

**J.E.Lloyd and his intellectual legacy; the tribes of Wales reconsidered¹, by
E.W.Williams**

In an earlier article, the present author considered the manner in which the racial model of history developed by the Oxford school of Germanist historians in relation to England was adopted by J. E. Lloyd and applied to Wales. This article is focused on the way in which that racial model was employed by Lloyd in his analysis of the tribes of Wales and contributed to the establishment of a widely accepted view of the location of those tribal territories. The major challenges that emerged to this facet of his work in the period to 1939 are then outlined. Subsequently, the manner in which Lloyd's historical work influenced Welsh archaeology is delineated, before considering the erosion of his hypothesis within that field in the period through to 2010. A number of longstanding archaeological perspectives which diverged from the orthodox historical view developed by Lloyd are then outlined. These provide a basis for a significantly different concept of the territories accorded to the tribes of Wales. The implications of this alternative view of the tribal structure of Wales with regard to both the Roman conquest and the subsequent integration of the western tribes into the Roman civil system are then briefly considered.

The historian, J.E.Lloyd is commonly regarded as having established the foundations of modern Welsh History.² In an earlier article, this author drew attention to key weaknesses in his analysis and highlighted the fact that in 1939 Lloyd had acknowledged that his earlier hypothesis regarding the formation of pre-Roman Wales could not be sustained.³ Accordingly, in the third edition of his *A History of Wales*, he replaced the initial three chapters of his first and second editions with a very different introduction.⁴

One of the aspects which led to Lloyd's decision to establish new foundations for his work lay in the inadequacies of his analysis of the tribal structure of pre-Roman Wales. In considering the rationale of Lloyd's analysis of the territories accorded to the tribes of Wales, the analysis will of necessity encompass lands beyond the boundaries of modern Wales. Moreover, it is recognised that in the pre-Roman, Roman, and the immediate post-Roman context, Wales did not constitute a distinct territorial unit. Accordingly, in this discussion, Wales and other modern geographical names are used as geographical expressions to facilitate the location of various tribes but are not regarded as having a broader historical significance.

The tribes of Wales - the development of J.E.Lloyd's interpretation.

Attempts to locate the pre-Roman tribes of Britain have long harnessed Claudius Ptolemaeus's *Geographia* as a key source.⁵ Initially it is appropriate to recount his

¹ I am grateful to Dr. D.Stephenson, R. van Kemenade and R. Suggett for their comments on this article. The responsibility for the views expressed and for any errors is entirely mine.

² Pryce H., *J.E.Lloyd and the creation of Welsh History* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 2011) pp. 95-6 & 169-76

³ Williams E.W., 'J. E. Lloyd and the intellectual foundations of Welsh history', in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44. See in particular pp.40-4

⁴ Lloyd J.E., *A history of Wales* (Longman, Green & Co, 1939) 3rd ed., pp. xxix-lv

⁵ Müller C., (ed.) *Claudii Ptolemæi Geographia* Bks i-v (Institutum Francicum, Paris 1883-1901)

description of the location of specific tribes and particular military and civil establishments within their territories.

In following a course from northern Britain, Ptolemy identified the Brigantes as occupying a territory which extended from sea to sea. To their south he located three tribes who occupied territories which extended from the Irish Sea to the North Sea.

- The Ordovices were seen as occupying the lands to the west and as having two noteworthy cities, namely Mediolanium and Brannogenium.
- To the east of the Ordovices lay the lands of the Cornavii (i.e. Cornovii), with the legionary fortress Deva, being located therein, as well as the city of Viroconium.
- To the east of the Cornavii was the territory of the Coritani (i.e. Corieltauvi) in which were located the cities of Lindum and Rate.⁶

There can be little doubt that the homelands of those three tribes were perceived by Ptolemy as occupying the full breadth of Britain, from the Isle of Anglesey to the Wash. Despite that, the descriptions provided are too incomplete to enable the location of the boundaries between the tribes to be specified. As a consequence modern authors have sought to harness other classical sources as well as new modern disciplines in order to come to more authoritative conclusions. Those sources, in turn, have provided a basis from which Ptolemy's description can be re-assessed and even cast to one side. As a consequence, since the late 19th century very significant discrepancies have arisen with regard to the territories accorded to the tribes of Wales.

From an historical perspective this is an issue of considerable significance, for the domains of the pre-Roman tribes, were, over time, capable of being transformed into Roman *civitates* and medieval kingdoms. As a consequence, the adoption of erroneous concepts of the pre-Roman tribal boundaries could bear significant implications for the analysis of the Roman and post-Roman periods. So as to provide an insight into the manner in which the analysis has evolved, this study takes as its point of departure the account presented by Gweirydd ap Rhys in his two volume Welsh language historical account, *Hanes y Brytaniaid a'r Cymry* published in 1872-4.

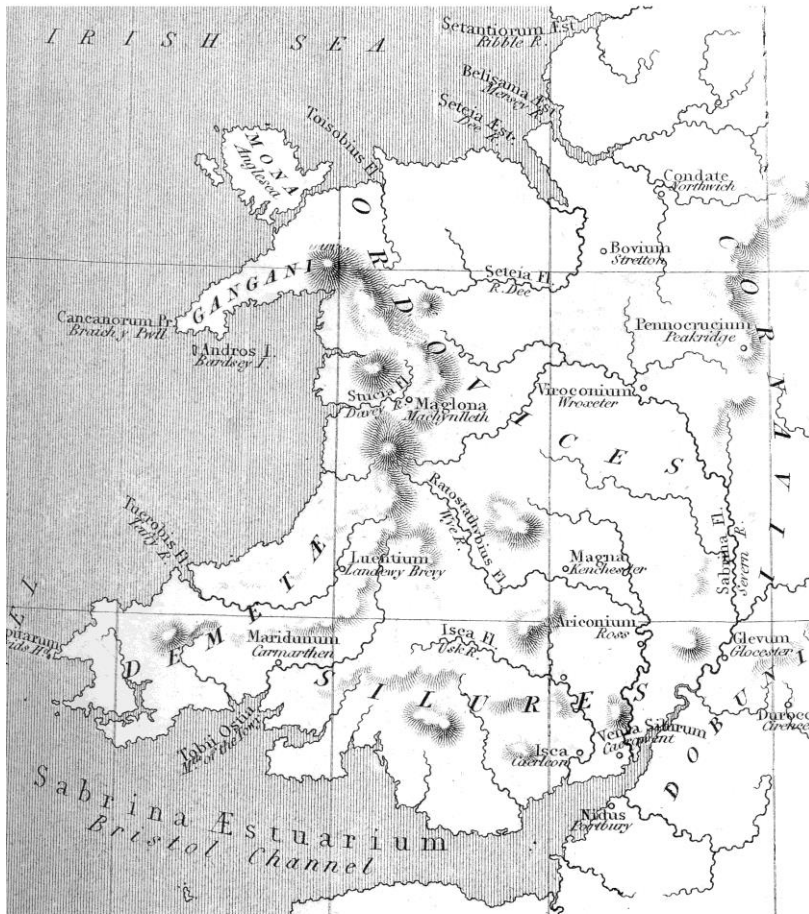
Gweirydd ap Rhys.

