

Not so Romanized? Tradition, reinvention or discovery in the study of Roman Britain

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Abstract

Recent scholarship has claimed that the history of Roman Britain has been discussed in terms of 'Romanization' since the beginning of the seventeenth century. In fact, it is wrong to think that there is a single tradition in the understanding of Roman Britain. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Camden and his followers were primarily interested in the bringing of 'civility' to England, with only a minimal consciousness of material culture (coins, inscriptions and sites). Discussion of Roman Britain was already overshadowed by an emphasis on military identity, viewing Roman soldiers and civilian subjects as essentially separate, the latter little influenced by the former. Only in the later nineteenth century, and particularly in the work of Francis Haverfield, did an idea of cultural 'Romanization' find its way to the centre of scholarly discussions. Far from there being a single scholarly understanding of the history of Roman Britain, accounts have been continually rewritten to reflect the nature of the relationship between the English and their empire.

Keywords

Archaeology; civility; inscription; reinvention; Romanized; Romanization; tradition.

Writing about Romanization in the early seventeenth century

A brief survey of the use and meaning of the words 'civility', 'Romanized' and 'Romanization' in early seventeenth- to early-twentieth century texts contextualizes what has been supposed to be a continuous tradition and demonstrates some of the competing and contradictory ideas that typified studies (cf. Foucault 1989 [1969]; Gutting 1989: 247).

A number of recent accounts of English Jacobean literature and antiquarian writings suggest that the origins of the idea of 'Romanization' lay in a phase of English colonial expansion during the first two decades of the seventeenth century (for the imperial context

of concepts of Romanization during the early twentieth century, see Hingley 2000, 2005; Mattingly 2002). The reign of James I witnessed the first permanent English settlements in the New World, together with further plantations in Ireland (Sarson 2005: 8–10), and a number of significant works emerged at this time that addressed the relationship of ancient Britons and Romans.

John Fletcher's play *Bonduca* (Boudica), first performed in 1609–14 (Fletcher 1979), explored the relationship between indigenous Britons and invading Romans. Claire Jowitt has called the idea of cultural education through imperial control in this play 'Romanization'. 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

(Jowitt 2003: 474, emphasis added)

Jowitt is not the only modern writer to use this word to address a Jacobean context. Discussing William Camden's seminal volume, *Britannia*, first published in 1586 and republished several times during the following quarter century, Christiane Kunst argued that the author put forward a 'historical' argument 'by developing the concept of the Romanization of Britain' (1995: 126). Discussing *Britannia* and William Burton's study of the topography of Roman Britain (1658), Philip Ayres (1997: 87) wrote that these authors emphasized the 'thorough Romanisation of Britain'. These observations on early seventeenth-century writings fit with Phil Freeman's suggestion (1997: 45) that a 'theme' of 'Romanization' had origins as far back in time as the Renaissance.

The terms 'Romanized' and 'Romanization', however, are not used in these early modern works. Late Elizabethan and Jacobean authors usually wrote of 'civility' when conveying the result of Roman control on the indigenous populations. The concept of civility was significant in the Jacobean search for English cultural origins, addressing the introduction, in Roman times, of civil government, polite manners and Christian religion (see Kidd 1999: 99–122; Parry 1995: 4–5, 10). The word is derived from the Latin *civilitas*, the art of government or the qualities of citizenship (Bryson 1998: 49; Preston 2005: 15–16) and had been introduced in its Anglicized form during the early sixteenth century (Bryson 1998: 50; Febvre 1973: 225). Its adoption and adaptation later in that century complemented new ideas about the origins of civil behaviour and civil government in England, arising from the writings of the classical authors including Caesar and Tacitus.

The consolidation of English control of territory in Ireland during the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century and the growing colonial ambitions involving land in America, effectively promoted the significance of the period of England's colonization by Rome (Armitage 2000: 49–59), articulating the significance of the Roman models on which English colonial practices were based. Camden and his contemporaries used the idea of civility to map how the Romans were able to bring civilized rule and manners to

the barbarian Britons, providing a moral concept for English men who sought to dominate, control and, perhaps, to civilize the contemporary 'savages' or 'barbarians' in Ireland, Highland Scotland and North America (ibid.). In this context, Camden drew upon classical texts to develop the proposal that the Roman way of life had been passed on to the population of ancient southern Britain through Roman contact and conquest (Kunst 1995: 126–7).

