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ON THE BACK OF THE ARMY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

OF ROMANIZATION IN BRITAIN AND EGYPT

By

Renee Wiseman

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

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Abstract

Romanization is the process of understanding how Rome culturally expanded beyond military actions. This study seeks to compare how Romanization proceeded in the provinces of Britain and Egypt.

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Introduction

Your task, Roman, and do not forget it, will be to govern the peoples of the world in your empire. These will be your arts – and to impose a settled pattern upon peace, to pardon the defeated and war down the proud.[1]

Either during the republican or imperial times, Rome grew and expanded through military action and in this way united the countries of the Mediterranean for the first time in the history of the world. The transition from republic to empire under Emperor Augustus accelerated this process. The acquiring of new territory and expansion of the Empire was also a major way that Roman politicians and generals gained power and prestige within the society. As such, it was a major concern for all men with political standing as a way to further their personal ambitions.

During its growth, Rome expanded from its roots in Italy, west as far as the British Isles, through the Middle East and well into Africa. After the defeat of Cleopatra and Antony at the Battle of Actium, Rome encompassed Egypt and the Nile, pushing the boundaries of the Roman Empire further south than ever before, nearly to Ethiopia. Caesar Augustus conquered more territory than did any of the famous conquering generals of the Republic. He did this by securing the frontiers of the growing empire to natural, easily defensible barriers, thus reducing the amount of military might required to hold and protect the Empire's borders. In the South of Egypt, he used the Ethiopian

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[1] Virgil, *The Aeneid*. (ePenguin: Kindle Edition.) p. 138

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desert, and stationed Roman garrisons to establish a buffer zone south of the Egyptian border.[2] To the west, Britain was bordered by the sea, and later further secured with the addition of Hadrian's Wall. Mountains held the Empire from the deserts beyond in Turkey and the Middle East.

While the military history of Rome is extremely dramatic and well explored by historians of the field, another facet of Roman history is less thoroughly considered: that of the cultural expansion and growth of the Roman Empire. Though sources here are sadly lacking, the ramifications of this cultural expansion can be easily seen today. Evidence exists in the form of the romance languages, which are similar to one another and share a common ancestor in Latin. Romanian has descended from Latin, which the Romans brought to Romania. Since then the language has remained so similar to its progenitor that one who studies Latin is able to understand it. As Rome's culture spread, so did Latin, which became an accepted language throughout Europe and created the roots of today's romance languages. Early writers such as Tacitus and Julius Caesar allow us to begin to probe the depths of how Rome expanded culturally through the provinces in a process commonly called *Romanization*.

To date there have been few comprehensive studies of Romanization itself, and no comparative studies as to the Romanization between two separate and diverse provinces. I seek herein to address that absence. Using the models of Egypt and Britain, I will compare and contrast how Romanization occurred, how the people involved were

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[2] Naphtali Lewis and Meyer Reinhold, ed. *Roman Civilization, Selected Readings, The Republic and Augustan Age*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 596-597.

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affected, and how external concerns such as climate and landscape affected the Romanization process.

A comparative study is the best way to handle a question of how the Roman government handled the individual provinces, and how different strategies of governance affected the assimilation of the province within the greater Roman Empire. It allows us to look at different circumstances from a bottom up perspective, and consider how these circumstances affected all of the societies involved, the Egyptian society, British society, and the Roman society. This expands on what we would gain from a study of a single society, which could allow us to miss some exceptional circumstances which shaped how these societies responded to the presence of the Romans.

Egypt and Britain are fine examples of this process, since they represent nearly polar opposites. Egypt was in the southeast of the Empire, whereas Britain was in the northwest. Egypt's climate was extremely inhospitable and arid on the edge of the Sahara desert, whereas Britain's climate included a great deal of rain and was colder and closer to Rome's climate than that of Egypt. Egypt's people were extremely resistant to Romanization and plagued Romans constantly with a series of native revolts, whereas the Britons welcomed and even anticipated the coming of the Romans before they arrived in Britain. While there was some hesitation on the part of the natives, once Britain was conquered it remained comfortably within the Roman Empire for four centuries, with the notable exception of the rebellion lead by Boudicca. Britain adapted to the Roman presence and found it extremely beneficial to their society. Meanwhile, Egypt's resistance to the process would continue throughout the Roman occupation of the province. What this tells us is that while Romanization took very different forms in these

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areas, it did occur for both regions, and the distinctiveness of the two provinces makes them an ideal choice for a comparative study. They are excellent models to use in an effort to pin down how and why Romanization occurred as it did.

Another facet that makes this a compelling pair for a comparative study is that the Romans reacted very differently to both Britons and Egyptians, and these societies both reacted very differently to the presence of the Romans. The Romans viewed the Britons as potential equals. They were no less worthy of civilization and Romanization than any other provincial culture. However, the Egyptians were another story. The Romans set out from the beginning on a mission to isolate the Egyptians and keep them separate from other Romans, and impede their social mobility within the Empire in a way that was not repeated in any other province. Normally inhabitants of provinces were encouraged to assimilate within the Roman societal framework. However, the Romans put laws in place that were designed specifically to prevent the Egyptians from integrating into the Empire. This made Egypt an exception among the provinces, as Egypt was handled from the beginning with suspicion and disdain. Britain on the other hand was welcomed and fully assimilated within the Empire.

To properly begin a study such as this it is necessary first to define what Romanization is. Therefore, in Chapter 1 I will attempt to create as complete and succinct a definition of Romanization as possible, and explain how Romanization ideally progressed. After this, I will be able to explore different facets of Romanization in the British and Egyptian models to determine how they were similar and how they differed, and how the Roman government handled each of these provinces differently.

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In chapter 2, I will turn my eye to Britain, and study the way in which Romanization progressed in that region. I seek clues to where this came from by considering the writings of the time, as well as the art and images left to us by the Britons of the period. The road to Romanizing Britain was not without bumps, and I will consider the rebellion of Boudicca and the Iceni as well as Caesar's entry to the province and the strategies the Republic and later the Empire took in managing the area. I will also consider how the Romanization of Britain fell away and the circumstances around Rome's withdrawal as evidence of how Romanized the province had become.

I will repeat that process in Egypt for chapter 3 in order to come to the same conclusions as to how Romanization progressed in Egypt as it did in Britain. Unfortunately, Rome never truly withdrew from Egypt, so it is more difficult to consider how Romanization fell away, since Romanization remained as part of Egypt long after the fall of the Roman Empire. I will show how the Romans handled Egypt differently than Britain and the other provinces, making the way Egypt was handled an exception within the Roman standards of governance in that the Egyptians were isolated from the Roman army, and thus the Roman influence.

The final chapter of this study, Chapter 4, will include a synopsis of the comparisons and contrasts of the two provinces and a final analysis of the evidence. I suggest that it was not the elites of either the Roman or provincial government that brought the most change to the provinces, but instead the average legionnaire who brought his coins to the local marketplace to purchase foods and goods, and married among the population. It is my belief that these men brought Roman culture to the average people of a province. I argue that this process would proceed more quickly and

smoothly in provinces with a garrison situated within the average population than one in which the garrison is isolated, despite the intensity of government actions in the lives of the average population. Within Britain the garrison was spread throughout the population, and the population was encouraged to interact and intermarry. Within Egypt, unlike most of the other provinces in the empire, the garrison instead spread through the Sahara desert along the trade routes to the Red Sea. There was little to no interaction with the population, who could not go out to the garrison reasonably, and laws in place to prevent Egyptians from becoming part of the Roman society in Egypt, either by joining the army or intermarriage.

It is my hope that in proceeding this way, this study will fill a gap left in the study of Roman history. While Roman military history has been analyzed extensively, the way the Roman culture spread has been largely overlooked, despite the fact that this expansion of culture has affected the world to the modern day. While it is also clear from the quotes of Virgil and Cicero above that Romans were on some level aware of this cultural expansion and a duty to the other peoples of the world to help 'civilize' them, I also hope to be able to determine just how conscious the process of Romanization was throughout the elite levels of Roman government.

Chapter 1

What is Romanization?

Romanization is the process by which Rome culturally assimilated a new territory and began to incorporate it into the wider fabric of the Empire. It is similar to acculturation, but Romanization had some particular differences that set it apart. Acculturation begins when two cultures come into direct, person-to-person contact. Romanization, on the other hand, began prior to any direct Roman involvement with a society. Acculturation also denotes changes that a minority culture makes to accommodate a dominant group. This was not the case with Romanization, which was a two-way flow of ideas more akin to a form of cultural syncretism than acculturation.

As Rome expanded and its sphere of influence approached new territories, Roman goods would find their way into an area through commerce via other groups that Rome had conquered or through independent commerce, since the Roman Empire was so large and its goods so well known that people desired them all over the known world. Trade and travel would inform neighboring societies of the approach of the Empire, and pottery, clothing, and Roman coins would be disseminated throughout neighboring lands even before Rome conquered them. Smaller Roman commodities, such as clothing and coins, would be the most commonly appearing symbols of the Roman presence. The nobility of these areas would often see Roman goods as luxury items and eagerly trade for them. The goods would become status symbols, and following the trends of the elites, lower levels of the society would come to desire them as well. This spread of material culture

would begin to Romanize the neighboring societies far before Rome's physical presence actually reached them.

Sometimes, before the Romans entered new territories, they would reach out and attempt to form client-king relationships. Client-kings allowed the Romans to use native chieftains or kings to strengthen some of their frontiers through the creation of 'buffer states' that could act as a cushion against more distant, hostile powers, yet which they knew were loyal to Rome. It also put off the expense of having to conquer and install Roman rule in all territories. Nevertheless, this method gave Rome *de facto*, if not *de jure,* control without the expense of conquests and more wars. It also served to expose the natives to Roman values and begin the process of Romanization, which would eventually bring these societies into the fold of the Empire. Since they were surrounded by land that had been conquered and brought under Roman control, these client-kingdoms Romanized similarly to the states directly conquered by the Romans, and would often be annexed, becoming fully part of the Empire after a generation or two.[3] Tacitus addressed the issue of client-Kings in his memoir of the Gallic Wars, saying "It is an ancient and now long-established practice of the Roman People to use even kings as instruments of enslavement."[4]

Post-conquest, these changes would become even more obvious, as local architecture changed to take on features similar to those of Rome. In particular, roads and aqueducts would appear. Rome would also supply education, infrastructure, and protection from outsiders. As part of these changes, Roman central government would

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[3] Lewis and Reinhold, 600.

[4] Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany* (Oxford World's Classics, Kindle Edition) p. 12.

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force through changes in local culture, such as the laws, types of governance, education, language. The protection Rome brought to the provinces would also bring about changes in the attitudes of the people, as they quickly discovered that they no longer had to fear neighboring tribes that had harassed them for decades or centuries.

Even without a relationship formed prior to Roman entry, trade with partners that were in contact with Rome would often result in Roman culture and material goods reaching an area before the Roman army made contact. Often, by the time Rome entered an area, the new province had become significantly similar to that of the Romans in culture and appearance. If not, the process began swiftly upon the formal entry by thousands of Roman soldiers bringing large amounts of coinage and a need for goods to support them. The Roman government consciously and intentionally set upon a course that wove the new population into the wider fabric of the Empire through a process of cultural assimilation that would begin at the top level of society and work its way down to the lowest levels. Colonial elites throughout the provinces were more than happy to take part in this assimilation, using their power at a local level to create power for themselves in the newly arrived Roman superstructure. Romans would use the existing government structure in order to make their governance of the provinces easier, and to ensure that provinces did not feel the need for rebellion.

The use of local chieftains and kings becoming Roman client-kings was not the only way the Romans exploited existing political structures to their gain, however. Colin Haselgrove argues "Rome exploited indigenous political divisions and tendencies to fill in the immediate process of conquest and incorporation, but looked to adopt intact whatever of the existing structure she could, and to alter or abolish only those features

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which ran counter to her long-term interests."[5] Administrators that were in charge of establishing government in a newly conquered area studied and considered each area on a case-by-case basis and determined the best way to integrate new areas into the Empire. Often, admitting leaders of conquered groups into the Roman ruling class would allow the local elites to continue ruling the provinces as they had been ruling. This left the existing government largely unaffected, at least in the beginning, which left Rome with nothing more needed than collection of the tribute and with little effort. The corollary of this arrangement was that the material gain for Rome was negligible by the standards of modern imperialism. Rome was an empire of political prestige for the conquerors more than one of continuing economic benefit from its conquered lands.[6]

This arrangement would be beneficial for the native kings who gained power within the Roman Empire, as it became the new power in the region, and good for the natives whose lives would go on mostly unchanged with governmental officials and structures familiar to the natives. This also increased the chances of Rome ruling a province peacefully with lessened threat of indigenous uprisings. Areas which were successfully Romanized were those in which the natives, both the elite and the common people, benefited from the presence of Rome within the culture.[7] By making the transition from native to Roman rule as smooth and easy as possible, and keeping as many institutions unchanged as possible, it attempted to ensure the Roman presence was not socially disruptive, which would result in native rebellions.

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[5] Simon James, "Roman Archaeology: Crisis and Revolution ." *Antiquity* 77, no. 295 (178-184), 6.

[6] Millet 1990, 8.

[7] ibid, 101.

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Those of more humble ranks within a society tend to emulate those in the higher ranks. Therefore, as the aristocracy of a new province Romanized and began to display behaviors that were Roman, they came to be considered fashionable and those among the more humble sorts who wanted to lift their stations in life would often try to mimic certain of their appearances and behaviors, resulting in a spread of Roman manners and customs throughout the society.

Romans viewed this process consciously and with a paternalistic attitude. Here I use the term paternalistic to refer to an opinion in which Romans felt they were helping the conquered native people learn to become fully human, regardless of if they gave consent or not. Adding Roman structures 'civilized' the provinces, which in Roman eyes gave humans the chance to realize their full potential. The term for this used among the Romans was *humanitas.* *Humanitas* was the underlying foundation of the Roman identity. It was a Roman version of the ideal of civilization, and was consciously opposed to non-Roman barbarism or savagery. It was therefore a central component of Roman culture.[8]

The development of *humanitas* underwrote and sustained a particular configuration of power, and reflected an understanding of the world and of history that in the Roman mindset justified Roman imperialism. *Humanitas* encapsulated what it meant to be Roman.[9] It was the Roman version of the ideal of civilization as opposed to barbarism or savagery, and became a central component of Roman culture under the early

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[8]Greg Woolf, *Becoming Roman*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 16.
[9] ibid, 54-55.

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Empire.[10] Romans judged the *humanitas* of a person or group by a series of intellectual and moral accomplishments, which Romans felt were the exclusive property of Roman citizens.[11]

Humanitas defined not only how Romans saw civilization, but also how to pass it on. The Romans saw the rest of the world as being their natural inferiors. *Humanitas* thus entailed a sense of entitlement, but also responsibility for all Romans, who felt they were obliged to take these inferiors by the hand and pass on *romanitas*, or the state of being Roman, which was the only way to achieve full humanity. It was the formula for the paternalistic attitude of the Romans towards the barbarians. Not only how they were to treat the barbarians, but also to teach them, as embodied by the quote at the outset of this chapter.

In *Old World Frontiers*, Jerry Bentley argues "religious and cultural traditions rarely won foreign converts except when favored by a powerful set of political, social, or economic incentives."[12] The protection, trade, infrastructure, and goods represented how Roman government provided native peoples with the types of incentives of which Bentley spoke. Rome's primary concern was the easy and inexpensive management of a province with minimum effort on the part of the central government. While the Romans naturally wanted a return from the province in the form of tribute, they were willing to give up a large share of that tribute to make the province easier to manage. The stationing of garrisons in new areas provided protection to the native peoples, as well as

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[10] ibid, 16.
[11] ibid, 59.
[12] Jerry Bentley. *Old World Encounters; Cross-Cultural Contacts and Exchanges in Pre-Modern Times.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), viii.

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providing a visible example of what ideal Roman citizens were supposed to be. The roads provided easier and safer transportation for the taxes and tribute going to Rome, as well as the goods and troops coming into the provinces. Additionally, they facilitated trade throughout the empire, which in and of itself assisted the economy of different areas, further developing a stronger Roman tax base. The roads also made it easier for the military to quickly enter or depart any given region, or access distant places within the Empire on short notice.

Romans knew that adding these structures would help the peoples it conquered to become fully civilized, and thus, in their view, human. Adding Roman structures 'civilized' the provinces, which from the Roman perspective gave the provincials the chance to realize their full potential. Virgil's classic formulation of the mission Augustus proclaimed for Rome was "to govern the peoples of the world in your empire. These will be your arts – and to impose a settled pattern upon peace, to pardon the defeated and war down the proud."[13] This quote, while displaying Romans feelings of duty to the world around them, also displays another facet of Romanization. Romanization was not a one-way flow of culture from Rome to the provinces. Instead, it was dialectical flow of ideas. Romans took those parts of culture from the civilizations they conquered and brought them back to the seat of the empire. The city of Rome was a diverse, metropolitan place with inhabitants brought together from every corner of the empire. These inhabitants brought with them their own beliefs, cultures, and concerns. Romans imported these other cultures into their own. This is especially true with other cultures' religions. Romans commonly took deities from other pantheons and integrated them into their own.