Gweirydd ap Rhys saw the Wales of the pre-Roman era as having been dominated by three tribes. They were the Ordovices, inhabiting the land from the north coast down to Montgomeryshire and possibly including Radnorshire as well as some lands to the east of where Offa's Dyke would eventually. In that context the Deceangli and Gangani were implicitly regarded as being subject to their overlordship. To the south, the Demetae were viewed as occupying Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire and Breconshire, as well as the lands of Glamorgan as far as the Gower peninsula. In turn the Silures were seen as occupying the remainder of Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire as well as

⁶ Ibid Bk.2 Ch.3 par.11 & Rivet A.L.F. & Smith C., *The place-names of Roman Britain* (Batsford, London 1982) pp. 141-3. The tribe identified by Ptolemy as the Cornavii is usually identified as the Cornovii. With regard to the Coritani, new evidence has emerged that the correct spelling of their tribal name is Corieltauvi. See Cunliffe B., *Iron Age Communities in Britain* (Routledge, London 1991) 3rd ed. pp. 175

considerable land to the east. That implied that Wales was regarded as having a number of tribes specific to its territory. The Ordovices and the Silures were seen as tribes who dominated the eastern border regions of modern Wales with the territories of both the Cornovii and the Dobunni being located beyond that Welsh context.⁷

Map 1. Gweirydd ap Rhys and the tribes of Wales (1872-4)



Based upon Pryse R., *Hanes y Brytaniaid a'r Cymry* (Mackenzie, London 1872-4) 2 vols. See map at front of vol. 1

During the early 1880s, that perspective was rapidly superseded as the practitioners of linguistics brought a new paradigm to bear on the analysis, with some members of the emergent generation of Welsh professional historians also adopting that approach. Indo-European or Aryan linguistics transformed the manner in which the evidence relating to the territories of the pre-Roman tribes was interpreted. That new perspective emerged from an unexpected quarter.

⁷ Pryse R., *Hanes y Brytaniaid a'r Cymry* (Mackenzie, London 1872-4) 2 vols. See vol. 1 p.31 & pp. 33-6 and map at front of volume 1. That analysis does not appear to have been of a specifically Welsh origin, for the map depicting the location of those tribes was drawn from the work of the publisher William Mackenzie of London, Liverpool and Swansea.

In March 1783 the Orientalist scholar Sir William Jones was appointed judge of the High Court, at Fort William in Bengal and began to study Sanskrit. Within six months he became aware of its affinities with Greek and Latin as well as the Germanic and Celtic languages. Accordingly, it became possible to regard European languages as having a shared origin with Sanskrit. Jones presented his ideas on the second of February 1786, there by establishing the foundations of the concept of an Indo-European or Aryan family of languages.⁸

The manner in which that basic concept was developed proved to be of great significance, for in 1808 the German author Friedrich Schlegel gave the discovery an anthropological dimension by linking language and race. He offered an interpretation according to which a new people had emerged in northern India, thence moving westward to establish the great civilisations of Europe. Speculation during subsequent decades led to the development of a number of different concepts to describe those peoples, but in essence the Aryan myth had been born.⁹

One of the foremost innovators of that concept was the German philologist Jacob Grimm. He depicted the Aryan peoples as moving into Europe in successive waves, the process being initiated around 1,800 B.C. by the Greeks. They in turn were seen as having been followed by the Romans, Celts and Germans with the Lithuanians, Slavs, Thracians and Scythians following.¹⁰

Within that broad conceptual framework, there existed a line of demarcation between those who conceived of the concept 'Aryan' as having only philological significance, as compared to those who saw it as also signifying the existence of distinct racial groups. The two key figures who contributed to the debate over the location of the pre-Roman tribes of Wales appear to have occupied positions on either side of that divide. John Rhys the linguist pursued primarily a philological analysis, whilst J. E. Lloyd the historian went further, drawing his inspiration from Aryan racism.¹¹

Through the work of these authors, the concept of various Aryan linguistic groups migrating in sequence to the British Isles soon became an accepted aspect to the debate over the location of the pre-Roman tribes of Wales. In particular the relationship between the Brythonic Celts and earlier populations of Goidels and Iberians became central to the analysis of the development of Welsh society.

In 1874 the young John Rhys initiated that discussion through a series of lectures delivered at University College Aberystwyth, in which he engaged with the assumptions

⁸ Matthew H.C.G. & Harrison B. (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 2004), vol. 30 pp. 665-74 – **Sir William Jones**. Also Young R.J.C., *The idea of English ethnicity* (Blackwell, Oxford 2008) p. 56 & Poliakov L, *The Aryan Myth* (Meridian, New York 1977) p. 190.

⁹ Op cit Poliakov L. 1977 pp. 190-3.

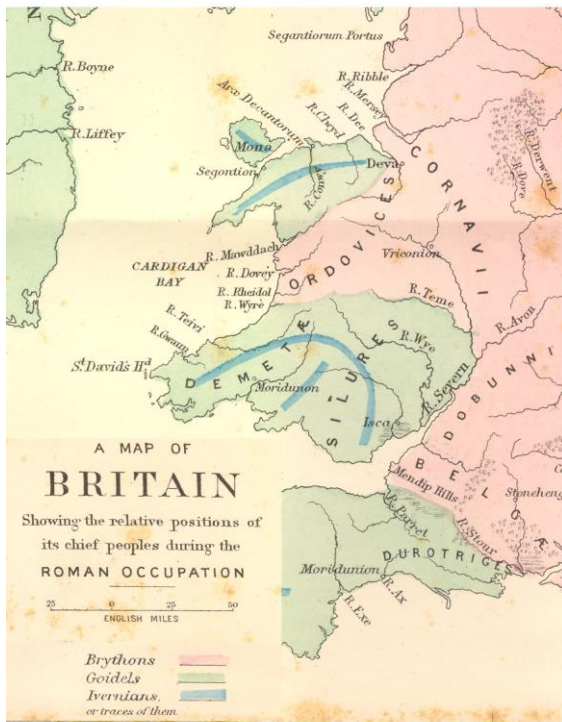
¹⁰ Ibid p. 198.