Camden wrote, for example, that:

the Romanes having brought over Colonies hither, and reduced the naturall inhabitants of the lland 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.

(Camden 1610: 63)

This 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 sumptuous galleries and bathes, yes & exquisite banquetings: which things the ignorat termed civility being indeed a part of their bondage.

(Camden 1610: 55)

Camden's term 'civility' in the final line translates 'humanitas' in the Latin, indicating the influence of classical knowledge on this text (for the context of this Latin word, see Woolf 1998: 54–60). In addition to the classical texts, Camden drew attention to Roman 'reliques and rubbish' (objects and sites) and to coins of the Britons, using these items to illustrate the introduction of liberal arts, law and good manners.

From the late sixteenth century, it was possible to attribute certain objects to the former Roman population using the legends featured on them (Fig. 1). Indeed, the revised editions of Camden's *Britannia* of the early seventeenth century provided increasingly

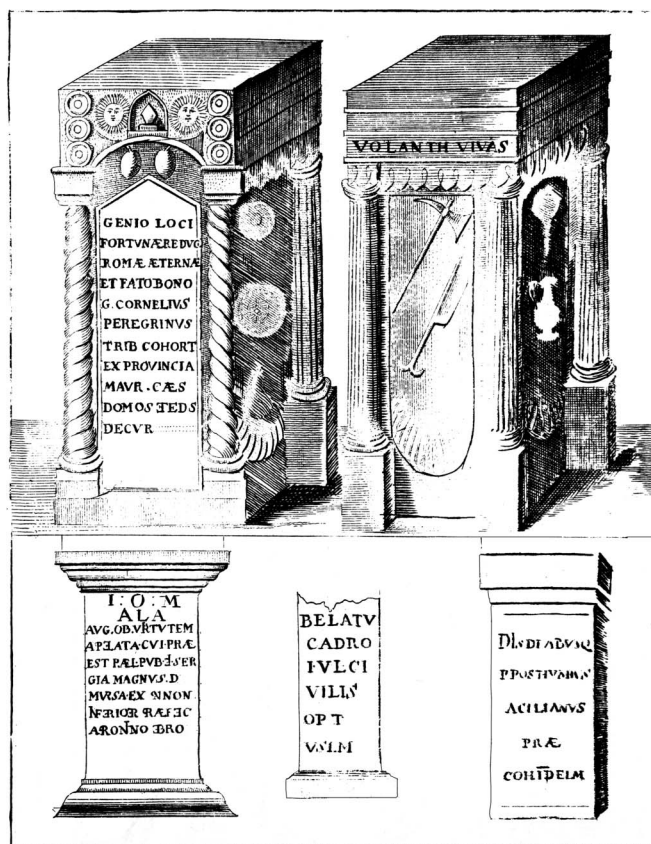


Figure 1 Roman inscribed stones from Elenborough (Maryport, Cumbria) (taken from Camden (1610: 770); reproduced by permission of Durham University Library).

detailed accounts and illustrations of such objects, addressing the few known British (pre-Roman) coins. The coins could be identified from their legends that recorded the names of individuals mentioned by classical authors (for example, Cunobelinus; Fig. 2). In the context of a fairly gradual undermining of the powerful ancient tales of British origin, which had attributed the peopling of the island to the Trojans under Brutus (see Schwyzer 2002), these objects and finds were particularly significant, since they provided support for the idea that the past recorded in the writings of Tacitus and other classical authors had really existed and was not a series of fictions (Haskell 1993: 23). Such interpretations were not built on concepts of progress or a thorough cultural transformation of these fragments from the past (see p. 438).

Contrasting military and civil conceptions during the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries

Camden's account had a significant impact in the succeeding centuries and the terms 'Romanize' and 'Romanized' first came into use during the third decade of the seventeenth

