

Two Worlds Meeting: Cultural Interaction and Rosemary Sutcliff's *The Eagle of the Ninth*

by

Jessica Cobb

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY (B).

Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity College of Arts and Law

University of Birmingham

September 2012

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

Abstract

This dissertation analyses the way that Rosemary Sutcliff's *The Eagle of the Ninth* demonstrates the influence of its contemporary socio-political and cultural background in the depiction of the interaction between Romans and Britons. It is argued that the novel rejects the stereotypical depiction of interaction between different cultures, in which the invading or colonizing culture is seen as assuming a superior position and inspiring change, often regarded as improvement, in the indigenous culture. Sutcliff's rejection of this attitude demonstrates that the novel anticipates modern concepts of interaction between cultures, which have developed from the stereotypical view.

Comparison with the 2011 film adaptation, *The Eagle* will show that the film (made some fifty years after the novel's publication, and in an entirely different socio-political context) reverts to the stereotypes rejected by Sutcliff. The study concludes that the socio-political background influences the depiction of Romano-British interaction in both film and novel, and argues that both must be considered within their contemporary contexts.

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my family and friends and my supervisor, Elena Theodorakopoulos, for all their help and support.

Contents

| | |
|--|----|
| Introduction | 1 |
| Cultural Interaction | 2 |
| Rosemary Sutcliff and <i>The Eagle of the Ninth</i> | 4 |
| The action of <i>The Eagle of the Ninth</i> | 5 |
| Children's Historical Fiction | 6 |
| | |
| Chapter 1: Rosemary Sutcliff's life and times: the context of <i>The Eagle of the Ninth</i> | 11 |
| Romano-British studies | 11 |
| Tacitus' <i>Agricola</i> | 18 |
| Attitudes to slavery in the ancient and modern world | 19 |
| Immigration in 1950s post-war Britain | 21 |
| The decline of British imperialism | 23 |
| The bombing of Exeter | 24 |
| The life and work of Rudyard Kipling | 26 |
| Conclusion | 29 |
| | |
| Chapter 2: "A place where two worlds met without mingling": Interaction between Rome and Britain | 31 |
| Attacks on Exeter/Isca Dumnoniorum | 32 |
| Cub, Esca and slavery | 39 |
| Marcus, Cub, Esca and colonization | 44 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Cottia and Aunt Valaria | 51 |
| Uncle Aquila and Guern | 54 |
| Conclusion | 59 |
| | |
| Chapter 3: <i>The Eagle</i> : adaptation and alteration | 61 |
| | |
| Omissions | 63 |
| The Final Scenes | 69 |
| Slave and Master | 76 |
| Conclusion | 85 |
| | |
| Conclusion | 87 |
| | |
| Bibliography | 90 |
| Primary Sources | 90 |
| Secondary Sources | 91 |
| Filmography | 102 |

Introduction

This dissertation will analyse the interactions of Romans and Britons in Rosemary Sutcliff's novel *The Eagle of the Ninth* and the influence of 1950s society and attitudes upon them. By examining these interactions I aim to demonstrate that Sutcliff challenges stereotypes of cultural interaction rather than upholding them. I will explore the way that the film adaptation, *The Eagle*, returns to these stereotypes and the impact that this has upon modern interpretations of Sutcliff's novel.

The first chapter will summarize specific events in the 1940s and 1950s and the attitudes and ideas that influenced, and are referenced by, *The Eagle of the Ninth*. The varied nature of these influences demonstrates the breadth of Sutcliff's research and her reference points, as well as her awareness of the relationship between ancient and modern Britain. The summaries in the first chapter provide a contextual framework to the textual analysis of cultural interaction in Sutcliff's novel.

The second chapter will analyse instances of cultural interaction in *The Eagle of the Ninth* in order to demonstrate that Sutcliff challenges stereotypes. This chapter will explore events in the novel and Sutcliff's characterisation of individuals. This chapter will identify and examine the way in which cultural interaction in the novel reflects upon violence and war, and anticipates concepts of identity, Romano-British studies and cultural interaction.

The third chapter will consider how the fifty years between the publication of the novel and the film adaptation, *The Eagle*, affect the influences and references adopted by the filmmakers. This chapter will identify the modern cultural reference markers and analyse how and why *The Eagle* alters aspects of Sutcliff's novel. I will explore whether the new cultural reference points were necessary as Sutcliff was, in many ways, ahead of her time.

Cultural Interaction

This dissertation explores the interaction between Britons and Romans in Sutcliff's novel. I have decided to focus on Sutcliff's depiction of the meeting of Roman and British culture as I believe that Sutcliff uses this interaction to reflect several modern events and topics. In analysing the novel in its contemporary context I intend to argue that *The Eagle of the Ninth's* reference to recent events and attitudes it is, in fact, ahead of its time. Sutcliff's challenge to the cultural stereotypes of the 1950s means that her depiction of Roman and British interactions is more in line with later attitudes towards identity and Romano-British studies. As a children's novel, *The Eagle of the Ninth* is a tool in forming the attitudes of young readers. Sutcliff's decision to depict an 'accepting' society, in which cultural difference is not a barrier between individuals, enables her to educate her readers and assist in their development to becoming 'accepting' individuals.

Before beginning my analysis of *The Eagle of the Ninth* it is important that I define cultural interaction so as to present a clear argument. Cultural

interaction, as I interpret it, relates to and describes the act of two separate cultures, be they nations, empires or tribes, coming in to contact with one another. These interactions may be short or long term, occur in a state of peace or war and they may be on a large or small scale. Cultural interaction is the meeting of two different perspectives, cultures, societies, nations or identities.

I have chosen to use the term cultural interaction, rather than assimilation or acculturation, as I believe it is more relevant to my analysis of events in the novel. Assimilation suggests the act of one culture absorbing or being absorbed by the other, similarly acculturation suggests the adoption of another culture. While relevant to the action of the novel and Roman Britain, it is in fact more than just the changes to Britain that I am analysing; it is also the meeting of Roman and British cultures. I have also decided to avoid using the term Romanization in my analysis of *The Eagle of the Ninth*, as Romanization suggests a dominance of Roman culture and a process in which the receiving (in this case British) culture is the only one affected.¹ I shall argue that all those involved in the interaction are affected by their engagement with another culture.

In the first chapter I shall identify the contemporary context for the novel and the potential reasons for the stereotypical stance towards cultural interaction, in which an invading or colonizing culture is deemed superior and, as such, is believed to be inspiring improvement in the indigenous culture. In the

¹ There have been developments and changes in Romano-British studies and the concept of Romanization, as I shall discuss in chapter 1.

second chapter I shall demonstrate, through textual analysis, that Sutcliff challenges the stereotypical view and in the third chapter I will employ analysis of the film adaptation and comparison between the novel and film to argue that *The Eagle* reverts to the stereotypical attitude.

Rosemary Sutcliff and *The Eagle of the Ninth*

Sutcliff was born in 1920; her father was in the navy and the family lived briefly in Malta before returning to Britain and finally settling in North Devon. Sutcliff suffered from juvenile arthritis that was painful and restrictive. Sutcliff's mother read aloud to her and her Uncle Harold told her stories of his life in India. Kipling was very important and influential for Sutcliff, and there are traces of his stories in *The Eagle of the Ninth*, amongst other Sutcliff novels. Sutcliff was a professional miniaturist, having trained as a painter at Bideford School of Art. She gave up painting aged 25 as she found that writing was "more satisfying".²

Perhaps influenced by her disability and experience, many of Sutcliff's protagonists are injured or disabled. One of the main themes of her novels is the protagonist accepting or overcoming their position. These injured protagonists can be healed, not necessarily physically but socially, through "relationship with others, the ideal companion, the blood brother, the wise man".³ Sutcliff died in 1992 aged 72.⁴

² Meek 1962: 10-11.

³ Meek 1962: 48.

⁴ For more on Sutcliff's life see her memoir *Blue Remembered Hills* (1983) and Meek's monograph (1962).

Oxford University Press published *The Eagle of the Ninth* in 1954, twelve years after the bombing of Exeter by the Luftwaffe and nine years after the end of the Second World War. These events, and contemporary 1950s society, are crucial to the action of the novel and they influence Sutcliff's representation of the meeting of Rome and Britain.

The action of *The Eagle of the Ninth*

The Eagle of the Ninth tells the story of Marcus Flavius Aquila and his journey to find answers about the disappearance of his father and his father's legion, the Ninth. At the beginning of the novel, Marcus is injured while serving as an officer with the Roman army in Britain and, invalided out of the army, moves to live with his Uncle in Calleva. Accompanied by his British ex-slave, Esca, Marcus travels north of Hadrian's Wall to where the Ninth Legion disappeared. They find the Eagle and return it to Calleva, but rather than return it officially to Rome they bury it under Marcus' uncle's house. In the second book of the series, *The Silver Branch*, Marcus' descendant discovers the Eagle and uses it as the standard for "a dunghill legion".⁵ The Eagle is lost in the destruction of the basilica of Calleva, the location of its discovery in 1880.⁶ Marcus interacts

⁵ Sutcliff 1957: 181-183.

⁶ Sutcliff 1957: 232. The eagle that inspired Sutcliff was discovered in the ruins of the basilica at Silchester by Joyce who believed "if we assume this eagle to have been once the Imperial standard of a Roman legion, some *aquilifer* of the revolted troops shut up here as a last stand, despairing of its safety and of his own life, and whilst the whole western side of this basilica was beleaguered, rather than surrender his trust tore away the bird from the fulmen which its talons had grasped upon the summit of its staff, wrenched off its wings, fastened

with and befriends several other Britons during the course of the novel, including a young girl called Cottia, his slave Esca and a former Roman legionary turned tribesman Guern. These individuals and the appeal of Britain itself inspire Marcus to remain in the province rather than return to Rome.

Children's Historical Fiction

I will now identify the characteristics of historical fiction for children and present a brief outline of scholarship on the subject. It is important to identify the stylistic features of the genre, as these will affect analysis and understanding of *The Eagle of the Ninth*. Historical fiction for children is hard to define and has only recently become the subject of academic discussion. Its two constituent parts, however, historical fiction and children's fiction, have both been studied for some time.

Historical fiction is a wide and varied genre as it includes any fictional text that is set in the past. Often the setting is simply one aspect in the construction of the fictional world and thus historical novels span multiple

only by an attachment to its back, and hid it in the wooden ceiling of the *aerarium*, placing it above a beam, as Romans are known occasionally to have secreted treasure. He himself, no doubt, perished in the melee. The basilica was taken, and was fired at the centre (there is evidence that this took place), but the conflagration did not consume the end room on the south of the range, and so the eagle hidden in the timbers of the *aerarium* remained where its guardian had deposited it until the final fires, kindled by barbarian hands long after the Romans had ceased to dwell here, consumed this basilica for the last time, and buried the Roman bird in that venerable grave from which he has been happily rescued." Joyce. 1880-1881: 364. This interpretation has since been disproven.

genres, such as adventure, science fiction and romance.⁷ Children's fiction is an equally elusive genre; it includes any fictional text aimed at a child reader. The intended audience of a novel, however, is difficult to determine as it relies upon knowledge of authorial intention, something that is hard to define and establish.⁸ There is also the issue of readership that cannot be controlled; a child could read any fictional text but that does not necessarily make it children's fiction. Equally, an adult could read a novel intended for a child reader.

Age guidance labels on children's books have been suggested in an attempt to assist in the choice of books and also to identify the target readership.⁹ The Publishers Association, who proposed the system, argued that this was "simply a broad indication of what book will suit which level of interest" rather than "a prescriptive system, aimed at restricting buyers' choices".¹⁰ The proposal was abandoned after it met with resistance from authors, librarians, journalists and parents.¹¹ The main argument against the scheme was a fear that

⁷ For more on historical fiction see Boccardi (2009), Cam (1961), De Groot (2010), Fleishman (1971), Humphrey (1986), Lukacs (1962) and Shaw (1983).

⁸ For more on children's literature see Grenby (2008), Nodelman (2008) and Townsend (1976).

⁹ This suggestion followed a report by Book Marketing Limited in 2003 in which 68 non-buyers of children's books were surveyed on their reasons "for not buying new books for children". No single result dominated (respondents could choose more than one reason). Of the responses, 22% stated that it was "easier to give other presents", 21% answered that they "don't know what to get/how to choose" and 12% responded that they "prefer giving money". One adult responded with "it is difficult to know what book to get – have they read it? Will they like it? So, I play it safe and give them money, or something with their latest craze – even clothes, make-up, jewellery, that sort of thing." Book Marketing Limited 2005: 16.

¹⁰ The Publishers Association. 2008: 2.

¹¹ Eccleshare 2008; Dammann 2008; Geras 2008; Lea and Boase 2008; Lawson 2008: 32; Edelstein 2008; Flood 2008; Singh 2008; A website against the

such labels would limit reluctant readers, rather than encourage them, as children would feel confined by the stated age on a book.¹² The website campaigning against age guidance quotes C.S. Lewis' 1952 essay 'On Three Ways of Writing for Children'.¹³ This demonstrates that the age guidance debate is not new to the genre and the issue would have been present when *The Eagle of the Ninth* was published.

The combination of these two areas both refines the genre of children's historical fiction and also makes it more difficult to define. In the simplest form historical fiction for children is a fiction aimed at a child reader that is set in the past. The action of the novel may, however, conform to any number of sub-genres. Approaches to children's historical fiction vary in their focus. Grenby and Townsend highlight the connection between the adventure story and historical novels for children. Townsend argues, "there is no clear dividing line between the adventure story and the historical novel."¹⁴ *The Eagle of the Ninth* is both an adventure story and a historical novel and continues the tradition of the classic Victorian historical adventure story.¹⁵

proposal was set up and it has received more than 4700 signatures, including 835 from authors and illustrators.

¹² Mal Peet, the Carnegie medal-winner, argued that "If you've got reluctant young readers... they're going to be reluctant to read any book which they consider to be beneath their age range. And there's no point in encouraging able young readers to read above their age range because they're going to do that anyway." Lea and Boase 2008.

¹³ www.notoagebanding.org. The quote states "... the neat sorting-out of books into age ranges, so dear to publishers, has only a very sketchy relation with the habits of any real readers. Those of us who are blamed when old for reading childish books were blamed when children for reading books too old for us. No reader worth his salt trots along in obedience to a time-table." Lewis 1966: 28.

¹⁴ Grenby 2008: 172; Townsend 1976: 59.

¹⁵ Townsend 1976: 59.

Stephens explores how historical fiction for children creates and develops boundaries between the past and the present through language. He asserts that this enables readers to feel a connection to the past whilst also being aware of its difference. Specifically with regard to Sutcliff, Stephens highlights that characters from the past, the Romans and Celts “must speak in English, but it is an English that has been reshaped to suggest the language of another age”.¹⁶ The reader must be able to understand the characters but also be aware that they are from a different time and culture. Unfamiliar language is a simple way to signify this difference.

Ringrose argues that there are two types of author of children’s historical fiction. One author’s aim is “reattaching the young to a living sense of the past”, while the other prefers “realist historical fiction” where the “narrative is set completely in the past”.¹⁷ Sutcliff’s novel is set entirely in the past and she carefully constructs a realistic setting for the narrative through her research. The accurate setting of the novel allows Sutcliff to educate her reader as they read the story.

Collins and Graham’s edited volume *Historical Fiction for Children* combines the approaches to children’s historical fiction.¹⁸ This includes analysis of the genre and individual writers with articles by authors of children’s

¹⁶ Stephens 1992: 220; for more on language in historical novels see Stephens 1992: 202- 235, specifically 220-223 on Sutcliff’s use of language.

¹⁷ Ringrose 2009: 354-355; I would argue that realist historical fiction is also capable of reattaching young readers to the past.

¹⁸ Collins and Graham 2001.

historical fiction on their methods and approaches as well as discussion of the use of the genre in teaching. The text includes a chapter by Sutcliff on her writing methods and her inspirations.¹⁹ *Historical Fiction for Children* is one of a small selection of texts that addressed children's historical fiction specifically and individually, as opposed to within the wider study of children's fiction.²⁰

A recent conference, the first of its kind, explored the specific relationship between children's fiction and classical civilizations. The aim was to analyse the "ways that children's literature engages with the Greek and Romans worlds".²¹ The panels ranged from discussion of classic children's fiction to comics and the use of children's literature in education and university outreach. The conference included speakers who specialize in children's literature, classics and authors.²² The study of classics and children's literature complements exploration of children's historical fiction.

This selection of studies highlights the various approaches to children's historical fiction. Awareness of these different studies furthers our understanding of Sutcliff's novel through their analysis of children's historical fiction's influences and techniques. I believe that these varied approaches to historical fiction for children highlight that it is a rich and diverse genre. The different approaches also encourage new and alternative theories about

¹⁹ Sutcliff 2001: 109-118.

²⁰ There are also studies that focus on the use of children's historical fiction in education such as Little and John 1986; Hicks and Martin 1997.

²¹ Lovatt 2009: 508.

²² Lovatt 2009: 508-522.

children's historical fiction. In my research I have attempted to approach *The Eagle of the Ninth* from a combination of critical perspectives.

Chapter 1

Rosemary Sutcliff's life and times: the context of *The Eagle of the Ninth*

This chapter will summarize the time and society in which Sutcliff wrote *The Eagle of the Ninth*. These summaries will include cultural, historical and literary themes that were present in Sutcliff's contemporary culture and have parallels in the novel.¹ Therefore I believe it is necessary to outline them before beginning my textual analysis. I will discuss Romano-British studies; Tacitus' *Agricola*; attitudes to slavery in the ancient and modern world; immigration in the 1950s; the decline of British imperialism; the bombing of Exeter in World War Two; and the life and work of Rudyard Kipling. The events, ideas and attitudes summarized in this chapter will frame and inform the following textual analysis of *The Eagle of the Ninth*.

Romano-British studies

I intend to demonstrate that all three models of Romano-British studies are present in Sutcliff's depiction of Roman and British interaction in *The Eagle of the Ninth*, despite the two later models dating from over thirty years after the novel's publication. I will also argue that stereotypes of the traditional Romanization model, alongside racial and cultural prejudices, are challenged

¹ For a broader analysis of post-war and 1950s Britain see Kynaston 2007; 2009.

rather than upheld by Sutcliff's novel and that this is one way in which *The Eagle of the Ninth* is ahead of its time.