¹¹ This issue is considered further in op cit Williams E.W. in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44

of the Aryan framework. He considered the issue of the Goidels having inhabited Wales prior to the Brythonic Celts. At that time he was by no means convinced of the validity of the argument. Those lectures were published in 1877 as *Lectures on Welsh Philology*.¹² In that same year Rhys was appointed to the Chair of Celtic at Jesus College, Oxford.¹³

By the early 1880s, his views on the Goidelic presence within Britain had changed. In his *Celtic Britain* (1882), he accepted that the Goidels were the first Celtic inhabitants of Britain. He viewed the original Goidels as having been followed from the continent by the Brythonic Celts. His work even contained a map showing the purported location of the Iberian, Goidelic and Brythonic populations of Britain during the Roman era.¹⁴ The basis of his analysis merits brief consideration.

Map 2. John Rhys and the tribes of Wales, 1882



Based upon part of initial map in Rhys J., *Celtic Britain* (Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London 1882)

The existence of Ogam inscriptions in both north and south Wales was of key importance to his views. He regarded both areas as having been peopled by an earlier Goidelic

¹² Rhys J., *Lectures on Welsh philology* (Trübner & Co, London 1877) The volume was composed of seven lectures, the first of which considered some of the basic assumptions of the Aryan framework. The Goidelic presence in Wales is considered specifically in pp.184-9

¹³ Lloyd J.E. & Jenkins R.T. (eds) *The Dictionary of Welsh Biography down to 1940* (Cymmrodorion, London 1959) pp.844-5 **Rhys, Sir John**

¹⁴ Op cit Rhys J., *Celtic Britain* (Society For Promoting Christian Knowledge, London 1882) 1st ed pp. 3-4, & pp. 242-50 See also map at front of volume. Rhys referred to the Iberian population as Ivernians. The continuing dilemma confronting Rhys in relation to this issue was revealed a decade later in Rhys J., 'The Goidels in Wales' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1895 vol.12 pp.18-39

population. By contrast Ogam inscriptions were seen as being largely absent from the lands accorded to the Ordovices, a group whom Rhys regarded as a Brythonic people¹⁵ occupying the territory of mid Wales.¹⁶ This conclusion was supported by a number of other considerations including the Welsh dialect spoken within the latter area.¹⁷ That aspect was referred to in the first edition of his *Celtic Britain* and was expanded upon in *The Welsh People* published in 1900.

Rhys believed that the dialect of mid-Wales was in origin closer to that of Gaul than the other Welsh dialects. He concluded that in the pre-Roman era, an Iron Age tribe had occupied Powys and its adjoining territories.¹⁸ That raised the issue of the identity of that tribe. Given that a Goidelic population was seen as having occupied most of north and south Wales, the Ordovices, who were correctly believed to have been an Iron Age tribe, could not be regarded as occupying a territory in north-west Wales. Accordingly it became necessary to assign north-west Wales to an unknown tribe, with the Ordovices being confined to north-east Wales and mid-Wales.

Having confined the Ordovices to those territories, there then arose the issue of the identity of the tribe purportedly occupying north-west Wales. Whilst Rhys did not venture to name that Goidelic tribe, the young J.E.Lloyd was not so reticent. In 1886, he referred to them as the Gwyndodiaid¹⁹ and explained their relationship to the Ordovices in the following terms.

Nid ymddengys fod gan y Rhufeiniaid unrhyw enw ar y llwyth yma, ac efallai nad oeddent yn gwahaniaethu rhyngddi a'r Ordovices.²⁰

It does not appear that the Romans had any name for this tribe, and perhaps they did not differentiate between it and the Ordovices.

As compared with the situation that existed in 1872-4, by 1886 academic understanding of the location of the pre-Roman tribes of Wales had been transformed. Through the work of Rhys and Lloyd, the Ordovices were no longer regarded as a tribe occupying the whole of north and mid Wales: rather, a new previously unknown Goidelic tribe was identified as occupying what had previously been identified as their territory in north-west Wales, whilst the Ordovices were viewed as a tribe confined to north east Wales and mid Wales. That implied that Ptolemy was considered to be a somewhat inadequate witness to the pre-Roman state of affairs. That perspective was rendered explicit in Lloyd's two volume *A History of Wales*, first published in 1911.

It is not easy to say what people inhabited the north-west corner of Wales ... Ptolemy here fails us, for, though it has until recently been taken for granted that

¹⁵ Ibid pp.244-57

¹⁶ Ibid p. 85

¹⁷ Ibid p.215-6

¹⁸ Rhys J. & Brynmor-Jones D., *The Welsh People* (Unwin, London 1900) pp. 19-21.

¹⁹ Op cit Lloyd J. E., in *Y Geninen* vol. 4 1886 pp. 264-70. See p. 267.

²⁰ Ibid p. 267.

he assigned to the Ordovices the whole of North Wales, the places mentioned by him as belonging to this tribe lie to the east, near what is now the English border, and in reality this part of his map, save for the name of a cape and that of a river, is blank. Of Segontium and Conovium, stations in the district of which mention is made elsewhere, he had apparently not heard. The same impression, that Anglesey and Snowdonia were not in the occupation of the Ordovices, is conveyed by the passage in the *Agricola* of Tacitus which tells of the subjugation of the latter...²¹

Lloyd proceeded to claim that the peoples of north-west Wales constituted a confederation of tribes possibly including Irish, Pictish and Iberian elements. In support of that conclusion, Lloyd offered a highly contentious interpretation of the inscription on the famous Penmachno monument 103.²²

Lloyd's interpretation drew on the work of John Rhys. In an appendix included in the first edition to his *Celtic Britain*, Rhys had provided 'additional notes on some of the names in the text'.²³ Amongst the names considered was 'Veneti', a name which he set in its broader Indo-European linguistic framework.

The word is most likely of the same origin as the Anglo-Saxon *wine*, a friend, and meant allies: the Irish *fine*, a tribe or sept, is most likely related, and so may be the Welsh *Gwynedd*; but the latter is inseparable from Gwyndod, which is of the same meaning. They probably represent an early form *Venedas*, genitive *Venedātos* or *Venedōtos*, *Gwynedd* being from the nominative, and *Gwyndod* from the stem of the oblique cases. *Venedōtos* is made in Latin into *Venedōtis* in an inscription at Penmachno, near Bettws y Coed. ... The Veneti have left their name to the part of Brittany called by the Bretons Guened, Vannes ...²⁴

What is revealing is that in setting out the Indo-European roots of the name, John Rhys highlighted the manner in which it related to the Anglo-Saxon, Irish and Welsh languages. Whereas Rhys had provided his readers with three possible interpretations, Lloyd claimed that there was but one, with that supporting his own analysis.