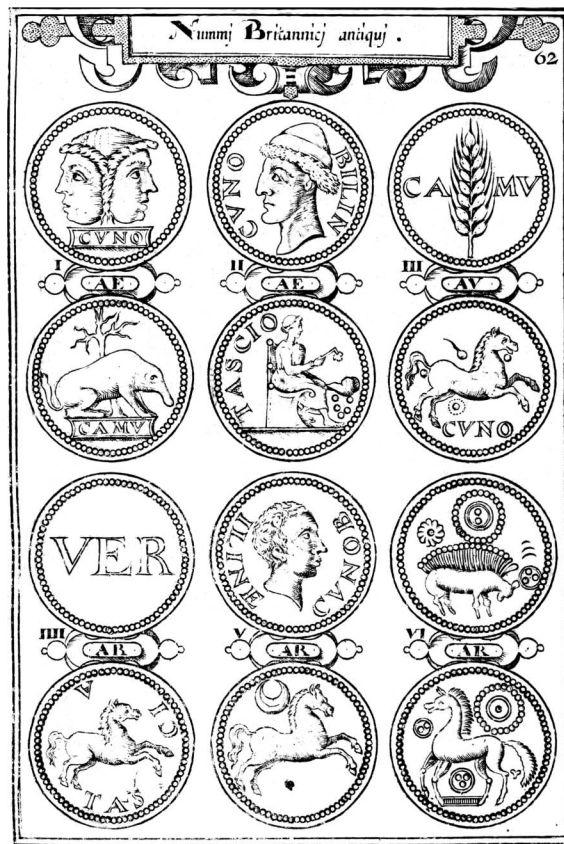


Figure 2 British coins, including coins of Cunobelinus (taken from Camden (1610: 89); reproduced by permission of Durham University Library).

century (http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry_main/50208317/; http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry_main/50208318/). The *Oxford English Dictionary* quotes derivations for the use of ‘Romanize(d)’ during the early seventeenth century that relate to the idea of being drawn towards or affected by Romanism, referring to the religious authority of Catholic Rome (ibid.). The religious association of the concept, together with the character of the inscriptions derived from Roman Britain, helps to explain its relatively limited uptake in antiquarian works written in Protestant England prior to the late nineteenth century. Yet the term also held different associations,¹ including that of the cultural transformation of Britons to Roman ways.

‘Romanize’ and ‘Romanized’ were used on occasions from the 1620s to describe the process of assimilation to Roman ways or to things Roman (http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry_main/50208317/).² Thomas Browne provided a clear account of the potential transformative power of Roman culture in his small book, *Hydriotaphia, Urne-Buriall* (1658). This is a meticulous and scholarly study of relatively humble material objects, exploring the relevance of a large number of urns (Fig. 3) containing burnt bones and other finds uncovered at Old Walsingham, Norfolk (Evans 1893: xv; Parry 1995: 249–50,

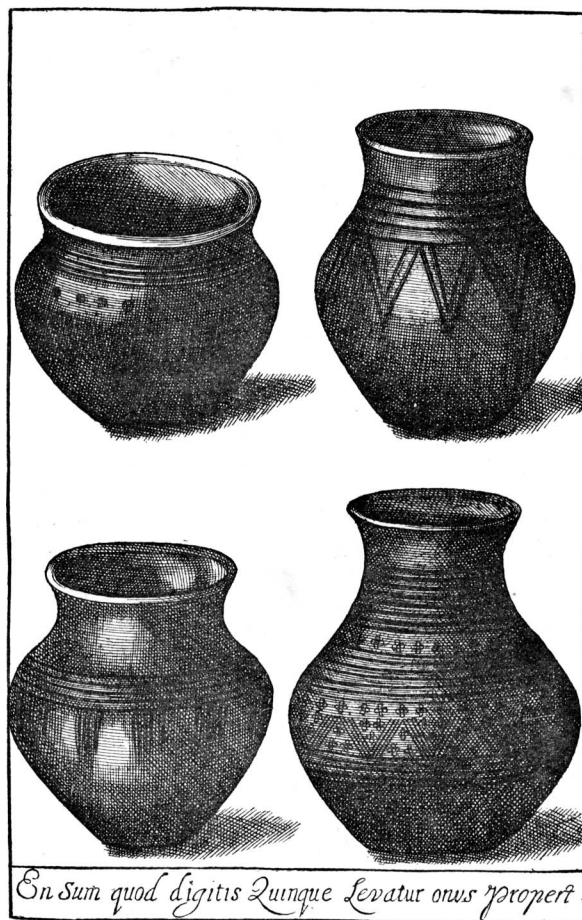


Figure 3 Thomas Browne's urns of the Romans or 'Brittains Romanized' from Old Walsingham, Norfolk (Browne 1658).

n. 1). Partly a report on what was found, this work was also a meditation on the mystery of time and the nature of human life (Parry 1995: 250; Preston 2005: 121–54). Browne accounted for the ways that 'Brittains Romanised' came to use comparatively crude handmade pots (Browne 1658: 22) apparently based on better-made Roman models (now known to have been of Anglo-Saxon date). His use of 'Romanised' appears to have drawn on the unusual way that he used language in this work – the 'intense Latinity' of his style (Evans 1893: xxii). It has been suggested that Browne's terminology represented his attraction to a classically inspired order, under threat from barbarism in the contemporary climate of civil unrest in England (Preston 2005: 12–15).