The traditional Romanization model began with Mommsen's 1854-55, 1885 *Römische Geschichte*.² Mommsen argues that the provinces adopted the culture of the invading Romans, that they became 'Romanized'. The traditional Romanization model argues that the cultural exchange was entirely one-way, with the submissive Britons accepting the dominant Roman culture. Originally, the evidence used to demonstrate the Romanization of Britain was literary, epigraphic and numismatic.³ Haverfield developed the concept in 1923 by making "greater use of archaeology".⁴ He identified various criteria that he believed to provide evidence to "demonstrate just how Romanized Britain had become".⁵ These categories of evidence included "inscriptions, *sigillata*, coins and fibulae".⁶ Later writers occasionally made changes to the concept but within the framework and categories that were defined by Haverfield.⁷

In 1930 Collingwood argued that the culture of Roman Britain was not simply Roman but a blend of "Roman and Celtic elements".⁸ He believed "it was not possible to quantify 'romanization' because it differed in kind and degree in its components".⁹ Richmond, writing in 1947, believed the cultural changes in

² Translated into English by W.P. Dickson 1887-1888.

³ Freeman 1997: 45.

⁴ Freeman 1997: 46; Haverfield. 1923.

⁵ Freeman 2007: 573; Haverfield. 1923.

⁶ Freeman 2007: 573.

⁷ Creighton 2006: 8.

⁸ Caglar 2011: 134; Collingwood 1930.

⁹ Freeman 2007: 547.

Britain were a “tool of the Roman imperial government” in their attempt to “bring civilization to the island.”¹⁰ Richmond placed the native Britons in a passive role in the cultural changes taking place in Roman occupied Britain. Charlesworth’s 1949 study argued that the civilizing mission of the Romans brought unity, language, communications, culture, the arts and religion to Britain.¹¹ Within his study he does not refer to the term ‘romanization’.¹²

Despite the different approaches and views of individual scholars, the overall concept of Romanization did not change dramatically until the late 1980s. Freeman argues “that the (major) publications on Roman Britain in the period 1945 to the late 1980s were largely unoriginal.”¹³ The main problem with the traditional Romanization model is that it ignores ancient British culture and the importance of this culture to native Britons. This form of Romano-British studies posits that the native Britons abandoned their culture and social order in favour of the Roman culture.

The model has been greatly criticized in recent years. Scholars now believe it belongs to an earlier period of imperialism and colonialism. The traditional Romanization model is inspired by, and itself inspired, imperial attitudes in the early nineteenth-century. The relationship between the Roman and British Empires was an important reference point for early Romano-British studies, with India often chosen as the contemporary equivalent for ancient

¹⁰ Freeman 2007: 570; Richmond 1947.

¹¹ Freeman 2007: 573; Charlesworth 1949.

¹² Freeman 2007: 574.

¹³ Freeman 2007: 573.

Britain. The discussion above not only assists in the analysis of *The Eagle of the Ninth* but also an understanding of the basis for the accepted scholarship when Sutcliff was writing her novel.

The most noticeable departure from the traditional Romanization model came in the late 1980s with the anti-Romanization model spearheaded by Millett, Todd and Woolf.¹⁴ Unlike the traditional Romanization model in which “native recipients of Roman culture were denied an active role” this new model argues, “people of the elite class were active agents... People lower down the social hierarchy experienced a more diluted version of Romanization, a sort of ‘trickle-down’ effect, through emulation of their social betters.”¹⁵

Some critics argue that the “1990s model of Romanization is simply the flip side of the early twentieth-century one – both focus almost exclusively on the elite group in society, but in the former the indigenous elites were the active agents and in the latter they were passive recipients.”¹⁶ The 1990s model continues to focus upon the elite as opposed to broadening the study of cultural change in Roman Britain to include all social groups. Another issue is that, in placing the British elite at the heart of the changes taking place in British society, the role of the Roman imperial agents – as highlighted by Richmond – is completely ignored.

¹⁴ Millett 1990a; 1990b; Todd 1981; Woolf 1997; 1998.

¹⁵ Mattingly 2006: 15.

¹⁶ Mattingly 2006: 15.

The anti-Romanization model is important as it challenges the accepted norms of Romanization. However, Freeman and Barrett argue that this model still uses Haverfield's categories and highlights that the evidence itself is not being reconsidered, just the interpretation of it.¹⁷ This newer form of Romanization still uses the terminology developed and defined by Mommsen and Haverfield at the turn of the 20th century.

The most recent form of Romano-British studies is what I have termed the 'inclusive, varied' model. This model developed in the mid to late 1990s in reaction to both the traditional Romanization and the anti-Romanization models. Barrett, Creighton and Mattingly favour this model.¹⁸ The 'inclusive, varied' model argues that the study of Roman Britain should consider multiple reactions based on individual experiences. These texts preface their studies with summaries of the earlier models of traditional Romanization and anti-Romanization in order to reject these concepts in favour of their own approaches.

In Mattingly's introduction to the 1997 edited volume *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism* he presents his argument for the relevance of Edward Said's 'discrepant experience' model to Romano-British studies.¹⁹ Mattingly summarizes Said's 'discrepant experience theory' as "arguing that historical experience can (indeed must) be analysed in a non-exclusive way – countering those who would claim that only Jews can understand the sufferings of Jewish

¹⁷ Freeman 2007: 580; Barrett 1997: 63.

¹⁸ Barrett 1997; Creighton 2006; Mattingly 1997, 2004, 2006, 2011.

¹⁹ Mattingly 1997: 7-24; also see Mattingly 2006; 2011.

history, or that only former colonial subjects can offer a proper reading of colonial history. Scholars are invited by Said to set aside their own cultural background and to explore different perspectives and different experiences of history.”²⁰ This method enables and encourages a further understanding of Roman Britain, requiring us to ignore contemporary or recent British history in favour of a neutral approach.²¹

Mattingly recognizes that one of the main difficulties with using this theory for Romano-British studies is that while it relies upon contrasting, or discrepant, accounts, the accounts from Roman Britain are largely Roman and there are few contrasting accounts to compare.²² Mattingly believes that by acknowledging this inequality scholars can increase their awareness and thus consider the Roman sources in a more relevant manner.²³ He goes on to argue that one of the main positive outcomes of the discrepant experiences model is that scholars “look across the social spectrum not simply at the imperial elite, and to try and assess the impact of empire from different perspectives”.²⁴

²⁰ Mattingly 1997: 12.

²¹ Said goes on to encourage scholarship to recognize “the massively knotted and complex histories of special but nevertheless overlapping and interconnected experiences... there is no particular intellectual reason for granting each and all of them an ideal and essentially separate status... That is, we must be able to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its own particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its internal coherence and system of external relationships, all of them co-existing and interacting with others.” Said 1993: 36 cited in Mattingly 1997: 12.

²² Said 1993: 37-40; Mattingly 1997: 14.

²³ Mattingly 1997: 14-15.

²⁴ Mattingly 2011: 213. Barrett, Creighton and Webster present arguments that fall within this model.

Barrett argues that the 'Roman' and 'native' distinctions "have nothing to tell us" and therefore "Romanization becomes an irrelevancy".²⁵ He suggests that the Roman Empire is, in fact, "a product of discourse".²⁶ Acknowledging this enables scholarship to contemplate the "diverse and vulnerable" experiences of the Roman Empire rather than accepting "that the Empire was ever a single reality, a totality whose truth can be reduced to a basic set of organizing principles or coercive facts."²⁷

Creighton's argument is influenced by the late 1970s developments in social theory, notably the work of Bourdieu and Giddens, and the way these developments alter "the way the role of the individual within society was perceived".²⁸ Creighton analyses the history of Roman Britain and specifically the development of the province within this interpretation of individual experience. He discusses the way in which the traditional Romanization method assumed that similar appearing town layouts underpinned the argument for similar experience and argues, instead, "these common elements mask a wide variety in practice".²⁹

Webster argues that the context of archaeological evidence needs to be considered in studies of Roman Britain and that scholars need "to be able to discriminate between uses of material culture for purposes of emulation and

²⁵ Barrett 1997: 40.

²⁶ Barrett 1997: 59.

²⁷ Barrett 1997: 63; 59.

²⁸ Creighton 2006: 10; Bourdieu. 1977; Giddens. 1979.

²⁹ Creighton 2006: 13.

subversion.”³⁰ Creolization, the term favoured by Webster, originated in archaeology of the Americas but she argues for its relevance in Romano-British studies, specifically for analysis of Romano-Celtic religion.³¹

Barrett, Creighton and Webster present different methodologies for the ‘inclusive, varied’ model and ultimately demonstrate that the evidence for Roman Britain needs to, or even must, be reconsidered. The ‘inclusive, varied’ model argues for different individual experiences of Roman-Britain and challenges the generalizing approach of the traditional Romanization model and the later anti-Romanization model.

Tacitus’ *Agricola*

Tacitus was the first author to depict and discuss the effects of Rome upon the province of Britain and the adoption of Roman cultural practices in his *Agricola*.³² It is Tacitus’ *Agricola* that begins reflection upon the process and aim of ‘Romanization’. Thus the *Agricola* is a key text for any author attempting to depict Roman Britain, especially interactions between Romans and natives.

Sutcliff explores *Agricola*’s time in Britain more fully in two of her later novels,

³⁰ Mattingly 2004: 7.

³¹ Webster 2001: 218-223.

³² According to Tacitus, *Agricola*: “trained the sons of the leading men in the liberal arts... the result was that in place of distaste for the Latin language came a passion to command it. In the same way our national dress came into favour and the toga was everywhere to be seen. And so they strayed into the enticements of vice – porticoes, baths and sumptuous banquets. In their innocence they called this ‘civilization’, when in fact it was a part of their enslavement.” *Agricola* 21. (Mattingly 2009: 15.)

The Mark of the Horse Lord and *Song for a Dark Queen*.³³ In *The Mark of the Horse Lord*, Phaedrus supports his argument against the positive influence of the Roman Empire with Tacitus' *Agricola*.³⁴ He cites Calgacus' speech and concludes that "even Roman Tacitus could have his doubts."³⁵ However the depiction of Roman Britain in *The Eagle of the Ninth* is shaped by Tacitus' depiction as well as his focus on the themes of slavery and freedom.

Tacitus presented the unconquered Britons, specifically Calgacus, as possessing the most Roman qualities, *eloquentia* and *virtus*.³⁶ For Tacitus, *Agricola* is the last true Roman and his location in Britain demonstrated that individuals could no longer be truly Roman in Rome. This is due to the corrupt and degenerate nature of Roman society under Domitian. Tacitus presented a Rome in which the Romans had lost the quality of liberty and become enslaved by their corruption and greed. For Tacitus, the arrival of Roman culture in Britain was not intended to civilize but to enslave. The luxury that had destroyed Roman society and morals enslaved the provinces and ensured their reliance upon Rome.

Attitudes to slavery in the ancient and modern world

The central relationship of *The Eagle of the Ninth* is between Marcus and Esca, a master and slave. Slavery was not a feature of 1950s society, having been

³³ Sutcliff 1965; Sutcliff 1978.

³⁴ Sutcliff 1965: 52.

³⁵ Sutcliff 1965: 52.

³⁶ *Agricola* 30-32. (Mattingly 2009: 19-22); Clarke 2001: 107.

abolished in the eighteenth-century. It was, however, a common and accepted aspect of ancient Roman society and the Roman Empire.³⁷ Sutcliff's novel conveys this aspect of Roman society but must do so in a way that is understandable to her readers, who have no experience of a society involving slavery.

Scholars believed that the need for slaves was one of the driving forces behind Roman imperialism, although this has since been rejected as the main reason for imperialism.³⁸ One of the main arguments against the slavery theory was Mommsen's 'Defensive Imperialism' model, in which he argued that Rome expanded her territory in reaction to the actions of her neighbours rather than due to a desire to expand and colonize.³⁹ Slavery did, however, decrease after the decline of the Roman Empire and was not as prevalent again until the discovery of the New World. At this point slavery developed "on a grand scale – probably, in fact, the grandest of all time".⁴⁰ Ray posits that between "1502 to almost 1900, slaves were brought from Africa to the Americans by the millions."⁴¹

In 1807 the British government banned the slave trade and in 1833 they ended it legally in their territories.⁴² Britain was instrumental in the abolition of slavery and this was believed to have been due to strong moral values in Victorian Britain. However, a more cynical view is that the rejection of slavery

³⁷ Ray 1989: 407.

³⁸ Ray 1989: 408.

³⁹ Freeman 1997: 31.

⁴⁰ Ray 1989: 408; 409.

⁴¹ Ray 1989: 409.

⁴² Ray 1989: 409.

was fuelled by economic reasons.⁴³ Smith argues that slave labour is the “dearest of any” as slaves are inclined “to eat as much as possible and to labour as little as possible”.⁴⁴ Individuals realised that paying labourers they would in fact gain them more profit.⁴⁵

Immigration in 1950s post-war Britain

The Eagle of the Ninth's protagonist emigrates to Britain with the Roman army. He must then choose whether to remain in the province or return home to Rome. The novel addresses issues of immigration and the dilemma of the transposed colonial who does not know where he belongs in the characterization of Marcus, the central character, and Uncle Aquila and Guern. These aspects of the novel have their roots in contemporary 1950s society.

Immigration into the United Kingdom from the British colonies increased after the end of the Second World War. A Colonial Office Memorandum from 1950 estimates between 20,000 and 30,000 colonial people in Great Britain.⁴⁶ This increase in immigration, often by non-white individuals, was met by hesitation and ambiguity on the part of politicians and policy-makers and “little was done to assist their settlement, integration and acceptance.”⁴⁷ Colonial immigrants were observed to “congregate together and to prefer their own society” suggesting that there was a risk of the separation of immigrant and

⁴³ Ray 1989: 409.

⁴⁴ Smith 1937: 63.

⁴⁵ Ray 1989: 410.

⁴⁶ Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 1.

⁴⁷ Layton-Henry 1985: 32.

native cultures.⁴⁸ There were also concerns that the immigrants would face racial prejudice based on their ethnic origin.⁴⁹

These fears were addressed by the development of “local associations... to promote ideals of inter-racial understanding” and a “planned programme of work designed to make the British public better informed about the Colonies and their peoples and to promote mutual understanding.”⁵⁰ Several Bills were presented but later rejected in the 1950s “to outlaw racial discrimination”.⁵¹ It is clear that there were fears about racism and that positive action was taken to combat this and to encourage racial understanding.

Alongside immigration in to the United Kingdom in the 1950s by individuals from colonial (and former colonial) provinces, there was also the choice facing British expatriates of whether to return home or stay on abroad.⁵² From the mid-1950s, the United Kingdom was becoming home to individuals from a variety of countries, be they expatriates returning ‘home’ or immigrants arriving from the colonies.

The superior attitudes of the Romans in the novel echo the racial prejudice in the 1950s, as does the rejection of the immigrant Romans by the British people. Immigration into Britain in the 1950s is an example of the cultural interaction I have defined above. Therefore it is important to consider

⁴⁸ Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 2.

⁴⁹ Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 5; Rich 1986: 16.

⁵⁰ Rich 1986: 17; Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 5.

⁵¹ Rich 1986: 17.

⁵² Burton 2011: 99.

how this cultural interaction would affect Sutcliff's depiction of Roman and British relationships. The programmes of cultural and racial understanding are also relevant to the novel. I believe that Sutcliff is attempting to educate her readers in tolerance and understanding, as I shall discuss further in chapter 2.

The decline of British imperialism

Throughout the Victorian period and the early twentieth-century the connection between the British and Roman empires was established and encouraged by scholars and authors.⁵³ A common interpretation was that the British Empire was the descendant of the Roman Empire and that the British were therefore destined to rule the world as the Romans had.⁵⁴ The decline of the British Empire altered these attitudes. The identification in the novel between the modern Britons and their ancient counterparts reflects this change in feeling towards imperialism.⁵⁵

After the end of the Second World War, Britain was in danger of losing both the empire and their position as a world power. The decline of the British Empire is often viewed as a linear process beginning in 1945 and ending in the late 1960s.⁵⁶ However, the circumstances were much more complex and the attitude of British policy-makers was not one of acceptance or resignation. In

⁵³ See Bryce 1914; Lucas 1912.

⁵⁴ For more on the relationship between the Roman and British empires see Brunt 1964; Hingley 2000; 2008; Hoselitz 2007; Majeed 1999; Vance 1997.

⁵⁵ For more on imperialism in children's fiction see Bristow 1991 and Kutzer 2000.

⁵⁶ Lynn 2006: 1.

fact, as Lynn highlights, “policy-makers in 1945 most certainly did not see the future in terms of inexorable imperial retreat”.⁵⁷ It is clear that Britain was keen to hold on to the empire despite the threat to the imperial position and the contradictory feelings of many individuals in the colonies. Despite this desire to retain the empire, from the mid-1950s onwards “the term ‘empire’ was increasingly abandoned.”⁵⁸ Therefore one would argue that there was a shift in attitudes to empire and Britain’s role with regard to their colonies.

The bombing of Exeter⁵⁹

The assault on the fort at Isca Dumnoniorum and the destruction of the British civil settlement has strong parallels in the bombings of the Second World War, specifically Lübeck and Exeter and the subsequent excavations. It is necessary to outline and analyse of the historical event before discussing Sutcliff’s depiction of the attack by the Britons and the punishment by the Romans. During the war Sutcliff and her mother lived “in the middle of nowhere” in North Devon, but Sutcliff often went to the hospital in Exeter for treatment of her juvenile arthritis.⁶⁰ Sutcliff says in her memoir that “living in the depth of the country, so far from any target area, in some ways we never saw the war at all.”⁶¹ Yarnscombe, the closest village to Sutcliff’s home, is roughly 40 miles from

⁵⁷ Lynn 2006: 1.

⁵⁸ Webster 2005: 101.

⁵⁹ This section is indebted to Burton 2011, and Professor Wiseman’s opening address at the 2012 Classical Association Conference.

⁶⁰ Sutcliff 1983: 118; 126.

⁶¹ Sutcliff 1983: 157.

Exeter, thus the bombing of Exeter would surely have been important to the region, especially if it was “so far from any target area”.⁶²

Allied forces bombed the German city of Lübeck on the night of 28-29th March 1942. The attack was due to the decision by Bomber Command to focus raids upon the “civil enemy population”.⁶³ The justification given for the decision to target Lübeck was its alleged position as “the main port for iron ore entering Germany from neutral Sweden”.⁶⁴ However, given the result of the raid it is generally believed that Lübeck was chosen as the initial target because “the timbered medieval buildings were a temptation for incendiary experiments”.⁶⁵

The result of the bombing was described by Richards as “devastation on a scale never before inflicted by Bomber Command; the later raiders could see the conflagration a hundred miles ahead”.⁶⁶ It was estimated that around one thousand people died in the bombing of the city.⁶⁷ Goebbels, writing in his diary about the attack, stated that the “damage is really enormous...It is horrible.”⁶⁸

The bombing of several German cities, including Dresden, Cologne and Lübeck led to the Baedeker raids by the Luftwaffe, the German air force.⁶⁹ The

⁶² Sutcliff 1983: 118; 157.