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[13] Virgil, Book 6 verses 851-854.

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This was the component of syncretism that the traditional definition of acculturation lacks. Rome not only gave their culture to the provincials, but also took some of provincial culture back with them. This ensured that Romans always had something in common with the populations they integrated, and regional peoples who traveled from the province to Rome would encounter something familiar.

Roman religious figures were tied in closely to natural phenomena and geographical features, so Romans had a healthy respect for indigenous religions, and did not wish to anger foreign gods who could bring disaster to Rome later. This was not something that the Romans wanted to risk. As a result, native gods were either equivocated to existing gods within the Roman pantheon, or adopted into it. The Romans were not seeking to remove, supplant, or wipe out native cultures. Rome not only gave their culture to the provincials, but also took some of provincial culture back with them. In this way, Rome held a great deal of respect for the native cultures and religions they encountered, even though they were viewed as inferior.

Romanization did not wipe away native cultures so much as it supplemented them with elements that came from Roman culture. The Romans did not seek to achieve cultural uniformity throughout the empire,[14] force a wholesale importation of Roman culture at the expense of the native one, or crush the native societies. As long as any given part of native culture did not run counter to Rome's long-term interests, Rome would ignore it or assimilate it into the Empire's identity. Attempting to force cultural uniformity would cause the native societies to rebel against Rome, which the Empire would have to expend resources to end. Consequently, the disruption would turn the

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[14] Woolf 1998, 7.

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focus of the Empire away from expansion, and the government would have to garrison more troops throughout the provinces. There was no glory in putting down native rebellions for the Roman generals—for Roman politicians, conquest was the route to glory. As a result, Rome was willing to extend quite a few concessions to ensure that the provinces remained content and paying their taxes with minimal effort on the part of Roman central authorities.

The exception to this laissez-faire attitude lay within the upper levels of society. There was a conscious attempt by the Romans to bring the elites of conquered societies into a Roman mindset.[15] Romans preferred to bring the local elites of the provinces into the ruling class of the Empire and employ local aristocrats in ruling the area under the Roman banner.[16] Importation of existing indigenous structures was both cheaper for the Romans and more comfortable for the indigenous people involved. This arrangement would be good for the ruler, who would gain power within the Roman Empire while retaining his power at home. This also increased the chances of Rome ruling a province peacefully for some time. When the native elite benefited, Romanization was more successful.

Romanization can be studied through the material and social culture of a region. Rome was quick to begin providing the new province with material items that would show them the benefit of being part of the Roman Empire and to make the province more comfortable for the Roman soldiers and elites stationed there. The Empire also wanted to make the province easier to defend from any challenge of Roman domination from either

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[15] Edward James, *Britain in the First Millennium* (London: Oxford University Press, 2001), 41.
[16] Woolf 1998, 18.

internal threats such as rebellion, or external threats such as invasion. The new province would gain new buildings with certain architectural features similar to those in Rome. Roads were built to facilitate the quick movement of the Roman army anywhere in the province should the need arise. The Roman government paid these soldiers with Roman coins, which they would use to purchase goods throughout the province, thus spreading them to the population. As the population came to accept Roman currency, economic forces would then take hold and begin propelling Romanization throughout the region. Trading for goods such as Roman foods and olive oil often came in Roman pottery vessels, and if these vessels were superior to what the population already had, they would often adopt them for their own use and trade for the empty vessels in order to obtain more. Roman elites moved into the region to help govern it, but missing the luxuries of home, they built spectacular villas, which became the ultimate symbol of Romanization. These changes have made marks on the archeological record, which are available to us and show a clear line between pre- and post- Roman contact on the culture itself. In addition, Romans themselves wrote of the conquests, which make it easy to pinpoint when the first contact between Romans and natives. How Romanization progressed is often also recorded in these writings.

Less tangibly and more difficult to study cultural changes which had begun prior to Roman contact accelerate and spread as the Romans approached. Post contact, traditional laws often changed to conform to Roman laws. The Roman army in an area dictated the way these laws were enforced. Some were enforced strictly, while other laws were ignored. First, the upper levels of the society had to adopt Latin in order to function within the government, and then this adoption spread downward to include the lower

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levels of society until it reached the farmers and peasants. Rome set up new schools to educate the youth, which would include teaching them Latin. As all this happened, the attitudes of the people would shift to become first more supportive of the Romans' presence in their lives, and later to become more Roman in themselves. The new government in place in an area provided social and economic incentives for the native people to give up their traditions and adopt the foreign, Roman ways. The only way to be respectable in this new society was to be able to speak Latin, handle property, and be able to quote Virgil. In short: to be respectable one had to become a Roman patrician in education and demeanor. This is consistent with Bentley's thesis, "religious and cultural traditions rarely won foreign converts except when favored by a powerful set of political, social, or economic incentives."[17] It was in Rome's best interest to provide these incentives to native populations because of how Rome's culture affected the men in charge of governing these provinces.

Roman aristocratic culture valued military conquest and expansion of new areas. These efforts would win the generals triumphant parades through Rome, not the suppression of revolts within provinces already conquered. As such, Rome's primary concern was the easy and inexpensive management of the province with minimum input of effort on the part of the central government, and to avoid rebellions throughout provinces that were often warlike. This was a delicate balancing act, a tightrope walked by the Roman government. Scholars differ broadly over how conscious this effort was.

To force Rome's culture immediately upon the native provinces would cause constant rebellions, which the Empire would then have to deal with. This would be

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[17] Bentley, viii.

detrimental to the political ambitions of the generals in the Roman government, since as stated above their primary means of gaining power and glory was to conquer new areas and earn the triumphs from such conquests. These rebellions would not bring glory to these generals. Rome did not wish to acknowledge rebellions, or fight unending wars with territories they had already conquered. Instead, they sought to expand the empire further, adding to the political reputation of the generals leading the armies to further conquest, and yielding the bounty of the newly conquered land to the treasury of the Empire. Diverting military resources to putting down native rebellions would slow or halt the expansion of the Empire. So to keep native rebellions from occurring and distracting the generals, Rome was willing to give the provinces quite a few concessions to ensure that the they remained content, and continued paying their taxes with minimal investment from the Roman central authorities.

The areas in which Romanization most often failed were those where the Roman presence became disruptive to the native society,[18] or where Romanization proved impractical for one reason or another. By making the transition from native to Roman rule as smooth and easy and keeping as many institutions and rulers as unchanged as possible, Rome attempted to ensure their presence was not socially disruptive to the province. The result often was that the Romans ensured that their presence was extremely beneficial to the natives of the provinces, providing benefits and infrastructure that most societies previously lacked. Doing this prevented native rebellions and their consequent disruption to society, thereby avoiding the diversion of resources that Rome

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[18] Millett 1990, 101.

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could otherwise use for further expansion rather than maintaining what was already under

Roman control.

Chapter 2

How Romanization progressed in Britain

Among the scholars there is a fierce debate as to how much influence the Roman conquest of Britain had on the society of the island. Since all trace of Roman presence vanished from the area within 50 years of the Roman withdrawal, it is often the contention of scholars that any Romanization that occurred within Britain was purely superficial and weak, and then discarded promptly upon the departure of the Romans from the island. However, in recent years a new theory has emerged: rather than the idea that Britain was not Romanized by the presence of Rome at all, some have proposed that a societal collapse after the withdrawal of Rome wiped away all vestiges of Romanization. In this section, I seek to explore how Romanization occurred through Britain, how deeply it penetrated the society of Roman Britain, and how the changes made to the society vanished so quickly.

Archaeology has shed a great deal of light on the progress of Romanization in Britain. Before the Romans ever came to Britain, the Britons had coins and a monetary economy. Caesar acknowledges this in his Gallic Wars: "They use either brass or iron rings, determined at a certain weight, as their money."[19] Archaeological finds have found the rings Caesar describes to be brass coins. Figure 1 is one example of the style of coin that was commonplace in Britain before contact by the Romans. These coins contained

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[19] Julius Caesar, *"De Bello Gallico" and Other Commentaries* (Public Domain Books, Kindle Edition) 91.

imagery that was Celtic and abstract, and usually contained a horse or other animal along with leaves, which indicated a connection with the Druidic traditions and beliefs of the people. This particular coin contains the name "Tinco," who was presumably a tribal leader, and an image on the obverse of a stylized head of grain, indicating the primarily agricultural nature of the society.

Colin Haselgrove has found evidence for waves of Romanization sweeping through Britain long before the initial conquests ever began. The first of these waves began in the southeast. During the earliest phase, the goods that have been found are limited to coinage, a pottery wheel, and a few Roman commodities. These artifacts likely came into Britain through contact and trade with Gaul, as the artifacts are geographically located in close proximity to shores that Britain shared with Gaul. There are also Briton-minted coins inscribed with Latin words during this period[20], evidence that indicates at least some of the elites of this time were already importing the language of Rome along with certain Roman practices. The coin in figure 2 demonstrates this process beautifully. Compared to the Celtic coin in figure 1, the artwork on this coin has changed dramatically. It is simpler, showing more of a Roman styling, though still with a Celtic flare. The images of the horse and grain of wheat remain; however, there is a Latin inscription. It proves that even before the Romans had even come to Britain, Latin inscriptions had begun to appear on the coinage of the British Isles. On this one, CAMV on either side of the ear of coin translates to Camulodunum, modern Colchester. On the reverse, CNV below the horse is translated as Cunobelin, a ruler who issued coins in eastern England during the late pre-Roman Iron Age. Clearly, the Britons had a

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[20] Haverfield 1923, 29.

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monetary economy and created their own coins well before Julius Caesar's invasion in 55 BC.

The second phase of contact between Roman and Celtic culture was an indirect, non-intensive contact period when the Gallic Wars reinforced a pre-existing network of trade and contact between Britain and Gaul. This allowed more trade in Roman commodities as goods captured by the Gallic people could be traded to the Britons for other items that were needed. Caesar recorded this contact between Britons and the mainland. Merchants that travelled back and forth between Gaul and Britain played a large part in his conquest of the island. Caesar had discovered that in most of his wars with the Gauls, the Britons had been sending aid to the Gauls.[21] This inspired him to go to the island to put an end to the assistance the Gauls were receiving and thus aid in his conquest of that country. Caesar also recorded that the Britons learned of his plans to enter Britain through the merchants, and promptly sent ambassadors to negotiate their surrender and promising to give hostages and submit to the government of Rome. However, the memoir also notes that the only people who knew the localities of the island were the merchants, and even they knew only the sea coast and parts of the island that were directly opposite to Gaul.[22] Even to people who frequently travelled to Britain from the mainland, and the natives themselves, the western and northern parts of the island were largely shrouded in mystery.

By the time the Romans reached Britain, the southeast of the island was already significantly Romanized. This extended not only into the cultural and material aspects of

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[21] Caesar *"De Bello Gallico",* 78.
[22] Ibid

society, but also took on strongly political overtones. British elites were fully accustomed to dealing with Rome,[23] and Roman culture already deeply penetrated among the upper class to the extent that Paul Langford argued that the British aristocracies were already extensively Romanized, and actually welcomed Roman rule.[24] Anthony King also found "a substantial body of evidence to suggest that the material trappings of Romanization were influencing this section of Iron Age society well before the conquest, particularly in the period following Caesar's conquest of Gaul."[25] It stands to reason given that Caesar conquered Britain quickly and easily, without much fight. It is also likely that these same aristocrats, having seen the violence with which Caesar put down the resistance in Gaul, voluntarily chose not to engage in that fight but instead sent their ambassadors the moment they learned of Caesar's intent. However, Caesar acknowledges that there were many states, and he sent an ambassador of his own to try to encourage submission of as many of them as possible without a fight.[26] Despite this, there was some resistance, but it was relatively minor and easily overcome by Caesar's forces.

Many of the original Roman sources speak of the island's ties to Gaul. In addition to Caesar's words that Britain was a place of refuge for Gauls seeking assistance in the wars with him, Tacitus wrote that "The island was in effect an extension of Gaul, which would serve as a place of refuge unless it were subjugated."[27] Throughout the

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[23] T.F.C. Blagg, ed. *Military and Civilian in Roman Britain: Cultural Relationships in a Frontier Province, Vol. 136*. (Oxford: B.A.R. British Series, 1984), 30.
[24] Peter Salway, *The Roman Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 205.
[25] Blagg 1984, 193.
[26] Caesar *"De Bello Gallico",* 79.
[27] Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany* (Oxford World's Classics, Kindle Edition.), xiii.

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Roman Britain time period, and into the fallout afterwards, Britain looked not to Rome, but to Trier as the local capital.

In the final phase of contact, beginning in 15-10 BC and ending in 50 AD,[28] the quantity of Roman goods increased markedly and the penetration of these items were much greater, both in terms of geographical distribution and spread throughout the local social hierarchy. Roman material culture became easier to come by even among the lower classes of society, as trade with the continent increased and as towns appeared around the garrison stations, which began injecting large amounts of money into the Briton's economy.

Romanization progressed quickly in the southeastern regions of the island, which already had intense contact with Gaul and the European mainland and were expecting the Romans' imminent arrival. As the closest point on the mainland to Britain, the island and Gaul shared significant ties and were primary trading partners long before the Romans came to British shores. Figure 3 demonstrates the ebb and flow of Roman military occupation and, to some degree, the spread of Romanization throughout the British island over the centuries of Roman rule. Food production and crops had to increase to produce a surplus both to feed the garrison and pay the taxes while maintaining the population of Britons. This strengthened the British economy, allowing more Roman luxuries to flow into the British society at lower prices, while at the same time spreading enough coinage around the society that even the lower classes could afford many of those luxuries that had previously been out of reach.

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[28] Miranda J. Green, *The Celtic World* (New York: Routledge, 1996), 497.

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However, the northernmost regions of the island were a different story. There was an initial quick burst of Romanization caused by the spreading of the Roman garrisons throughout the island after the conquest, as well as a swarm of Roman commodities that were suddenly filling the island. Archaeology also shows a burst of construction in the first century to build the forts and form the towns around them to support the army. After this initial burst of activity, however, Romanization slowed considerably, likely due to the natural resistance of most societies to accommodate too much change too quickly. Where there was a lack of intense contact with Roman possessions in Europe to prepare the population for interaction with Romans, Romanization progressed far more slowly and the population was far more resistant to the process.

Roman views of the Britons

Despite the fact that there were signs of Romanization taking hold even before Rome's invasions, the Britons are described in primary sources as living in small nomadic bands, scattered throughout the countryside, uncultivated, and warlike. Cassius Dio described the Britons in his histories:

> There are two principal races of the Britons,--the Caledonians and the Maeatians. The titles of the rest have all been reduced to these two. The Maeatians live near the cross wall which cuts the island in two, and the Caledonians are behind them. Both inhabit wild and waterless mountains, desolate and swampy plains, holding no walls, nor cities, nor tilled fields, but living by pasturage and hunting and a few fruit trees. The fish, which are inexhaustible and past computing for multitude, they do not taste. They dwell coatless and shoeless in tents, possess their women

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in common, and rear all the offspring as a community. Their form of government is mostly democratic and they are very fond of plundering.[29]

Tacitus also described the Britons as living a nomadic lifestyle. In the Agricola, Tacitus wrote "Now they are formed into factional groupings by the leading men. Indeed, there is nothing that helps us more against such very powerful peoples than their lack of unanimity. It is seldom that two or three states unite to repel a common threat. Hence each fights on its own, and all are conquered."[30] Tacitus also later wrote about the fighting tactics of the Britons, and how they often attacked one another, indicating a lack of unity among the tribes of the island. However, Tacitus' works do make clear that the Romans saw Britain as more closely integrated into Europe than we might. Tacitus described it as inside a 'bay', so that a close relationship was thought to exist between Britain and the Gallic tribes on the mainland as Julius Caesar described his account of the Gallic wars. Julius Caesar's account of the Gallic wars, which included his conquest of Britain, also included quite a few details about the people who inhabited the island upon his arrival.

> The most civilised of all these nations are they who inhabit Kent, which is entirely a maritime district, nor do they differ much from the Gallic customs. Most of the inland inhabitants do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh, and are clad with skins. All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with wood, which occasions a bluish colour, and thereby have a more terrible appearance in fight. They wear their hair long, and have every part of their body shaved except their head and upper lip. Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children; but if there be any

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[29] Dio Cassius, *Dio's Rome: all six volumes in a single file* (Samizdat Edition with Active Table of Contents) Kindle Locations 25804-25809.