Writing in 1773, the Reverend Bryan Faussett drew upon Browne's work to interpret the urns that he discovered during extensive excavations at ancient cemeteries in Kent (see Faussett 1773). Faussett proposed that one cemetery was the burial ground of '*Romans Britonized*, and *Britons Romanized*' (1773: 37). 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' (ibid.: 38). Following Browne's example, Faussett appears to have been identifying urns that are now known to be post-Roman as evidence for Romanized Britons by drawing upon their relative crudity through a comparison with other vessels, some of which had the names of Roman potters stamped on their bases (1773: 196). That Faussett effectively gave precedence to the idea that the Romans might have been influenced by British ways (as in the term 'Romans Britonized') contrasts with the writings of Camden and Browne, presumably reflecting the growing confidence in British society reflected in the considerable expansion of British territory abroad at this time (see Ayres 1997).

Despite these innovative studies of objects and the possibilities of cultural transformation, most antiquaries who wrote about Roman objects and finds during the seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries did not adopt the terms 'Romanized' (or 'Britonized'). Indeed, on the occasions when 'Romanized' was used, the term usually drew upon evidence for the adoption of the Latin language or the Latinization of personal names, rather than upon the evidence derived from pottery or from settlement remains. For example, following the discovery of a significant inscription that mentioned Togidubnus at Chichester in 1723 (Fig. 4),³ Roger Gale (1723) discusses this ancient 'king's' 'Romanization' through reference to the changing of his name to a Roman form (Bogaers 1979; Hingley 2008). Prior to this discovery, British coins had been the only items that enabled individual pre-Roman people to be identified. Samuel Pegge (1766: 48, 101), addressing the inscribed coins of the British ruler Cunobelinus, used the term 'Romanized' with reference to the Roman or Gallic artisan who, he argued, had produced the Latin legends (Hingley 2008).

Significantly, this idea of the passing on of Roman ways to the Britons was limited by the military emphasis that dominated the writings of most antiquaries. Many antiquarians and archaeologists prior to the late nineteenth century had considerable difficulty with the idea that the Roman conquest of Britain led to any substantial changes in the manners of the island's inhabitants. Caesar, Tacitus and other classical writers had described significant military events across the province, giving anti-Roman speeches to a number of British leaders (including Caratacus, Boudica and Calgacus; see Braund 1996). With the exception of Tacitus' comments in *Agricola* 21 (above), little was included in the writings



Figure 4 The Togidubnus stone from Chichester (Sussex) from Gale (1723) (reproduced by permission of Durham University Library).

of classical authors to suggest that the indigenous peoples had become civilized. Roman inscriptions, often containing information about Roman soldiers, army units and military sites, were relatively common finds, encouraging a fixation on the Roman military (Sweet 2004: 181–3). These inscriptions usually named military personnel derived from other parts of the Roman world (including Italy, Germany and Spain), indicating that Britons, with the possible exception of Togidubnus, did not create Roman-style inscriptions and monuments.

Across the north of England and southern Scotland, antiquarians during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries followed up the discovery of Roman inscriptions by locating and mapping well-preserved Roman roads and ‘stations’ (Fig. 5) (Hingley 2006: 338–41). The result was that Roman Britain was conceived of as a primarily military province (Ayres 1997: 88; Sweet 2004: 181–3), exemplified in the influential monographs of John Horsley (1733) and William Roy (1793). This military focus provided relevant analogies for British officers and military men in the context of the conquest and control of extensive territories both in Britain and overseas (Hingley 2006: 338–41; Sweet 2004: 164; for British militarization, see Duffy 1998), drawing direct contrasts between the military domination of barbarian ancient Britons and the polite architecture of the classical elites of Rome and Italy. The discovery and mapping of these Roman military monuments in northern Britain coincided with the formulation of new concepts of colonialism based on a neo-Roman geography of mapping, road construction and fort building through which Highland Scotland and colonized territories overseas were controlled (McLeod 1999; Hingley 2006, 2008).