⁶³ Grayling 2006: 51.

⁶⁴ Grayling 2006: 51.

⁶⁵ Grayling 2006: 51.

⁶⁶ Grayling 2006: 51.

⁶⁷ Grayling 2006: 51.

⁶⁸ Grayling 2006: 101.

⁶⁹ The retaliatory raids were so-called as Baron Gustav von Sturm announced on 24th April, the day following the first attack on Exeter, that the Luftwaffe “shall go

first of these raids occurred on 23rd April 1942 when “ in retaliation for the British bombing raid on Lübeck, forty-five German bombers struck at Exeter.”⁷⁰ Exeter “suffered badly from fire and blast, so that the City Authorities felt obliged to demolish many ruined buildings”.⁷¹ The first five days of the retaliatory bombings resulted in the death of 938 British civilians.⁷² The total loss of life across the entirety of the Baedeker raids amounted to 1637 people with 50,000 buildings destroyed in Exeter, Bath, Norwich, York and later Canterbury.⁷³ The positive result of the bombing of Exeter, and the destruction or demolition of many Medieval and Georgian buildings, was that the cleared land allowed for the subsequent excavation of the Romano-British ruins in areas near to Cathedral Close beginning in 1945 and continuing in 1946 and 1947.⁷⁴ Although Sutcliff was not directly affected by the war it is likely that the Exeter bombing would have influenced her life and writing.⁷⁵

The life and work of Rudyard Kipling⁷⁶

Sutcliff refers repeatedly to the influence of Kipling upon her and her writing, both in her monograph on her predecessor and her memoir. She

out and bomb every building in Britain marked with three stars in the Baedeker Guide”. Grayling 2006: 51.

⁷⁰ Gilbert 1989: 319.

⁷¹ Fox.1952: xv.

⁷² Gilbert 1989: 319.

⁷³ Grayling 2006: 51-52.

⁷⁴ Medlicott 1952: v.

⁷⁵ Sutcliff does not mention the bombing of Exeter in her memoirs but it must have been influential upon both her life and *The Eagle of the Ninth* as I will discuss in chapter 2.

⁷⁶ The influence of Kipling is also addressed in Burton 2011, Roberts 2007 and Wright 1981.

describes herself as “a Kipling addict” and states that she has “loved Kipling for as long as I can remember.”⁷⁷ In *Blue Remembered Hills*, she references the love she felt for the characters of the *Jungle Book*, her Uncle Harold’s physical similarities to Kipling and his part in teaching Sutcliff her “passion for Kipling”.⁷⁸

After leaving India when he was five, Kipling returned for seven years from 1882-1889 to work as “assistant editor of the *Civil and Military Gazette*, published in Lahore.”⁷⁹ It was during this time in India that Kipling discovered his passion for writing fiction.⁸⁰ He wrote his children’s stories “in the seventeen or eighteen years between the time when his first child was on the way and the time when his last child was too old to have stories written for it any more.”⁸¹

Puck of Pook’s Hill depicts two children, Dan and Una, who unintentionally awaken Puck, a fairy and “the oldest Old Thing in England” with their performance of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* near to Pook’s Hill on Midsummer’s Eve.⁸² Puck proceeds to bring historical figures from the past to meet Dan and Una. One of these historical visitors is Parnesius, a Roman centurion.⁸³ Parnesius is a Roman but he was born and brought up on Vectis, the Isle of Wight, and is thus “one of a good few thousands who have never seen Rome except in

⁷⁷ Sutcliff 1960: 55-56; 7.

⁷⁸ Sutcliff 1983: 17; 62.

⁷⁹ Sutcliff 1960: 14.

⁸⁰ Sutcliff 1960: 16.

⁸¹ Sutcliff 1960: 20. For more on Kipling’s life see Sutcliff 1960 or Kipling’s autobiography *Something of Myself* (1990 Penguin edition).

⁸² Kipling 1906: 16-17.

⁸³ Kipling 1906: 105-167.

picture.”⁸⁴ Parnesius joins the army and is then stationed at Hadrian’s Wall. He is, along with his friend Pertinax, one of the last Romans to hold the Wall against the invading Picts and ‘Winged Hats’.⁸⁵ The Roman chapters of *Puck of Pook’s Hill* provide Sutcliff with “much of the detail for *The Eagle*” but also the foundation of the central relationship of Marcus and Esca.⁸⁶

Kipling’s earlier short story *The Lost Legion* is “an account of a Indian irregular regiment caught up in the Mutiny of 1857 that seeks to foment revolt in Afghanistan. Once in Afghanistan, however, the regiment goes swiftly to pieces”.⁸⁷ The regiment “was hunted for the sake of its arms and accoutrements from hill to hill, from ravine to ravine, up and down the dried beds of rivers and round the shoulders of bluffs, till it disappeared as water sinks in the sand”.⁸⁸ Years later a squadron attempting to arrest Afghan tribesmen hears the sound of cavalry in their position. They later discover that they are in the exact spot that the previous regiment was destroyed.⁸⁹ The disappearance of the regiment is influential upon Sutcliff’s depiction of the Ninth Legion and the way that the story is told to Marcus by Tradui, the elderly tribesman or a “graybeard” who “speaks of his share in the massacre”.⁹⁰

⁸⁴ Kipling 1906: 111. This develops the connection between the Britain of the past and the Britain of Dan and Una’s present as Parnesius is both British and Roman.

⁸⁵ Saxon sea-raiders.

⁸⁶ Burton 2011: 86.

⁸⁷ Burton 2011: 86. Kipling 2001: 142-155.

⁸⁸ Kipling 2001: 142.

⁸⁹ For a more detailed summary of *The Lost Legion* see Havholm 2007.

⁹⁰ Burton 2011: 86; Kipling 2001: 142-143.

Kipling's poem, *Roman Centurion's Song*, presents the plight of a centurion "ordered 'home' from Britain after forty years of service."⁹¹ The centurion describes the time he has spent in Britain, the loved-ones he has buried there and the influence of Britain and its "changeable Northern skies" upon him.⁹² The choice of the centurion influences Marcus' choice at the end of the novel, as well as the choice that Uncle Aquila and Guern have already made, as I will discuss in the following chapter.⁹³

Conclusion

The events, issues and attitudes outlined and discussed above combine to form a sense of the 1950s society that influenced and is referenced by Sutcliff in *The Eagle of the Ninth*. These contexts, both in contemporary 1950s society and in the novel, demonstrate the rich diversity of Sutcliff's reference points. The attitudes to declining British imperialism and immigration in the 1950s influence the models of Romano-British studies. The bombing of Exeter affects the attitudes to war and colonization. The friendship of Parnesius and Pertinax determines the relationship between Marcus and Esca in contrast to traditional attitudes to slaves and slavery.

Based on the themes discussed above I believe that the stereotypical depiction of cultural interaction presents a superior colonizing culture bringing civilization to a base and simplistic indigenous culture. The colonizing culture

⁹¹ Burton 2011: 86.

⁹² Kipling 1993: 144-145.

⁹³ Burton 2011: 86; Wright 1981: 95.

and its representatives believe they are superior to the native people. The immigrant culture is insular and separates itself from native society and there are risks of racial prejudice towards the other culture. The relationship is tense and unstable with the threat of violence. The change inspired by the colonizing culture is deemed to be an improvement upon the indigenous culture.

Knowledge of these different contexts and their influences upon each other provides the reader with a fuller reading of Sutcliff's achievement in the representation of the interaction between Roman and British culture in the novel. The themes above will inform the following chapters and help to shape my argument. This is that in *The Eagle of the Ninth* Sutcliff, influenced by the changes in 1950s society, challenged stereotypical depictions of cultural interaction that were inspired by the traditional Romanization model, British imperialism and attitudes to colonized cultures and slavery. I will use reference to the 1950s context of the novel to argue that it anticipated the later models of Romano-British studies.

Chapter 2

“A place where two worlds met without mingling”¹: Interaction between Rome and Britain

Building on the basis of the summaries in the previous chapter I will now analyse instances of cultural interaction in the novel. The textual analysis of this chapter draws upon the events and attitudes of the first chapter to demonstrate that Sutcliff's novel challenges stereotypes of cultural interaction that one might assume she would uphold, given her time of writing. The events discussed in the novel continue the varied nature of the influences and range from attacks upon fortresses, developments of individual identity and relationships between individuals from different cultural backgrounds.

This chapter will begin with an analysis of Sutcliff's depiction of the attacks at Isca Dumnoniorum and the influence of and reference to the bombing of Exeter in the account. I will then move on to explore the characters of Cub and Esca and the impact of slavery upon their characterization before examining the influence of immigration and the decline of imperialism upon the depiction of the relationship between Marcus and Esca and Cub.

The final two sections of this chapter will explore the connection between Sutcliff's characterization and recent theories of identity and Romano-British

¹ Sutcliff 1954: 7.

studies. Firstly I will examine Cottia's relationship with Aunt Valaria and the way that their interaction presents the recent anti-Romanization and the 'inclusive, varied' models. Secondly, I will explore the way that the characterization of Uncle Aquila and Guern portray recent attitudes to the connection, or lack of connection, between identity and ethnicity, as well as the influence of Kipling on the development of these characters and the choice motif in *The Eagle of the Ninth*.

Attacks on Exeter/Isca Dumnoniorum

There are clear links between the bombing of Exeter and the attacks on Isca Dumnoniorum, both on the Roman fortress and the British settlement: the night-time attacks, the fire damage, the retaliation. However there are multiple interpretations of these similarities, ones that alter the readers' understanding of the events and Sutcliff's attitudes.

The first interpretation is that the colonization of Isca Dumnoniorum parallels the bombing of Lübeck by the Allied troops. This is the primary action by one cultural group towards another, and thus the attack on the fort by the native tribesmen is equivalent to the Exeter bombing by the Luftwaffe. In this version of the relationship, the colonizing Romans of Sutcliff's novel are the equals of the colonizing Britons of the British Empire. This reflects the popular nineteenth-century comparison between the two empires.² However, this comparison clearly originates from a period before the Second World War,

² Hingley 2008: 241.

addresses the British Empire rather than the Allied troops and actually refers more to the Roman occupation of Britain as a model for the British occupation of India.³ More importantly, the events of World War Two altered imperialism and attitudes towards it. Therefore this model would be outmoded and unpopular.

Another issue with this interpretation is that it ignores the retaliation of the Romans in the novel and their punishment of the Britons. This event is clearly important to Sutcliff, as Marcus, her central character has a strong negative reaction to it. One might argue that Marcus is a representative for Sutcliff here; his disapproval of the actions of the Romans reflects Sutcliff's reaction to the acts of the Allied bombers. However, the interpretation of ancient Britons as Germans and Romans as modern Britons ignores the event, the burning of the civilian settlement, which Marcus reacts so negatively towards. This parallel is more consistent with the idea that the bombing of Lübeck is an act of retaliation.

In this respect my analysis differs from Burton's. Burton argues that the bombing of Exeter is comparable to the attack on the fortress by the British tribesman and the retaliatory attack upon the tribal settlement is echoed by the Allied attacks on Germany.⁴ This interpretation does not take into account the similarities outlined above between the burning of villages by Nazi soldiers as punishment for alleged transgressions and the punishment of the ancient Britons, as well as the role of the bombing of Lübeck in inspiring the retaliatory

³ Hingley 2008: 240-241.

⁴ Burton 2011: 96.

Baedeker raids. Burton highlights Sutcliff's criticism of the preference for tit-for-tat revenge by both the RAF and the Luftwaffe and believes that it is not crucial to determine which contemporary group Sutcliff's Romans echo. While I agree with this interpretation of Sutcliff's wide-ranging criticism, I feel it is also important to determine the parallels between the ancient and contemporary parties as it allows an insight into Sutcliff's attitudes and the message being passed on to the child reader.

Alternatively the colonization of Britain echoes the Second World War itself as both are extended periods of unrest and uncertainty and a wide-scale cultural interaction. The attack by the British tribesmen on the fort is thus the equivalent of the bombing of Lübeck whilst the retaliation of the Romans reflects the retaliatory Baedeker raids, specifically the raid on Exeter.

The destruction of the civilian settlement also echoes the actions of Nazi troops during the Second World War, there were many cases of villages being destroyed while the men were executed or removed and taken to concentration camps. One such event in Norway was reported in the *Western Morning News* in 1946 during the coverage of Goering's trial. The report states, "thirteen Norwegians were shot, the town burned down and the population deported."⁵ Another similar event in Serbia, in which "two villages have been reduced to ashes, 1,700 men and 240 women have been executed" was described as being " 'punishment' for an attack on three German soldiers".⁶

⁵ *Western Morning News* 1946: 3.

⁶ Hastings 2011: 502.

The connection between fascism, specifically Nazism, and the Roman Empire was developed in popular culture in the early 1950s with the release of *Quo Vadis* and *Julius Caesar*.⁷ These films echo the American war propaganda about Nazi Germany and model the Roman eagles on the eagles of fascist regimes, notably the eagles of Nazi Germany.⁸ *Quo Vadis* begins with the narrator explaining that power leads to corruption before describing the totalitarian system.⁹ The triumphal procession in *Quo Vadis* and Mark Antony's speech in *Julius Caesar* visually resemble fascist rallies.¹⁰ *Quo Vadis* also depicts Nero giving "repeated raised-arm salutes" an act that "none of the adults in the audience would have overlooked".¹¹ Thus I believe it would be reasonable to suggest that by 1954 the relationship between Rome and fascism would be well established and known by Sutcliff.¹²

There are strong parallels between these actions taken by German soldiers during the Second World War and the punishment of Britons by the Romans. This strengthens the interpretation that events in the novel were inspired by recent contemporary events as well as suggesting a negative attitude to the Romans, which is articulated by Marcus when he is "surprised to find that he cared" about the native people.¹³

⁷ Pomeroy 2004: 117; LeRoy 1951; Mankiewicz 1953.

⁸ Wyke 1997: 59.

⁹ Winkler 2001: 56.

¹⁰ Wyke 1997: 58.

¹¹ Wyke 1997: 58.

¹² For more on *Quo Vadis*, *Julius Caesar* and the parallels they draw between Rome and fascism see Winkler 2001: 50-75 and Wyke 1997: 110-146.

¹³ Sutcliff 1954: 44.

This interpretation connects the two sets of events more closely and has the colonization of Britain and the Second World War as wider framing devices for the individual acts. It makes more sense to compare two large interactions such as war and colonization in this way. This interpretation also refers to the war rather than the British Empire as the first version does and this makes the comparison more relevant, understandable and also accessible for a young audience.

The final statement of the novel, Uncle Aquila's comment to Marcus that "they are rebuilding Isca Dumnoniorum" also supports this interpretation.¹⁴ Thomas Sharp proposed new plans for Exeter in 1946 and one can assume that the work must have begun before Sutcliff's novel was published in 1954.¹⁵ The reference to the rebuilding refers both to the ancient and contemporary settlement at Exeter. This demonstrates that these events are not as final as they may seem and gives comfort to the reader by placing them in a wider historical context.

The bombing of Exeter also enabled the archaeological excavation of the Roman ruins of Exeter.¹⁶ Lady Aileen Fox, who led the archaeological excavation at Exeter, believed that this was "a wonderful opportunity".¹⁷ Thus the destruction of the city allowed an investigation into the past that would

¹⁴ Sutcliff 1954: 293.

¹⁵ Pendlebury 2003: 379.

¹⁶ Wedlicott 1952: v.

¹⁷ Fox 1952: xv.

otherwise have not been possible as the ruins were built over in later periods. The destruction of the Medieval and Georgian buildings enabled a direct connection to the ancient past; this echoes the desire to remove the awkward middle history to return to idealized antiquity, an act attempted by Victorian and Greek historians and the policy of Mussolini.¹⁸ This positive outcome meant that there was a constructive and forward thinking result for the bombed areas of the city. The bombing of Exeter may have not only inspired the attacks in the novel but also the overall references to Roman Exeter and Sutcliff's use of it as a setting for the novel.¹⁹

This parallel between two events in Exeter follows Kipling's model of continuity as demonstrated through specific landscape, such as the locations of his novel *Puck of Pook's Hill*, or in Sutcliff's case, Exeter.²⁰ Sutcliff argues that the true theme of Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* is "the Land and the People, the continuity of life".²¹ She believes that this aspect of Kipling's work enables children to link past and present and "help them to be at least a little aware of their own living roots behind them, and so see their own times in better perspective than they might otherwise have done."²² I believe that this is Sutcliff's intention when she evokes the bombing of Exeter in her depiction of the attacks on Isca Dumnoniorum. This continuity through history is only enabled by

¹⁸ Nelis 2007: 391-415.

¹⁹ Professor Wiseman suggested in his lecture at the 2012 Classical Association Conference that Sutcliff might well have attended Lady Fox's excavations at Exeter. She does not mention Fox or the excavations in her memoirs but it is very likely that she would have been aware of them, especially Fox's 1952 account of the excavations and their findings.

²⁰ Tompkins 1959: 74.

²¹ Sutcliff 1960: 51.

²² Sutcliff 1960: 52.

the destruction of the later structures upon the site, and the rejection of the history between modern and ancient Britain. Arguably in connecting to the past one must ignore the events in between and as such Sutcliff, and Kipling, must reject the middle period of history in favour of the earlier events. This is interesting because it suggests the superiority of certain periods and events. Ultimately the world of the ancient Romans was often the preferred period for historians, artists and politicians.²³

I believe that the second interpretation of the links between the ancient and contemporary events is more understandable and accessible. Hankins' 1942 article comparing the speeches of Calgacus, in Tacitus' *Agricola*, and Churchill demonstrates that there was a precedent for connecting ancient Britain to the 1940s wartime experience.²⁴ One would expect Sutcliff to have read Tacitus' account of Roman Britain and she may too have noticed the similarities highlighted by Hankins and developed the connection between modern and ancient Britain to relate to the attacks at Exeter.

The choice of Exeter as the location of these two events may well have been because Sutcliff lived in North Devon and was aware of the bombing of the city or even saw the flames of the fires that raged through the city after the bombing.²⁵ Sutcliff states in her memoirs that neither she nor her mother "saw the war at all".²⁶ However, the bombing of Exeter must have had an impact upon

²³ See Nelis 2007.