Only one clue is obtainable as to the condition of affairs at this time in the Snowdonia region, and this is furnished by the Welsh name of the district, viz., Gwynedd. This is undoubtedly ancient, appearing, as it does, in the form "Venedotis" ... in an inscription at Penmachno, Carnarvonshire, in the sixth or seventh century. The meaning is indicated by the cognate Irish word, "fine", a tribe or sept, and Gwynedd would thus denote a group or confederacy of tribes.²⁵

²¹ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 pp. 39-40

²² Nash-Williams V. E., *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1950) See p. 92 **Monument 103 Penmachno**

²³ Op cit Rhys J, 1882 pp. 273-308

²⁴ Ibid pp. 307 **Veneti**

²⁵ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 p. 40

In order to sustain his interpretation of the tribes of Wales, Lloyd had denied his audience an awareness of the other possibility highlighted by Rhys. He had excluded the interpretation of *Venedotis* as a name having its origins in the Welsh, *Gwynedd*. Acknowledgment of that aspect would not have suited his purpose. In keeping with that approach and in contrast to the analysis he had adopted in 1886, in 1911 Lloyd refrained from assigning to the tribes of Gwynedd the name 'Gwyndodiaid'. The use of that name would have pointed to the alternative interpretation which he was concealing from his readers.²⁶ Nevertheless, in keeping with the earlier analysis advanced by Rhys, Lloyd saw the Ordovices as occupying

... the modern counties of Montgomery and Radnor with the adjacent portions of Merioneth and Denbigh ...²⁷

That implied that for Lloyd, pre-Roman Wales could still be regarded as a land characterised by its own distinctive group of tribes. From the turn of the century that concept was being challenged, for the possibility had arisen that the influence of the Dobunni extended deep into what had hitherto been regarded as the lands of the Silures.

On the basis of linguistic evidence, John Rhys and Brynmor-Jones were of the view that the Dobunni, an Iron Age tribe, had at some point influenced the Welsh dialect spoken within the territory of the Silures. Their influence was seen as extending from the southern reaches of the river Severn over to the Neath valley. Given that the territory of the Demetae was seen as extending possibly as far as Gower, that did not leave much of the territory of the Silures to be occupied by Lloyd's Ibero-Goidelic inhabitants.²⁸ In 1900, the map of tribal Britain of the 1st century A.D. printed in *The Welsh People*, accordingly contained a subtle amendment as compared to the map published in Rhys's *Celtic Britain* of 1882, for the territory of the Dobunni was depicted as extending into the lowlands that lay between the Severn and the Wye.²⁹ That cartographic presentation however fell considerably short of the rationale of the argument put forward by Rhys in the text.

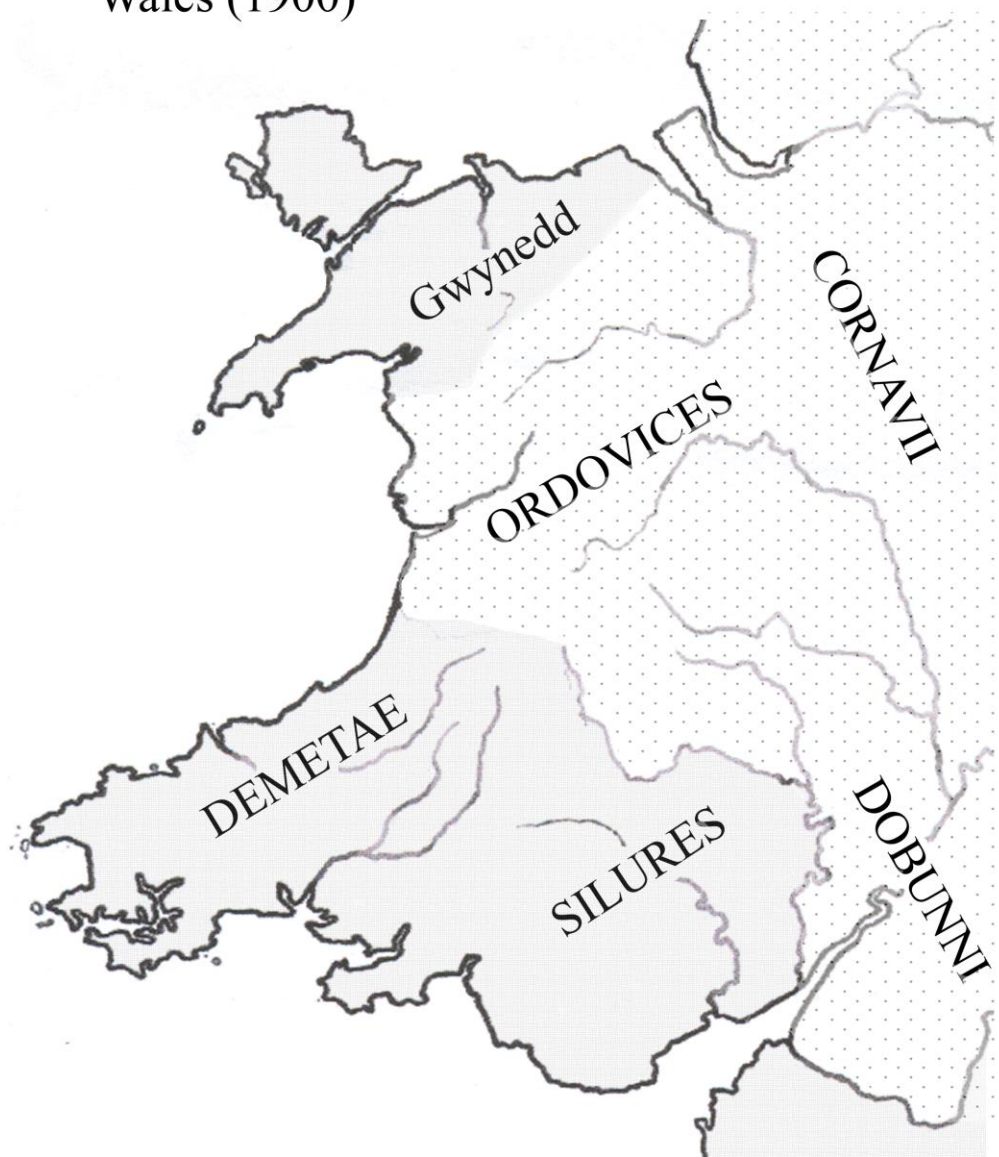
²⁶ It is ironic that in the index to those volumes, *Venedotia* is regarded as being interchangeable with *Gwynedd*. See op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 vol. 2 p.814

²⁷ Ibid p.41

²⁸ Op cit Rhys J. & Brynmor-Jones D., 1900 pp. 21-2

²⁹ Ibid. See map between pp. 74-5.