[30] Tacitus, *Agricola and Germany,* 10.

issue by these wives, they are reputed to be the children of those by whom respectively each was first espoused when a virgin.[31]

Britain's worth to the Roman Empire, on the other hand, is problematized by the contradictory accounts of the various primary sources, as well as their chronological separation. While some say that Britain was an extremely rich land and others extremely poor, they are separated by centuries. It is also possible that all are correct for those timeframes.

Tacitus wrote that Britain was an extremely rich land. However we must watch for bias in this passage, since as the nephew of the governor of Britain whose biography he was writing, Tacitus was also attempting to make Agricola seem as important as possible so would naturally want to exaggerate the value of the land his father-in-law ruled as governor, for his own status as well as Agricola's.

Strabo listed the exports of Britain in the early first century as including grain, cattle, gold, silver, iron, slaves, and hides. However, Strabo was silent on how much of each of these exports Britain produced, or what the province's annual cost of governance was which would give us the information we would need to calculate Britain's worth or cost to the empire.

About 150 AD, the historian Apian observed that the British province was not paying its way.[32] Marcellinus made a passing reference to several granaries in Gaul that Julian quickly rebuilt in 359 after they were burnt to the ground that were normally used

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[31] Caesar *"De Bello Gallico",* 91-92.

[32] Mattingly 2007, 493.

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to store the corn that was "regularly brought from Britain."[33] However, the sources do not allow us to be certain what the cost of the governance of the province was, which is otherwise the yardstick by which profitability is measured. Despite this, Figures 5 and 6 show known industrial and mining sites throughout Britain. We know from the archaeological record that Britain had several industrial areas, and produced many different types of goods that would be useful to Rome, such as the mining of lead, silver, iron and copper.

By the third century, Emperor Constantius claimed that Britain was a province that the state could not afford to lose, since it was, in his words: "So rich in harvests, with such abundant pasture, shot through with so many seams of ore, a lucrative source of so much taxation, girded round with so many ports."[34] However, there may well be a chronological component to this, as climate change late in the Roman occupation calls into question the value of Britain to the Empire during some eras of the period in which Rome controlled the province. Weather became so unpredictable that entire crops were lost and the population had to depend on the Romans for support. During these periods Britain was not as profitable to the empire as it had been in times of good weather when the crops were more reliable. This drastic change in climate will be examined in more detail below.

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[33] Ammianus Marcellenus, *The Later Roman Empire (A.D. 354-378)* (London: Penguin Books, 1986), 144.
[34] James 2001, 59.

Urbanization

The army was one of the primary Romanizing agents in ancient Britain. As the garrison spread through the countryside, it became a primary driving force of the economy. Britain had a substantial military garrison of just over 50,000 soldiers around the year 150.[35] The Roman government shipped coins in bulk from the mainland to pay these soldiers. With such a large influx of money going to these soldiers who needed food and clothes, towns naturally developed in order to support the soldiers and so that native Britons could get their share of the coins shipped from the mainland as those became an accepted and valued form of currency.

Soldiers stationed for the long term in remote areas would often take wives and have children. With the coin the army was paid, shipped in bulk from the mainland, the fort filled with hundreds or thousands of soldiers and the families they supported would create the basis of a local economy. This would bring people from the countryside into the city to provide necessary support services to keep the soldiers and their families comfortable, and to extract as much coin out of the soldiers as possible. However, as Britons adapted to the presence of the Romans and shifted their patterns to support the fort, the economy of Britain changed from a nomadic-agrarian type existence into a more urbanized economy that came to depend on the continued commitment of the Roman state and its armed forces on the island.[36] However, much of the British economy remained strongly agricultural. One estimate is that around 5 percent of Britons during the Roman period lived in towns; the rest inhabited the countryside as farmers to supply

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[35] Millett 1990, 131.
[36] James 1984, 182.

the towns and Roman Empire with food.[37] Figure 4 shows the layout of a typical Roman

Britain town during this timeframe, with the Roman temple and theater squarely in the

center of the town, rather than on the outskirts as it would have been had they been added

to a previously existing town rather than the town coming into existence around and

because of the fort, which still maintained a central location where it could easily guard

the inhabitants of the town.

The army taught their families and the people around them what they wanted, and

would teach their families Latin and Roman behaviors. In addition, Britons joined the

occupying army and were Romanized during their training. "The army had a strongly

developed Roman identity, though a distinctive one when compared to other elements of

the provincial population. […] The Roman army was an institution that created its own

sense of common identity for its polyglot soldiery, drawn from all corners of the

Empire."[38] This common identity of the soldiers in the army remained Roman, despite

where they had initially originated, just as the soldiers that had come from other

Provinces became Roman after their training. Colonies of Roman citizens that moved to

Britain for various jobs or opportunities, merchants from the continent and the policies of

governors like Agricola or of client-kings like Cogidubnus were also responsible for the

spread of Romanization throughout the British province.[39]

During the first and second centuries, towns began to appear along the landscape

of Britain in response to the economics of the Roman garrison, as well as a response to

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[37] James 2001, 53.
[38] Mattingly 2007, 166.
[39] Sheppard Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain* (London: Routledge, 1987), 296.

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the building of Roman buildings through the country. The archaeological record bears

out enormous changes to the architecture of Roman Britain as the populace shifted to

adapt to the new Roman presence. In addition, Roman aristocracy who came to Britain

to administrate the province began to build villas as well. However, the art and

architecture of Britain maintained a Celtic flare, despite the Roman influences. "Elite

society in Britain embraced the architecture, ideas, and practices of Rome and made them

its own. They adapted and elaborated Roman architectural form against local needs, but

were no less Roman as a consequence."[40] Buildings were not copied rote from the

patterns established in Italy, but were instead modified by the Aristocracy to British

needs.

This evolution of the society is also borne out by the primary sources available to

us. Cassius Dio writes:

> The barbarians were adapting themselves to Roman ways, were becoming
> accustomed to hold markets, and were meeting in peaceful assemblages. They had
> not, however, forgotten their ancestral habits, their native manners, their old life
> of independence, or the power derived from arms. Hence, so long as they were
> unlearning these customs gradually and by the way, as one may say, under careful
> watching, they were not disturbed by the change in their manner of life, and were
> becoming different without knowing it.[41]

This passage is somewhat contradictory, since Dio claims that they both

remembered their ancestral habits and native manners, but were changing their ways

without knowing it. It seems unlikely a society that remembered the way it used to be

would not realize the changes made as they went out to a market unlike anything their

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[40] Dominic Perring, *The Roman House in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002), 221-222.
[41] Cassius Dio 56.18:2-3

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grandparents enjoyed. It seems more likely that they were well aware of the changes that were going on in their society, but simply accepted them as welcome changes when compared to the society they had lived in during recent memory.

Tacitus also noted the change in the Britons as time went on. In the *Agricola*, he wrote:

> He [Agricola] bestowed commendations upon those who were prompt in complying with his intentions, and reprimanded such as were dilatory; thus promoting a spirit of emulation which had all the force of necessity. He was also attentive to provide a liberal education for the sons of their chieftains, preferring the natural genius of the Britons to the attainments of the Gauls; and his attempts were attended with such success, that they who lately disdained to make use of the Roman language, were now ambitious of becoming eloquent. Hence the Roman habit began to be held in honor, and the toga was frequently worn. At length they gradually deviated into a taste for those luxuries which stimulate to vice; porticos, and baths, and the elegancies of the table; and this, from their inexperience, they termed politeness, whilst, in reality, it constituted a part of their slavery.[42]

This passage makes it clear that Agricola set out on a knowing, conscious attempt to 'civilize' the Britons in the way of the Romans. The sons of the chieftains were educated in the Roman style. Chiefs and through them, tribes were rewarded when they behaved according to Roman standards. As with Bentley's theories, the Roman government working within Britain provided a necessary framework of legal and economic incentives in order to convince the natives to adopt foreign ways and change

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[42] Tacitus, *The Germany and the Agricola of Tacitus*. (Public Domain Books, Kindle Edition.), Kindle Locations 683-689.

their habits to suit Roman tastes, which were quickly becoming the tastes of the Britons as well.

The Roman towns of Britain were primarily seats of administration, justice, and religion. Secondarily they were significant social centers: places where the aristocracy of the territory might meet, do political business, perform ceremonies, and create and sustain the networks of patronage and alliance, which were at the basis of local social and political structures.[43] They were the capitals and trading centers of Roman Britain, known as the *civitas*. This was not due to a deliberate policy by the Roman authorities however. "They developed from the previous framework through the impact of an essentially laissez-faire administration on native societies. Those in power could thus gain or retain more by cooperation than by opposition."[44] Rome preferred to invest as little as possible in provinces after the initial conquest. The monetary economy already in place in Britain before the Roman conquest provided the impetus of this as communities came together to get the coin from the soldiers.

By the end of the first century towns with public buildings in the Roman style and education appear. The Latin language, Roman dress, and continental habits of life such as visiting the baths and giving dinner parties were becoming fashionable.[45] By the end of the second century, the towns were at the zenith of their early prosperity and villas

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[43] James 2001, 51.
[44] Millet 1990, 99.
[45] Frere 1987, 297.

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appeared in the countryside.[46] There is an almost complete cessation of construction of new public buildings after the second century.[47]

Within these towns, called *Civitates*, the primary qualification for leadership was wealth. This most likely derived from power within the tribal community prior to the invasion of Rome and cooperation with Roman authorities once they arrived in the island. Many of these leaders were descendants of the old pre-Roman tribal aristocracies, and had even changed their names to match Roman customs, as is sometimes betrayed in their names—such as Lucullus, son of Amminius, whose name is found inscribed on an altar from Chichester.[48] These men would be made leaders of the civitates, but maintained their position as leaders within the community as their forefathers had with one notable exception: they were also responsible for the collection of taxes and, when necessary, had to make good on any shortfalls in these taxes due from members of their communities.[49]

One extreme manifestation of Roman behavior was a love of gladiatorial spectacles in the amphitheatre. Examples of these structures have survived at Cirencester, Silchester, Dorchester, Chichester, Richborough, Caerwent, and Carmarthen. These structures were constructed of earth instead of masonry, and thus easily destroyed, implying that more likely existed but simply have not survived to the modern era.[50] Though these theaters could (and likely were) put to other uses as well as gladiatorial

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[46] ibid, 298.
[47] Millett 1990, 137.
[48] David Shotter, *Roman Britain (Lancaster Pamphlets in Ancient History)* (Taylor & Francis, Kindle Edition), 42.
[49] Ibid
[50] Frere 1987, 299.

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spectacles, the fact that they existed and were used for these events speaks to the depth to which the British island had Romanized by this point.

The Roman Garrison in Britain

As the garrison moved through Britain economics took over and the population of the island shifted to compensate and support the garrison as a way of extracting the maximum amount of coin out of the army. In Britain, the army was a force for protection and safety. It kept the Scots, Picts, and other tribes that had been harassing the British for centuries at bay and protected the people in a way that they had never been protected before. As stated above, the people of the region generally welcomed the Romans, and towns would form around the forts wherever they needed to go in order to support the forts and profit economically from their presence. This formed a pattern of urbanization around the Roman garrison, which would then spread into the countryside and throughout the country, as displayed in figure 4, as well as giving the Romans a seat of government from which to operate and manage the day-to-day running of the province.

The vast majority of the population of Romans in any given province consisted of the Roman garrison which was stationed within the forts. The army was also the primary way provincials could gain citizenship. Joining the army conferred many benefits, including Roman citizenship and a grant of land after 25 years of service. This was previously unheard of to most of the citizens of a province.

In the early years of the Empire, troops rarely served in their native provinces. This prevented favoritism and loyalty from forming within units to a given area. It also prevented personal interests from getting in the way of a soldier's duty. By the end of the

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fourth century, however, this had changed. Under Hadrian (117-138), local recruitment became the norm for most units. Units based in Britain for several generations had become largely British. Mattingly stated "the army had a strongly developed Roman identity, though a distinctive one when compared to other elements of the provincial population. […] The Roman army was an institution that created its own sense of common identity for its polyglot soldiery, drawn from all corners of the Empire."[51] Furthermore, the army swore an oath of allegiance to the Emperor as its general (*imperator*), and in a sense represented the military backing that guaranteed his political security in strategic places throughout the provinces. The command structure of the army was tightened and drawn from Romanized personnel of the middle-classes throughout the empire.[52]

This common identity of the soldiers in the army remained Roman, regardless of where the soldiers had originally come from, just as the soldiers that had come from other Provinces became Roman after their training. British soldiers, even if they remained in the same town in which they were born and raised, were quickly Romanized by the process of training, as well as the new influences of their brothers-in-arms. In turn, these men continued to spread Roman identity throughout the British island where they served, as well as their own families. Unlike Egyptians, Britons who joined the main Roman army received citizenship upon enlistment, while those who served in the auxiliary units had to serve 25 years before becoming a citizen of Rome. This also helped ensure the cultural identity of the army remained Roman.

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[51] Mattingly 2007, 166.
[52] Shotter, 5.

The fort staffed with hundreds or thousands of soldiers paid with coins shipped in bulk from the mainland, each taking families they would support created the basis for an urban local economy. This promise of coin would attract young people from the countryside into the city to provide necessary support services to keep the soldiers and their families comfortable and extract as much coin out of the soldiers as possible. The army would teach their families and the people around the values of Rome and her culture, as well as Latin. Colonies of Roman citizens that moved to Britain for various jobs or opportunities, such as merchants from the continent, along with the policies of governors like Agricola or of client-kings like Cogidubnus, were also responsible for the spread of Romanization throughout the British province.[53]

Despite the diverse forces working to Romanize British society, the north and west of Britain remained stubbornly resistant to Romanization. This may have had as much to do with Roman priorities as with political or economic aspirations (or lack thereof) of rural communities.[54] These areas were less hospitable, more marginal in terms of agricultural sustainability than the more southerly areas. As a result, there was less of a Roman presence in those areas. Most Roman interests were located in the southern part of the island, which was also easier to reach from than the mainland in a time when transportation was both costly and difficult. It was also the area closest to the ports and the trade, where trade goods could arrive and would require the protection of the garrison.

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[53] Frere, 1987, 296.
[54] Mattingly 2007, 523.

During the first and second centuries, towns began to appear along the landscape of Britain in response to the economics of the Roman garrison, as well as a response to the building of Roman buildings through the country. The aristocracy began to build villas and decorate them lavishly with Roman art, such as the mosaic found in Dorset England depicting Jesus shown in figures 8 and 9. However, the art and architecture of Britain maintained a Celtic flare, despite the Roman influences. The detail of figure 8 shown in figure 9 shows this beautifully. The Celtic style knotwork that surrounds the figure of Jesus, with vines around him, are more reminiscent of the druids that had been native to the island, and bear little resemblance to other depictions of Jesus from mainland Europe and the Middle East. This shows that while the elites of British society embraced the Roman styles, they adapted the Roman forms to their own needs and ideas.[55]

Language in Britain

In Britain, before the coming of the Romans, Celtic was the primary language. Rome invaded Britain in the year 55, but even before that, Latin words had appeared on British coinage as illustrated by figure 2.[56] This is important for two reasons: first, Britain had an established monetary economy before the coming of the Romans; and second, they were familiar enough with Latin that at least some of the upper echelons of the population knew and respected the language sufficiently to put it on the coins that they minted. It may also imply that the Briton elites knew of the Roman Empire's

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[55] Dominic Perring, *The Roman House in Britain* (London: Routledge, 2002), 221-222.
[56] Haverfield 1923, 29.

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imperialistic nature, and suspected the Romans would come eventually, so made preparations for that eventuality.

Rome also brought the Latin language, which quickly dominated governmental administration and the aristocratic levels of society. This is in contrast to Egypt, where Greek remained the language of the government even after Rome's conquest. The difference is illustrated in the plaques from Britain displayed in figure 10. The top plaque contains a text granting Roman citizenship to an Egyptian, and the bottom plaque granting citizenship to a man named Reburrus, as well as any of his wives or children. This shows that among the upper levels of government in Britain, Latin was the *lingua franca*.

The Latin language spread to Britain partly due to business with merchants or the army, and partly because of the Roman education that was available within the cities. The Celtic language also survived, however, meaning that for the course of the Roman period Britain remained a bilingual nation. Latin was the language of law, the government, business and cultured life. Celtic remained the language of the intimate family circle and of intercourse with the lower orders of society.[57] Still, the upper and lower classes used Latin freely in towns, even for the most casual purposes, as well as at their country villas.[58]

Tacitus indicates in the Agricola that the Latin language was somewhat slow to be adopted, but once it was adopted by the people of Britain, they took to it eagerly.

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[57] Frere 1987, 302.
[58] Haverfield 1923, 34. Citing archaeological evidence from Kent, Cavlleva, and Silchester.