²⁴ Hankins 1942: 483-485.

²⁵ Fox 1952: xv.

²⁶ Sutcliff 1983: 157.

the surrounding area and thus made an impression on Sutcliff. The bombing of Exeter may have inspired the action of the novel but at the very least it would be an understandable comparison for Sutcliff to use.

I believe that the comparisons are intended to give the young readers hope, to inform them that life goes on, despite death and destruction. The connection between recent events and the action in the novel educates the reader, reassures them of the resilience of society and informs them of the continuity of British history. It does, however, rely upon the destruction, or rejection of the historical period between ancient and modern Exeter. I believe that this is an interesting reflection on the presence of the past in modern world; one period or level of history must be sacrificed in order to approach another.

Cub, Esca and slavery

Cub and Esca are both enslaved when their families are killed. Esca's family and his tribe are murdered when the Romans attack them for attempting an uprising against their colonizers; his father actually kills his mother so that she does not die at the hands of the Romans.²⁷ Esca rescues a young wolf cub, Cub, when he is hunting. Colonized peoples were often enslaved as punishment for their resistance. Calgacus' speech in Tacitus' *Agricola* uses the enslavement of Britons by Romans to rally the British troops against Agricola's army.²⁸ However,

²⁷ Sutcliff 1954: 77-78.

²⁸ "Britannia daily buys her own enslavement, daily feeds her enslavers. And just as in a private household the latest arrival is always abused by even his fellow

many individuals would rather remain enslaved than risk the dangers of freedom, as summarised in the popular proverb “if you have not a master, a beast will catch you.”²⁹ Esca wants to protect the young wolf and provide him with a master who will save him from the ‘beasts’ in Roman Britain, highlighting that Esca views Marcus as a kind master.

Sutcliff uses Cub to articulate the actions and decisions of Marcus and Esca. Through Cub’s capture the reader can further understand Esca’s situation and his enslavement. Cub’s return from the wilderness to his master reflects Esca’s decision to remain with Marcus. The journey north of the Wall also echoes Cub’s test, since Esca has returned to his home and could leave Marcus to journey alone but he remains with his friend and former master. By using Cub to articulate these issues Sutcliff skillfully and implicitly addresses issues of slavery and freedom. Burton argues that Cub’s “experience serves as a test case for the ability of a creature from one background to assimilate himself to another.”³⁰ Cub’s role as an exemplary figure of assimilation reflects upon several characters in the novel, for example, Esca’s assimilation into Roman life and Marcus’ assimilation into British culture.³¹

Cub and Esca are both given the option by Marcus to leave him and return to the wilderness, away from Roman civilization, but both choose to remain with

slaves, so in this slave-household of the world, as the Romans have long ago made it, we are the cheap new acquisitions”. *Agricola* 30 (Mattingly 2009: 20.)

²⁹ Patterson 1982: 105; 27.

³⁰ Burton 2011: 97.

³¹ Burton 2011: 98-99.

Marcus.³² This decision may have been affected by the changes that have taken place in their lives; neither has a family to return to and Rome's influence has spread across Britain. For Cub, a life dependent on Marcus is all that he knows because "if they are like this one, little, little so that they can remember nothing before".³³ Life with Marcus would be easier, safer and more comfortable than a life alone and both may be recaptured but not find as kind or gentle a master.

This desire to be safe and comfortable echoes Tacitus' observations about the enslavement of the British people. Tacitus argues that in the Britons desire for "porticoes, baths and sumptuous banquets" they became enslaved.³⁴ Thus Cub and Esca are not choosing to be free but, instead, are too accustomed to the luxuries of slavery to reject them. Thus Marcus has technically and officially freed Esca and Cub but they remain enslaved by "the enticements of vice".³⁵ This demonstrates that freedom is more than no longer being called a slave or choosing where one belongs.

Marcus' decision to free the captured and enslaved Cub and Esca may refer to the role of Britain in the abolition of slavery during the nineteenth century. This is further supported by the fact that Marcus is in Britain and ultimately chooses to remain in the province. Marcus' criticism of the retaliatory

³² Sutcliff 1954: 105; 115; 127-9.

³³ Sutcliff 1954: 72.

³⁴ *Agricola* 21. (Mattingly 2009: 15).

³⁵ *Agricola* 21. (Mattingly 2009: 15). That is not to say that Marcus has deliberately encouraged enjoyment or dependence on the Roman lifestyle but that by capturing and enslaving Cub and Esca he has altered their opinions of lifestyle choices by introducing them to Roman customs. Marcus is not an inherently bad individual just one who does not understand what it is to be a slave or be free.

actions of the Romans suggests that he is more moral than his contemporary Romans. He may have more in common with modern British attitudes, as highlighted by his attitudes towards slavery and his decision to free Cub and Esca. It may, however, be that Esca's freedom is more profitable to Marcus, as the ex-slave would not feel coerced into the search for the missing Eagle.³⁶ Marcus' treatment of Esca and Cub is distinctly un-Roman and demonstrates the influence of contemporary culture upon Sutcliff's depiction of the ancient world.

The accepting nature of Sutcliff's characters and their understanding of other cultures may reflect the 1950s programmes of cultural awareness and racial understanding.³⁷ Sutcliff's inclusion of the tribune Placidus and his negative attitudes towards Britain and Britons highlight Marcus' moral superiority and his understanding when it comes to British culture. Placidus is ignorant and intolerant. This is supported by his reference to Britain as "this benighted province" and his description of Esca as "the painted barbarian".³⁸ When faced with Placidus' judgement of Esca and his criticism of the trustworthiness of slaves, rather than reducing himself to similar criticism Marcus instead decides to free Esca before embarking on their journey.³⁹ Marcus' attitude is accepting while Placidus is judgmental and Marcus chooses to remain in Britain whereas Placidus cannot wait to return to Rome. Placidus reluctance to interact with the Britons indicates his attitude of superiority. This

³⁶ For more on freedom as a more profitable arrangement see Ray 1989: 410.

³⁷ Rich 1986: 17; Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 5.

³⁸ Sutcliff 1954: 112; 115.

³⁹ Sutcliff 1954: 126-127.

also reflects the insular nature of immigrant communities, in which immigrants “congregate together and... prefer their own society”.⁴⁰

Placidus’ interaction with Marcus, and Marcus’ understanding nature of British identity and culture, echoes the attitudes of Calgacus in Tacitus’ *Agricola*. Calgacus argues that the Romans in Britain are the barbarians rather than the Britons themselves, both in their cultural make-up and their attitudes to others.⁴¹ Although Marcus is a Roman, he has more in common with Tacitus’ British chieftain rather than with Placidus. Calgacus is “more Roman than the Romans themselves” and he demonstrates that it is in the furthestmost parts of the Empire than true Roman virtues can be found.⁴²

In his time spent in Britain Marcus has rediscovered these true Roman virtues, unlike Placidus who has clung to the contemporary Roman attitudes. Perhaps by travelling north of Hadrian’s Wall, Marcus has realized the corruption of Rome and that may be one of the main reasons he decides to embrace Britain and settle there.⁴³ Marcus returns to the true Roman value of *virtus* by freeing Esca rather than becoming corrupt like Placidus. It is through spending time with Britons that Marcus has been able to rediscover this virtue,

⁴⁰ Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 2.

⁴¹ *Agricola* 32. (Mattingly 2009: 21.) For more on this topic see Clarke 2001: 104-107.

⁴² Clarke 2001: 106.

⁴³ “Rather than being improved by contact with Romans... the Britons of the South have been corrupted... By contrast, Calgacus, hidden away in the most remote part of Scotland... has not yet been corrupted.” Clarke 2001: 106.

demonstrating that in the wilderness of Britain true Romanness can be found.⁴⁴ Sutcliff's depiction of Cub and Esca's freedom highlights her respect for other cultures, an attitude that is in keeping with the agenda of her time. I believe that Sutcliff is using her novel to educate her readers and make them more accepting of other cultures in accordance with the contemporary agenda to increase cultural and racial understanding.

Marcus, Cub, Esca and colonization

Marcus' treatment of Cub and Esca presents an alternative to traditional and accepted forms of colonization.⁴⁵ Marcus' variation of colonization relies upon a positive attitude towards the master, or colonizer, and the development of a meaningful relationship between the colonizer and the colonized. This

⁴⁴ Esca's eloquence when discussing the shield-boss and the dagger-sheath also reflect Calgacus' skill with spoken Latin, although it is not clear whether Marcus and Esca converse in Celtic or Latin. Sutcliff uses English in the same way that Tacitus employs Latin, to demonstrate the intelligence and eloquence of supposed barbaric individuals. However, the speeches must be recorded in the language of the reader and as such the eloquence of the speaker must be suggested by correct use of the reader's language. Sutcliff 1954: 88-90. Esca's comments upon the changes in southern Britain as opposed to the north echo ideas about the corruption of the south through their interaction with Rome. Clarke 2001: 106.

⁴⁵ Osterhammel lists six "major forms" of colonization, or "expansion of a society beyond its original habitat." These forms of colonization include: "total migration of entire populations and societies... mass individual migration... border colonization... overseas settlement colonization... empire-building wars of conquest [and]... construction of naval networks." Of these six variations Osterhammel states that "empire-building wars of conquest" is the "classic or 'Roman' form of establishing the rule of one person over another. An imperial center continues as the ultimate source of power and legitimacy, even if military expansion is fueled primarily by resources that are mobilized on the spot in the course of pushing forward." This description fits with historical Roman colonization and Sutcliff's accounts of colonization in the novel but not with Marcus' treatment of Esca and Cub. Osterhammel 1997: 4-9.

relationship challenges the traditional, often violent, forms of colonization. When presenting Cub with his opportunity to leave Marcus and captivity, Sutcliff writes that “you could tame a wild thing, but never count it as truly won until, being free to return to its own kind, it chose to come back to you.”⁴⁶ This observation not only indicates Sutcliff’s awareness of the colonization process, especially from the perspective of the colonized individual, but also presents an alternative form of colonization, one that is based upon mutual trust and respect rather than violence or fear. This attitude is impressive and inspirational but is unlikely to occur outside of the fictional realm. It relies too heavily upon the assumption that all masters wish to befriend their dependents and that all dependents will respond positively to such an attitude.

Marcus’ relationship with Esca and Cub is reminiscent of the interaction between the little prince and the fox in de Saint-Exupéry’s children’s story.⁴⁷ Marcus’s ‘colonization’ of Cub is similar to the little prince’s taming of the fox, both must be patient with the animals and must accept responsibility for them once they have been tamed.⁴⁸ However I believe that Marcus and Esca’s relationship also follows the model of the fox. Marcus must be cautious of overstepping the boundary of their relationship. Unlike interaction with Cub, words pose more threat to the relationship. If Marcus’s words are

⁴⁶ Sutcliff 1954: 105.

⁴⁷ De Saint-Exupéry 1945: 62-70.

⁴⁸ “You must be very patient,” replied the fox. “First you will sit down at a little distance from me – like that – in the grass. I shall look at you out of the corner of my eye, and you will say nothing. Words are the source of misunderstanding. But you will sit a little closer to me, every day...” de Saint-Exupéry 1945: 65. “you become responsible, forever, for what you have tamed.” de Saint-Exupéry 1945: 70.

misunderstood, as they occasionally are, then he risks alienating Esca and the process of 'taming' must begin again.⁴⁹ In *The Little Prince* the fox tells de Saint-Exupéry's protagonist that he must tame the animal if he wants to befriend him.⁵⁰ Befriending and taming are also closely connected in *The Eagle of the Ninth*.

Christiansen believes that through spending time with the rose in de Saint-Exupéry's story the little prince has fallen in love with it and this interpretation is also relevant to Sutcliff's characters and their relationships.⁵¹ Marcus has a strong bond with Esca and Cub. Esca chooses not to remain north of Hadrian's Wall, where he could be free, to return to the Roman province with Marcus, where he must constantly face the implications of his clipped ear, despite the fact that he is now a free man.⁵² Cub, on the other hand, lays his head at Marcus' feet to show complete submission to his master and refuses to eat when Marcus is away.⁵³ Cottia also displays this devotion to Marcus; she offers to follow him wherever he chooses even if that is to Rome which she claims to hate.⁵⁴ Marcus has tamed these individuals, he has been patient with them and earned their trust and in doing so he has befriended them. It is not unreasonable to suggest that Sutcliff would have been aware of *The Little Prince*, it was first

⁴⁹ Sutcliff 1954: 72-75.

⁵⁰ De Saint-Exupéry 1945: 65.

⁵¹ Christiansen 1995: 175.

⁵² Sutcliff 1954: 272-3.

⁵³ Sutcliff 1954: 115; 269.

⁵⁴ Sutcliff 1954: 286.

translated into English in 1945 and is a popular children's story.⁵⁵ Therefore I believe that in Marcus' relationship with Cub, Esca and also Cottia, Sutcliff is inspired by and echoing the sentiments of the fox.

This alternative colonization is the result of hindsight, as the "time between the past of the events and the present of their writing situates the author in a position of privileged knowledge, in that he or she is aware of the outcome of events and their effects on those events' future, which is the writer's present."⁵⁶ This distance is also a disadvantage; detailed research cannot recreate the feelings and attitudes of a colonizing, or colonized, nation and thus Sutcliff retains a more modern, and non-colonist, perspective. The society in which she is writing impacts upon this depiction since the reader is aware that Britain has not fully abandoned imperialism. Thus *The Eagle of the Ninth* reflects the imperial attitudes of the time.⁵⁷

Sutcliff may be presenting an alternative to the traditional model as a suggestion for how Britain can retain the empire. The traditional methods of colonization and retention of provinces have been challenged. It is clear that Britain still has an important role for its colonies, demonstrated by the increase in immigration to Britain from British colonies.⁵⁸ It may also be significant that

⁵⁵ Woods' translation was published in Great Britain in 1945. *The Little Prince* has sold 80million copies since its original publication in 1943. Beaumont 2010: 11.

⁵⁶ Boccardi 2009: 6.

⁵⁷ This does however risk alienating later readers, as they will be unfamiliar with Sutcliff's contemporary society and the issues relating to the decline of British imperialism.

⁵⁸ Colonial Office Memorandum 1950: 1.

the actions of the British Empire begin to impact directly upon life and society in Britain in the 1950s. Like Marcus, Britons were living alongside those their empire had colonized. By experiencing this closeness the relationship between the colonizers and the colonized changed. Thus perhaps Sutcliff is highlighting that colonization need not simply be a case of dominance and submission but that it can give power and trust to the colonized and that by doing so, the relationship can be improved and strengthened.

Marcus' form of colonization is also more personal. The success of this type of colonization is more understandable as it occurs on a small scale and the colonizing individual has time to develop a positive relationship based on mutual trust and respect. It takes several months for Marcus to become friends with Esca despite their being together every day.⁵⁹ However, the personal nature of this form of colonization makes it impractical; the Romans could not spend months with one small group of native individuals in order to create such a strong bond. The time constraints on the colonizing Romans echo the sentiments of the fox in *The Little Prince* who is critical of the way that "men have no more time to understand anything" especially when it comes to taming others.⁶⁰ Perhaps if they had been patient then they too could have tamed and befriended others. Marcus' intention is also different to that of the colonizing Romans; he has no desire to leave Marcus and Cub to live in a Roman fashion, but instead wants to develop a strong friendship with them so that they can live together

⁵⁹ The time taken over the transition reflects de Saint-Exupéry's *The Little Prince* and the instruction given by the fox that the little prince "must be very patient". de Saint-Exupéry 1945: 65.

⁶⁰ de Saint-Exupéry 1945: 65.

happily in an equal relationship.⁶¹ Sutcliff's alternative colonization is one that is only suitable in the novel, on a small, personal scale with the aim of becoming friends.

The personal scale of Marcus' form of colonization is also influenced by the form and approach of the historical novel. The historical novelist chooses an individual to represent the time period in which their novel is set and then develop their narrative to revolve around this individual's experience of this time. The individual may be Roman or Edwardian but they are a "typical man... whose life is shaped by world-historical figures" rather than being the world-historical figure that shapes such lives.⁶² The individual is the principal focus of the novel but, through them, the history of the novel is depicted.⁶³

The aim of the personal narrative is "to interpret the experience of individual men – both actual or imaginary".⁶⁴ This makes the reader feel the past experience "as he would feel his own existence were he to have lived in the past".⁶⁵ The form of the historical novel makes the action of the novel and the events of the past more accessible and understandable for the reader. However, in the case of Marcus' alternative method of colonization, it creates an unrealistic and impractical model of colonization.

⁶¹ This also echoes the intention of the little prince in taming the fox. de Saint-Exupéry 1945: 62-70.

⁶² Fleishman 1971: 11.

⁶³ Cam 1961: 5.

⁶⁴ Fleishman 1971:12.

⁶⁵ Fleishman 1971:13.

Another issue with Marcus' form of colonization is that his relationship with Esca is not typical of the dynamic of the master/ slave or colonizer/colonized. Marcus always treats Esca as a friend. He saves Esca life in the arena when he does not know him and he is later hesitant to encroach on Esca's privacy. Marcus' attitude makes the reader view their relationship as a friendship rather than an ownership. This hides the truth about slavery and ownership, however, and presents the young audience with an unrealistic view of enslavement. This alteration in the relationship of Marcus and Esca makes the novel more accessible for a modern audience in a society that abolished slavery over one hundred years earlier.

Marcus and Esca's transition to friendship is simply and somewhat naively accepted because, unlike the other slaves in the household, the Briton was not always a slave.⁶⁶ Sutcliff appears to be arguing here that an individual born into slavery is content because they do not know freedom while someone who has been free yearns to escape the bonds of slavery. The novel also largely ignores Esca's reintegration into non-slave, or free, society. The only time that Esca seems unsure of himself is at the very end of the novel when he is uncomfortable reclining to eat and reluctant to go into Uncle Aquila's study but this is immediately quashed and Esca continues contentedly.⁶⁷The transition to

⁶⁶ "Sassticca, Stephanos, and Marcipor had all been born slaves, the children of slaves; and Esca, the freeborn son of a free chieftain, had never been one with them, even while he ate at their table. They were old and well content with things as they were; they had a good master and slavery sat easy on them, like an old and familiar garment. Therefore they did not greatly begrudge freedom to Esca, accepting it as something that was likely to have happened one day or another". Sutcliff 1954: 129.

⁶⁷ Sutcliff 1954: 271.

friendship does not explore these issues adequately and there is no discussion of the impact of freedom on ex-slaves and their relationships with their ex-masters.