Map 3. Rhys and Brynmor-Jones and the tribes of Wales (1900)



N.B. - Areas supposed occupied by Brythonic or Belgic tribes are represented thus [dotted pattern] Those occupied by Goidelic tribes thus [solid grey]; and those portions of the British Isles continuing to be held by the aborigines are left blank.

Based upon part of the map 'The British Isles in the First Century A.D.' printed in Rhys J. and Brynmor-Jones D., *The Welsh People* (Unwin, London 1900)

Lloyd would have been aware of the views of Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, as their *Welsh People* was listed in his bibliography.³⁰ Given that background, the manner in which

³⁰ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911. See p. xxiii.

Lloyd set out his views regarding the Silures, in 1911, is worthy of note, for he did not acknowledge the existence of the challenge posed to his analysis by the work of Rhys and Brynmor-Jones. Nevertheless, the way he presented his own interpretation suggests that he was not only well aware of their alternative analysis but was also aware of the threat that it posed to his own thesis. Without explicitly engaging with the interpretation advanced by Rhys and Brynmor-Jones he simply expounded his own view regarding the extent of Silurian territory.³¹ It suggests that when confronted by a challenge which he could not effectively counter, Lloyd simply ignored the alternative analysis and reasserted his own position.

The difficulty for Lloyd was that from the early 1920s his analysis was being confronted by a number of challenges, the most fundamental of those being that a different understanding of pre-history was emerging. Whilst that did not immediately impacted on Lloyd's work, the existence of an amended understanding of pre-history is evident within the academic debate of the period.

In 1924, H. J. Fleure, then professor of anthropology and geography at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth,³² served as president of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, the publishers of the journal *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. That year, the association held its annual meeting in Brittany and Fleure's presidential address focused on the pre-history of the region, highlighting contacts between Spain, Brittany, western Britain and Ireland in the period prior to the Iron Age. It was a very different mode of analysis to Lloyd's Aryan racism. Moreover, whilst Fleure's approach did harness concepts of human physical types he did not use the concept of race.³³ Lloyd was probably present at that meeting, but it is questionable whether he would have been entirely comfortable listening to Fleure's address.³⁴

Subsequently Fleure considered the theoretical foundations of the study of pre-history, contributing a critique of racial theory to the 1930-31 edition of *The Eugenics Review*. He stressed that '(r)ace-type is an abstraction, to be used with much reserve'.³⁵ In the 1935-6 edition of the same publication Fleure returned to that topic, challenging the treatment of the Jews in Germany and deriding Hitler, Goebbels and Goering as not themselves conforming to the racial stereotypes which they acclaimed.³⁶

That highlights the major intellectual changes then occurring within the humanities. Whereas in Lloyd's undergraduate days at Oxford, Aryan racism had constituted an

³¹ Ibid pp. 37-8. The racial aspect to Lloyd's analysis of the Silures is worthy of note.

³² Roberts B.F., (ed.) *Dictionary of Welsh Biography 1941-70* (Cymmrodorion, London 2001) pp.75-6

Fleure, H. J. In 1930 Fleure left Aberystwyth to become the first professor of geography at Victoria University, Manchester.

³³ Fleure H. J., 'Presidential Address' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol 79 1924 pp.241-73.

³⁴ Price H., *J. E. Lloyd and the creation of Welsh history* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 2011) p.59

³⁵ Fleure H. J., 'The Nordic myth. A critique of current racial theory' in *The Eugenics Review* 1930-1, vol. 22 pp.117-21. It must be stressed that throughout the latter half of the 19th century there had been intellectuals who were prepared to challenge racial theory. See eg. 'Professor Huxley on political ethnology' in the *Anthropological Review* 1870 vol.8 pp.197-204

³⁶ Fleure H. J., 'Race and politics' in *The Eugenics Review* 1935-6, vol. 27 pp.319-20.

accepted analytical discourse, by the 1920s and '30s a major transformation was underway. As the intellectual milieu changed, it appears that Lloyd was having to reconsider the outlook which had constituted the foundations of his earlier work.

The basic assumptions of Lloyd's racially based analysis were in turn challenged by one of Fleure's pupils, Iorwerth C. Peate.³⁷ In his volume *Cymru a'i Phobl* (Wales and its People) first published in 1931, he warned his readers to be critical of the outlook of the various parties to the Goedelic debate.

Nid amcenir yma gyffwrdd â phroblem y Celtiaid P a Q yng Nghymru, ond gellir rhybuddio'r darlleneydd rhag mynd i eithafion daliadau'r naill ysgol na'r llall na dibynnu'n gyfan gwbl ar dystiolaeth ieithyddol am symudiadau pobloedd.³⁸

It is not intended here to address the problem of the P and Q Celts in Wales, but it is possible to warn the reader against identifying with the extremes of the one school or the other nor to rely entirely on linguistic evidence for the movement of peoples.

Peate was referring to an issue which lay at the heart of the theory of the tribal pattern of pre-Roman Wales developed by John Rhys. Whilst Rhys's analysis had from an early date been contested by other academics,³⁹ in 1932, in an article published in *Antiquity*, Peate drew the attention of an academic audience in England to its key weaknesses:

Rhys divided the Kelts into two linguistic groups which he named the Q-Kelts and the P-Kelts. Now this linguistic classification, which is acknowledged as fundamental by all philologists, was projected by Rhys into the archaeological field, and for his purposes he utilized the term 'Goidel' to represent the Q-Kelts and 'Brython' the P-Kelts, thus giving to a fundamental philological occurrence an archaeological and geographical significance for which there was ... no justification.

... The ... [conclusion] which I wish, therefore, to draw ... [is]: that modern archaeologists should abandon all attempts to equate invasions for which there is archaeological evidence with philological events for the dating of which there is no evidence ...⁴⁰

The analysis of the tribes of Wales developed by John Rhys from the early 1880s was judged to be inadequate. No longer could references to Goidelic and Brythonic tribes be regarded as valid. Such references needed to be limited to specific linguistic groups.