> He [Agricola] was also attentive to provide a liberal education for the sons of their chieftains, preferring the natural genius of the Britons to the attainments of the Gauls; and his attempts were attended with such success, that they who lately disdained to make use of the Roman language, were now ambitious of becoming eloquent.[59]

Education was a slower process, but one that achieved the greatest results as it targeted the more impressionable children. Raised in the Roman way, educated in the Roman histories and learning to speak the Roman language, they could then take their family to greater power within the Roman government. They would also be more 'accustomed' to being Roman and living under the Romans, thus less likely to foment rebellion. This approach took Romanization of a province to a whole new level, securing it long term against revolution, while short term luxuries secured it for the moment against the discontent of the natives.

Under Roman influence, Britons began to adopt an urban lifestyle and to live according to civilized constitutions, and they learned Latin and wore the toga, both classic signs of Romanization.[60] One must view descriptions carefully, however, due to the Roman attitude of *humanitas*. The Romans saw the barbarians as barely more than animals, and it was the duty of the Romans to lift them up and teach them how to become truly human. Because of this attitude, it is likely descriptions of societies before and after Roman contact are extremely biased on both the nature of the society before the Romans came and in affirming the speed, ease, and enthusiasm local populations showed towards the arrival of the Romans.

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[59] Tacitus *Germany and Agricola,* Kindle Locations 685-687.
[60] Woolf 1998, 69-70.

Edward James makes the argument that "the British aristocracy, no doubt the army, and probably many townspeople [spoke Latin], but it never really penetrated the countryside where the bulk of the population lived. If one takes inscriptions as evidence, the distribution is very suggestive. The army was responsible for a great proportion of the surviving inscriptions. Some towns produced almost none, and the countryside is devoid of them."[61] Inscriptions, however, are not a good marker for how much actual people spoke a language, both because inscriptions were cultural, performed mostly by Romans rather than the Britons, and because illiteracy rates at that time were extremely high. It is quite possible that one could speak a language, but never read or write in it at all. Education in reading and writing takes time, dedication, and effort. These were resources the common farmer could not spare for his sons and daughters. It was reserved for the higher levels of society, which made up a much smaller proportion of the population but had the resources to expend on such an endeavor, and who could spare their children from the workday.

We do know that many artisans knew and could write in Latin, as the artwork of the time shows a great deal of lettering and words in Latin. However, Sheppard Frere studied graffiti on pots and buildings, which he felt was a more telling measure of the extent of Latin in the countryside. He disagreed with Edwards, and found evidence that Latin penetrated deeply into the countryside, including the widespread use of Latin names among the peasants of the tribes.[62]

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[61] James 2001, 61.
[62] Frere 1987, 303.

After the coming of the Saxon invaders, Celtic and Latin gave way to Old English in the east. The west and north of Britain, which had been most resistant to Romanization, saw the old patterns of the Celtic language reemerging.[63] By the sixth century, Britain had seceded from the Latin world with the exception of ecclesiastical and governmental uses that remain in use in a limited fashion even today. Without the Roman educational system, army, or merchants to support the survival of the language within Britain, the flow of Latin into the island stopped. As it became less useful to their everyday lives, people stopped using it and learning it. Those who had spoken it forgot it, and with no new speakers being trained, it soon fell out of use within Britain and largely disappeared within a generation or two.

Climate change and widespread flooding

Recently gathered climatological data has offered possible new explanations for the civil discontent beginning during the final stages of the Roman rule of Britain. During the period between 250 and 450, there was a period of severe climate change that affected Northern Europe, including Britain. Dendrochronology, pollen analysis, and radiocarbon dating establish the evidence for this climate change. Flooding began in the third century and continued throughout the Roman era. Cooler temperatures and wetter conditions began as early as AD 350 and persisted into the early medieval era. About AD 400, a relatively sudden climate change brought more severe cold and wetter conditions.[64] This coincides with the beginning of the social unrest and revolt that ended in the withdrawal of the Roman occupation of Britain.

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[63] James 1993,151.
[64] Jones 1996, 188.

This sudden climate change would have destroyed crops in the field, made drainage impossible, as well as adequate preparation of the soil for the next crops. The lower classes, victims to climactic fluctuations and ready prey to famine or disease, were prone to revolt. [65] Similar conditions in the fourteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries led to widespread harvest failure and famine in the north, associated at times with political violence and instability extremely similar to what follows immediately in this period of Romano-Britain history.[66]

Britain's location at the extreme northwest of the Empire meant that the people felt climatic deterioration early and intensely. Britain's latitude and altitude, and the interaction of weather patterns around the island meant Britain's crops were particularly sensitive to climate fluctuations, which could lead to population disasters. The effects of any environmental crisis were correspondingly severe. [67] The possible climate changes for later Roman Britain include colder temperatures, greater wetness, and severe flooding. There is significant archaeological evidence of severe flooding throughout Britain to back this up. In some sites, there is as much as twelve feet of silt, implying enormous flooding throughout those areas.[68]

This climate change would strongly affect both pastoral and arable agriculture.[69] Heavy rainfall would cause grain to sprout on the ear, prolong the harvest, delay the autumnal preparation of the land, mildew the grain, and make a heavier, wetter soil more

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[65] ibid, 236.
[66] ibid, 224.
[67] ibid, 242-243.
[68] ibid, 200.
[69] ibid, 203.

difficult to prepare and plant with winter crops.[70] It would also affect pasturage and animal husbandry. In the lowlands, increased rainfall might have improved pasture, although cooler temperatures would have delayed early growth and slowed or reduced hay crop. In the uplands, the climate changes would have a strongly adverse effect on the economy, as longer winters, delayed springs, and shorter, colder summers would have reduced hay crops and necessitated greater slaughter of animals when hay and fodder ran out.[71]

This would have affected the staple carbohydrates as well as the meat on the island, which likely caused a severe food shortage. Gildas refers to the beginnings of such famines in his writings: "For they resorted to looting each other, there being only a tiny amount of food to give brief sustenance to the wretched people."[72]

The timing of this cold, wet snap, starting in 350 and intensifying in 400, coincides with the souring of the Britons' relations with Rome. It also coincides with drawdown in the size of the garrison, which would have exacerbated an already strained economy as the government ceased to send needed money to pay the soldiers, and the population of the island suddenly and dramatically declined. If Britain were facing famine after years of hard harvests, it is also possible that the reduction in troops was an attempt by the Roman central government to remove strain from the nation's food supply, and to transfer the soldiers to an area where the empire needed the forces more, all in one maneuver. It would also help ensure the safety and wellbeing of the troops.

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[70] ibid, 220.
[71] ibid, 223.
[72] Gildas, *The Ruin of Britain and Other Works* (New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield, 1978), 23.

The last of the shipments of coin sent to Britain to pay the troops arrived in 402.[73]
We can be reasonably sure that after that date authorities on the continent were not
paying the troops in Britain.[74] This leads to two possibilities: 1) there were not enough
Roman troops left by this time to be reflected by significant finds of coins, which may
mean that the Imperial government, which was short of cash waging war with the Goths
in Italy simply stopped paying the army and civil service in Britain; 2) ensuring the trans-
shipment of cash to Britain had become impossible due to the wars on the continent.
Regardless of the reason, the lack of coin would help explain the extreme mood of
discontent there that was to lead to three successive usurpers in 406 and 407.[75] The
shortage of imported coin also makes archaeological dating much more difficult after this
point; however, a total collapse of manufacturing activity[76], and perhaps a complete
economic collapse of the country seems a clear possibility.

If the central government was no longer paying them, it becomes easy to
understand why the Roman army in Britain would lift three usurpers to the purple and
follow Constantine across the channel into battle. The departure of Constantine and the
Roman garrison from Britain in 407 represents the end of a significant presence of the
Romans in Britain. This sudden loss of revenue and population decline would have a
devastating effect on the British economy, and a study of archaeological evidence
confirms this theory. Gildas describes this time as disastrous. "The British feebly

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[73] Salway 1993, 300.
[74] Campbell 1991, 18.
[75] Salway 1993, 300.
[76] Mattingly 2007, 529.

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wandered, a dreadful and notorious famine gripped them, forcing many of them to give in without delay to their bloody plunderers, merely to get a scrap of food to revive them."[77]

Economic Failure

Archaeological evidence also shows an evolution of the British economy during the later Roman period. There was a greater emphasis on trade within Britain accompanied by a change in industrial locations, as rurally located production centers expand at the expense of those productive units near the *civitas* centers, which had been more significant in earlier times.[78] The Britons moved their manufacturing centers away from the cities. There could be many reasons for this. At the time, transportation was expensive and difficult. Britain had many navigable rivers, but it is possible that they wished to move these centers closer to these rivers, or to a port, which would allow better access to the Channel and from there the continent. However, there could be a different explanation for this movement of manufacturing centers. Recent archaeological and topographical discoveries have found that the coastlines of Britain were far from stable. The docks of Roman London were roughly four meters below present high tide level. The Saxons placed their waterfronts both above in altitude and north of the earlier Roman waterfront.[79] The effects of topographical changes in the coastline and river courses must have been significant. Such changes would have disrupted communications, drainage,

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[77] Gildas, 24.
[78] Millett 1990, 157.
[79] Jones 1996, 201.

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and local economic organization.[80] If the cause of the move from the *civitas* to more

rural manufacturing was topographical changes to the coastline or paths of the rivers, this

may have uprooted entire communities. The change did not last, however, as the pottery

industry began experiencing a recession slightly before 400, and all manufacturing

centers throughout the island shut down shortly after 410.

There was an effective cessation of markets and manufacturing centers that

undermined the access to and use of Roman material culture.[81] Peter Salway studied

this, and argued "the demise of the pottery industry adds further material to our picture of

the condition of Britain after the break with Rome. No pottery-manufacturing centers

have yet been proven to have been in production after 410, and the layers of sites such as

Wroxester and Verulaminum that show extended fifth century occupation have not

produced late Roman pottery in the sort of quantity that would indicate that it could still

be obtained as an everyday commodity in the market."[82] Before the Roman occupation,

Britons had used baskets rather than pottery. When ties with Rome ended, trade with the

continent appears to have shut down entirely. This collapse of the market economy

would have created a massive surplus of labor, when the potters and artisans these major

manufacturing centers had employed suddenly found themselves without work or a

means to make a living in a land where the economy was already failing.

It appears there was a convergence of elements that came together to lead to a complete

economic collapse of British society after the withdrawal of the Romans. People who are

hungry and fear that a barbarian attack may end their lives at any moment are not likely

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[80] ibid, 202.
[81] Mattingly 2007, 538.
[82] Salway 1993, 331.

to go shopping for pottery. The largest centers of pottery manufacture are closed, and "the country seems to have gone rapidly from a state in which pottery was almost a throw away commodity to one where ceramics were almost unknown."[83] At its peak, the pottery industry was one of Britain's leading exports and a primary economic force in the country. It probably produced several million vessels annually and provided employment for thousands of individuals.[84] Combine that with the loss of the army, along with the yearly mass shipments of coin that it brought in, and the loss of trade and it is not difficult to see how this would quickly become a crisis.

The fading of Romanization

Traces of Romanization quickly fade from the island quickly after the final departure of the Romans. Simon James suggests, "One possible explanation is that the Romanized aristocracy, so dependent on Imperial power, rapidly withered after contact with Rome was lost. Pagan Saxon rulers then moved into the power vacuum."[85] However, the Saxons did not enter Britain for some 30 years after the Romans left, so it is impossible the transition from Roman rule to Saxon was so quick and smooth.

The use of a monetary economy fades quickly, despite the fact that the Britons had been using coinage and inscribing them with Latin words before the Romans came. A barter economy seems to replace a money economy, setting Britain back centuries before the arrival of Rome. By about 420 or 430 Britain effectively stopped using coins

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[83] Salway 2002, 235.
[84] Mattingly 2007, 518.
[85] James 1993,151.

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and had no source of factory manufactured pottery other than the occasional import.[86] By 430, the use of coinage as a medium of exchange disappears from the archaeological record entirely.[87] Whatever else may have survived of Roman life in Britain, the provincial economy collapsed abruptly along with the Imperial economy between 400 and 410. This suggests that the provincial economy remained largely dependent on the Imperial one.[88] Again, it implies deep ties to the Roman Empire rather than simply superficial ties, and an abundance of Romanization.

Peter Salway feels that for the first 20 years or so after that break it is unlikely that there was any type of central authority within Britain.[89] I find this unlikely. The Britons had just elevated three usurpers to the purple over the previous four years, likely due to a climate crisis and the distance between themselves and the existing Roman Emperor. They had lived for 400 years under a central organized government with an Emperor for most of that time. It seems more likely that they were desperate for strong leadership from an Emperor or King. It is more likely that they did acclaim a king or series of kings during that time, the names and details of which have been lost to history. Sheppard Frere states, "The official connection of Britain with the Roman Empire ended in 410 and was not renewed, but the Roman framework and civilization of the province was in some sense maintained until 442. Thereafter it was Celtic rather than Roman Britain which maintained the struggle."[90] For the Roman framework to remain semi-

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[86] Salway 1993, 317.
[87] Frere 1987, 364.
[88] Mattingly 2007, 497.
[89] Salway 1993, 333.
[90] Frere 1987, 375.

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functional, there had to be a central organizing government, or a British parallel to the Roman Emperor. Furthermore, a clue to this puzzle is found in Gildas' *De Excidio:*

> "Kings were anointed not in God's name, but as being crueler than the rest; before long they would be killed, with no enquiry into the truth, by those who had anointed them, and others still crueler chosen to replace them. Any king who seemed gentler and rather more inclined to the truth was regarded as the downfall of Britain: Everyone directed their hatred and their weapons at him, with no respect."[91]

The *De Excidio* clearly refers to a succession of kings that ruled Britain after the Roman withdrawal. After this time, primary sources do speak of a central king of Britain shortly thereafter, who ruled when the Saxons came.[92] Gildas, Bede and Nennius describe King Vortigern, who invited the Anglo Saxons to settle in Britain, only to see them revolt against the British and establish their own kingdom.

The Saxons had been a staple on the landscape of British histories for centuries, but until this point, they had been barbarians on the frontier, attacking and harassing before withdrawing. This begins to change about the year 425, as archaeological finds indicate that there were already an increasing number of specifically German artifacts in cemeteries in Eastern England at this point.[93] It was not the habit of the Britons to bury the dead of their enemies in cemeteries with all their possessions when they died while at war. Thus, it is a safe assumption that the Britons either traded for these German artifact, which were then on the bodies of their Briton owners, or that these are Saxon bodies in

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[91] Gildas, 24-25.

[92] Due to the problems with dating among these chapters of Gildas, it is possible he was referring to Marcus, Gratian, and Constantine in this passage. However, I find it more likely from the wording that he is referring to a series of Kings which occurred after the death of Constantine in 411.

[93] Mattingly 2007, 537.

British cemeteries, indicating a friendship between the two people. If these represented battle prizes taken during the raids that had been going on for centuries, there would likely have been a regular appearance of them within the cemeteries since the raids began centuries before, in which case this would not be a new occurrence after 425. This would indicate, combined with the literary sources, that Vortigern (assuming he existed, which is considered likely by many) was likely ruling Briton at some time before 425, with a council. The presence of a council could be an attempted imitation of Rome's governmental structure, with the senate existing to advise the Emperor. This also agrees with Gildas' passage above where Vortigern receives the Saxons as friends. Again, evidence that the Britons were attempting to create a government similar to Rome's after the withdrawal, rather than the scattered tribal life they had lived before.

Oddly, a standout in the archaeological record are the villas. Despite strong evidence of a complete economic collapse, and literary sources referring to the people driving out the Roman administration, the majority of villas appear to have undergone gradual decay rather than a violent end. We can feel sure the owners might cling to their villas as long as possible, but conditions eventually became too insecure for personal safety. In the majority of cases, it was the economic basis rather than physical buildings of the villas which was first to disintegrate. When that happened, the physical building was not long to follow. It is noteworthy that Gildas, writing about 540 could describe the sacking of towns, but he knew nothing of villas. [94]

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[94] Frere 1987, 366-367.

How Romanized did Britain become?

The Roman army left Britain with Constantine in 407. By 410, the entire Roman Civil Administration had been ejected from the island. When the Saxons arrived on British shores around 440, there was little of the Latin language to be found, little manufacturing, and no evidence of Romanization remaining. Because of the suddenness with which all traces of Romanization were lost after the withdrawal of Rome, the common assumption among scholarship is that Britain was never fully Romanized and atavistically reverted to native Celtic ways after Rome left. However, Dominic Perring argues, "In all areas amenable to archaeological study the Romani-British house testifies to the integration of Britain into the Romano-Hellenistic world. Roman houses in Britain were not slavishly copied from the houses of Roman Italy or Gaul but incorporated new variations on established themes."[95] This is not surprising, however, since nowhere in the Roman Empire were buildings ever slavishly copied from the templates that existed in Italy. Local materials and needs would prevent such a thing, and the transportation of enough Italian marble and travertine to create a building locally would be prohibitively expensive for all but the wealthiest.