Whilst Marcus' new form of colonization is not necessarily the most effective or realistic it does demonstrate that it is possible to think outside of the traditional models of colonization. Thus Marcus' treatment of Esca and Cub presents the young reader, perhaps the policy-makers of the future, with a peaceful and accepting form of colonization. It appears that once again Sutcliff is hoping to educate her reader and make them a more aware, accepting and understanding member of the changing society of the 1950s.

1950s society and attitudes are present throughout *The Eagle of the Ninth* and demonstrate that Sutcliff is influenced by her contemporary society, occasionally to the point of inaccuracy when depicting attitudes to slavery. The inclusion of these attitudes enables the novel to be accessible to a young audience while also allowing Sutcliff to educate her readers and encourage them to be tolerant of other cultures.

Cottia and Aunt Valaria

Cottia's transition, unlike those of Guern and Uncle Aquila is ongoing and unlike Esca, Cub and Marcus, is mostly internal, although those around her, specifically her Aunt Valaria, inspire it. Cottia's experience articulates, and exaggerates, the conflict of two cultures in one place or one person. She informs Marcus that she, in fact, wears a mask of Roman-ness whilst still retaining her

British identity.⁶⁸ Cottia's actions convey colonial fears about the true attitudes of colonized peoples. Cottia shares traits with Nandy's colonized individual who is not "the gullible, hopeless victim of colonialism caught in the hinges of history...[but] fighting his own battle of survival in his own way, sometimes consciously, sometimes by default."⁶⁹ Cottia is consciously retaining her uncolonized identity; she is actively deceiving those who wish to convert her to Roman life and is ultimately retaining power alongside her identity, even if it is a hidden power. Cottia's actions have much in common with the general attitude of the Romans that "the transformation of this frontier wilderness into a Roman province [was] never more than a veneer."⁷⁰ In Cottia's case this observation is entirely correct but for Aunt Valaria it could not be further from the truth. Ultimately the experiences of Cottia and Valaria demonstrate the variety of attitudes to colonial life and the transformation of Britain into a Roman province.

Cottia's relationship with Aunt Valaria is more securely positioned within the anti-Romanization model. Cottia informs Marcus that " 'my aunt and uncle call me Camilla, but my real name is Cottia,' said the girl. 'They like everything to be very Roman, you see.' ... 'And you do not?' he said. 'I? I am of the Iceni! So is my Aunt Valaria, though she likes to forget it.' "⁷¹ Aunt Valaria is also "always so careful to follow the custom of what she called 'civilized Society', was very sure that it was not the custom for gently nurtured Roman maidens to take

⁶⁸ Sutcliff 1954: 86-87.

⁶⁹ Nandy 1988: xv.

⁷⁰ de la Bedoyere 2006: 224-225.

⁷¹ Sutcliff 1954: 85.

themselves into other people's gardens and make friends with the total strangers they found there."⁷²

Aunt Valaria's active position in her own Romanization, and her attempted Romanization of Cottia, denote her actions as belonging within the realm of the anti-Romanization model. Valaria, as an elite Briton is actively attempting to become Romanized and is eager for Cottia to do the same. Aunt Valaria is similar to the individuals in Isca Dumnoniorum who "become Roman officials". These new Roman officials are positioned awkwardly between the traditional Romanization and anti-Romanization models.⁷³ If they have actively chosen to become Roman officials these individuals are examples of the anti-Romanization model within *The Eagle of the Ninth*. However, the traditional Romanization model argues that native tribal leaders would have remained in power but within a Roman model. The lack of information about these individuals who had "laid aside their hunting-spears to become Roman officials" makes it difficult to determine if these men were in a position of power before the Roman invasion or if they have taken advantage of Roman culture to become powerful individuals.

Cottia, however, desires to remain true to her British tribal roots, thus contradicting the anti-Romanization model that states that this model encouraged socially inferior individuals to emulate their social superiors. Therefore the actions of Aunt Valaria conform to the anti-Romanization model

⁷² Sutcliff 1954: 91.

⁷³ Sutcliff 1954: 16.

but Cottia's reaction to this active participation in her aunt's Romanization is more suggestive of the 'inclusive, varied' model. These contrasting reactions also suggest the third form of Romano-British studies as they suggest that different individuals and their attitudes inspire different reactions to Rome and cultural change. Thus *The Eagle of the Ninth* is ahead of its time in terms of Romano-British studies and concepts of cultural identity in Roman Britain.

Sutcliff depiction of identity and cultural interaction and transition conform to the later models of Romano-British studies and thus place her ahead of her time. The anti-Romanization nature of Cottia's response to Aunt Valaria's attempts to Romanize her may simply be due to her childish rebellion and also the lingering impact of her tribe's destruction. I believe that, ultimately, Cottia feels betrayed by Aunt Valaria for choosing Rome over tribal Britain. The contrasting reactions of Cottia and Valaria to Roman culture demonstrate that individuals react to change differently. However it is interesting that Valaria's position is clearly rejected as the reader is intended to like, and perhaps even identify with, Cottia. Cottia, as the young generation, may represent the developing field of Romano-British studies and the need for different attitudes to the changes taking place in Roman Britain. I feel that Cottia's rejection of Rome is not simply a childish rebellion but a rejection of the traditional model of Romanization and a demand for a more modern approach.

Uncle Aquila and Guern

The characters of Uncle Aquila and Guern depict the assimilation of the retired soldier into the provincial culture whilst also presenting Marcus with role models for his future. One might even argue that they are the father figures that Marcus travels to Britain to find. It is also possible that they are fictional versions of Kipling, the transposed colonial who does not know where he belongs. I will first explore the process of assimilation that the two men have undergone before moving on to examine the options they present for Marcus and his future

Uncle Aquila's decision to stay in Britain is influenced by his experiences in the province.⁷⁴ This challenges the typical assumption that it is ethnicity or place of birth that connects an individual with their environment. Uncle Aquila's attitudes and his examples in his speech to Marcus have more in common with recent scholarship than the more traditional concepts of Romanization.⁷⁵

Uncle Aquila may have chosen to remain in Britain because that is where his brother disappeared but that is never explicitly referred to in his reasoning. Uncle Aquila has little to do with the other residents of Calleva within the novel suggesting that he has not immersed himself in Romano-British life. Uncle Aquila is something of a recluse which makes it both odd and understandable that he would decide to settle in Britain rather than return to Italy, or any of the other provinces in which he served. Aquila's reclusive nature explains the fact that he

⁷⁴ "I killed my first boar in Silurian territory; I have sworn the blood brotherhood with a painted tribesman up beyond where Hadrian's Wall stands now; I've a dog buried at Luguwallium – her name was Margarita; I've loved a girl at Glevum; I have marched the Eagles from end to end of Britain in worse weather than this. Those are the things apt to strike a man's roots for him." Sutcliff 1954: 57.

⁷⁵ Jones 1997 and Mattingly 2011.

does not object to living in a province, or indeed a town, in which he knows few people.

Uncle Aquila's reasons for remaining in Britain echo the reasons of Kipling's narrator in his *Roman Centurion's Song*. The "changeful British skies" that Uncle Aquila should miss if he "settled in the South" directly reference Kipling's centurion's argument that "what purple Southern pomp can match our changeful Northern skies".⁷⁶ Uncle Aquila and the centurion have "marched the Eagles from end to end of Britain" and "served...from Vectis to the Wall"⁷⁷ and their families, or significant others, lived and died in Britain. Uncle Aquila's reasons are thus influenced by a rejection of traditional concepts of ethnicity and identity and also Kipling's idea of attachment to a place where one is stationed from nearly sixty years before. The dilemma facing the centurion not only influences the decision made by Uncle Aquila, and Guern, but also the choice that Marcus must make at the end of the novel. Marcus' decision is also influenced by the "pale and changeful northern skies".⁷⁸

The choice motif features again in Sutcliff's Roman Britain novels, with the central character in *The Lantern Bearers* being ordered 'home' to Rome from Britain.⁷⁹ The choice in *The Lantern Bearers* echoes *Roman Centurion's Song* as it involves being ordered to return to Rome rather than, as with Marcus and Uncle Aquila, choosing where to apply for his land grant and where to settle down and

⁷⁶ Sutcliff 1954: 57; Kipling 1993: 144.

⁷⁷ Sutcliff 1954: 57; Kipling 1993: 144.

⁷⁸ Sutcliff 1954: 289.

⁷⁹ Sutcliff 1959: 16-27; Burton 2011: 86; Wright 1981: 95.

farm.⁸⁰ The repetition of the changeful skies motif demonstrates Kipling's influence over Sutcliff's novel, as is further demonstrated in the references to *Puck of Pook's Hill* and the way in which the disappearance of the Ninth Legion echoes Kipling's short story *The Lost Legion*.

Like the auxiliary soldiers who settled in the provinces after retirement because of wives and children, Guern settles north of Hadrian's Wall with a native woman.⁸¹ Rather than simply remaining in Britain, like Breeze and Dobson's examples, Guern becomes a native.⁸² His body is tattooed in the traditional style and he dresses in tribal attire.⁸³ This is not solely because he wishes to become British, but because he has deserted the army and he is afraid of returning to Roman provinces for fear of being discovered.⁸⁴ Neither Uncle Aquila nor Guern have typical or traditional reasons for remaining in Britain. These characters demonstrate that the transitions are not restricted solely to the colonized people but also their colonizers.

Uncle Aquila and Guern do not just depict and explore the transition of the colonizers in provincial settings but also the potential future for Marcus based on the choices he makes within the novel. They also present potential father figures for the novel's protagonist Uncle Aquila, as Marcus' paternal uncle, might seem the ideal figure father for the novel's hero. However, despite Aquila's

⁸⁰ Sutcliff 1959: 16-27; Sutcliff 1954: 56-57; 288-291.

⁸¹ Breeze and Dobson 1976: 201;206.

⁸² Sutcliff 1954: 169.

⁸³ Sutcliff 1954: 150.

⁸⁴ Sutcliff 1954: 150-162.

friendliness to his nephew and his desire to aid Marcus, he is generally too distant to provide Marcus with the father figure he craves.⁸⁵

Guern, on the other hand, might be a more suitable surrogate father. Marcus meets Guern, a former Roman soldier who has become a tribesman north of Hadrian's Wall, where his father disappeared. Guern's appearance north of Hadrian's Wall during Marcus' journey is symbolic of the father that Marcus has lost and Marcus' desire to fill this gap in his life. By encountering Guern, Marcus can imagine what his father's life might have been and finally gain closure regarding his disappearance. Guern's attitude is closer to Marcus' than Aquila's, as he has welcomed the native lifestyle and has a stronger affinity to the British experience. Thus Marcus' relationship with Guern demonstrates that familial connections do not ensure compatibility in the same way that ethnicity does not ensure similar identities.

Aquila and Guern's decisions mirror those that Marcus must make at the end of the novel. Marcus can decide to remain Roman and end up alone, like Uncle Aquila, with memories but no true roots. Alternatively he can adopt a British identity and begin a family, as Guern has. However Guern is not fully successful as he is hiding his true self. It is clear that these choices also reflect the position of the colonizer with regards to their treatment of the people and the land they have colonized. Marcus' choice is not limited solely to the action of the

⁸⁵ The one exception is the conversation the two have at the end of the novel. Sutcliff 1954: 292.

Romans but also the potential action of modern empires with regard to their colonies.

At the end of the novel Marcus chooses a lifestyle like Guern's, with his last conversations between Cottia and Esca implying that he will settle into a Romano-British lifestyle, farming in Britain. But Marcus has not chosen Guern's path completely. While he does decide to settle in Britain with Britons around him, he is also evidently keen to retain his connection to his past, both in Italy and with the Roman army.

Sutcliff may well be suggesting that the ideal path lies somewhere between Guern and Aquila's choices, with an awareness and an acceptance of native values and lifestyle whilst also retaining those of the original, colonizing culture. Marcus' choice may well indicate Sutcliff's hopes for modern empires and their choices regarding colonies, where Guern, Aquila and Rome failed, perhaps Marcus, Britain and others might succeed.

Conclusion

Following the summaries of the previous chapter I have demonstrated through textual analysis that Sutcliff is influenced by, and makes references to, contemporary events in her depiction of Roman Britain. Through highlighting these influences and references I have argued that Sutcliff challenges stereotypes rather than upholding them. I have also demonstrated that Sutcliff is attempting to educate her audience and to make them more tolerant of other identities and

cultures. I have employed textual analysis of the events, relationships and characterizations in *The Eagle of the Ninth* to support my assertions that the novel is informed and framed by contemporary events and attitudes in Sutcliff's society.

The first section of the chapter deals with the attacks at Isca Dumnoniorum and their relationship to the World War Two bombings of Exeter and Lübeck. The fact that Sutcliff focuses on the impact of these events on the civilian population suggests that she believes the ultimate victims of war are the civilians. The second, third and fourth parts of this chapter explore the relationships in the novel and the influences of, and references to, external events and topics.

I have argued that the relationships between Cub and Esca portray concepts of slavery and freedom. The relationship between Marcus, Cub, Esca and colonization highlight the decline of British imperialism and the way that an alternative form of colonization may enable the retention of the British Empire. I also argued that the interaction between Aunt Valaria and Cottia presents an alternative model of Romano-British studies, one that is in line with the more recent anti-Romanization and 'inclusive, varied' models. Aunt Valaria's own involvement in her transition to a more Roman identity is indicative of the anti-Romanization model. Cottia's reaction to this and her decision to pretend to be Roman while retaining her native identity suggests the 'inclusive, varied' model of Romano-British studies. These sections of the chapter argued that the

relationships and individuals in the novel are informed and framed by contemporary events and, at times, anticipate later attitudes and ideas.

The final section of this chapter deals with the depiction of two older male characters, Uncle Aquila and Guern and the way that their characterization supports the attitude that ethnicity is not a crucial part of identity. Uncle Aquila and Guern demonstrate that cultural influence is not simply a one-sided encounter and that British culture was influential upon the Romans. I also argued that the characterization of these two individuals is influenced heavily by the choice motif that is so present in Kipling's work, the decision that must be made as to whether to stay in the province or return to the 'homeland'.

Chapter 3

The Eagle: adaptation and alteration

Kevin Macdonald's 2011 adaptation of Sutcliff's novel brings *The Eagle of the Ninth* back into the spotlight of popular culture depictions of Rome and the Roman Empire. The adaptation of the novel follows the revival of interest in the film depiction of the Roman world following the release of *Gladiator* in 2000.¹ After the success of *Gladiator*, television series and films presented various aspects of Roman life and society. These topics include Rome's development from Republic to Empire in *Rome* and the Third Servile War in *Spartacus*.² *The Roman Mysteries*, a children's television series based on Caroline Lawrence's series of novels of the same name, introduces the Roman world to a younger audience.³ There have also been recent film depictions of Roman Britain. *King Arthur* portrays Arthur as a Roman officer rather than a medieval knight and *Centurion* addresses the disappearance of the Ninth Legion.⁴ These examples demonstrate how recent film and television releases cater for the revival of interest in the ancient Roman world.

¹ *Gladiator* 2000.

² *Rome* 2005-2007; *Spartacus* 2010-present.

³ *The Roman Mysteries* (novels) 2001-2009; *The Roman Mysteries* (television series) 2007-2008.

⁴ *King Arthur* 2004; *Centurion* 2010.

My discussion of *The Eagle* focuses on three main aspects of difference between the film and the novel. The first is the omission of several characters that are, to my mind, key to the nuanced portrayal of cultural interaction I have described in the previous chapter. The second aspect is the change made to the ending of the story, and the impact this has on the message of the film. The third aspect is the relationship between Marcus and Esca which is, as I have shown already, the core of the novel's approach to cultural interaction. By exploring these elements of the film adaptation I will explore how attitudes to colonialism and cultural identity have changed since Sutcliff wrote her novel and highlight the modern cultural and social parallels influencing the filmmakers.

The director, Kevin Macdonald, read Sutcliff's book as a child and, growing up in Scotland, he imagined the events north of Hadrian's Wall taking place in areas he had visited and knew well.⁵ The film is shot in some of these locations and thus Macdonald's childhood vision is partly realized.⁶ Macdonald has stated that the main film influences for his adaptation of the novel were Vietnam War Westerns such as *Ulzana's Raid*, alongside Westerns like *The Searchers* and *The Defiant Ones* rather than earlier Roman epics.⁷ There are connections, however, between these two genres. They "share a preoccupation with history, adventure, and masculine derring-do. They are also similar in their use of international stars, their inexpensive mode of production, and their preoccupation with physical movement... The narratives also emphasize the

⁵ Philbrick 2011; Levy 2011.

⁶ Macdonald 2011b: 47-50 minutes.

⁷ Huddleston 2011; Meyer 2011; Philbrick 2011.

conflict between ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’”.⁸ *The Eagle* is a ‘buddy movie’ depicting the relationship of the ‘odd couple’ of Roman and Briton and their journey towards understanding and friendship. For Bell and Macdonald *The Defiant Ones* was a key reference point for such a relationship.⁹

The depiction of Scotland is affected by what one might describe as Vietnam War film clichés: enemy fighters hidden amongst the trees, the misleading or mistranslation of important information, the untrustworthy nature of the natives highlighted by a lack of cultural awareness, and war-weary ex-soldiers telling the younger generations “you weren’t here, you don’t know what it was like”.¹⁰ These clichés have not escaped reviewers of the film demonstrating that *The Eagle* wears its influences openly.¹¹ The relationship between Marcus and Esca is similar to the hero and guide interaction of *Ulzana’s Raid*, as is the, apparently, straightforward quest that they undertake.

Omissions

Cub is not present in the film adaptation and does not feature in Jeremy Brock’s script.¹² Cub, as discussed above, presents a parallel to, and an exaggeration of, Esca’s situation and his position in relation to Marcus. The development of Cub, from a captive wild wolf cub to a tame pet who chooses to

⁸ Landy 1996: 44-45.

⁹ Philbrick 2011; Yamato 2011.

¹⁰ *The Eagle* 2011: 59 minutes. For more on Vietnam war films see Dittmar and Michaud 1990; Muse 1995; Slocum 2006.

¹¹ McCarthy 2011; Bowies 2011.

¹² Brock 2009; the exclusion of Cub may be explained by the simple fact that as a wolf cub he would have made an awkward addition to a film set.

return to his owners, reflects and emphasizes Esca's feelings regarding Marcus. Marcus and Esca are equals when it comes to their wolf cub and in their interaction with him the reader sees their ability to work together. The absence of Cub in the film adaptation removes this relationship between Marcus and Esca. They do not have something to bond strongly over during their time in Calleva; they do not possess a project on which they are equal partners.

