands and the lowlands.

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This book helped to piece some of the pieces together with the affects of the Roman Conquest and Occupation.

Bedoyere, Guy. *Defying Rome: The Rebels of Roman Britain*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus publishing Limited, 2003.

This book was great in providing detailed stories and analysis of the famous Britons who fought against the Romans.

Bedoyere, Guy de la. *Hadrian's Wall : History and Guide*. Stroud, Gloucestershire: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2005.

His work supplied several other historical sources about Hadrian's Wall. He also does a very nice run through of Hadrian's Wall. I would recommend this book if you want a quick but thorough read.

Burnham, Barry C. and John Wacher. *The Small Towns of Rural Roman Britain*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990.

This work provided detailed descriptions of the rural towns were put together and how they fit into the overall framework created by the Romans to Romanize the Britons.

Charles, Thomas. *Celtic Britain*. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1986.

This author did a wonderful job of analysing the native Britons just before the conquest and at the first stage of it.

Childe, V. Gordon, *Prehistoric Communities of British Isles*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1971.

This book provided information on how the culture of the Britons developed from the early stages of human habitation on Britannia.

Chippindale, Christopher. *Stonehenge Complete*. 3rd edition. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2004.

Wonderful book about Stonehenge. It provides a wealth of information about the structure itself and the people who built it.

Collingwood, R. G. and J.N.L. Myers. *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*. second ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937.

This book examined Roman Britain from a traditional standpoint. The effect of Roman culture on the Britons.

Collingwood, R.G. and Ian Richmond, with a chapter by B.R. Hartley Samian Ware. *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*. Revised edition, London: Methuen and Co, Ltd., 1969.

This work established the archaeological record that exists in most Roman Britain books. It was extremely useful for this record and it also made it easier to look at growing archaeological record of today. .

Cottrell, Leonard. *Seeing Roman Britain*. London: Evans Brothers Ltd, 1956. Reprint, London: Bracken Books, 1994.

This was a nice book to look through to see what the remnants of Roman look like today.

Durant, G.M. *Britain: Rome's Most Northerly Province, A History of Roman Britain, AD 43-AD 450*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1969.

This work provided some information others did not cover but it is in the same line as all of the others.

Fox, Aileen and Alan Sorrell. *Roman Britain*. Philadelphia: Dufour editions, 1968.

One more book that has a similar tone to all the other books of Roman Britain. I read the first couple of chapters and put it back, because it had the same information as many others.

Haverfield, F. *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Fourth edition, revised by George MacDonald. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1979.

In this book I got really good idea on how Roman selectively change the Briton culture to fit Roman needs.

Holmes, Thomas Rice. *Ancient Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar*. Freeport, New York: Books of Libraries Press, 1907.

This book provided information about the environment, technology, and most recent archaeology done on Roman Britain up until 1900.

Laing, Jennifer. *Finding Roman Britain*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1997.

This work established the methods of previous archaeologist.

Laing, Lloyd. *The Archaeology of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland c. 400-1200 AD*. London: Methuen and Co Ltd., 1975.

This work of Lloyd Laing helped me to create a better picture of Celtic Britain during the time of the Roman Invasion, because this book looked at areas outside Roman influence.

Laing, Lloyd. *Celtic Britain*. London: Thames and Hudson, Ltd., 1986.

This other work of Lloyd Laing provided direct information about Britain prior to Roman contact. This book also spent a lot of time examining the coins of pre-Roman Britain.

Mattingly, David. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire*. London: Penguin, 2006.

I only got the chance to read a little of this book because it was not published on American soil until mid May. It is not on the shelves yet. I had to special order it from England and that took a real long time.

Margary, Ivan D. *Roman Roads in Britain*. London: Humanities Press Inc., 1955.

Roman Roads are an important aspect of Roman Britain, because roads are the Armies palace of movement and the roads can indicate a boundary or a place that is very hostile to Roman Rule.

Moffat, Alistair. *Before Scotland: The History of Scotland Before History*. New York: Thames and Hudson, 2005.

I would recommend this book for anyone to read. It has a wonderful narrative and it is full of information. The way he describes the Britons makes them come to life.

Peddie, John. *Invasion: The Roman Invasion of Britain in the year AD 43 and the Events leading to the Occupation of the West Country*. New York: St Martin's Press, 1987.

This work was a more detailed account of the Invasion into the highlands of Wales.

Russell, Miles. "Ruling Britannia", *History Today*. Vol. 55, issue 8 (Aug., 2005) 5-6.

This article is about a recent discovery in the field of archaeology that proves contact between Romans and Britons during Augustus' reign.

Salway, Peter. *The Oxford Illustrated History of Roman Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.

This was the book I started reading for my capstone in provided insight into the work down and how the historical sources fill in the narrative of event. It also provided insight into other historical sources besides Tacitus and Dio.

Salway, Peter. *Roman Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981.

It used this book to obtain the citations that were not in Salway's other book.

Scullard, H.H. *Roman Britain: An Outpost of the Empire*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.

This book discussed one aspect of British culture that others do not spent a lot of time with. This aspect is the various tribes of Britain before and after Roman occupation. I read this work for some more insight into the different communities that are present in native Britain during this time period.

Wacher, John. *The Coming of Rome*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1980.

This work was not very good. The narrative was confusing even after I had read several others and had most of the narrative down.

Wacher, John. *Roman Britain*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd., 1978.

I used this work to compare other secondary sources.

Wacher, John. *The Towns of Roman Britain*. Berkley and Los Angles: University of California Press, 1974.

This map provided maps and diagrams of Roman towns, while the other book on Roman towns did not.