A thorough examination of the archaeological data indicates that Britain appears to have fully Romanized during the four centuries of Roman rule. The material civilization of Britain was as Roman as elsewhere in the Empire.[96] This continued through the last part of the fourth century, when Martin Millet argues that Britain became completely Roman: "Legally and culturally there was little to distinguish her inhabitants

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[95] Perring 2002, 213.
[96] Haverfield, 1923, 36.

from those of any other province, except perhaps for some Celtic rather than Hellenistic or Italian undertones."[97]

Britain did Romanize, completely and quickly. The population accepted Roman rule upon the entry of Caesar and his army with some resistance and one notable rebellion under Boudicca. There was no multiyear resistance such as that Caesar encountered in Gaul. Once the army was garrisoned within the island, it seems as though the villagers mostly welcomed them. Britons accepted Roman currency and began moving to supply the army with any goods and services they may need. Towns appeared to support the army, even when forts were placed in distant locations with no population centers. These towns relied on the Romans to support them. They existed to supply the forts. When the Roman government stopped sending coin to the garrison in 402, and the Roman army later withdrew, these towns were left with no economic support, and quickly collapsed. Furthermore, climactic data indicates that the Britons were encountering some difficult weather and bad harvests.

Conclusions

It appears that the Roman failure in Britain was caused by a confluence of events which all came together to bring about political instability, unrest, and finally outright revolt. The Romans fell into an ecological and climactic trap in Britain. The economy of Britain soared to new heights by the demands of a growing population, swift urbanization, Romanization creating demand for different types of goods, greater

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[97] Millett 1990, 212.

availability of money to all classes, and the needs of the army and government. A climate that was at the time favorable with arable grazing intensified agriculture in developed areas and pushed it to spread into previously undeveloped areas and soils. Within a century and a half, however, climatic deterioration gravely altered conditions of agriculture, making it far less favorable over the period of several decades. Catastrophic flooding plagued the countryside following this, destroying many manufacturing centers. Finally, repeated incursions of the Scots and Picts were the final nails in the coffin of the Roman society there. These events came together to create a strain on the system, which had experienced an unsustainable period of rapid economic growth.

A sharp deterioration in the climate occurring in roughly 400 must have triggered a severe crisis.[98] These crises lead to a surplus of labor, famine, and widespread economic collapse. It is quite likely that during this time the British repeatedly appealed to the Roman central government for help, which was not forthcoming due to the problems faced by the government on other fronts. Finally, the incursions of the Alans, Suevis and Vandals on the continent added the necessary impetus of fear to send the British over the edge and into full revolt.

Over the next few months, the British tried out three Emperors of their own, until Constantine removed the Roman army from the island entirely; however, this came with its own consequences. Two were clear failures, though Constantine led the remainder of the Roman garrison off the island, which removed the final Roman Army's presence from Britain forever. The final removal of the army from the island was a final

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[98] Michael Jones, *The End of Roman Britain* (London: Cornell University Press, 1996), 225.

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devastating blow to the British economy. It took with it thousands of members of the population, as well as a large percentage of the youth of the nation. Three years later, the British revolted against the Roman administration that remained on the island, ejecting it. After the Roman withdrawal, Britain did not revert to the condition it was in before the Romans came. In fact, the Roman withdrawal damaged Britain's society so badly that it reverted from a money economy to a barter economy, its manufacturing and trading infrastructure completely collapsed, as did its government. Primary sources refer to a dark time of desperation and famine. Despite that, the people worked to maintain a Roman framework for decades, including a central government with a council and a succession of kings that rose and fell after 410, culminating in Vortigern, who apparently invited the Saxons to come to Britain in order to help the Britons repel the Scots and Picts.

Despite these attempts, the complete economic collapse made much of Romanization impossible to maintain in Britain, and the Romanized society fell away largely before the war with the Saxons, evolving into something completely different and largely unknown. There are few durable goods preserved by the archaeological record from this timeframe due to the economic troubles, and most primary sources skipped from the point of the Roman withdrawal directly to the Saxons. The war with the Saxons destroyed their attempts and replaced the language entirely, putting an end to Romanization in Britain.

Romanization was not wiped from Britain because it was only a superficial veneer. It was removed from Britain when the climate turned poor, destroying crops, and the major economic basis of many of the islands cities was removed. This, it seems, lead

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to a total economic collapse of the island. Thus, when the Saxons invaded and the

archaeological record begins to reappear 50 years later, Romanization had vanished

because the society had been destroyed, leaving few traces.

Chapter 3

The Romanization of Egypt

Rome's conquest of Egypt has been immortalized in popular culture for centuries. Shakespeare's play "Anthony and Cleopatra" brought the story of the Romance between Marc Antony and the Egyptian queen to the masses. In more modern times, there have been multiple movies based on the story. Before the now famous Battle of Actium, Egypt had been a friend and trading partner of Rome, and provided a full third of the Republic's grain supply. In 30 BCE, Rome conquered Egypt at the battle of Actium, and made it a province of the newly forming Empire. Octavian began the process of integrating the new province as part of the empire.

Like Britain, there is a debate among scholars as to how Romanized Egypt became. The consensus has traditionally been that Roman Egypt was neither heavily urbanized nor Romanized and that the Roman administration was content to adopt a laissez-faire attitude and leave most institutions of the Egyptian government in operation. In recent years these attitudes have evolved. Now, it is believed that Egypt was one of the most urbanized of Rome's provinces, as well as one of the most changed by Roman administration.[99]

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[99] Elizabeth Fentress, *Creation, Transformations, and Failures*. (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000), 173.

This debate began in 1955 when Naphtali Lewis challenged the use of the term "Greco-Roman Egypt" in his paper "Greco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction?"[100] In it, he enumerated the many changes made to Egyptian society after the coming of the Romans. Lewis argued that the term "Greco-Roman Egypt", which had been commonly used among scholars up until then to denote the period in Egyptian history after the Roman conquest, was itself an oxymoron. He followed that paper up with his 1984 "The Romanity of Roman Egypt: A Growing Consensus" in which he noted that several scholars had begun speaking in a similar vein. Lewis observed that the amount of ink that had been spilled in insisting that Egypt was assigned a unique status showed "moderns have been not too different from ancients in regarding Egypt as an exotic land of mystery and idiosyncrasy."[101] Since these papers were published, Scholars have entirely changed their tone. A.K. Bowman has argued that much of Egypt's special status among provinces has been due in part to misinterpretation of the ancient sources, including Tacitus. The term "Greco-Roman Egypt" has fallen almost entirely out of use, replaced with "Roman Egypt" or "Ptolemaic Egypt" to refer to the reign of the Greek Ptolomies before Rome's arrival.

After the conquests of Alexander the Great, Ptolemy took over Egypt. He understood that he would never get enough Greek immigrants to create a Greek bureaucracy, so the existing Egyptian scribal class had to be assimilated and convinced to retrain in the language of the new rulers. The result of this campaign was that many

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[100] Naphtali Lewis "Greco-Roman Egypt: Fact or Fiction?," *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt,* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).
[101] Naphtali Lewis "The Romanity of Roman Egypt: A Growing Consensus," *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt,* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995).

became bicultural as well as bilingual. People would have Greek and Egyptian identities, and would move from using their Greek identity in a military or administrative context, to the Egyptian identity when serving as a priest. This also made the touchstone of status hellenism. Extensive study of the names given at Karanis shows that names distinguished one as either "Egyptian Egyptians" or "Egyptian Greeks." Women were more likely to fall into the first category.[102]

Greek families in Egypt also continued the tradition of exposing unwanted female infants throughout the Ptolemaic period. As a result, Greek women were rare in Egypt, so Greek men often had no choice but to marry Egyptian women. Intermarriage between indigenous Egyptians and the descendants of Greek settlers became common over the centuries, and children of such marriages were given names from both backgrounds. Cultural identities were reinforced through the generations by the men's participation in occupations in the military or government, which demanded a Greek education and identity. While the private sphere, which women were primarily in charge of, was Egyptian.

Women were not entirely without power, however. They often headed the Greek cults (including the Alexandrian cults of the Ptolemaic queens) while women in Egyptian temples were more subordinate to the male priests. Unlike Greek cities, women had substantial power to own, inherit, and manage property and conduct business, which implies contracts and could lead to lawsuits. Further complicating this area, the population of Ptolemaic Egypt could choose between Egyptian or Greek laws, exploiting

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[102] Fiona McHardy and Eireann Marshall, ed. *Women's Influence on Classical Civilization*. (London: Routledge, 2004), 157.

the significant differences between the two systems, particularly with respect to women.[103] The Ptolemies introduced the requirement for women to have male guardians, which had not previously been a feature of Egyptian law. Despite this requirement, a woman who had been sued would have to answer to the lawsuit, even if she had no male guardian.

As a result, by the time Egypt became a Roman province, the population was ethnically and culturally so thoroughly mixed that the Romans simply classed everyone as "*Aegyptoi*" or Egyptian, except citizens of Alexandria and other Greek Poleis, and those who were already Roman citizens. To gain Roman citizenship required personal approval from the Emperor himself, which was clearly difficult to acquire save by the most influential of families. The usual route to citizenship through military service was barred to most Egyptians. Despite these obstacles, the number of families of Roman citizens progressively increased through individual grants to private individuals, which then propagated through the family.[104] The barrier between lower and higher statuses was impenetrable without the personal dispensation of the Emperor, which was of course inaccessible to most of society. Wealthy and prominent Alexandrians were often rewarded with Roman citizenship due to an affinity between the two capitals; however, Alexandrian citizenship was a requirement of Roman citizenship.[105] This lasted until 212, when Caracalla made Roman citizens of practically everyone living within the boundaries of the Empire. That action in itself severely devalued the worth of being a

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[103] McHardy, 151-152 and Lewis 1983, 32.

[104] McHardy, 153.

[105] Lewis 1983, 19.

Roman citizen, causing problems in its own right. Before that, however, Egyptians were only exceptionally given Roman citizenship and then only Alexandrian families with special dispensation from the Emperor himself.[106]

This mixing of cultures lasted well after Octavian had come to Alexandria. The papyri of the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods show the survival of many Greek institutions in Egyptian practice. The most obvious of these is use of the Greek language, as well as the requirement for women to have legal guardians, which lasted until Augustus gave women a way out in the form of the *ius libertorum*. The third is the use of slaves for domestic service where they had previously been used mostly for manual labor outside. [107]

Roman views of Egyptians

In the centuries before Rome conquered Egypt, the stereotype of Egypt among the Romans was that it was a land dissolute with fabulous wealth, ruled by fat and gluttonous kings who capped their debauched existence with incestuous brother-sister marriages.[108] There are dozens of writings throughout the Roman Empire that attest to this fact. No one expressed the Roman disdain for Egyptians and their ways more passionately than Juvenal. In his fifteenth satire, he holds up to ridicule the 'demented' land, which worships animals. He recounts that when one Egyptian town invaded another during a festival of its local god: "Words led to blows, which led to a full scale riot, replete with

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[106] Ibid.
[107] Jane Rowlandson. *Women and Society in Green and Roman Egypt*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 163.
[108] Lewis 1983, 34.

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every atrocity not excluding cannibalism."[109] During the time of Augustus, Livy wrote: "The Macedonians had degenerated to the level of Egyptians'."[110] An insult indeed, since the Romans already looked down on the Macedonians.

Tacitus was much more expansive in his description of Egypt. He described Egypt as "A fertile producer of food, divided and unstable because of superstitious cults and undisciplined behavior, a stranger to the rule of law and unacquainted with government by civil magistrates."[111] Tacitus' histories give expression to the Roman disdain for the population of Egypt as lesser beings in contrast with his writings of Britain, which characterized the Britons as savage barbarians, but still worthy of respect and with laws within their lands that they respected.

Tacitus' contemporary, Dio of Prusa, gave a public address where he combined praise for Alexandria's commercial and cultural greatness with a barrage of denunciations of the Alexandrians for their frivolity, mindless contentiousness, boundless ambition, extravagance, mercurial temperament, abusiveness, disorderliness, turmoil, physical violence, passionate pursuit of pleasures and trivia, lack of seriousness, irrationality, folly, wickedness, and misconduct. The speech concluded, "no wonder you are objects of contempt to your rulers." Dio Cassius, without ever having visited Egypt, went out of his way in his history to condemn the Egyptians and, in particular, the

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[109] ibid, 84.
[110] ibid, 31.
[111] Elizabeth Fentress, ed. "Romanization and the City, Creation, Transformations, and Failures." (Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 2000), 173.

Alexandrian mob, as fickle, turbulent, destructive, superstitious, imprudent, and disrespectful of authority.[112]

These are primary source examples describing the view that Romans held for native Egyptians, whether they were of Greek descent or a long line of Egyptians. This quickly became a point of contention between the Egyptian population and Romans after Octavian's conquest. If you were an inhabitant of Egypt, but not a Roman, a citizen of one of the four Poleis, or a Jew, to the Roman government you were simply an Egyptian which automatically made one worthy of Roman disdain, without the benefit of *humanitas* which seemed to apply to every province except this one. Any history of descent from Roman or Greek roots was irrelevant.[113]

In contrast to the previous discussion of the process of Romanization through Britain, Octavian's conquest of Egypt was not benevolent, nor was his subsequent agenda toward the newly conquered province benign. There may have been a number of reasons for this: because Cleopatra was a woman who dared to fight him; because Mark Antony had been such a great threat to Octavian's rise to power; or because there were existing stereotypes of Egyptians already in place when Octavian took power in Rome. Whatever the reason, as Naphtali Lewis observes: "Roman policy towards Egyptians conveys a quality of repression suggestive of vindictiveness."[114] In addition, "the lot of the humble and poor was not enviable anywhere in the Roman Empire – but the population of Egypt

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[112] Lewis 1983, 196.
[113] ibid, 31.
[114] ibid, 33-34.

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appears to have been singled out for exceptionally harsh treatment."[115] We shall return to examples of this treatment momentarily.

The result was that villagers in Egypt received no benefits from Roman occupation. The barrier between commoner and elite status was impenetrable without the personal dispensation of the Emperor. Alexandria was also the one major city denied its own governing body. These factors, and the attitude of the government toward them, made Egyptians resistant to Romanization throughout the time that the Roman army remained in Egypt.

The Governance of Roman Egypt

After Octavian conquered Egypt, he feared that another ambitious Roman general would use the rich, powerful province as a military base for another rebellion. These fears were not without merit. Egypt's generally negative attitude towards Romans who shared equally or even more negative emotions towards the Egyptians, made Egypt a powder keg for rebellion and resistance. Because of this, he set Egypt apart as the Emperor's 'privy purse,' which Octavian placed under his direct control. Egypt was therefore not so much a part of the Empire as a part of Octavian and his successors' personal estates. This also removed the senate from having any jurisdiction over it. The Romanization and urbanization of Egypt was a conscious policy inaugurated by Augustus and pursued with varying degrees of interest by his successors.[116] Despite

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[115] ibid, 33.
[116] McHardy, 165.

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active attempts by the Roman government to Hellenize Egypt, however, much of its daily life remained unchanged. Under Ptolemaic rule, Egypt had already Hellenized. Compounding the problem was the climate of Egypt, which made many cultural traditions impervious to change. The most unchangeable ones were those elements which geography and climate dictated, in addition to those that had become embedded in religious and social traditions. To change these was literally a matter of life or death for local populations. In the Egyptian mindset, this was something that the Romans simply could not understand. However, Egyptians lived in a tiny stretch of fertile land within the Nile Delta, unlike the Romans on an agriculturally-rich peninsula surrounded by seas rich with commercial routes and connections.

Other provinces were governed by a proconsul; however Octavian had Egypt was governed by a prefect, called the *praefectus Aegypti*, who was appointed by the Emperor to serve as his personal representative usually for a term of one to three years. Rarely did a prefect remain for more than four or five years.[117] This also allowed Egypt to be governed by someone from the Equestrian order, a class that was of Augustus' own origin and formed the backbone of his support. He also forbade any Roman of senatorial or even prominent equestrian rank to enter the province without express permission of the Emperor.[118] This demonstrates more evidence of Augustus' paranoia towards Egypt being used by another ambitious general to challenge him. Another explanation could have been to prevent the prefect from being forced to submit to visitors of higher class coming through the province as visitors and tourists, thus reducing the prefect's authority

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[117] Lewis 1983, 19.
[118] ibid, 15-16.

in the eyes of the locals. Because this exclusion policy encompassed families who were generally from the upper echelons of society with the means to move, this edict made Roman immigration into the province nearly nonexistent, whereas the Ptolemies had actively attempted to encourage immigration to create a Hellenized Greek elite. Despite these prohibitions, however, the number of Roman citizens progressively increased through individual grants to prominent families over time.[119]

Augustus maintained the division of Egypt into 30 districts that were called *Nomes* as seen in figure 11. However, little else remained the same. Augustus radically changed the structure of Egyptian government. Augustus reduced the military authorities, formerly known as the *strategoi*, to civil authorities. Instead, the Roman army was distributed throughout the province in fortified camps to act as the military authority for the province as shown in figure 12. These fortified camps were generally placed along the roads leading to the Red Sea, rather than in major population centers as they were in other provinces. The camps were isolated and in inhospitable territory, far from any population centers and outside of the fertile Nile delta. Previously they had been in the mold of soldier-farmers living with their families in major population centers within Egypt, while typically in other provinces the army dispersed among the people. This was a break with typical Roman policy. The civil government became distinctively Roman, but its personnel, except in the top posts, were drawn from the local population and did its business in Greek, not Latin.[120]

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[119] McHardy, 153.
[120] Lewis 1983, 18.