³⁷ Op cit Matthew H. C. G. & Harrison B. (eds.) 2004), vol. 58 pp.359-61 **Peate I. C.**

³⁸ Peate I. C., *Cymru a'i phobl* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1931) pp.30-1

³⁹ See e.g. Meyer K., 'Early relations between Gael and Brython' in *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1895-6 pp.55-86

⁴⁰ Peate, I. C., 'The Kelts in Britain' in *Antiquity*, 1932, vol. 6 pp.156-60. See in particular pp.156-7 & p.160.

There is evidence that the view presented by Peate in 1932 did register with some English academics. R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myres in their *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* first published in 1936 observed.

Sir J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (1884), is ... out of date in many respects: his theory about Goidels and Brythons (though still accepted by some archaeologists ...), is abandoned by philologists.⁴¹

The demise of the theory advanced by Rhys bore major implications for Lloyd's own analysis. Whereas Rhys had equated philological events with invasions, Lloyd had taken a number of further steps. His analysis had assumed that an initial Celtic invasion of Britain by the Goidels from around 1200 B.C.,⁴² had been followed by a Belgic invasion, with the latter people being equated with the Brythons.⁴³ In the pre-Roman context he had also regarded the Brythonic invasion as leading to the complete displacement of the earlier tribes, with the more advanced race displacing the less advanced. Never the less, from as early as 1884, he had recognised the potential complexity of the situation, for he then acknowledged that,

... what is known as the Belgic invasion was probably only one of many waves of Gallic settlement in our island.⁴⁴

The difficulty was that until at least the mid-1890s the Belgae were an ill-defined social group. The manner in which the Belgae were viewed can be gauged from the work of Arthur J. Evans, a leading archaeologist of the period whose work was respected by Lloyd.⁴⁵ A report of a lecture by Evans, delivered at the National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh in December 1895, was published in *The Scotsman*.

It was the Belgic conquerors of Britain, consisting of Brythons or "P. Celts," who Mr Evans said, introduced here the form of culture to which ... archaeologists have applied the name "Late Celtic". This is the art of the Ancient Britons as historically known to us.

The earliest collective class of Late Celtic remains in this country was supplied by a group of Yorkshire barrows. These contained skeleton internments and it was noteworthy that several of these, ... belonged to women. In others were seen warriors laid on their chariots like those of Champagne. ... The earliest Belgic

⁴¹ Collingwood R. G. & Myres J. N. L., *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1936) 1st ed. p. 475

⁴² Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1911 1st ed. p.18

⁴³ Ibid p.31

⁴⁴ Lloyd J.E., 'History of Wales' in the *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool 1884*, pp.341-408. See in particular p.352

⁴⁵ Op cit Matthew H.C.G. & Harrison B. (eds) 2004 vol. 18 pp.663-66 **Evans, Sir Arthur John**. In 1874 Evans had graduated in Modern History at Brasenose College, Oxford. Subsequently he studied for a year at Göttingen. From 1884 to 1908 he was keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, and married Margaret, the eldest daughter of E. A. Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford. See also Myres J.L. 'Sir Arthur Evans' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1941, vol. 27 pp.323-57

settlements, such as that of the Parisii of Yorkshire, had no coinage, but their parent stock, who gave their name to Paris, had a coinage as early as the third century B.C. This was evidence that the first Belgic colonisation of Britain began before this date.⁴⁶

For Evans, the Belgae were regarded as having conquered Britain, with the Parisii of Yorkshire being seen as leading the Belgic incursion. The Belgae were also viewed as being synonymous with the Brythons. Moreover, for Evans 'Late Celtic' culture was synonymous with La Tène culture.⁴⁷ As a consequence, at that historical juncture, three categories which were subsequently to be differentiated were conflated. In due course the Brythons became a linguistic group rather than a racial group and the Belgae were demoted to be a sub-group of La Tène culture rather than being the dominant group defining the historical era. As a consequence of that transition modern archaeology identifies the Parisii as a La Tène group, and does not regard them as having belonged to the Belgae.⁴⁸

A key departure which triggered that transition was the excavation by A. J. Evans of a late Celtic urnfield at Aylesford in Kent. That advanced very significantly the dating of the Belgic incursions into Britain. Following the publication in 1890 of the report on Evans's excavations,⁴⁹ the Belgae were regarded as having migrated to Britain from around 150 B.C.⁵⁰ The Aylesford report was published over a decade before Lloyd began composing the first chapter of his *A History of Wales* in 1901,⁵¹ and the impact of its findings are evident in his work.

In his winning essay submitted to the 1884 National Eisteddfod, Lloyd had regarded the Brythons as having been securely established in the south-eastern coastal regions of Britain by the mid-fourth century B.C.⁵² In support of that view he constructed an image which appeared to be derived from an account of the voyage of Pytheas.

In Kent, he [i.e. Pytheas] saw much wheat in the fields, which the natives, however, were obliged to thrash in barns, because of the lack of sunshine ; they had cultivated fruits and domestic animals, and they made a drink, the *medd* of later times, by mixing wheat and honey. In this highly civilised community of farmers we have no difficulty in recognizing the Brythonic Celts, already firmly established along the south-eastern coast.⁵³

⁴⁶ 'The Rhind Lectures', in *The Scotsman*, 21 December 1895 p.7. In all, Evans presented a series of six lectures over a period extending from 10 December to the 20 December 1895. All were extensively reported in *The Scotsman*.

⁴⁷ 'The Rhind Lectures', in *The Scotsman*, 19 December 1895 p.6

⁴⁸ For the Parisii, see James S., *Exploring the world of the Celts* (Thames and Hudson, London 1993) pp.100-2

⁴⁹ Evans A. J., 'On a Late-Celtic Urn-Field at Aylesford, Kent' in *Archaeologia* vol. 52 part 2, 1890-1 pp.316-88 & op cit Cunliffe B. 1991 p.4

⁵⁰ Op cit Cunliffe B. 1991 p.4

⁵¹ Op cit Price H. 2011 p.55

⁵² Op cit Lloyd J. E. in the *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool 1884*, pp.341-408. See in particular p.354-5

⁵³ Ibid p.355

It is a description which is of great importance to the construction of Lloyd's concept of Welsh society. It was also presented with an air of certainty which his sources did not warrant.