The works of Faussett, Pegge and Gale illustrate that, despite the currency of this military conception, the idea of indigenous civility enabled certain eighteenth-century Englishmen to claim a Romano-British classical origin for their own civility (Ayres 1997: xv, 88). The term ‘Romanized’ does not, however, appear to have been used with any more frequency during the early and mid-nineteenth century than it was during the eighteenth century, suggesting that, until the 1880s, it was difficult for antiquaries and archaeologists to create a sustained argument for the transformation of British society under Roman influence (Hingley 2008).⁴ Roman society in Britain appeared to form a direct contrast to the urban civilization of the Mediterranean and southern Gaul, where the concept of a Romanized population played a more significant role. More extensive information about the material culture of the pre-Roman, Roman and immediately post-Roman peoples of Britain was required before it would be possible to justify the ideas of a ‘Romanized’ indigenous population.

Imperialism and social change in Late Victorian and Edwardian England

Characterizing previously dominant ideas, Francis Haverfield wrote 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’ (1906: 190) (for Haverfield’s life and work, see Freeman 2007; Hingley 2007). This military perspective portrayed Britain as a land dominated by Roman soldiers, while

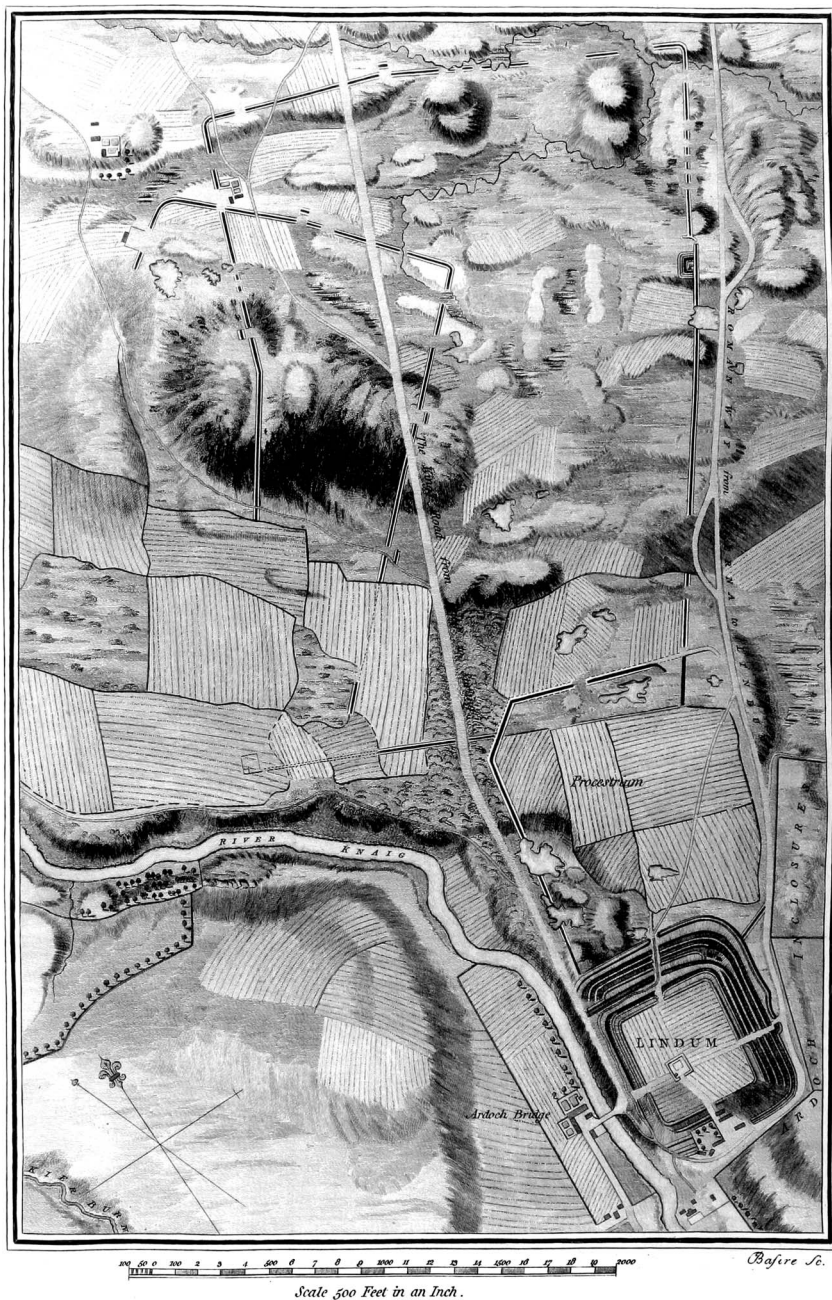


Figure 5 'Roman Station at Lindum' (Ardoch, Perthshire), showing the fort and temporary camps, from Roy (1793: Plate 10) (reproduced by permission of Durham University Library).