From the time Augustus took Egypt he introduced Roman law, but since the ancient laws tended to operate on the basis of legal personality rather than territoriality it applied only to Roman citizens of the Province. The rest of the population generally continued to be subject to Greco-Egyptian legal norms inherited from the Ptolemaic Period.[121] Rome introduced into Egypt a form of local government that was fundamentally new, not a continuation of Ptolemaic precedents, based on the creation of a local magisterial class of elites, usually referred to by modern scholars as the 'gymnasial class.' The qualification for membership of this group was some kind of Greek identity, certified by ancestry going back to the original lists of members of the status group.[122] If this could not be proven to Roman satisfaction, however, you remained in the status of a native Egyptian.

Women in particular gained in legal and economic capacity under Roman rule. During the New Kingdom, women had the legal capacity to act without a male guardian. Egypt had seen many women holding public office, as well as ruling the country. Their rights were some of the most liberal of the ancient world. However, when the Ptolemies introduced Greek civilization and Hellenism to Egypt, women lost these rights, only to gain them back when Augustus introduced laws allowing women to free themselves of the need for legal guardians (the *ius libertorum*) and allowing them to hold property and even limited public office.[123] This is ironic, considering the Ptolemaic dynasty saw many

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[121] Rowlandson, 174.

[122] Fentress, 182.

[123] Helene P. Foley. *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*. (London: Routledge, 1992), 317-318.

queens who ruled Egypt as Pharaohs in their own right, of which the final one was Cleopatra VII, who became one of the most famous women in history.

As with other provinces, the Roman provincial government developed a pattern based on a policy of easy toleration of local custom when and if it posed no threat or generated no interference with the superimposed Roman administrative status.[124] As a result, the overall effect of Romanization in Egypt consisted primarily of an intensified Hellenization and urbanization throughout the governmental structure of the provinces. This involved encouraging the development of the Hellenized elite among the *Aegyptoi* of the *metropoleis*. These elite members alone enjoyed the hereditary membership of the gymnasial class, which formed was the focal point of Greek cultural identity. They also paid a reduced poll tax, which otherwise indicated both a financial burden and a symbol of subjugation. [125]

However, this easy toleration did not permeate all of the Egyptian culture under Roman rule. While Romans were generally tolerant of other religions, this was not always the case. Rome was not tolerant of religions that were subversive, secretive, or in some way made themselves a threat to the empire. Roman legal and administrative culture had a chronic fear of the secretive and subversive. An example of this is seen at the Abydos Bes oracle. This oracle became an advice center for the politically ambitious everywhere, which brought it to the Emperor's view and lead to its immediate closure. A Roman prefect tried to condemn traditional oracles in Egypt, but these practices were so

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[124] Naphtali Lewis. *On Government and Law in Roman Egypt, Collected Papers of Naphtali Lewis.* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 305.
[125] McHardy, 153.

deeply ingrained in the functioning of temples that the edict had little effect. The prefect could not find workers willing to destroy the temples, and thus the order was ignored.[126]

Roman rule in Egypt first made itself felt among the common people not with an increase in the number of taxes, but rather as an increase in the efficiency of collections, which were in striking contrast with previous lax efforts.[127] As both the efficiency of tax collection and eventual increases took hold, Egyptians increasingly took desperate actions to avoid them. Under the Ptolemies, peasants would often flee their homes when the government forced an unreasonable tax on them, but would return as soon as the source of the problem vanished. Under the Romans these burdens became so great that many fled with no intention, and later, no ability to return.[128]

The previous tax structure had been so lenient in its collection measure, that the new, more efficient measures financially destroyed many Egyptians and forced them to leave their homes. This caused a large proportion of the villages' population to flee. For example, a papyrus records that in one village the population had fallen from 150 men to only 45, and then 34 of those had fled, leaving only eleven men.[129] The same papyrus goes on to describe two other villages where the population had fallen to only fourteen men, of whom ten fled, leaving a population of four.[130] Those who fled their homes and refused to pay their taxes were immediately considered outlaws. However, as a general

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[126] Richard Valantasis, ed. *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 476.

[127] Lewis 1983, 161.

[128] Lewis 1995, 1-2.

[129] Lewis, Naphtali, *A Reversal of a Tax Policy in Roman Egypt* , Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, 34:1 (1993:Spring) p.105 quoting the *merismos anakechorekoton*, column 70, line 16 through column 71, line 10.

[130] Ibid.

practice the Roman government required those left within a village to pay the taxes for all those who had fled.

One clear distinction that Egypt held compared to all other Roman provinces was the oppression of Egyptians by the Romans in the form of laws aimed at keeping the Egyptians from gaining status, along with the rules aiming to keep those of equestrian and senatorial status out of Egypt. Egypt was a fertile area of intense agricultural and military value, which provided a full third of the Empire's grain supply. Augustus was paranoid might be used to support another ambitious Roman usurper, because if one did manage to seize control of the territory, the entire Empire would be threatened. Furthermore, the disdain the Romans held for the Egyptians was unlike anything found in the other provinces of the Empire.

Laws were put into place which were designed to keep Egyptians from marrying Romans, gaining Roman citizenship, or even leaving the province. The goal of these strict regulations leaves no doubt that a prime objective set by both Augustus and his successors for two hundred years was to impede social mobility of the Egyptians and keep the population as demographically immutable as possible.[131] To note but a few key examples of these laws, consider the following:

> 39: If a Roman man or woman is joined in marriage with an urban Greek or an Egyptian, their children follow the inferior status.

> 42: Those that style themselves improperly are punished with confiscation of a fourth of their estate, and those who knowingly concur therein are also punished with confiscation of a fourth.

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[131] Lewis 1983, 32.

43: If an Egyptian after a father's death record their father as a Roman, a fourth is confiscated.

45: If a Greek marries an Egyptian woman and dies childless, the fisc appropriates his possessions; if he has children, it confiscates two-thirds. But if he has begotten children of an urban Greek woman and has three or more children, his possessions go to them; if two children, a fourth or fifth teach each; if one child, half.

49: Freedmen of Alexandria may not marry Egyptian women.

53: Egyptians who, when married to discharged soldiers, style themselves Romans are subject to the provisions on violation of status.

56: Soldiers who style themselves Roman without having received a legal discharge are fined a fourth of their property.

Laws of this restrictive nature were unprecedented throughout the history of Rome. Never before had the Roman government gone to such lengths in order to segregate one portion of the population of the Empire from the rest of the Empire. These laws make it clear that the Egyptians were especially despised by the Romans, who wanted to keep them in Egypt where they belonged. Despite this, the trade to the east through the Red Sea was far too lucrative to ignore, and the empire depended heavily on the province for its grain. These factors kept Rome in Egypt.

Egyptian views of Romans

The reception of these laws was not favorable. Egyptians, and Alexandrians in particular, despised the Romans as much or more than the Romans despised them. The views Romans carried of the Egyptians were widely known among the population of Egypt. It was also in Alexandria that Cleopatra, who was their beloved Queen, committed suicide. Immediately afterwards, Octavian had stripped Alexandria of its

ruling council, which was the traditional form of self-government. In its place, he instituted the aforementioned laws restricting the mobility of Egyptians within the newly formed Roman society within Egypt, and instituted more efficient measures to collect the taxes which had already been imposed on the Egyptians.

Alexandrians harbored a great deal of resentment for Romans, which expressed itself in several different ways. Alexandrians mounted public demonstrations in the streets and the theatre against the prefect—once, they even demonstrated against a visiting Emperor. Furthermore, pretenders periodically rose from Alexandria to challenge the Emperors, from Avidius Cassius in 175, to Domitius Domitianus at the end of the third century, could usually count on being accepted and supported in Alexandria. A revolt erupting elsewhere in the province usually found Alexandrians ready to pitch in and help. [132] Alexandria was also the site of the Jewish revolt of 115.

This disgust with Romans appears in the art of the period, as well. The coin displayed in Figure 13, dating from around the year 10, shows Augustus and Agrippa on one side of it, and the coin has pig leg-like appendages, which with the round shape of the coin itself, gives the appearance of the backside of a pig. On the obverse is a crocodile chained to a tree, indicating the conquest of Egypt by Rome. This coin shows clear signs of circulation and was found near Alexandria, and likely struck there by locals protesting local rule. The implication seems to be that Augustus and Agrippa were represented in the form of a pig's rear end.

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[132] ibid, 201.

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It also resulted in the creation and circulation of *The Acts of the Pagan Martyrs*. This type of work was a form of underground, anti-Roman literature. Each purports to be the record of a hearing at which an individual or a small group of Alexandrians appears before the Emperor to press claims or answer to charges. The Alexandrian heroes voice their defiance and contempt for the ruler or the Emperor, who either dismisses the charges or executes the protagonists; with either outcome displaying the injustice and corruption of the Roman government and the tyranny of the Emperor and prefects of Egypt. Though the protagonists are all Alexandrians, the papyri were all found in Upper Egypt despite having a setting of Alexandria which suggests that they had been written within the city itself. The fact that these papyri were found all over Egypt indicates that they spread widely, there were many copies, and that they were popular works amongst the claimants to Hellenic culture.[133] Among the Anti-Roman writings discovered, there are some that are clearly of native Egyptian origin. These writings differ from the Greek writings in that they are apocalyptic and predict doom and destruction for the entire Roman Empire whereas the Egyptian works seek only to demonize and show the injustice of the Romans, particularly the Emperor.[134]

How Romanization progressed in Egypt

For centuries before the Romans conquered Egypt it maintained an important place within the economic structure of Rome. Alexander the Great conquered Egypt first; after his death, Ptolemy took over Egypt and founded the Ptolemaic dynasty of

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[133] ibid, 199.
[134] ibid, 205-206.

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pharaohs. He understood that he would never get enough Greek immigrants to create the Greek bureaucracy he wanted, so the existing Egyptian scribal class had to be convinced to retrain in the language of the new rulers. Egyptian coinage used Greek words in their inscriptions. One example is the coin in figure 4, dating from 285 BCE and issued by Ptolemy II, which portrays him and his sister on one side with the Greek inscription 'philadelphoi' (brother-sister loving, as they were married brother and sister) above him, and 'theoi' (gods) above his parents, indicating he had deified his parents. Despite these being Egyptian coins minted in Alexandria, and with a Ptolemaic pharaoh, the inscription on them is Greek. This indicates that at least as of 285 BCE, the official language of the state had shifted from Coptic to Greek and remained Greek despite the coming of the Romans, which normally made the official language of most provinces Latin.

The result of this campaign was that many families and people became bicultural as well as bilingual. People would have Greek and Egyptian identities, and would move from using their Greek identity in a military or administrative context to the Egyptian identity when serving as a priest. Names distinguished one as either 'Egyptian Egyptians' or "Egyptian Greeks.' Women were more likely to fall into the first category of true Egyptians, since they had no social status to protect outside the home, thus they were freer to express their native culture within the domestic sphere.[135] The papyri of the Ptolemaic and early Roman periods show the survival of many Greek institutions in Egyptian practice, such as use of the Greek language, as well as the requirement for

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[135] McHardy 2004, 157.

women to have legal guardians, and the use of slaves for domestic service, where they had previously been used mostly for manual labor out-of-doors. [136]

Pharonic civilization survived in Egypt after the coming of the Romans. Temples were still built in the traditional style, and hieroglyphics still used. Egyptian was still spoken by the common people, though the *lingua franca* was Greek. Mummification as a funerary practice also continued, as did reverence for the Egyptian gods.[137] One reason for this continuity was that Egypt was a land dominated by agriculture and, specifically, the annual rise of the Nile River. Roman rule had little effect upon those traditional ways and values.[138] Interference with such traditions would have resulted in the death of the population as crops failed. Egypt was also a land of colossal temples built with massive stone blocks, many of which still stand despite 2000 years of neglect. Wiping away all evidence of this culture would have been impossible, but the elements remaining reminded those of the culture and traditions from which they had come, and of Egypt's former greatness.[139]

The colossal temples of the past could not be swept away by the coming of the Romans. The multi-ton blocks that the Egyptians had built them with were not so easily moved. However, even the temples built after the coming of the Romans show a closer resemblance to the temples of the Egyptian past than they did to Roman buildings. Augustus and his successors, it appears, were viewed simply as a continuation of the foreign pharaohs to which Egypt had become accustomed. Temples continued to be built

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[136] Jane Rowlandson. *Women and Society in Green and Roman Egypt.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 163.
[137] Shaw, 422.
[138] Lewis 1995, 301.
[139] Shaw, 441.

and decorated in the native Egyptian style all through the three centuries of the principate. Roman Emperors appear in the traditional settings, attitudes, and trappings of Egyptian royalty. They wore the Pharonic garb and crown, and the paintings contain hieroglyphic cartouches enclosing the ruler's name, the adjacent hieroglyphic inscriptions repeating for him the standard titles and honorifics of the pharaohs that had been in use for centuries.[140] One example of this is the temple of Hathor at Dendea which was built between 125 BCE and 60 CE and shows both Egyptian and Greek elements. The main entrance leads to a hypostyle hall that is supported by Hathor-headed columns. This hall leads to two Vestibules, one of which contains the inner Sanctuary. This sanctuary is characteristically Egyptian, but whose subjects are the Roman Emperors. Tiberus appears before the Gods. Claudius is shown making an offering to Hathor and Ihy, and representations of Augustus and Nero appear within.[141] Trajan's kiosk at Philae is another example of this melding of cultures. It is on an island between a dam and Aswan. Two walls within it are decorated with scenes of Trajan making offerings to Isis, Osiris and Horus. The symbolism shows there is no question that the Emperor is a god, but he is supplicant to the great gods of Old Egypt.[142] The exterior of the temple shows clear and obvious Roman styling on the columns and entryway, though the Egyptian materials make it seem out of place.

Under Roman rule, the makeup of the Egyptian government was drastically altered. The language and architecture may have remained more Egyptian than other Provinces, but that is likely due in part to the fact that the climate of Egypt would not

[140] Lewis 1983, 15.
[141] Shaw, 438.
[142] ibid, 441.

have suited marble, and it would have been difficult to move the heavy stone so far. As with other provinces, local materials had to be used, but the Romans were nothing if not pragmatic. Existing temples and structures were neatly repurposed for Roman needs. As with other provinces, Egypt was permitted to continue venerating their native Gods and Goddesses, but now the Roman Emperors appeared alongside those deities, if on a level slightly beneath them.

Funerary practices altered as well through the Roman period. Before the coming of the Romans, mummies were more traditionally gilded with carefully crafted funerary masks. Both formats clearly cater to the wealthy who could afford to pay artists to have portraits painted or the gold to create a gilded mask. An example of this can be seen in figure 15 and 16, with an Egyptian sarcophagus that was clearly sculpted by an artisan. After the Romans arrived, mummification remained the method of choice for disposing of corpses. However, Romans, or Egyptians styling themselves as Romans, began putting their own touches on the mummy. Encaustic portraits painted on board were set in the head of the mummycase. These were some of the most vivid and realistic ever seen in the Roman world. These were likely painted in the prime of life and success, and then kept for later funerary use.[143] Figure 17 and 18 show examples of these new encaustic portraits on the top of a sarcophagus, and are clearly different from the Egyptian styling, including the difference in clothing and hairstyle. Gilded mummies exhibit some new and Romanized features. In the men, this includes hairstyle, but the females show more individualized facial features, and wear tunics.

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[143] Shaw, 442.