Cub does not reinforce or indicate Esca's freedom or the idea "that friendship necessarily trumps tribal enmity".¹³ Esca is not freed until the end of the film so the ideas that Cub presents to the reader and the relation of these ideas to Esca are not relevant in this situation. Esca remains a dutiful but resentful slave throughout the action of the film and the parallel with Cub is neither necessary nor relevant.¹⁴ Ultimately the decision of the filmmakers fits with the new direction that they took the relationship of Marcus and Esca.

Unlike Cub, Cottia and Cradoc are present in the script and Cradoc does feature, albeit very briefly, in the final film and the deleted scenes of the DVD. In the novel, is it through Marcus' interaction with Cradoc that the warning signs of native discontent emerge.¹⁵ In the deleted scene Marcus races Cradoc, as he does in the novel, and the winner of the race will receive either Marcus' brooch or Cradoc's hunting spear. Marcus wins this race but we do not see him collect his prize and therefore do not see the hunting spear or whether it has new feathers on it. Brock's script depicts Marcus meeting Cradoc and seeing the Celt's chariots

¹³ Higgins 2011.

¹⁴ I will discuss Esca's enslavement further in the last section of this chapter.

¹⁵ For example the presence of the new feathers on Cradoc's father's war spear.

before a following scene in which they race for the brooch or the spear. After Marcus wins the race he looks at several of Cradoc's hunting spears but the Celt will not allow him to take the one that is "newly tipped with a beautiful blue feather."¹⁶

However, neither the deleted scene nor the script present Marcus' hunting trip with Cradoc and the way in which one might view Cradoc as a 'practice' for Marcus when it comes to befriending native Celts. Cradoc's betrayal of Marcus, his involvement in the uprising against the Roman fort at Isca Dumnoniorum is, in the film, also 'practice' for Marcus.¹⁷ This betrayal is echoed later in the film when Esca seemingly betrays Marcus while they are with the Seal People. However, this 'practice' betrayal by Cradoc is removed from the film in the deletion of the earlier scenes. When Cradoc appears he is simply an unknown tribesman driving the chariot for the Druid and the significance of this act, and Marcus' killing of Cradoc, is lost.

In the director's commentary, Kevin Macdonald states that Douglas Henshall, the actor playing Cradoc, 'actually had a small part here at the front, where he was a local who has befriended, or tried to befriend... Marcus. But the film felt too long and we had to lose some things, and, upsettingly, we had to lose his parts... I think sometimes you have to lose... things in order to make the

¹⁶ Brock 2009: 8.

¹⁷ Cradoc's 'betrayal', and that of Esca later in the film, might be better described as loyalty to another set of values. However, for Marcus they feel like betrayals and he is the individual through whom the viewer accesses these interactions thus the sense of betrayal is, perhaps unfairly, transmitted to the audience.

movie better.”¹⁸ It is clear that the restraints on a filmmaker are somewhat greater than those upon a novelist. Macdonald must be careful of introducing too many extra characters who, whilst enriching the viewer’s experience, might not be vital to the action of the film.

It is interesting that Macdonald views the relationship of Marcus and Cradoc as being encouraged by Cradoc when, in the novel, Marcus is the driving force behind their interaction. Sutcliff presents a young Roman eager to please all those around him, whereas Macdonald depicts an individual whom others wish to please.¹⁹ The idea of Cradoc wanting to befriend Marcus does not work with the attack upon the fort and what Marcus interprets as a betrayal. Macdonald’s interpretation suggests that Cradoc went out of his way to befriend and then betray an individual that he did not need to have interacted with.²⁰ In the novel the reader is aware of Marcus’ ordeal in having to kill Cradoc. In the film Cradoc is simply an unknown British tribesman and his death does not have the same significance.

The changes made to Marcus and Cradoc’s relationship prevent the filmmakers from exploring Marcus’ changing attitudes to Rome and Britain. Sutcliff introduces Marcus’ hesitation over division of Roman and Briton in the first chapters of the novel, whereas the film ignores this issue until the end. In

¹⁸ Macdonald 2011: 20 minutes.

¹⁹ This conforms to the stereotype favoured by Hollywood films of the strong male protagonist. “The essential American soul is hard, isolate, stoic, and a killer.” Lawrence 1923: 73.

²⁰ This confusing depiction of Cradoc and Marcus’ relationship may be the reason that the scenes were cut from the final version of the film.

The Eagle of the Ninth the reader is aware of Marcus' opinions changing towards the two cultures. In the film Marcus' rejection of Rome is not so well developed or explained. The conflicting emotions of Sutcliff's protagonist make him an interesting and appealing central character. Removing this inner conflict makes Marcus's character somewhat one-dimensional.

Cottia, on the other hand, is included in the script but not in the deleted scenes. Brock adapted the scene in which Cottia approaches Marcus in the garden but their first encounter, which lasts roughly 6 pages in the novel, is condensed to 8 lines of dialogue.²¹ This encounter occurs *before* the introduction of Esca at the Saturnalia Games in the film, whereas Sutcliff has Marcus notice the young girl at the amphitheatre and later speak with her. Brock has a chance encounter with Cottia immediately lead to the scene at the Calleva arena and her influencing Marcus' act of saving Esca. As with Cub, the exclusion of Cottia is understandable from a filmmaker's point of view as she also only features during Marcus' time in Calleva.

Cottia's insightful comments to Marcus, about "pretend[ing], outside my tunic. I answer when they call me Camilla, and I speak to them in Latin: but underneath my tunic I am of the Iceni", represent the 'inclusive, varied' model adopted by Sutcliff, as discussed above.²² The presence of this attitude would modify the tone of the film, which conforms more to the traditional

²¹ Sutcliff 1964: 81-86; Brock 2009: 24-25. This may also be another reason for Cub's exclusion from the film. Cub only features in the film during Marcus' time in Calleva which is reduced from 82 pages of the novel to 20 minutes in the film.

²² Sutcliff 1954: 86.

Romanization model. In the novel, Cottia presents an alternative to acceptance or rejection of Rome. She outwardly appears to emulate and accept Rome while inwardly she rejects it. Cottia highlights that appearances are not always reality. Cottia's hidden response works in the novel because she allows Marcus to see behind her barrier of false Roman identity. Through Marcus the reader also sees Cottia's true character. Cottia's intentions in hiding her true identity are not malicious they are simply a form of survival. By remaining internally as an Icenii, Cottia not only retains and protects her own sense of self but also her tribe's existence.

The film presents, however, a dichotomy between insider and outsider, Roman and Briton, Marcus and Esca.²³ The two positions are clearly defined and allocated to the characters. Esca employs Cottia's approach in his deception of Marcus and thus the hidden identity becomes a negative aspect of cultural resistance. The film simplifies Cottia's actions so as to make them clear and apparent to the audience and thus reduces responses to Rome as being entirely positive or negative.²⁴

In the first draft of the script Cottia inspires Marcus to sway the crowd and save Esca's life "Marcus spots Cottia. She's standing as high as she can on her seat, distraught with panic, both thumbs turned upward. As if propelled by her life-force, Marcus shoots out of his seat, exclaiming involuntarily. 'No -' He raises

²³ See Landy 1996:45 for more on the conflict of 'insider' and 'outsider'.

²⁴ Higgins 2011.

his hand”.²⁵ For Brock, Cottia’s role is to inspire Marcus to this action and therefore lead to his relationship with Esca. Like Cradoc she serves a purpose for the action and, like Cradoc, the restraints of making a concise and coherent film mean that her role is unnecessary. Cottia’s exclusion, however, does mean that the film is lacking.²⁶ As Charlotte Higgins says *The Eagle’s* “most serious defect... is the complete excision of... Cottia” as this not only removes her interesting and potentially romantic relationship with Marcus but also the ideas of Romano-British culture that she presents.²⁷

The omission of these three characters is connected to the altered relationship of Marcus and Esca. The ideas that they present are closely connected to the relationship of the two young men. With the alterations to Marcus and Esca’s interaction, these characters must also change or be excluded. The subtle and implicit ideas that are present in Marcus and Esca’s relationship are furthered in the depictions of Cub, Cradoc and Cottia. The filmmakers have Marcus and Esca adopt the attitudes of these extra characters to simplify the narrative. Cradoc depicts violent reaction and rejection of a colonizing culture and inspires feelings of betrayal in Marcus. Cub represents an acceptance of Rome through a personal approach to colonization. Cottia highlights alternative, hidden responses to cultural change. In Marcus’ interaction with them, they

²⁵ Brock 2009: 28.

²⁶ The lack of female love interest also led to some suggestions that the film depicted a homosexual relationship between Marcus and Esca, an interpretation that the actors and filmmakers denied. French 2011; Chapdelaine 2011.

²⁷ Higgins 2011. As with Cub the exclusion of Cottia may also be to simply remove an awkward element from the film, Cottia is a young girl and therefore an inappropriate love interest (although Sutcliff only has her become a potential love interest when she has matured after a year apart from Marcus).

present critical attitudes to identity under colonial rule as discussed in the previous chapter. These characters added depth and subtlety to the narrative. The film's exclusion of these individual means it lacks these qualities and is, at times, simplistic in its depiction of cultural interaction in Roman Britain.

The Final Scenes

The final part of the film is markedly different from Sutcliff's ending. I will first discuss the latter stages of the film before analysing the two fates of the Eagle. One of the first changes to consider about the end of *The Eagle* is the presence of Marcus' father's ring and Marcus' realization that his father may have chosen to remain with the Seal People. This realization challenges everything that Marcus believes in: both his belief in his father and the appeal of Rome. Prior to seeing his father's ring worn by the Horned One, Marcus has assumed that his father died in battle defending the Eagle. Despite meeting Guern (a member of his father's cohort of the Ninth Legion), Marcus' theories about his father's fate have not been confirmed. Earlier on in the film Marcus tells Esca "Sometimes, I think I'll still find my father alive. Do you believe that's possible – that he could have survived in some hidden place?"²⁸ Sutcliff addresses the idea of replacement father figures with both Uncle Aquila and Guern, as I have discussed above, but she does not focus on the possibility that Marcus' father survived.

²⁸ Brock 2009: 47.

In the film, the idea of Marcus' father potentially abandoning Rome and joining the Seal People is not developed as it is in the script, where Marcus believes he sees his father around the Seal People's village.²⁹ In Brock's script Marcus asks, "Father...?" when he sees the ring but in the final film version he asks, "where did you get my father's ring?".³⁰ One assumes that there was simply not enough time to develop the idea that Marcus' father remained with the Seal People rather than dying defending the Eagle.

The absent father and the father-son relationship is a popular theme in films.³¹ Chopra-Grant argues that the absent father theme rose to prominence in American film in 1940s and 1950s post-war society following the death of many fathers in the second world war.³² This concept "was also part of the institutionalized segregation of parenting roles, which began at the moment of a child's birth."³³ The exaggeration of Marcus' father's presence within the film, and the potential for resolution, conforms to the preoccupation with father-son relationships in American cinema.³⁴

The disappearance of Marcus' father and the loss of family honour is the driving force behind his desire to locate the missing Eagle both in the novel and the film.³⁵ Thus it is understandable that the filmmakers would address the loss

²⁹ Brock 2009: 68.

³⁰ Brock 2009: 78; *The Eagle* 2011: 76 minutes.

³¹ Rattigan 1992: 15.

³² Chopra-Grant 2006: 78.

³³ Chopra-Grant 2006: 78.

³⁴ For more on resolution in film narrative see Rosenstone 2006 – specifically his identification of the six typical elements; 47-8.

³⁵ Macdonald 2011: 6 minutes; Meyer 2011; Philbrick 2011

of his father. In the novel the loss of Marcus' father becomes less important for the central character as he develops and matures during his journey. The desire to resolve "all the issues" and tie up loose ends in film narrative means that in the film the issue is explicitly addressed.³⁶ Marcus unmask his potential father in order to come to terms with the fact that his father is dead.³⁷

The final stand-off between Marcus, Esca and the warriors of the Seal People is also rather different from Sutcliff's depiction of the encounter. In the novel, Marcus and Esca escape the Seal village unseen, but the tribesmen then chase them for several days, before they meet Liathan (the son of the chieftain).³⁸ Marcus informs Liathan of the importance of the Eagle for him and the Romans while the chieftain's son is bound and gagged.³⁹ Marcus and Esca then leave with the Eagle and leave Liathan tied up but with the chance to escape and return to his tribe.⁴⁰ In the film Marcus, Esca, Guern and a collection of legionaries from the Ninth who survived the destruction of the legion, fight against the warriors of the Seal People.⁴¹ During this battle Marcus kills the Seal Prince, the film equivalent of Liathan.⁴²

It is interesting that Brock and Macdonald choose to present a small band of legionaries surviving the attack on the Ninth Legion, keeping their uniforms, weapons and shields, and agreeing to aid in the defence of the Eagle. Macdonald

³⁶ Bordwell 2006: 28; Theodorakopoulos 2010: 6.

³⁷ *The Eagle* 2011: 76 minutes.

³⁸ Sutcliff 1954: 208; 213; 252-259.

³⁹ Sutcliff 1954: 256-258.

⁴⁰ Sutcliff 1954: 258-259.

⁴¹ *The Eagle* 2011: 94 minutes.

⁴² *The Eagle* 2011: 97 minutes.

comments upon the way in which these former legionaries combine their Roman and Celtic dress. He believes that they cannot “forget where they came from. Even though they’d probably quite like to. They’d like to get on with their new lives in the Celtic... world.”⁴³ This idea of combining cultures and rejecting the desire to escape the past echoes the attitude of Guern as Sutcliff depicts him.

The addition of a final battle and the death of the Seal Prince (after Marcus has previously killed his father, the Seal Chieftain) is more dramatic than Sutcliff’s final encounter. Marcus killing the Seal Prince completes the adventure and closes this part of Marcus’ life, and his father’s. When the Seal Prince dies the viewer is able to see his previously concealed face and understand that these alien creatures, the Seal People, are as vulnerable and human as their Roman and native counterparts. Macdonald asserts, “only in death is the real person revealed.”⁴⁴ Brock and Macdonald include Sutcliff’s ideas about identity and duality but in a more dramatic fashion, choosing to shock the audience into paying attention to Marcus’ realization, whereas Sutcliff can develop this understanding throughout her novel.

The fate of the Eagle itself is also different in the film adaptation. There are two endings to the film. I shall discuss the rejected ending first before moving on to the final version. In the novel, Marcus and Esca return the Eagle to Roman territory but they bury it beneath Uncle Aquila’s home in Calleva and decide not to make it known that the Eagle has been found and returned. Marcus and Esca

⁴³ Macdonald 2011: 93 minutes.

⁴⁴ Macdonald 2011: 96 minutes.

then decide to farm in southern Britain. In the script and the first film ending Guern dies during the last battle and the Eagle is placed on his funeral bier and is destroyed north of Hadrian's Wall. As they near the Wall Marcus and Esca discuss farming and horse breeding. In the final film version, Marcus and Esca bring the Eagle south of Hadrian's Wall. They return it, in public, to the Legate who tells Marcus that the Ninth Legion will be reformed and "perhaps they can reward you [Marcus] with its command."⁴⁵ Marcus does not respond to this suggestion and instead turns and walks away with Esca who asks "What next?" and Marcus replies, "You decide."⁴⁶

The destruction of the Eagle, in the first ending, is an exaggeration of Sutcliff's burial and shows that, for Marcus, there is no potential for a return to the past. The fact that the Eagle is melted on Guern's funeral bier highlights that Marcus has rejected Rome, as Guern did. Sutcliff has Guern choose to remain north of Hadrian's Wall and she has the Eagle returned to Roman territory, although not to Rome officially. Brock and Macdonald present a more definite conclusion, neither Marcus nor Guern can change their minds, the decision is ultimately removed from them. The destruction and the burial of the Eagle represent the destruction of the ideal of Rome in Marcus' perspective, "that The Eagle is no longer important...it doesn't mean much at all", as well as the end of this part of his life and the mystery of the disappearance of his father.⁴⁷ In the novel and the first, rejected, ending the Eagle can be regarded as a symbol for Marcus' father and by burying or burning it Marcus is symbolically laying his

⁴⁵ *The Eagle* 2011: 100 minutes.

⁴⁶ *The Eagle* 2011: 100 minutes.

⁴⁷ Macdonald 2011: 98 minutes.

father to rest. The first ending was not well received when presented to test audiences. Viewers felt “that it was kind of disappointing, that The Eagle somehow didn’t go home, that it didn’t survive.”⁴⁸ This led to the revised, second ending.

The second ending has the Eagle return to Rome officially and the Ninth Legion recreated. Marcus still rejects Rome in favour of, as Macdonald states, life “as a free man, free from any kind of bigotry or kind of cultural bullying”.⁴⁹ Marcus has rejected Rome but the memories and lives of the men of the Ninth Legion have not been laid to rest, as they were when the Eagle was destroyed. Rather than remaining as a warning for Rome, a warning for overexpansion, unnecessary war and bloodshed, the reformed Ninth Legion will continue to make the same mistakes. Macdonald may be suggesting the cyclical nature of imperialism and colonialism. The film may be implying that recent or contemporary imperialism should have learnt from the experiences of Rome.

The revised ending of the film conforms to the typical narrative structure of films in which all issues are resolved.⁵⁰ The viewer is left certain of the outcome of the adventure, not just in terms of the fate of the Eagle but also the relationship between Marcus and Esca. The fact that audiences did not like the original ending demonstrates the power of these film norms and the way that

⁴⁸ Macdonald 2011: 98 minutes.

⁴⁹ Macdonald 2011: 100 minutes.

⁵⁰ This conforms to Rosenstone’s statement about how “the mainstream feature... tells the past as a story with a beginning, a middle, and an end. A tale that leaves you with a moral message and (usually) a feeling of uplift.” Rosenstone 2006: 47.

filmmakers must adhere to the desires of their audience in order to be successful. Marcus' rejection of Rome, in both versions of the ending, also conforms to Roman film stereotypes in which the protagonist turns his back on Rome.⁵¹ Theodorakopoulos asserts that the rejection of Rome in Roman films, such as *Ben Hur*, *Spartacus* and *Gladiator*, suggests "the fall of Rome and the rise of something better."⁵² Rome must be rejected in these films and ultimately fall in order for the viewer to identify with the protagonist. Regardless of the potential commentary on imperialism from Macdonald or the restraints of mainstream filmmaking, the chosen ending of the film is disappointing in its simple and easy conclusion.

Slave and Master

The changes made to Marcus and Esca's relationship affect not only the events of the story but also the viewer's understanding of the two men. In this section I will examine how and why their relationship is changed in the film adaptation. I will also explore the ways in which these alterations are connected to the modern attitudes to the concept of imperialism and the role of the United States as the new imperial power.