Pytheas had composed and published his description of his northern journey by around 320 B.C., but by approximately the beginning of the Christian era that text had been lost.⁵⁴ Lloyd's description accordingly drew on secondary accounts written much later. For the background to the journey of Pytheas, he cited material presented by Pliny the Elder in the 1st century A.D.⁵⁵ but the section quoted above had a far less specific source. In composing it Lloyd appears to have drawn freely and imaginatively on the historical accounts of Diodorus Siculus,⁵⁶ Strabo⁵⁷ and Julius Caesar⁵⁸ whilst imposing a racially based interpretation on the material. In relation to what purported to be a key empirical description of Brythonic society as it existed around the year 350 B.C., Lloyd revealingly did not reference a single source. The Brythonic Celts of the fourth century B.C., described in his essay of 1884, were largely a figment of his imagination.⁵⁹

In the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*, Lloyd abandoned that earlier account⁶⁰ and in its place adopted Evans's perspective, recognising two phases to the Celtic iron age experience, namely those of Halstatt, and the Belgic Celts.⁶¹ Moreover, in keeping with Evans's analysis, he included the Parisii tribe amongst the Belgae. This background provides an insight into the difficulties Lloyd subsequently confronted in dating the Belgic incursions, for in the narrative of the first edition he stated:

It was, perhaps, about the middle of the third century B.C. that the Brythons began to settle in Britain.⁶²

That was in keeping with the analysis A. J. Evans had presented in 1895. In a footnote he also acknowledged the new perspective then emerging.

As a result of the Aylsford finds ... archaeologists are now disposed to regard the Belgic settlements as a late Brythonic invasion of about 150 B.C.⁶³

⁵⁴ Cunliffe B., *The extraordinary voyage of Pytheas the Greek* (Allen Lane, London 2001) p. vii

⁵⁵ Op cit Lloyd J.E. in the *Transactions of the Royal National Eisteddfod of Wales, Liverpool 1884*, pp.341-408. See in particular pp.354-5 & Rackham H., (trns.) *Pliny Natural History* (Heinemann, London 1961) vol. 2. See lib. iv, cap. xvi

⁵⁶ Oldfather C.H., (trns.) *Diodorus of Sicily* (Heinemann, London 1952) vol. 3. See lib. v cap. xvi

⁵⁷ Jones H.L., (trns.) *The Geography of Strabo* (Heinemann, London 1950) vol. 2. See lib. iv.v cap.v-vi

⁵⁸ Pontet R. de, *C. Iuli Caesaris, de bello Gallico* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1900-08) lib. iv cap 20-38 & lib. v cap. 8-23 & Wiseman A. & P. (trns) *Julius Caesar, the battle for Gaul* (Chatto & Windus, London 1980) bk. 4, ch.20-38

⁵⁹ Hornblower, S & Spawforth A. (eds.) *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 1996) See pp.472-3 **Diodorus Siculus**, p.1447 **Strabo**, pp.1197-8 **Pliny the Elder**.

⁶⁰ Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1911 1st ed. See p.28 footnote 4

⁶¹ Ibid. His definition of the Brythonic race is outlined on pp. 30-1.

⁶² Ibid p.30

⁶³ Ibid p.30

The difficulty for Lloyd was that the overarching concept of the Belgae as carriers of a new civilisation which had transformed Britain, was breaking down into something quite different. The Belgae were being relegated to be part of a greater movement, the nature of which remained ambiguous. During subsequent decades archaeological understanding of the Belgae was to advance significantly but in a manner which was detrimental to Lloyd's analysis.

In 1925, publication of a report by J. P. Bushe-Fox on the excavation of a cemetery at Swarling in Kent further refined Arthur J. Evans's dating of the Belgic incursions into southern Britain. In composing that report Bushe-Fox also reassessed the dating of the other Belgic finds made in southern Britain. He identified them with the late La Tène period.

It will be seen ... that the evidence obtainable from the Continent points conclusively to the La Tène III period for this particular class of pottery in Britain. The evidence afforded by finds in Britain itself indicates that the greater part of this characteristic ware is after 50 B.C., and that some examples are as late as the early years of the Roman occupation of this country that began in A.D. 43 under the Emperor Claudius. The archaeological evidence for placing any of it before 50 B.C. rests at present almost entirely on the fibulae of type 3 ... It should, however, be borne in mind that our knowledge of the exact date of some of the other fibulae is by no means certain, and although Mr. Reginald Smith believes the earliest to be about 50 B.C. ..., some of them may be slightly earlier than that date, but none can possibly be before 100 B.C. ... With the available evidence it would therefore appear safe to place the earliest examples of the Aylesford-Swarling pottery not earlier than between 100 and 50 B.C., and probably rather after 75 B.C. than before it.⁶⁴

Whereas in 1895, A. J. Evans could regard the Belgae as a major group which had begun to invade Britain before the mid-third century B.C., following the publication of the Bushe-Fox report in 1925, they were regarded as a sub-group of La Tène culture which had invaded Britain from as late as 75 B.C. To the extent that Lloyd's analysis was tied to that changing concept of the Belgae, his thesis was becoming increasingly tenuous. We do not know whether Lloyd was aware of the Bushe-Fox report but it indicated that if the Brythonic race was to be equated with the Belgae, it had landed in Kent as recently as about 120 years before the Roman invasion. That provided a very restricted interlude for Lloyd's Brythons to fulfil their historic role. Other evidence presented in the Bushe-Fox report challenged Lloyd's interpretation of the geographical penetration of the Belgae.

For Lloyd the Brythonic race was seen as having landed initially in Kent, before consolidating its control over an area which extended from the Severn estuary to the Wash.⁶⁵ Given that point of departure, the analytical challenge confronting Lloyd was to match the archaeological evidence to his analysis of the Welsh tribes. In essence, he

⁶⁴ Bushe-Fox J.P., *Excavation of the Late-Celtic urn-field at Swarling Kent* (The Society of Antiquaries, London 1925) Research report no. 5. See p.27

⁶⁵ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 pp.30-1 & 37

needed to establish how the Brythonic tribes which he located to the north of a line from the Severn estuary to the Wash, had come into being.

On the basis of his linguistic analysis, Rhys in his *Celtic Britain* had regarded the Ordovices as a Brythonic tribe,⁶⁶ but in their volume *The Welsh People*, Rhys and Brynmor-Jones were very tentative in drawing conclusions. Referring to an earlier discussion of Penkrige they stated.

The spot [i.e. Penkrige] was comprised probably in the territory of the Cornovii, who may accordingly be supposed to have been Brythons. Behind them towards the west were the Ordovices, who were also probably Brythons, though we have no exactly similar evidence to prove it ...⁶⁷

In paraphrasing their analysis, Lloyd replaced the understandable hesitancy of Rhys and Brynmor-Jones with a far greater sense of certainty.