Victorian writers had been influenced by the idea of the British in India as analogous to the Roman settlers of Britain (1906: 190). According to many of the accounts, the Romans in Britain had been thought to comprise officers and officials, often from Italy, living in

fortified cities, fortresses and impressive villas and surrounded by a population of indigenous slaves or peasants occupying native villages (ibid.; Hingley 2008). Haverfield and other writers developed a contrasting approach by adopting a theory of Romanization that explicitly addressed the cultural conversion of the Britons to a Roman way of life.

Haverfield built on developing knowledge of Roman culture in Britain and overseas. The term ‘Romanization’ was first introduced into the English language during the late nineteenth century (http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry_main/50208316/). The only use of the noun listed by the *Oxford English Dictionary* prior to the final fifteen years of the nineteenth century was by the renowned American linguist William Dwight Whitney (1867: 167), who wrote about ‘Italy after its first Romanization’.⁵ The context of this author’s usage of the word makes it evident that he was addressing the transformation of language in Italy during the later first millennium BC. Arthur Evans’ suggestion in 1885 that the personal names on gravestones in Roman Illyricum (Fig. 6) provided striking evidence for the ‘thoroughgoing Romanization’ of particular parts of the region (Evans 1885: 127) adopts a comparable perspective.

The eminent German classical scholar, Theodor Mommsen, adopted a comparable approach through his use of ‘Romanisirung’ in the fifth volume of his seminal work, *Römische Geschichte* (1885).⁶ The English classicist, E. G. Hardy (1887: 61) reviewed Mommsen’s book and translated ‘Romanisirung’ as ‘Romanisation’, stressing that Mommsen had been able to develop the idea not only because he collected classical ‘texts’ but also the ‘more valuable evidence of inscriptions, coins and archaeology’ (ibid.). Mommsen’s review of the epigraphic evidence for the Roman provinces helped to transform earlier understandings to provide a more dynamic account of Roman social change. In 1906, Francis Haverfield built upon Mommsen’s account (see Freeman 1997: 39, 42), adopting the term for the title and content matter of his influential article, ‘The Romanization of Roman Britain’; this publication was expanded in 1912 into a small book which was republished on several occasions. The use of this new concept helped Haverfield

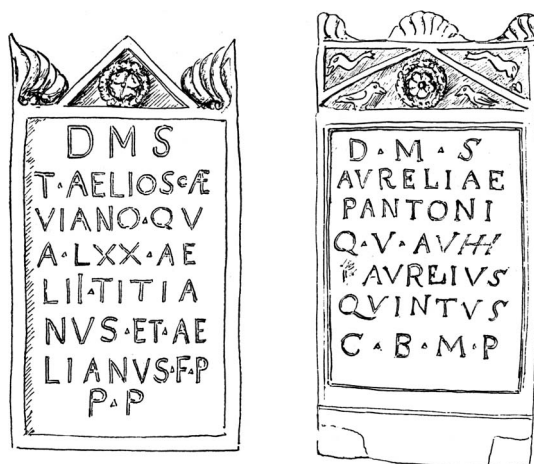


Figure 6 Arthur Evan’s diagram of Roman gravestones from Illyricum (from Evans 1885: figs 8 and 9).

to consider the textual *and* archaeological evidence for Roman Britain. Mommsen's and Haverfield's idea of Romanization drew the archaeological discoveries that had been amassed over the previous centuries – including houses, settlements, pottery and metalwork – into a study previously dominated by linguistic and literary conceptions (Freeman 1997).