In the novel Marcus and Esca become friends while living in Calleva. After Esca gains his freedom the attitude of the other slaves demonstrates that he was

⁵¹ Theodorakopoulos 2010: 39; 140; 167.

⁵² Theodorakopoulos 2010: 167.

never fully enslaved by Marcus in the first place.⁵³ Marcus is apologetic for assuming that Esca would accompany him north of Hadrian's Wall as his slave. "No one should ask a slave to go with him on such a hunting trail; but – he might ask a friend."⁵⁴ Within the context of the novel, Marcus and Esca's friendship is understandable; the relationship is similar to a typical friendship between peers. Upon closer analysis however, it is clear that their relationship, one between slave and master, is complex and unusual. The aspect of their interaction that is typical of friendship is only one aspect of a more complicated relationship.

In *The Eagle*, on the other hand, the two men remain suspicious of each other. Whereas for Sutcliff their cultural backgrounds do not present an unbreakable barrier for their interaction, Macdonald and Brock choose to have their cultural identity as the main obstacle between them.⁵⁵ Uncle Aquila purchases Esca for Marcus, rather than Marcus purchasing Esca himself.⁵⁶ Marcus and Esca are forced together rather than it being a choice, on Marcus' part.⁵⁷ Macdonald says that Uncle Aquila believes this will help Marcus to

⁵³ "something that was likely to have happened one day or another – he and the young master having been, as Sassticca said, the two halves of an almond these many moons past". Sutcliff 1954: 129.

⁵⁴ Sutcliff 1954: 128.

⁵⁵ This conforms to the typical structure of the buddy movie in which triumph over conflict, either between the two individuals or "between them and a hostile command structure", resolves the paradox of 'male homosocial desire', the continuum from homosexuality to homophobia and back again". Fuchs 1993: 194-195. For more on 'male homosocial desire' see Sedgwick 1985.

⁵⁶ Marcus purchases Esca in the novel. Sutcliff 1954: 65-66.

⁵⁷ This is a typical convention of the buddy movie. For more on the buddy movie see Fuchs 1993: 194-210 and King 2002: 208-210.

recover from his low mood following his injury, “perhaps, he feels like it’s gonna [sic] be like owning a pet, give them a reason to live”.⁵⁸

For Uncle Aquila, Esca is simply an object purchased in the hope of helping his nephew rather than a human individual. This attitude towards Esca is reminiscent of Cub’s role in the novel. The altered version of Esca’s arrival may incorporate Cub’s characteristics. Macdonald may have chosen to have Uncle Aquila purchase Esca as it would have been alienating to a modern audience to have their hero purchase a human being. Uncle Aquila portrays racist attitudes towards the British, specifically Esca, and the purchase of Esca becomes part of the “something quite dark in him as well.”⁵⁹ Aquila’s attitude to Esca presents a superior position to indigenous culture, suggestive of the traditional Romanization model.

Esca is unwillingly bound to Marcus in the film and he does not attempt to overcome this barrier in their relationship. When he first meets Marcus in Calleva, Esca gives Marcus his father’s dagger as his bond but informs his new master “I hate everything you are, but you saved me and for that I must serve you.”⁶⁰ Later, when Marcus decides that Esca will accompany him north of Hadrian’s Wall to search for the Eagle, Uncle Aquila tells his nephew “he’s a slave, he says what he says and he does what he does because he has to.”⁶¹ Esca is an untrustworthy individual, one who has no reason to protect or serve his

⁵⁸ Macdonald 2011: 31 minutes.

⁵⁹ Macdonald 2011. 22 minutes.

⁶⁰ *The Eagle* 2011: 32 mins.

⁶¹ *The Eagle* 2011: 41 mins.

master.⁶² I would argue that Marcus' decision to take him north is unthinking and unkind. The changes made to Esca and Marcus prevents either from being likeable in the film, Esca is a sullen slave and Marcus is a proud Roman. Whereas Sutcliff transcended the boundaries of cultural identity, and stereotypes, the filmmakers remain bound by them.

The film depicts two men resentfully tied to one another and it is unclear why Marcus would want Esca to assist him, aside from the fact that he speaks the native language whilst Marcus does not. More challenging though is Esca's decision to remain with Marcus. Esca does undermine Marcus' quest, his tribe were present at 'the killing ground' and he knew that the Eagle was with the Seal People for the entire journey, however this simply means that he has to spend more time with an individual he clearly despises.⁶³ Esca's change of heart is also unclear; he simply shifts from punishing Marcus to assisting him. As O'Hara says in her review of the film: "We are treated to a few scenes of the pair bonding, but the film never communicates their unlikely friendship, the fulcrum of the book. As a result, Esca's actions never ring true".⁶⁴

Rather than a true relationship, Esca is simply continuing his duty to serve Marcus and, as such, the film fails to convey Sutcliff's important message of individuals transcending the barriers that confine cultures. The swift resolution of the relationship between Marcus and Esca may also be the result of

⁶² Esca's deception about his tribe and their knowledge of the massacre of the Ninth Legion confirms his untrustworthy nature.

⁶³ *The Eagle* 2011: 59 mins.

⁶⁴ O'Hara 2011.

conventional mainstream filmmaking in which tension is created throughout the film, in this case by the awkward relationship between the two, and then resolved at the end.⁶⁵ *The Eagle* explores ideas of slavery and freedom in a different way to Sutcliff by having Esca remain enslaved throughout the action of the story. However the swift resolution feels long overdue, especially considering the 'buddy' tone of the film and the central relationship.⁶⁶

Whereas throughout novel the reader sees Marcus and Esca working together as equals and developing their friendship, the filmmakers confine this equality to one final line. Esca asks "so what now?" and Marcus' reply is "you decide".⁶⁷ This completes an unbelievable and under-developed transition from master and slave to equals and friends. Macdonald summarizes the relationship in the novel as, "Marcus saves Esca... and Esca is then a grateful servant in the rest of the story".⁶⁸ This ignores the fact that Esca helps Marcus because he understands his reason for this quest and wants to help him. In the novel, Marcus and Esca have become friends before they begin their journey but in the film the physical journey north of Hadrian's Wall mirrors Marcus and Esca's journey toward trust and friendship. Both Sutcliff and the filmmakers explore the transition from master and slave to friends but Sutcliff's attention to this change enables the novel to depict the transition more naturally and believably.

⁶⁵ Theodorakopoulos 2010: 6.

⁶⁶ King argues that the devices used by films, such as 'petty' or inessential differences and the way that they are overcome, "are typical of the way Hollywood tends to handle potentially contentious ideological-political issues: projecting differences onto individuals; reconciling the individuals, thus evading while appearing to reconcile the issues themselves." King 2002: 209.

⁶⁷ *The Eagle* 2011: 100 minutes.

⁶⁸ Meyer 2011.

Esca's enslavement in the film may be to prevent the film falling in to the genre of the 'double-protagonist film'. This genre has "two protagonists, each played by a star, both of whom lay legitimate claim to narrative dominance".⁶⁹ Esca's position as Marcus' slave forces him to remain in the subordinate position whereas if he had been freed earlier in the film the audience might consider him a potential protagonist.⁷⁰ By ensuring that Esca is not a threat to Marcus' protagonist position, the film remains a 'buddy movie'.⁷¹

One of the important changes made to Marcus and Esca's relationship is the role reversal they undertake in which Marcus becomes Esca's slave. This role reversal officially occurs when the two men first encounter the Seal Prince but it begins as soon Marcus and Esca cross Hadrian's Wall. Once north of the Wall the balance of power shifts, as it is Esca who possesses the knowledge and speaks the language. The role reversal explores concepts of ownership, slavery and imperialism. These issues are highlighted by the decision to cast American actors in the Roman roles. The alteration in Marcus and Esca's relationship enables the filmmakers to suggest parallels with modern imperialism.

⁶⁹ Greven 2009: 22.

⁷⁰ Esca's potential betrayal of Marcus would also relegate him to the role of the antagonist, again protecting Marcus' position as the film's protagonist.

⁷¹ The buddy movie has a hierarchy in which the 'buddy' is inferior to the protagonist. Greven 2009: 30. This demonstrates how the traditions of filmmaking and the way in which the film must adhere to typical relationships undermines the central relationship of the novel and alters Sutcliff's vision.

This transition echoes Tacitus' depiction of Britons, specifically Calgacus, as being more Roman than the Romans.⁷² After becoming enslaved Marcus returns to traditional Roman virtues and frees Esca, reflecting Calgacus' speech about fighting against Roman enslavement. The role reversal in the remote northern part of Scotland also reflects Calgacus' location in "the most remote part of Scotland".⁷³ Like Agricola, Marcus finds true Roman virtues when he is furthest away from the Empire, but unlike Agricola who finds it in a Briton, Marcus finds it within himself.

The role reversal works on a personal level within the narrative and also has wider social implications. As a slave, Marcus experiences the negative side of colonialism and he can finally comprehend the resentful attitude of the native people towards Rome.⁷⁴ The role reversal is essential to Marcus' understanding of Rome and his decision to reject Rome at the end of the film. Marcus must experience, and the viewer must be shown, an ordeal that completes the realization that Rome, and colonialism, is not the best situation for all involved. The role reversal also affects Marcus and Esca's friendship. It is through becoming the slave, and becoming the master, that the two men understand the other's experience and begin to respect each other.

⁷² *Agricola* 30-32 (Mattingly 2009: 19-22.)

⁷³ Clarke 2001: 106.

⁷⁴ Especially following Esca's story of the death of his family and Guern's lamentations about Roman expansion and the price that Romans and Britons had to pay.

Many social commentators have used the example of slavery in ancient Rome to challenge their social norms and suggest a new socio-political model.⁷⁵ The use of slavery and the role reversal in *The Eagle*, however, is more reflective. The shift from Roman to British mastery reflects the decline of the Roman Empire and then, many years later, the rise of the British Empire. However, this historical reference is altered by the decision to cast Americans in the Roman roles. The film is a commentary upon the instability of imperialism and the way in which nations that have previously been colonized by empires can go on to become the colonizers themselves. Casting Americans in the Roman roles echoes the way that, since the early twentieth century “scholars, politicians, and intellectuals... have looked to the decline of the Roman empire to provide support for their dire predictions of America’s coming fall.”⁷⁶ *The Eagle*, while choosing to break from tradition with casting decisions, continues this long-standing tradition and ultimately reinforces the parallel between Rome and America with the choice of actors.

Earlier Hollywood Roman films cast British actors in the Roman roles to reinforce the parallel between the Roman republic and American independence and the British Empire and the tyranny of Rome.⁷⁷ British actors portrayed “villainous... Roman patricians, and American film stars as their virtuous Jewish or Christian opponents.”⁷⁸ Against this backdrop of traditional casting methods *The Eagle* suggests opposing interpretations of the relationship between Britain,

⁷⁵ For more on the uses of slavery in ancient Rome and the impact of these uses see Davis 2000; Futrell 2001; Wyke 1997.

⁷⁶ Wyke 1997: 17.

⁷⁷ Winkler 2001: 50; Wyke 1997: 15-17.

⁷⁸ Wyke 1997: 23.

America and Rome. The transition from British to American actors portraying Romans may indicate a negative attitude towards Rome. Working with the traditional concept of Rome as being a negative identity in film, Macdonald's decision to cast Americans as Romans suggests that *The Eagle* is criticizing American attitudes and actions. However, the traditional Roman film casts the British accent as the villainous one. By casting British actors as ancient Britons in *The Eagle*, Macdonald may actually be depicting the Britons as negative individuals. *The Eagle* is critical of the nations that the film parallels but it is unclear which nation feels the brunt of this criticism, although it may, in fact, be both.

The role reversal may indicate the threat to American power by unwilling 'colonies', those who America believes to be reliant upon their intervention. If one considers current American foreign engagements, the rejection of Rome by the native Britons may parallel the position of the United States in the Middle East, specifically "the last decade's disasters in Afghanistan... there, too, you had forces from the modern imperium, forces who were meant to be savvy and high-tech, thinking they could enter a famously proud and inhospitable environment".⁷⁹ This interpretation is supported by Macdonald's assertion that America is "the dominant occupying power in Iraq and Afghanistan" and that the fort at Isca Dumnoniorum "could be in Helmand Province".⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Sandhu 2011.

⁸⁰ Rose 2011; Huddleston 2011.

The Eagle potentially becomes a warning for American imperialism. Guern's comments about the Ninth Legion's march north could instead be a speech against the recent American invasions. This is furthered by the apparent references to Vietnam: 'Why did they have to come north? There's nothing here worth taking. Couldn't they have been satisfied with what they had? Did they always have to punish and push on looking for more conquests, more territories, more wars'.⁸¹

Conclusion

The filmmakers' decision to remove or change characters and relationships alters the story to an exploration of friendship. For the film, Roman Britain is the setting for the universal concept of friendship and the transition from distrust and hatred to trust, respect and even, platonic, love rather than a specific exploration of the interaction of two cultures. Macdonald describes the film as being about "these two people thrown together from these different cultures and they kind of hate each other and distrust each other, but they're forced to be together because Marcus has nobody else that can help him on this quest."⁸²

⁸¹ *The Eagle* 2011: 55 minutes. This statement also echoes Calgacus' speech in Tacitus' *Agricola*: "*non Oriens, non Occidens satiaverit.*" *Agricola* 30. Mattingly translates this as "neither East nor West has served to glut their maw." Mattingly 2009: 20.

⁸² Meyer 2011.

Marcus and Esca's relationship is at the centre of the film and other characters such as Cottia and Cub are removed in order to focus on their interaction. The film also conforms to the genre of the quest film. The two men search not only for the lost Eagle of the Ninth and the fate of Marcus' father but also for a connection with each other. The conclusions of these quests are left until the final scenes of the film allowing the filmmakers to create tension between the two central figures. Unlike Sutcliff, who chooses to have Marcus and Esca become friends before they begin their adventure and has them find the Eagle earlier on in the novel, the filmmakers create and sustain tension until the final moments.

The changes made to Marcus and Esca's relationship, and the decision to cast Americans in the Roman roles, alters the social parallels and brings them up to date with current political and military involvement. The film lacks Sutcliff's subtle comments about colonialism but it does present similar contemporary issues, such as the role of the United States abroad specifically with regards to military action.

Like Sutcliff, the filmmakers choose to reflect the contemporary socio-political setting therefore allowing the story to become a commentary on current political, military and cultural actions and interactions. It is interesting and perhaps even puzzling that the film simplifies the cultural interaction between

Britain and Rome and thus the parallel between Britain and the United States.⁸³

Perhaps this parallel was too obvious for Macdonald or he felt that this approach was not in keeping with Sutcliff's original text.

The Eagle uses Sutcliff's novel as a springboard from which to develop ideas about modern political goals and military conflicts. Thus the film is relevant to modern audiences but continues Sutcliff's subtle yet accurate social commentary. The changes made to the film's central relationship and the attitudes of the characters prevent it from successfully adapting Sutcliff's carefully constructed colonial commentary. As such, the film feels as though its source material was an inferior text to *The Eagle of the Ninth*.

⁸³ Macdonald states that "If you wanted a literal parallel, you'd set it in Afghanistan or something like that, but for me it's a more general point about unquestioning cultural superiority." Rose 2011.

Conclusion

This dissertation has argued that Sutcliff is influenced by, and employs references to, recent events and attitudes in her contemporary society. By summarizing these attitudes and events in the first chapter I was able to highlight their presence in the novel in my textual analysis in the second chapter. I have argued that through allusions to contemporary events and attitudes *The Eagle of the Ninth* is more than an adventure story set in Roman Britain but that it also encourages discussion of issues such as slavery, immigration, colonization, imperialism, war and identity. By encouraging discussion of such topics I believe that Sutcliff is attempting to educate her young audience, to make them more tolerant and more understanding of the experience of others.

Sutcliff challenges the stereotypical attitude to cultural interaction by presenting a society in which all involved, colonizers and colonized, are influenced by the interaction between the cultures. She also questions the assumption that the native culture is inferior and that the changes to the indigenous society are improvements by highlighting the similarities between indigenous and colonizing cultures. She uses individual change and the development of relationships to reflect upon and articulate the period of transition in ancient and contemporary Britain. The characterization of the individuals in the novel and their development rejects the stereotypical depiction of natives as hostile, dangerous, untrustworthy and inferior. Instead, Sutcliff opts for a more accepting approach. Marcus is, at first, wary of the native Britons but as he

matures and learns more about Roman Britain and its inhabitants he begins to respect these individuals. Sutcliff's depiction of Esca challenges the typical idea of the native as savage. Within the novel Marcus questions the attitudes of individuals and larger groups and the dichotomy between these attitudes: two individuals can bond despite their cultural differences but two large groups cannot forget their separate identities or move past these issues. Sutcliff's novel is an exploration of friendship and its power to remove or destroy social and cultural barriers.

Sutcliff challenges the norm and presents alternatives to three concepts in her characterization: Marcus portrays an alternative to the stereotypical uncaring, exploitative mindset of the colonizer, especially in his interaction with Esca and Cub. Esca and Cottia present alternatives to the attitude of the colonized native. Uncle Aquila and Guern challenge the idea of identity and its connection with location. Sutcliff develops these characters in a way that their messages do not overwhelm their characterization. *The Eagle of the Ninth* demonstrates that, done well, historical fiction for children can educate its young audience historically, morally and theoretically as it entertains them.

The film adaptation, *The Eagle*, reverts back to the stereotypical stance challenged by Sutcliff. The film depicts ancient Britain as harsh, unwelcoming and primitive, through the interaction with Rome the native society and its inhabitants become civilized. This conforms to the stereotypical attitude towards cultural interaction and undermines Sutcliff's subtle challenge, or even rejection, of the accepted view. Whereas Sutcliff challenged attitudes towards natives and

indigenous culture, the film actively encourages such a negative view with Marcus' inability to speak the native language and his superior attitude about Roman society.

The analysis of historical events and attitudes alongside textual analysis demonstrates that Sutcliff was ahead of her time in regards to identity, Romano-British studies and depictions of cultural interaction. The comparison with the recent film adaptation demonstrates how Sutcliff's social parallels can be updated, for example by substituting the British Empire for the power of the United States or the Second World War for either the Vietnam War or recent military engagements in the Middle East. The film adaptation reverts back to the stereotypical ideas of colonization and cultural change. Comparison with the film adaptation demonstrates Sutcliff's ability and the strengths of her excellent and timeless children's novel.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Brock, J. 2009. *The Eagle of the Ninth: Shooting Script*,
<http://www.youblisher.com/p/27004-X/> (accessed 25 Mar 2012).