The Roman Garrison in Egypt

The layout of the garrison with respect to the population centers in either province was the primary difference between the way the Roman government handled the provinces of Egypt and Britain. While the Roman army in Britain mingled with the people, and towns sprang up to support the army, in Egypt a different pattern emerged. The laws separating the army from the citizenry of Egypt prevented the same interactions between the Romans and Egyptians that were evident in Britain. Furthermore, Roman views on Egyptians caused any fully Romanized army to disdain the Egyptians. As such, there was little interaction among the two. The location of the forts was the most telling difference between the two, however. In Britain, the forts were in habitable areas where the population could form an urban core to support the fort. In Egypt, these forts were placed in the highlands of the desert, far from the Nile Delta. They were positioned not to protect the land against incursions, but instead to protect the trading routes from bandits. Figure 12 illustrates these differences, where the lighter areas indicate fertile areas conducive to settlement, and the squares indicate roman military outposts. The map in figure 12 is a close-up of one section also shown in figure 1. Matching Koptos to the map in figure 11 and 12 of the appendix, it clearly shows that the forts where the Roman garrison was primarily stationed were far away from any settlements and located in otherwise inhospitable desert locations away from the fertile Nile River delta, which constituted the only arable land in all of Egypt. While there were smaller units stationed throughout the delta of lower Egypt as well, these also remained separated from the

Egyptian population through customs of the garrison themselves, enacted due to the laws separating the army from the population.[144]

The best estimate as to the size of the garrison of Egypt is around twenty thousand soldiers. Strabo describes the strength of the troops in Alexandria as follows: "There are three legions of soldiers, one in the city and the others in the chora. In addition, there are nine Roman cohorts, three in the city, three on the border with Ethiopia at Syene, as guard for those places, and three elsewhere in the Chora. There are three horse units which are likewise positioned in important places."[145] The spread of the Roman forces throughout Egypt is telling. The 'important places' that Strabo refers to are not rivers or cities, but instead are tied to trade routes connecting with the Red Sea and the wider Indian Ocean trade linking the Roman province to the East. These trade routes were often harassed by bandits which themselves were creations of Roman tax policy on the Egyptians themselves. When villagers fled taxes and took to the hills, they became bandits and outlaws, and often lived by banditry.[146] These people were forced to steal the necessities of life, both from the villages as well as these trading caravans taking goods from India and the Red Sea through the land to the Nile for transportation to Alexandria, and thence to Rome.

This further demonstrates the wisdom of Bentley's argument about economic incentives forming an important component for conversion. Rome placed these units where they did in order to protect caravans bringing goods from India and China to areas

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[144] Roger Bagnall. *Egypt in Late Antiquity*. (West Sussex: Princeton University Press, 1993), 174.
[145] Shaw, 425.
[146] Lewis 1993, 101-102.

north of Egypt from brigands, which Rome's own oppressive taxes on Egypt had created. This would make it easier and cheaper for Rome to import these goods by picking them up in Alexandria, and sailing them across the Mediterranean to Italy. This demonstrates the value Rome placed on trade with the east as another possible reason for Rome to establish direct control over Egypt. Octavian strategically placed the army to defend trade with the east rather than the population of Egypt. However, this emphasis on eastward trade did not benefit the average Egyptian peasant in the *nomes* along the Nile River.

The importance Rome placed on trade with the east is well recorded in the primary sources. Roman philosophers often narrated the eastern commodities coming into Rome in terms of fiscal ruin and moral danger. Pliny wrote that trade with India was conducted on terms extremely deleterious to the Roman economy during the first century CE. Rome was said to have been running a trade deficit to the East of 100 million sesterces per year, half of which went to India.[147] This is backed up by Tacitus, who wrote that Silk and precious gems from the East remained eagerly sought after commodities among Rome's elites, bringing Tiberius to complain of "that womanish peculiarity—the export of our currency to foreign or enemy countries for precious stones."[148] Furthermore, numerous aristocratic Roman families are known to have been involved in financing trade and transport in Egypt's eastern desert and port regions.[149]

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[147] Matthew P. Fitzpatrick. "Provincializing Rome: The Indian Ocean Trade Network and Roman Imperialism." *Journal of World History* 22, no. 1 (2011): 31. http://muse.jhu.edu/ (accessed April 11, 2011).
[148] Ibid 33, citing Tacitus, *Annals*, III:53.
[149] Ibid, 41.

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The most reliable source for information on the Roman trade east to India is the *Periplus Maius Erythraei*. This is a primary source document written as a guide to navigation and trade from Roman Egypt through Egypt and east to India. When Augustus made Egypt a part of the Roman Empire he ushered in a new era. Ships of Roman Egypt travelled to Arabia and India in greatly increased numbers. Strabo points out that in his day 120 vessels sailed, presumably annually, to Arabia and India; before Augustus came to Egypt, only 20 had done so. Tangible evidence of this increase in trade also exists in India with the archaeological finding of Roman coins and pottery primarily in the southern part of the country.[150] Archaeological findings in the north of India have yielded only a handful of Roman coins. One explanation is that the Roman coins were melted down and remade into native currency, whereas in the south they were more readily accepted as currency among the population and thus circulated. The Periplus' statements suggest the lack of Roman coinage in the north of India is because there were few coins spent there, that the merchants from Roman Egypt got their goods from Barygaza in exchange for the goods they bought whereas at Muziris they had to pay cash.[151] Regardless, it is clear there was a strong trade between Rome and India that flowed through Egypt, and increased dramatically after the Romans conquered Egypt.

The concern that Rome shows in guarding the roads to the Red Sea rather than the Nomes of Egypt shows that Rome's primary concern within Egypt had nothing to do with the people of the country, but the profit offered by the trade routes and connection to the Red Sea. The isolation of the forts prevented much of the intermingling of native and

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[150] Lionel Cassion trans, *Periplus Maius Erythraei*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 12.
[151] Ibid, 31.

Roman people, which was the precursor for most of the process of Romanization within Britain. This is the main difference between the management of the two countries and, I argue, the reason that most of Egypt's population never fully Romanized when compared to the population of Britain.

It was standard policy to assign provincial recruits to military units stationed in other provinces and areas. Thus, veterans of the armed forces settled in Egypt, since they had been there most of their adult lives and came to feel at home there. Even though it was the third century before soldiers were allowed to marry, many acquired "common law" wives and children, whose status was legitimized upon the soldier's honorable discharge. This relationship is also noted in the bronze tablet in figure 19. It legitimized Marcus Papirus' marriage to a woman named Tapaia, and granted her Roman citizenship as well.

The Emperor Hadrian (117-38) began the shift towards local recruitment of soldiers, seeing value in leaving men closer to home, where they would have a more vested interest in protecting the land of their birth as well as any relatives who may remain in the area. This affected all the provinces, including Britain as well as Egypt. By the middle of the second century, veterans who settled in Egypt tended to be men from the country towns, making their way through military service to Roman power and privilege.[152]

A career in the Roman army carried with it great benefits. Only Roman citizens were exempt from the payment of the burdensome poll taxes that symbolized subjection.

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[152] Lewis 1983, 21.

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In addition, in the first century of Roman rule, only urban Greeks were allowed to purchase certain public lands when they were put up for sale.[153] A shortage of women, due in part to the practice among the Greeks of exposing infant girls, also made mates difficult to find. However, a wealthy veteran with land, money, and experience would have a much easier time finding a mate. These benefits attracted many provincials to serve in the Roman army rather than take up crafts in their own hometowns. Barring Egyptians from service in any but the auxiliary units was a blow to the Egyptians, and denied them many of the benefits that they otherwise could have sought to achieve.

Even so, the native Egyptian population did not welcome an incoming veteran with open arms, nor regard his presence amongst them as an unmitigated blessing. Experience had shown that these newcomers often insisted on exercising their privileges to the last iota, were openly contemptuous of the Egyptians and Greco-Egyptians, which was a good way for the veterans to distance themselves from their own humble origins. A Papyrus from the year162 contains a petition from a veteran showing such discrimination. In the well preserved portion we find the veteran saying "Therefore, as the injuries done me are manifest, and as I am a Roman man suffering such indignities at the hands of an Egyptian, I ask…"[154] Veterans could be a blessing or a curse to the village they chose to settle within, bringing money and stability. However, if they brought a sense of entitlement or superiority adopted during their service to Rome, they could easily become "bad neighbors."

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153 ibid, 27.
154 ibid, 23.

Rome's policies also closed off many of the benefits of the Roman army to average Egyptians. This appears to be a byproduct of the attitudes the Romans had towards the Egyptians and the segregation of the Roman garrison in Egypt from the population of Egypt. Service in the Roman Army was a typical way for a non-citizen to gain Roman citizenship, wealth, and privilege within the Roman Empire. The citizens of the other provinces were eligible to serve in Roman legions. They would become Roman citizens immediately upon enlistment. However, the laws prevented this in Egypt, and Egyptians could enroll only in auxiliary units, through which they would attain citizenship only after twenty-five years of service.[155] After these 25 years, the veteran would be presented with a plaque such as the one shown in figure 19, which granted him citizenship. He could then pass the plaque on to his descendants, thereby granting them citizenship as well. Most telling about this plaque, which granted an individual named Marcus Papirius citizenship, is the fact that it is written in Greek, not in Latin.

Language

The pervasive and long lasting impact of Greek on spoken Egyptian is shown by the fact that Coptic took from Greek most of its alphabet as well as approximately 20 percent of its vocabulary. This includes common conjunctions and prepositions, nouns and verbs.[156] Coptic came from the root language of Demotic, which was spoken commonly in Egypt at this time. Egypt was a society in which Egyptian, Greek, and to an extent Latin were all in simultaneous use. However, the papyri provide few references

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[155] ibid, 27-28.
[156] McHardy, 159.

to the need for translation, and almost none outside of law and court. This could be because the need was too commonplace to require comment, or it could imply that everyone in Egypt spoke enough of the other common languages to understand each of them to some degree, due to generations of both of the languages being in simultaneous use.[157]

Written Egyptian was always the domain of a specialist scribal class, and its use shrank even further under Roman rule, although some of the finest literary manuscripts in Demotic script date from this period. The language of the government became almost exclusively Greek. Latin was barely spoken or used in Egypt, even within government documents. After the middle of the first century, the overwhelming majority of documents are in Greek.[158]

Women were infinitely less able to write in Egyptian than in Greek. For the women in Roman Egypt, literacy in Greek was a relatively rare and greatly prized skill, even when their penmanship was clumsy. Women were proud of it if they possessed such skill, however, and often invoked in applications for exemption from guardianship by the Roman *ius liberorum.*

Conclusions

After Augustus conquered Egypt, he began laying the groundwork of the transformation of the Egyptian government to an extension of the Roman Empire.

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[157] ibid.
[158] ibids, 157-160.

However, he did so in a way that would allow him to maintain direct control of a province that had once threatened his rule. It would also allow him to acquire and maintain control of the valuable trade routes that led from the Red Sea to Alexandria and thence to Rome. However, despite these changes imposed upon Egypt, much of Egyptian culture and society remained, of necessity, unchanged.

One thing that separated Egypt from the other provinces was the oppression of Egyptians by the Romans in the form of laws to keep the Egyptians from gaining status, and rules to keep those of equestrian and senatorial status out of Egypt. Both of these may have had little to do with the Romans or Roman attitudes, and much more to do with Egypt, which is a fertile area of intense agricultural and military value. Marc Antony, a well-positioned general who gained control of Egypt had already stung Octavian once. That was not an experience he would have wanted to repeat. These laws were likely in place to keep that from happening again. Octavian began the procedure, which was continued by his successors, either as a policy they inherited and simply continued without questioning it, or intentionally and for the same reasons. Egypt was often used as a springboard for the ambitious who wanted to challenge authority.

Egypt was therefore Romanized, at least to the degree that it was practical for Rome to do so, which affected only the highest levels of government. Below that, the climate and local traditions made Romanization extremely difficult. Laws were put in place to keep Romans of adequate authority to challenge the Emperor out of the province, and keep Egyptians in their native land, where the Romans felt they belonged. The Roman army was garrisoned along the frontiers and to secure the trade routes rather than within the cities themselves as they were in Britain. This served to keep the army and

population separate and distinct. Temples and buildings continued to be built in the old ways and using traditional materials, because that was what the people, who were mostly unaffected by Romanization, demanded. However, life remained much the same throughout most of the provinces for the average villager. That was a common strand of Romanization; they never asked the provincials to give up their cultural identity because they did not wish to foment rebellions. This is especially true of Egypt, where any rebellion would be particularly dangerous, as Octavian found out to his peril.

Chapter 4

Romanization at a Distance

As I said at the outset of this study, these two provinces are an ideal choice for a comparative study. They teach us an enormous amount about Roman policy and the consequences of Roman activities. A comparison between two provinces that are so different allows us to see the differences, both in the conduct of the Romans in regards to running them, as well as the similarities that gave them a shared string of Romanization. Both provinces were conquered within a few decades of one another, albeit by different Roman rulers. However, while Britain became so fully Romanized that it depended on Rome for its economic vitality, Egypt was only Romanized through the central government, and then only at the point of a gladius. Britain was welcomed into the Empire and became fully integrated, while the Egyptians were kept at arm's length, and only when the Romans could find no excuse to keep them further away than that.

The conquest of these two provinces was handled extremely differently. Caesar's entry into Britain was anticipated by the aristocratic classes among the Britons, who sent ambassadors to him for peace overtures before he even came to the island. While there was some resistance to the Roman takeover, the island was ruled peacefully with only one major rebellion, that of Boudicca. Other than that, Roman rule went mostly unchallenged there until 400 and after the withdrawal of Rome, Britain made every effort to continue Roman government, with or without the input of the central Roman

government itself. They lifted their own Emperors to the throne of Britain, tried to mobilize what was left of the army, and continue on as though they remained a Roman province.

In contrast, Egypt was conquered extremely violently, and after a battle that has since made its mark on the history of the world. Like Britain, the rulers of Egypt anticipated the arrival of Rome. However, Egypt's conquest came mostly as a result of Augustus' ambitions against Marc Antony, and due to Egypt's geographic position, which made it an extremely rich gem that could secure the trade routes to the Red Sea, which were the main route to the East. The Egyptians had no desire to be captured by Rome, and fought viciously to maintain their independence from Augustus. They were violently defeated and seized, and Egyptian art and culture after this battle shows the resentment that the Egyptians felt towards the Romans, resentment that was shared by the new Roman government. The disdain the Romans felt for the Egyptians is obvious in many sources, and shows itself in the laws that were passed for the sole purpose of restricting the mobility of the Egyptians within Roman society. Laws such as this were not repeated in any other province, and clearly display an unprecedented vindictiveness towards the Egyptians.

Once Britain was conquered, the Roman garrison spread throughout the island. The strategic, fertile locations they chose meant that cities could form around the forts, which they did, becoming a basis of the British monetary economy that was already in place before the Romans came to the island, but began to expand enormously as Roman coins flowed into the system. The Romans did not carry such negative views of the Britons as they did of the Egyptians. As a result, the Britons were welcomed into the

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areas around the forts, and many of the soldiers took wives and had children among the population, which helped spread Roman ideals and customs, the population was therefore receptive to them both in a social sense and in order to provide themselves with a stronger economic foundation. While taxes were imposed on the Britons, we have no record of them being particularly harsh or burdensome. We do know that there were no laws separating the Britons from the Roman army, or barring Roman citizenship to the Britons as the Romans put into place in Egypt. As a result, many Britons joined the Roman forces, and either spread through the Empire on various stations, or remained in Britain. They were trained in Roman ways, indoctrinated into the army, took an oath of loyalty to the Emperor, and returned to the population as a fully Romanized member of the Roman garrison. After a length of service determined by the type of enlistment one had, that Briton would be awarded a diploma, written in Latin, which awarded him, his wife, and any descendants' Roman citizenship.

Things were not so straightforward in Egypt. The Roman garrison in Egypt did not establish the majority of its forts in fertile, livable areas. This may partially be because Egypt had very little fertile land along the trade routes to the Red Sea, which the Roman army was much more intent on guarding than the population centers. This prevented cities from forming around the forts in order to support them as they had in Britain. While the legionaries were still paid as they were in Britain, they often had to travel extensively to get to the cities, and a more likely scenario was that the army had the necessary supplies transported out to them. This severely limited most day-to-day interactions between Romans and Egyptians, which from the viewpoint of the Egyptians and Romans alike was a desirable outcome, since both preferred to have as little to do

with each other as possible. Furthermore, Egypt had special laws that prevented social mobility for Egyptians, whether of Greek or Egyptian origins. These laws were unlike anywhere else in the Empire, and helped ensure that legionnaires among the army were less likely to take Egyptians as wives for fear of losing their estate to the taxes of the government rather than having their sons inherit them. It also barred Egyptians from serving in the Roman army in most capacities, which cut off the route to Roman citizenship that most provincials could take. This took away much of the benefit of the Egyptians to serve in the Roman army, which kept them within Egypt, and out of the greater Roman Empire.