Several factors came into play that encouraged the introduction of the idea of Roman cultural change at this time. First, new comprehensions of the material culture of pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman people had arisen as the result of the increasingly systematic excavation of sites and the study of objects from the mid-nineteenth century, as antiquarianism was transformed into archaeology and the idea of a considerable depth of time prior to the Romans arose (Morse 2005; Todd 2004). The accumulation of information about indigenous material culture suggested that much of this was an amalgam between the better-known Roman culture and the objects that were now recognized as having been used by people in Britain during prehistory (Hingley 2008). Second, a growing internationalization of knowledge, exemplified by the scholarship of Mommsen and Haverfield, drew earlier ideas of Britain as a primarily military province into question by placing the evidence in a broader imperial context, suggesting that there was a significant indigenous input into much of the Roman culture known from the province (including many of the towns and villas). Third, the growth of ideas of social evolution (Bowler 1989) and the increasingly problematic imperial situation (Hingley 2007) called for explanations of cultural change which emphasized that, given the right conditions, the conquest and control of indigenous peoples could result in the passing on of civilization, casting a reflective focus on the evidence for the lack of assimilation of many of the colonized societies of the British empire (*ibid.*). In the consideration of Britain's imperial context, new approaches to cultural assimilation and incorporation appealed, which drew on the same classical text (particularly Tacitus' *Agricola* 21) that had been explored by William Camden, but in rather different political context.

A history for Romanization?

The approach articulated by Mommsen and Haverfield had a major impact on the development of Roman archaeology in Britain and Europe during the twentieth century (for Britain, see Hingley 2000: 130–55; for the European context, see Wulff Alonso 1991; Hingley 2005: 31–7). The continuing popularity of the 'Romanization' perspective today has led a variety of authors to explore how the concept was deeply influenced by the differing national and imperial contexts in which it was adopted (see Desideri 1991; Hingley 2000; Laroui 1970: 47–9; Mattingly 2002, 2004, 2006; Sheldon 1982; Terrenato 1998; Webster 2001; Wulff Alonso 1991). In particular, I have argued that, in Britain, Romanization added an essential element to Edwardian and later 'imperial discourse'. The popularity of this term in Britain during the early twentieth century derived, at least in part, from its role in building the ancient origin and current status of the nation at a time of particular imperial stress (Hingley 2000, 2007). Romanization drew upon the writings of classical authors and archaeological research, while articulating a deeply imperial comprehension of the relationship between colonizers and the colonized. The idea that

certain forms of imperial subjugation promoted the passing on of civilization enabled the English to claim historical justification for acts of imperial conquest and domination across the world (Hingley 2005: 8, 24–7).⁷ In Germany and Italy, the concept of Romanization played an equally fundamental role in the creation of the two new united nations during the late nineteenth century (Terrenato 2001; Wulff Alonso 1991).

The colonial context of early seventeenth-century accounts of Roman Britain (p. 428) appears particularly significant. Rome as a colonial analogy perhaps appealed at particular times because of its value in helping to formulate and to provide a historical foundation for the ambitions and intentions of the English overseas. Jowitt appears to adopt ‘Romanization’ in her writings (p. 428) to help to account for the colonial context of early modern knowledge. Thomas Scanlan (1999: 18) has argued, however, that care is required to avoid abusing the historical specificity of the early colonial period by imposing ‘transhistorical’ narratives. It is problematic to assume that the seventeenth century can be ‘narrated by rendering it in terms that appear to be nothing more than an earlier version of the same colonial phenomenon that appeared much later’ (ibid.). The Jacobean and late Victorian contexts include markedly differing discourses of colonialism (ibid.) which were articulated, for example, through contrasting attitudes to colonized ‘others’, to the spaces in which people lived (McLeod 1999; Cosgrove 2003) and to the character of the British past (Woolf 2003: 218).

Daniel Woolf (ibid.) has criticized writers who search for the invention of the idea of ‘progress’ during the early seventeenth century. In the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century, when the English came into contact with colonial others through their explorations of the New World, the foundations were laid for an argument that savage or barbarian peoples could become civil. Although this promoted ideas of ‘cultural relativism’, the state of contemporary knowledge allowed no comprehension of biological evolution or creation of a detailed sequence of technological progression (ibid.). Despite the identification of British (pre-Roman) coins, it was not possible to identify assemblages of pre-Roman objects until ideas about prehistory started to emerge during the earlier nineteenth century.

By late Victorian times, entirely new concepts of social evolution, race and progress had been articulated (Bowler 1989; Hingley 2000: 113–14, 2005: 18–19), built upon increasing knowledge of a sequence of pre-Roman cultures (Morse 2005; Hingley 2008). These ideas, together with the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century accumulation and classification of items of material culture of pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman date, created a very different context for the comprehension of Britain’s ancient past, in which the picture of a clear sequence of prehistoric and historic peoples, typified by distinct material culture assemblages, had emerged. In this context, the former idea of a fairly direct change from un-civil to civil, or from non-Roman to Roman, was replaced by a rather more subtle concept of cultural transformation (Romanization).