Colonial Office Memorandum. 1950. *Coloured People from British Colonial Territories*. London.

Kipling, R. 1906. *Puck of Pook's Hill*. Ware (Herts.).

Kipling, R. 1990. *Something of Myself and other autobiographical writings* (ed. T. Pinney). Cambridge.

Kipling, R. 1993. *Selected Poems* (ed. P. Keating). London.

Kipling, R. 2001. *Many Inventions*. Kelly Bray (Cornwall). pp. 142-155.

Sutcliff, R. 1954. *The Eagle of the Ninth*. Oxford.

Sutcliff, R. 1957. *The Silver Branch*. Oxford.

Sutcliff, R. 1959. *The Lantern Bearers*. Oxford.

Sutcliff, R. 1965. *The Mark of the Horse Lord*. London.

Sutcliff, R. 1978. *Song for a Dark Queen*. London.

Sutcliff, R. 1983. *Blue Remembered Hills*. Yeadon.

Tacitus, *Agricola*, trans. H. Mattingly (London 2009).

Secondary Sources

- Barrett, J.C. 1997. 'Romanization: a critical comment', in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*. Portsmouth (R.I). pp. 51-64.
- Beaumont, P. 2010. 'Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's Little Prince poised for a multimedia return to Earth', in *The Observer*, Sunday 1 August 2010.
- Boccardi, M. 2009. *The Contemporary British Historical Novel*. Basingstoke.
- Book Marketing Limited. 2005. *Expanding the book market: A study of reading and buying habits in GB*. London.
- Bordwell, D. 2006. *The Way Hollywood Tells it: Story and Style in Modern Movies*. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge.
- Bowies. S. 2011. 'The Eagle has landed – with a resounding thud', *USA Today*, 2 Feb 2011.
- Breeze, D.J. and Dobson, B. 1976. *Hadrian's Wall*. London.
- Bristow, J. 1991. *Empire Boys: Adventures in a man's world*. London.
- Brunt, P.A. 1964. 'Reflections on British and Roman Imperialism', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 7, pp. 267-288.
- Bryce, J. 1914. *The Ancient Roman Empire and the British Empire in India: the diffusion of Roman and English law throughout the world*. Oxford.
- Burton, P. 2007. 'Rudyard Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* A Study in Reception', in D. Shanzer (ed.) *Illinois Classical Studies Volume XXXI/XXXII*. Urbana. pp. 28-54.

- Burton, P. 2011. 'Rosemary Sutcliff's *The Eagle of the Ninth*: A Festival of Britain?', in *Greece and Rome*, 58, 1, pp. 82-103.
- Caglar, L.R. 2011. 'Romanization or no Romanization, that is the question in search of socio-linguistic identity in the Roman provinces', in *Synergies Turquie* 4, pp. 131-138.
- Cam, H. 1961. *Historical Novels*. London.
- Chapdelaine, M. 2011. 'Channing Tatum on Homoeroticism in New Film, The Eagle, <http://www.guyspy.com/channing-tatum-homoerotism-new-film-eagle/> (accessed 18 Sept 2012).
- Charlesworth, M.P. 1949. *The Lost Province or The Worth of Britain*. Cardiff.
- Chopra-Grant, M. 2006. *Hollywood Genres and Postwar America: Masculinity, Family and Nation in Popular Movies and Film Noir*. London and New York.
- Christiansen, E. 1995. 'Tamed by a Rose: Computers as Tools in Human Activity', in B.A. Nardi (ed.) *Context and Consciousness: Activity Theory and Human-Computer Interaction*. Cambridge (MA) and London. pp. 175-198.
- Clarke, K. 2001. 'An Island Nation: Re-Reading Tacitus' "Agricola"', in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 91, pp. 94-112.
- Collingwood, R.G. 1930. *The Archaeology of Roman Britain*. London.
- Collins, F.M and Graham, J. (eds.) 2001. *Historical Fiction for Children*. London.
- Creighton, J. 2006. *Britannia: The Creation of a Roman Province*. Abingdon.

- Dammann, G. 2008. 'Age banding 'ill-conceived and damaging', say children's authors', *The Guardian*, 4 June 2008.
- Davis, N, Z. 2000. *Slaves on Screen: Film and Historical Vision*. Cambridge (MA).
- De Groot, J. 2010. *The Historical Novel*. Abingdon.
- de la Bedoyere, G. 2006. *Roman Britain: A New History*. London.
- Dittmar, L and G. Michaud (eds.) 1990. *From Hanoi to Hollywood: The Vietnam War in American Film*. New Brunswick and London.
- Eccleshare, J. 2008. 'Publisher admits error in 'damaging' age banding row', *The Guardian*, 1 September 2008.
- Edelstein, J.H. 2008. 'Don't put age ranges on children's books', *The Guardian*, 2 June 2008.
- Fleishman, A. 1971. *The English Historical Novel*. Baltimore and London.
- Flood, A. 2008. 'Librarians oppose age recommendations for books', *The Guardian*, 27 October 2008.
- Fox, A. 1952. *Roman Exeter*. Manchester.
- Freeman, P.W.M. 1997. 'Mommsen to Haverfield: the origins of studies of Romanization in late 19th-c Britain', in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*. Portsmouth (R.I.). pp. 27-50.
- Freeman, P.W.M. 2007. *The Best Training-Ground for Archaeologists: Francis Haverfield and the invention of Romano-British Archaeology*. Oxford.
- French, P. 2011. 'The Eagle – Review', in *The Observer*, 27 March 2011.

Fuchs, C.J. 1993. 'The Buddy Politic', in S. Cohan and I.R. Hark (eds.) *Screening the Male: Exploring Masculinities in Hollywood Cinema*. London. pp. 194-210.

Futrell, A. 2001. 'Seeing Red: Spartacus as Domestic Economist', in S.R. Joshel, M. Malamud and D.T. McGuire (eds.) *Imperial Projections: Ancient Rome in Modern Popular Culture*. Baltimore and London.

Geras, A. 2008. 'Age banding will lead to a two-tier book trade', *The Guardian*, 11 June 2008.

Giddens, A. 1979. *Central Problems in Social Theory*. London.

Gilbert, M. 1989. *The Second World War: A Complete History*. London.

Grayling, A.C. 2006. *Among the Dead Cities*. London.

Grenby, M. O. 2008. *Children's Literature*. Edinburgh.

Greven, D. 2009. 'Contemporary Hollywood Masculinity and the Double-Protagonist Film', in *Cinema Journal* 48. 4, pp. 22-43.

Hankins, K. 1942. 'A Tacitean Parallel', in *The Classical Journal* 37. 8, pp. 483-485.

Haverfield, F. 1923 (4th ed.) *The Romanization of Roman Britain*. Oxford.

Havholm, P. (ed.) 2007. 'The Lost Legion: notes on the text', http://www.kipling.org.uk/rg_lostlegion1.htm (accessed 19 Aug 2012).

Hastings, M. 1980. *Bomber Command*. London.

Hastings, M. 2011. *All Hell Let Loose: The World at War 1939-1945*. London.

Hicks, A. and Martin, D. 1997. 'Teaching English and History Through Historical Fiction', in *Children's Literature in Education* 28, pp.49-59.

Higgins, C. 2011. 'Five historical clangers in Kevin Macdonald's *The Eagle*', *The Guardian*, 15 March 2011.

Hingley, R. 2000. *Roman Officers and English Gentlemen: The imperial origins of Roman archaeology*. London and New York.

Hingley, R. 2008. *The Recovery of Roman Britain 1586-1906: a colony so fertile*. Oxford.

Hoselitz, V. 2007. *Imagining Roman Britain: Victorian Responses to a Roman Past*. Chippenham.

Huddleston, T. 2011. 'Kevin Macdonald: We burned Channing Tatum's Balls', <http://www.timeout.com/film/features/show-feature/11416/kevin-macdonald-we-burned-channing-tatums-balls.html> (accessed 17 Jun 2012).

Humphrey, R. 1986. *The Historical Novel as Philosophy of History*. London.

Jones, S. 1997. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity*. London and New York.

Joyce, J.G. 1880-1881. 'Third Account of Excavations at Silchester', in *Archaeologia* 46, pp.344-365.

King, G. 2002. *New Hollywood Cinema: An Introduction*. London and New York.

Kutzer, D. 2000. *Empire's Children: Empire and Imperialism in Classic British Children's Books*. New York.

Kynaston, D. 2007. *Austerity Britain 1945-51*. London.

- Kynaston, D. 2009. *Family Britain 1951-57*. London.
- Landy, M. 1996. "Which Way Is America?": Americanism and the Italian Western', in *boundary 2* 23.1, pp. 35-59.
- Lawrence, D.H. 1923. *Studies in Classic American Literature*. New York.
- Lawson, M. 2008. 'Classification dismissed', in *The Guardian* Friday 6 June 2008.
- Layton-Henry, Z. 1985. 'The New Commonwealth Migrants, 1945-62', in *History Today* 35. 12, pp. 27- 32.
- Lea, R. and Boase, N. 2008. 'Hay festival: Authors rebel against age ranges on books', *The Guardian*, 30 May 2008.
- Levy, E. 2011. 'The Eagle: Interview with director Kevin Macdonald', <http://www.emmanuellevy.com/interview/eagle-the-interview-with-director-kevin-macdonald/> (accessed 17 Jun 2012).
- Lewis, C.S. 1966. *Of Other Worlds*. London.
- Little, V. and John, T. 1986. 'Historical Fiction in the Classroom', *Teaching of History Series* 59, pp. 1-52.
- Lovatt, H. 2009. 'Asterisks and Obelisks: Classical Receptions in Children's Literature', in *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 16. 3/4, pp. 508-522.
- Lucas, C.P. 1912. *Greater Rome and Greater Britain*. Oxford.
- Lukacs, G. 1962. *The Historical Novel*, trans H. Mitchell and S. Mitchell. Harmondsworth.

- Lynn, M. 2006. 'Introduction', in M. Lynn (ed.) *The British Empire in the 1950s: Retreat or Revival?* Basingstoke and New York. pp. 1- 15.
- Macdonald, K. 2011. 'Director's Commentary', *The Eagle*. dir. Kevin Macdonald, produced by Duncan Kenworthy, Focus Features and Universal Pictures.
- Majeed, J. 1999. 'Comparativism and references to Rome in British imperial attitudes to India', in C. Edwards (ed.) *Roman Presences: receptions of Rome in European Culture, 1789-1945*. Cambridge.
- Mattingly, D.J. 1997. 'Introduction: Dialogues of power and experience in the Roman Empire', in D.J. Mattingly (ed.) *Dialogues in Roman Imperialism*. Portsmouth (R.I.). pp. 7-24.
- Mattingly, D.J. 2004. 'Being Roman: expressing identity in a provincial setting', *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17. 1, pp. 5-25.
- Mattingly, D.J. 2006. *An Imperial Possession: Britain in the Roman Empire*. London.
- Mattingly, D.J. 2011. *Imperialism, power and identity: Experiencing the Roman Empire*. Princeton and Oxford.
- McCarthy, T. 2011. 'Film Review: The Eagle an engaging but one-dimensional tale about Roman Empire', <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/review/film-review-eagle-engaging-dimensional-97006> (accessed 17 Jun 2012).
- Medlicott, W.N. 1952. 'Preface', in Fox, A. *Roman Exeter*. Manchester. p. v.
- Meek, M. 1962. *Rosemary Sutcliff*. London
- Meyer, B. 2011. 'The Eagle Interviews: Channing Tatum, Jamie Bell and Kevin Macdonald', <http://www.celebritycloseups.com/interviews/junkets/11/TheEagle.htm> (accessed 20 Jun 2012).

Millett, M. 1990a. *The Romanization of Britain: An Essay in Archaeological Interpretation*. Cambridge.

Millett, M. 1990b. 'Romanization: historical issues and archaeological interpretation', in T. Blagg and M. Millett (eds.) *The Early Roman Empire in the West*. Oxford. pp. 35-41.

Mommsen, T. 1887-1888. *The History of Rome vol.1-4*, trans. W.P. Dickson. London.

Muse, E.J. 1995. *The Land of Nam: The Vietnam War in American Film*. Lanham (MD).

Nandy, A. 1988. *The Intimate Enemy: loss and recovery of self under colonialism*. Oxford.

Nelis, J. 2007. 'Constructing Fascist Identity: Benito Mussolini and the Myth of "Romanità"', in *The Classical World* 100. 4, pp. 391-415.

No to Age Banding, <http://www.notoagebanding.org/> (accessed 10 Sept 2012).

Nodelman, P. 2008. *The Hidden Adult: Defining Children's Literature*. Baltimore.

Osterhammel, J.1997. *Colonialism*. trans. S.L. Frisch. Princeton.

O'Hara, H. 2011. 'The Eagle Movie Review', <http://www.empireonline.com/reviews/reviewcomplete.asp?DVDID=118746> (accessed 17 Jun 2012).

Patterson, O. 1982. *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge (MA) and London.

Pendlebury, J. 2003. 'Planning the historic city', in *The Town Planning Review* 74, pp. 371-393.

Philbrick, J. 2011. 'Exclusive: Kevin Macdonald Talks *The Eagle*', <http://www.movieweb.com/news/exclusive-kevin-macdonald-talks-the-eagle> (accessed 20 Jun 2012).

Pomeroy, A.J. 2004. 'The Vision of a Fascist Rome in *Gladiator*', in M.M. Winkler (ed.) *Gladiator: Film and History*. Malden (MA.), Oxford and Carlton (Victoria). pp. 111-123.

The Publishers Association. 2008. *Age Guidance Explained*. London.

Rattigan, N. 1992. 'Fathers, Sons, and Brothers: Patriarchy and Guilt in 1980s American Cinema', in *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 20. 1, pp 15-23.

Ray, J.L. 1989. 'The Abolition of Slavery and the End of International War', in *International Organization* 43. 3, pp. 405-439.

Rich, P. 1986. 'Blacks in Britain: Response and Reaction, 1945-62', in *History Today* 36. 1, pp. 14-20.

Ringrose, C. 2009. 'New Historical Fiction for Children', in H. Montgomery and N.J. Watson (eds.) *Children's Literature: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends*. Milton Keynes and New York. pp. 354-363.

Roberts, D.H. 2007. 'Reconstructed Pasts: Rome and Britain: Child and Adult in Kipling's *Puck of Pook's Hill* and Rosemary Sutcliff's Historical Fiction', in C. Stray (ed.) *Remaking the Classics. Literature, Genre and Media in Britain 1800 – 2000*. London. pp. 107-123.

Rose, S. 2011. 'Kevin Macdonald: "I didn't understand Hollywood"', *The Guardian*, 17 March 2011.

- Rosenstone, R.A. 2006. *History on Film/Film on History*. Harlow.
- Said, E. 1993. *Culture and Imperialism*. London.
- Saint-Exupéry, A. de. 1945. *The Little Prince* (trans. K. Woods). London.
- Sandhu, S. 2011. 'The Eagle, review', *The Telegraph*, 24 March 2011.
- Sedgwick, E. 1985. *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York.
- Shaw, H.E. 1983. *The Forms of Historical Fiction*. Ithaca and London.
- Singh, A. 2008. 'Philip Pullman leads author revolt against age banding for children's books', *The Telegraph*, 4 June 2008.
- Slocum, J.D. (ed.) 2006. *Hollywood and War: The Film Reader*. New York and Abingdon.
- Smith, A. 1937. *The Wealth of Nations*. New York.
- Stephens, J. 1992. *Language and Ideology in Children's Literature*. Harlow.
- Sutcliff, R. 1960. *Rudyard Kipling*. London.
- Theodorakopoulos, E. 2010. *Ancient Rome at the Cinema: Story and Spectacle in Hollywood and Rome*. Exeter.
- Todd, M. 1981. *Roman Britain, 55 BC-AD 400*. London.
- Tompkins, J.M. 1959. *The Art of Rudyard Kipling*. Norwich.

- Townsend, J. R. 1976 (revised ed.) *Written for Children*. Harmondsworth.
- Vance, N. 1997. *The Victorian and Ancient Rome*. Oxford.
- Webster, J. 2001. 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces', in *American Journal of Archaeology* 105. 2, pp. 209-225.
- Webster, W. 2005. *Englishness and empire 1939-1965*. Oxford.
- Western Morning News. 1946. 'Art Worth Millions: Goering Admits to Tribunal: Dialogue with Hitler', in *Western Morning News*, 21 March 1946.
- Winkler, M. 2001. 'The Roman Empire in American Cinema after 1945', in S.R. Joshel, M. Malamud and D.T. McGuire, Jr. (eds.) *Imperial Projections: Ancient Rome in Modern Popular Culture*. Baltimore and London. pp. 50-76.
- Woolf, G. 1997. 'Beyond Romans and natives', in *World Archaeology* 28, pp. 339-350.
- Woolf, G. 1998. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. Cambridge.
- Wright, H. 1981. 'Shadows on the downs: some influences of Rudyard Kipling on Rosemary Sutcliff', in *Children's Literature in Education* 12. 2, pp. 90-102.
- Wyke, M. 1997. *Projecting the Past: Ancient Rome, Cinema and History*. New York and London.
- Yamato, J. 2011. 'Jamie Bell on The Eagle, American Imperialism, and The Adventures of Tintin', <http://movieline.com/2011/02/10/jamie-bell-on-the-eagle-american-imperialism-and-tin-tin/> (accessed 20 Jun 2012).

Filmography

Ben Hur. 1959. dir. William Wyler, produced by Sam Zimbalist, MGM.

Centurion. 2010. dir. Neil Marshall, produced by Christian Colson and Robert Jones, Pathé.

The Eagle. 2011. dir. Kevin Macdonald, produced by Duncan Kenworthy, Focus Features and Universal Pictures.

Gladiator. 2000. dir. Ridley Scott, produced Walter Parkes, DreamWorks SKG.

Julius Caesar. 1953. dir. Joseph. L. Mankiewicz, produced by John Houseman, MGM.

Quo Vadis. 1951. dir. Mervyn LeRoy, produced by Sam Zimbalist, MGM.

The Roman Mysteries. 2007-2008. TV series, produced by Jon East, David Hunt and Keith Littler, BBC.

Rome. 2005-2007. TV series, produced Bruno Heller, BBC/HBO.

Spartacus. 1960. dir. Stanley Kubrick, produced by Kirk Douglas, Bryna Productions.

Spartacus. 2010-present. TV series, produced by Charles Knight, Starz.