There was enormous disdain among the Romans towards the Egyptians, who resented the Romans for stripping them of their traditional form of self-government, increasing the efficiency and amount of taxes, and barring the benefits of Roman citizenship to most Egyptians. This gulf between Romans and Egyptians, and the discontent the Egyptians felt toward the Romans is displayed in the fact that there were numerous rebellions and insurrections against the Romans throughout Egypt, especially in Alexandria, whereas Roman rule in Britain went mostly unchallenged throughout the entire Roman period of Britain's history. The one major exception to this was the rebellion of Boudicca and the Iceni, which occurred some 20 years after the Romans came to Britain.

The language of the time also speaks to us about the depth to which the Romans were accepted in either country. In Britain, where the Romans were accepted relatively easily, Latin became a language frequently used for most government and business functions. Latin continued to be used for some time after the Romans left, but was done

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away with after the Saxon invasions of the 440s. In Egypt, Latin was rarely used. The language of the government remained Greek, as it had been before the coming of the Romans, since Ptolemy came to Egypt upon the death of Alexander the Great. In both these provinces, the native languages, Coptic in Egypt and Celtic in Britain, remained the language of the home and intimate family settings. Britain became largely bicultural and bilingual, whereas in Egypt few people ever learned Latin, and the common culture of those in power remained grounded in Hellenism rather than that of the Romans.

In Britain, Romanization changed the face of the entire country, introducing villas and an enormous amount of Roman commodities into the archaeological record. Because of laws put in place by Augustus to restrict the ability of upper class Romans to travel to Egypt, there were no villas built in that country, whereas Britain contained over 1,000 villas of which archaeologists are aware. Components of Roman civilization were accessible even to the humblest levels of British society. The economic basis for the entire country was altered drastically, and in such a way that the withdrawal of Romans from the country resulted in a widespread economic collapse.

In Egypt, however, the daily life of the common people remained more or less unchanged. Roman commodities are not so well known in the archaeological record in Egypt as they are in Britain, because the Egyptians had a metropolitan civilization before the Romans came. They already possessed many equivalents to Roman innovations that the Britons did not. In some cases, because of the access to the Red Sea and trading Egypt had been doing for generations before the Romans came, it was the Egyptians who had goods the Romans wanted. The Britons, on the other hand, lived mostly in scattered, tribal bands before the coming of the Romans. The Romans were markedly less

impressive to the Egyptians than they were to the more primitive Britons. This was combined with a disdain shared by both sides throughout Egypt, which resulted in most of the humbler classes of Egyptians preferring to have as little to do with the Romans as possible while the Britons embraced the Romans, their goods, and ways of doing things.

The aristocracy in both countries shared a common thread of Romanization, however. In Britain, the chieftains of the tribes educated their children in Roman ways, learned Latin, and there are even records of them travelling to Rome. Britons were not disdained by the Romans, so they could extend their power throughout the Roman government insofar as their talent and ability allowed. In Egypt, however, the opportunities were far more limited, both by preference and by law. Egyptians could not gain power in the Roman government unless they already had sufficient power to call on the Emperor, which provided a catch-22 for most of the people within that province; after all, one could not gain power without already having power. Within the country itself, Latin was little used, even in the highest levels of government, and most of the children of the higher-ranking individuals within Rome were educated in Hellenism, rather than Roman culture and mannerisms. Rome, after all, offered little to the Egyptians even at the highest levels of government.

A series of changes in the climate soured relations between the Britons and Romans around 400, and shortly thereafter the Roman Empire ceased to send payment to the garrisons spread across Britain. The garrisons left Britain within a few years of this, which lead to a total societal collapse and put the Britons into a position far worse than when the Romans first came to the island. They ceased the use of a monetary economy

and went back to bartering, and pottery vanished almost entirely from the archaeological record until the Saxon invasions thirty years later.

Egypt remained part of the Empire well past 410, when Rome fell to the Visigoths. Shortly after this Egypt became part of the Eastern Roman Empire, but the Egyptians felt no break in the continuity of their rule other than the reorienting of their capital to Byzantium during the rule of Constantine in the early 300s. The fall of Rome seems to have had little effect on Egypt, which was Romanized only at the highest levels of government, unlike Britain which Romanized even to the most humble levels.

In both Britain and Egypt, the government was fully Romanized and adapted to the structure of the contemporary Roman government. However, in Britain that relationship went far beyond just the highest levels of government, and affected a large percentage of that country either directly or indirectly. The entire British economy ran on Roman money. As a result, when Roman influence vanished from Britain, the result was the collapse of its society, exacerbated by bad harvests and climate changes the population had been suffering for decades even before the Roman withdrawal.

In Egypt the common people of the country suffered no great breakdown in their economy; there was no great chaos or uprisings. Life continued as it had before for the commoners of Egypt until the Muslim conquest of Egypt nearly two centuries later.

The major difference between these two cases lies in the positioning of Roman garrisons and amount of Roman contact with the local populations. Without contact with the Egyptian commoners, it became impossible for Romanization to proceed as it had in other provinces where the garrison was insulated within the population of the area. This largely occurred because of preconceived notions held by the Romans against the

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Egyptians, which caused them to separate the *Aegyptoi* from Romans with laws and immutable social barriers that were repeated nowhere else in the history of the Roman Empire. There is also the sheer distance between the population centers and the main locations of the Roman garrisons, which kept most day-to-day interactions to a minimum. Furthermore, the Egyptians never accepted the Romans as part of their society in the same way the Britons did, and the feeling was mutual.

   This chasm between the two cultures kept them from melding in any syncretic way. The disdain the Romans felt for the Egyptians, as well as the paranoia Augustus carried towards the province that had challenged his ascension to the throne of the Emperor of Rome affected how the Roman government dealt with the common people of Egypt. Augustus wanted the Egyptians to remain in their province, far from decent Romans. This distance between the two cultures and the disdain for one another kept them from melding, and that separation meant that while the Egyptian government was altered drastically, the everyday life of most Egyptians remained governed by the traditions and requirements of the land.
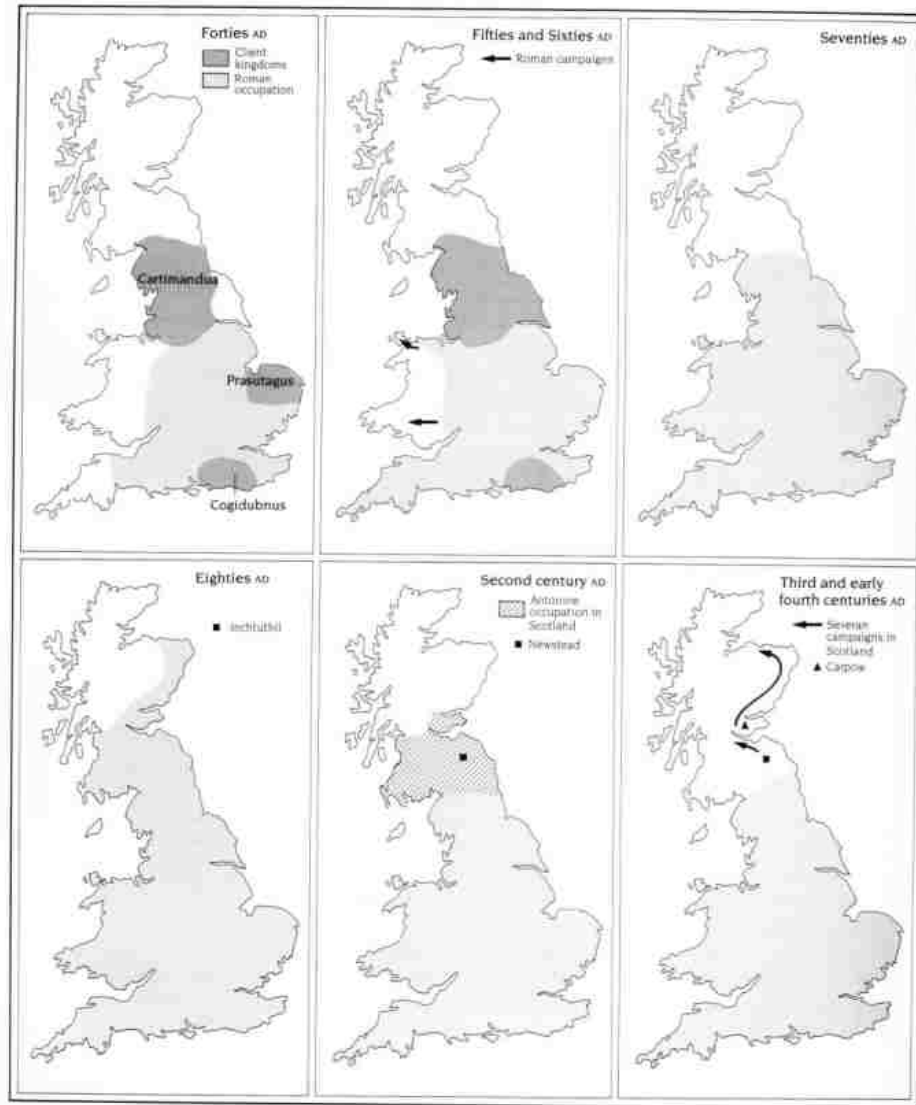
Exhibits

Figure 1 acquired from British Museum, used with permission. Later first century, BC,

THE EBB AND FLOW OF ROMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION

Figure 3, the Roman military occupation in Britain, acquired from Peter Salway, 99.

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Figure 4 from Salway, 1992 page 66

Figure 5 taken from Wikipedia Based on Jones & Mattingly's Atlas of Roman Britain (ISBN 978-1-84217-06700, 1990, reprinted 2007) — the source is cited in the image legend — section "The Economy", pp. 179–195 Production-http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/

Figure 6 taken from Wikipedia Based on Jones & Mattingly's Atlas of Roman Britain (ISBN 978-1-84217-06700, 1990, reprinted 2007) — the source is cited in the image legend — section "The Economy", pp. 179–195

Figure 7 taken from Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Roman_Roads_in_Britannia.svg
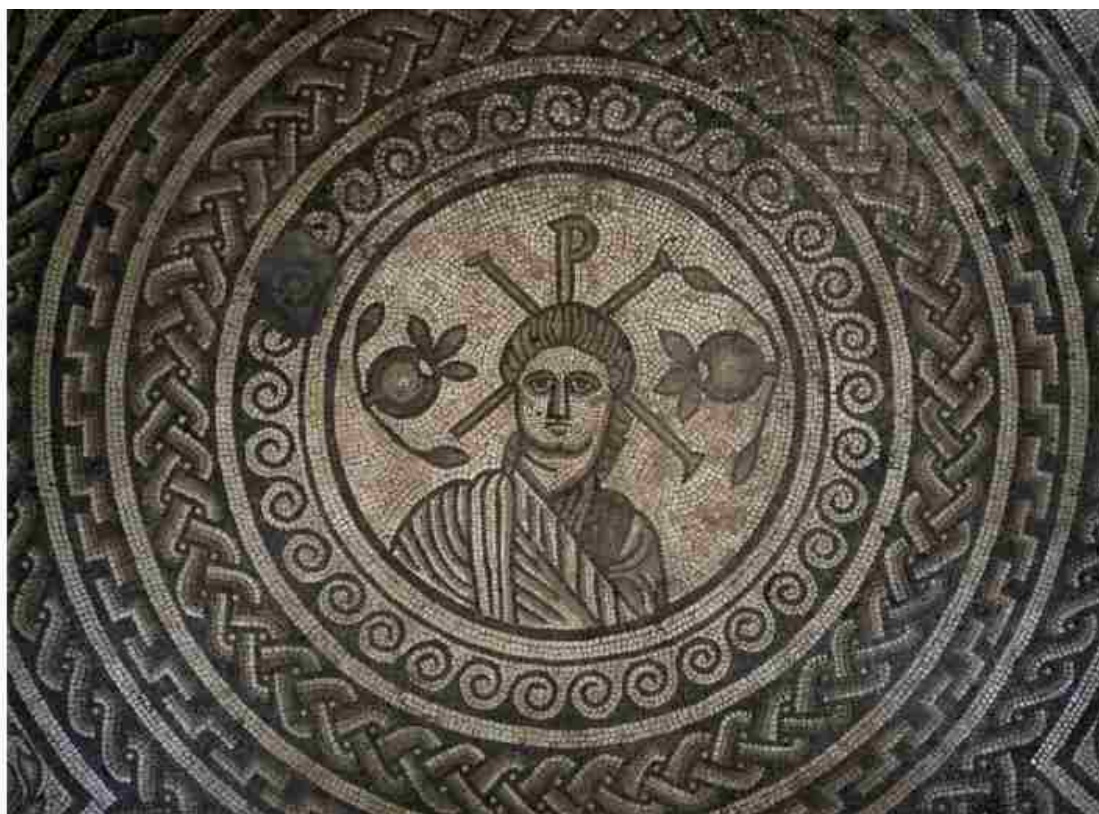
/t/the_hinton_st_ma

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Figure 9 taken from the British Museum, used with permission,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/t/the_hinton_st_mary_m

osaic.aspx.

Figure 10 acquired from British Museum, used with permission.

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/pe_prb/b/bronze_military_diplo

ma.aspx

Rosetta
Alexandria
Buto
Sais
Busiris
Tanis
Avaris
Wadi
Natrun
Bubastis
13
2
Cairo
Memphis
Saqqara
(lower Egypt) 1
Helwan
Faiyum
21 22
Meydum
Lahun
20
Herakleopolis
19 18
17
16
Beni Hasan
15
Hermopolis
Amarna
14
13 12
Asyut
11
10
Qau
9
Akhmim
Thinis
8
Abydos
7
6
Naqada
5
Koptos
4
Thebes
(Luxor and Karnak)
Kharga
Oasis
3
Hierakonpolis
2
Edfu
1
Kom Ombo
Aswan
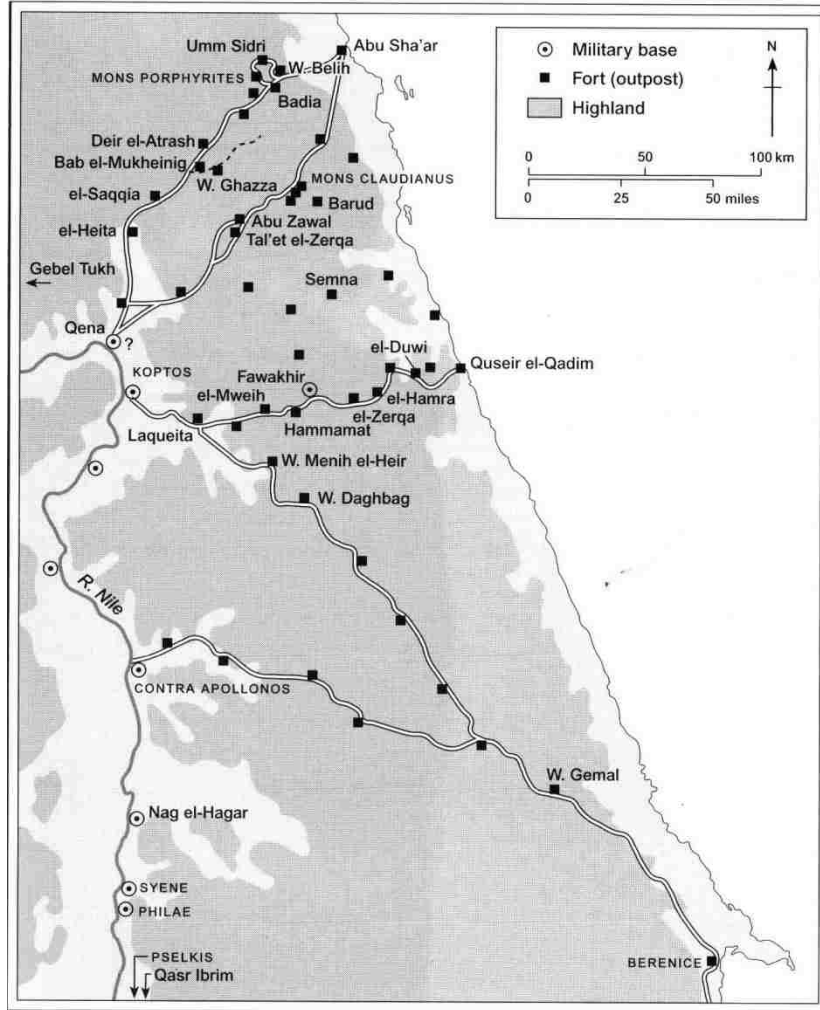First
cataract
Sinai

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Figure 12, positions of Roman forts and military bases through Egypt

Figure 13 acquired from British Museum, used with permission, dated 10-14 AD,

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/cm/b/bronze_coin_with_pig_trotter.asp

x

Figure 14 acquired from the British Museum, used with permission.

http://www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/cm/g/gold_octadrachm_of_ptolemy.aspx

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Figure 15- Egyptian mummy

Figure 16- Egyptian mummy

Figure 17- Encaustic portrait

www.manaraa.com

Figure 18- Encaustic portraits of woman and child

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