Summary

I have stressed both continuity and displacement in the history of the study of Roman Britain (Barkan 1999: 136; Foucault 1989 [1969]; Fornäs 1995: 33; Gutting 1989: 248).

Archaeological discoveries, such as British coins, Browne's urns and the Togidubnus inscription, were used to support and develop contemporary understanding. Over time, the amassing of new knowledge led to changes in how the Roman past was conceived, as discoveries were used to illustrate and articulate the emergence of new understanding, although it was the particular historical circumstances which were more influential in determining the overall framework. The Jacobean idea of civility, the various uses of the concept of the Romanized Britons, the military conception of the province and the late Victorian and Edwardian idea of Romanization each form original and stimulating accounts which arose in particular historical circumstances relating to the character of contemporary society and the meanings for which the past was felt to be useful. The classical texts that addressed Roman Britain and the renowned antiquarian texts (notably Tacitus' *Agricola* and Camden's *Britannia*) were re-read, received and revived, creating a degree of continuity in the development of thought.

This picture, however, simplifies the character of academic traditions. I have explored gaps in the history of the related concepts of civility and Romanization, stressing the marginal status of the idea of the Romanized Briton during the long period between Browne and Haverfield. Although ideas of indigenous civility appealed to some authors during this time, the nature of the Roman objects and sites that were found and publicized during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries stressed the evidence for military settlers, suggesting that few indigenous Britons took on Roman identity. Ideas of civility were attractive to some in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but the military theme remained dominant. The subsequent accumulation of finds and the articulation of a comprehension of chronological succession gradually allowed this military emphasis to be challenged, resulting in the introduction of an idea of Romanization that, while drawing upon earlier writings (Tacitus, Camden, etc.), did not entirely replace the military interpretations, especially across the Roman north (see James 2002).

If the concept of Romanization is to be used to analyse the writings of Jacobean antiquaries and playwrights, it is important that the historical context and meaning of the term is addressed. Early accounts of civility, or its absence, developed in very different national and colonial contexts and drew upon the past in many ways and for particular purposes, while the concepts of the Romanized Britons that were developed in the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries vary in emphasis from the ideas promoted by the late Victorian and Edwardian use of Romanization. Imposing the assumption of a simple continuity of thought from the Renaissance to the present day oversimplifies the available information, compromising the opportunity to search for more complex meanings in past texts and images.

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Notes

- 1 See, for example, Kahn (1997: 162) for discussion of the deep influence of Rome on *Cymbeline* in Shakespeare's play.
- 2 William Slatyer used the word 'Romanized' to refer to '*Agricola's* policy to haue had *Brittons* brought up after the *Latines* fashion, so to haue them made more tractable, and leaue their rudeness' (1621: 163). Edmund Boulton (1624: ch. 2) also used 'Romanised' to refer to the comments of Tacitus in *Agricola* (21). A search for references to 'Romanized' and 'Romanised' in Early English Books Online (eebo.chadwyck.com/) located no additional significant seventeenth-century uses of the term in the context of the adoption of Latin fashions. Multiple uses of the word in this online database relate to the religious authority of Rome.
- 3 Togidubnus is likely to be a more appropriate reading of the name of the ancient British leader who has usually been titled Cogidubnus (Braund 1996: 108–12).
- 4 Various nineteenth-century authors did use 'Romanized' in accounts of Roman discoveries, including Buckman and Newmarch (1850: 8–9), Coote (1878), Scarth (1883), Windle (1897) and Wright (1852), but they adopted it sparingly and often to address settlers from other provinces rather than indigenous Britons (Hingley 2008). Hoare's use of the term (1810: 85–6) is of more interest (Hingley 2008), but will not be discussed here.
- 5 The *OED* dates Whitney's use of the word to 1876, but Guy de la Bédoyère has pointed out to me that the book was actually published in 1867.
- 6 Mommsen (1885: 176). For the context of Mommsen's writings on the Roman provinces, see Dyson (2006: 91–2), Freeman (1997: 29–35) and Wulff Alonso (1991).
- 7 Other Western Europeans and North Americans, who suppose that their ancestors had in the ancient past been incorporated and civilized by Rome, have drawn upon comparable ideas.

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