That the tribe which held the land to the east, the Cornavii ... were of the Brythonic race is known from the name of one of the places within their bounds, viz Pennocrucium (now Penkrige), which is pure Brythonic ... Testimony of the same direct kind is not forthcoming in the case of the Ordovices, but two facts make it highly probable that this was the centre from which Brythonic influences radiated into North and South Wales.⁶⁸

For Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, the Cornovii and Ordovices were 'probably' Brythons, but in drawing on their work, Lloyd stated that the Cornovii were 'known' to be of the Brythonic race and there were 'facts' which made it 'highly probable' that the Ordovices were also of that race.

In practice the rationale of the analysis advanced by both sets of authors was mistaken, for whilst they could quite correctly regard the name *Pennocrucium* as being Brythonic, that did not imply that it reflected a Belgic presence. To the contrary there was nothing to prevent the name reflecting a much earlier Celtic dimension. In practice it is evident that Rhys and Brynmor-Jones in 1900, as well as Lloyd in 1911, were already experiencing difficulty in sustaining their hypothesis, that the Belgae had advanced beyond the Severn-Trent line to form the Cornovii and the Ordovices. The Bushe-Fox report of 1925 provided archaeological evidence to challenge that thesis. With regard to finds of Belgic pottery it stated:

The bulk of this pottery has been found in Kent, Essex, and Hertfordshire, and it is evident that the people to whom it belonged did not penetrate westwards, at any rate to any appreciable extent, beyond the forest of Anderida, into the midlands, or further north than Northamptonshire.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Op cit Rhys J., 1882 p. 80

⁶⁷ Op cit Rhys J. & Brynmor-Jones D., 1900 p.7

⁶⁸ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 pp.41-2

⁶⁹ Op cit Bushe-Fox J. P. 1925. See p.29

That contradicted the analysis advanced by Rhys and Brynmor-Jones in 1900, as well as Lloyd in 1911. The Bushe-Fox report contributed to the modern archaeological view which regards Belgic culture as having been established in a core area within south-eastern Britain with a peripheral zone existing around it, extending broadly from the Severn estuary to the Humber.⁷⁰ Peate's intervention in 1932,⁷¹ far from initiating the challenge to Lloyd's work, merely opened up a new line of attack, complementing that which had long since been maturing within the field of archaeology.

With the publication of Peate's article, given that the work of John Rhys was being viewed as inadequate, Lloyd's theoretical assumptions were even more prone to be judged as flawed. There was, however, a crucial difference between the position of the two intellectuals. John Rhys had died in December 1915 and thus could not respond to criticisms of his own work.⁷² By contrast Lloyd, though ageing, was still in a position to attempt to head off intellectual departures which threatened the credibility of his work. The problem for Lloyd was that during the 1930s further challenges to his account of Welsh history emerged.

In the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*, Lloyd had depicted the Silures as an Iberian tribe who occupied a territory largely isolated from adjoining tribes.⁷³ In 1936, in an article published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Aileen Fox, wife of Cyril Fox presented a contrasting view.⁷⁴ She depicted east Glamorgan as having been heavily influenced by incursions from across the Severn Estuary and the Bristol Channel and also from the north, by people emanating from the midlands and the east of Britain. The challenge posed to Lloyd's analysis was underlined by the fact that she acknowledged an indebtedness to her husband's work and noted that but for his illness the article would have been published under both their names.⁷⁵ Lloyd was confronted by a situation in which his analysis of the Silures lay counter to the views of one of the leading archaeologists of his day. The following year an even more serious challenge emerged.

The June 1937 issue of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* contained an important contribution by Lily F. Chitty, in which she considered how a particular group of hill-fort builders had reached the Breiddin.⁷⁶ The builders in question were those who had introduced a

⁷⁰ See e.g. op cit Cunliffe B. 1991. See chapters 7 & 8 For a brief discussion of the theoretical assumptions underpinning Cunliffe's work see, Haselgrove C. & Moore T., 'New narratives of the Later Iron Age' in Haselgrove C. & Moore T., (eds.) *The Later Iron Age in Britain and beyond* (Oxbow Books, Oxford 2007) pp. 1-15. See in particular pp. 1-2

⁷¹ Op cit Peate I. C. in *Antiquity*, 1932, vol. 6 pp.156-60

⁷² Op cit Lloyd J. E. & Jenkins R.T. (eds) 1959 pp.844-5 **Rhys, Sir John**

⁷³ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911. See p.38

⁷⁴ Fox A., 'The dual colonisation of east Glamorgan in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, vol. 91, 1936 pp. 100-17.

⁷⁵ Ibid p.113

⁷⁶ Chitty L.F. 'How did the hill-fort builders reach the Breiddin?' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 92 no.1 1937 pp.129-150. See also Grimes W.F., 'Lily Frances Chitty' in Lynch F. & Burgess C., *Prehistoric man in Wales and the west, essays in honour of Lily F. Chitty* (Adams & Dart, Bath 1972) pp.1-3. Chitty's analysis was also summarised in O'Neil B.H. St. J., 'Excavations at Breiddin Hill Camp, Montgomeryshire, 1933-5' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1937, vol. 92 pp.86-128. See in particular p. 95

particular form of hill-fort entrance, namely the inturned entrance to the hill-forts of Wales and the Marches. Tentatively, she traced their advance from a point of departure on the Severn estuary, up the Wye and Severn valleys into what Lloyd would have regarded as the heartlands of Ordovician territory. That challenged Lloyd's analysis of the Ordovices as a Brythonic tribe which had advanced into mid-Wales from the east. By contrast to the path identified by Lloyd, Chitty identified an earlier path from the south.

By 1937, the problem for Lloyd was that whilst analysis of the Aylesford and then the Swarling burials advanced the dating of the Belgic incursions, Lilly Chitty's work introduced an entirely different angle of attack. On the basis of archaeological evidence, she was arguing that there had been a pre-Belgic incursion up the Severn and the Wye valleys into the midlands of Britain by a military elite belonging to the Early Iron Age.⁷⁷

Lloyd appears to have refrained from formally acknowledged the existence of that challenge, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that he was fully aware of it. In 1937, he was president of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, publisher of *Archaeologia Cambrensis*. Moreover, the address he delivered to the annual meeting seems to betray a profound awareness of the new threat that had recently emerged to his work.

In August of that year the annual meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association was held at Bangor. Lloyd's presidential address focused on an overview of the historical development of the Bangor area.⁷⁸ He proceeded from the work of Cyril Fox, *The Personality of Britain*, focusing on the environmental factors which had influenced the human habitation of Anglesey and Arfon, thus casting his earlier Aryan racism into the background. In addressing that learned audience, Lloyd was at pains to avoid being drawn into a discussion of the prehistoric aspect which had previously been integral to his work.

I must leave the story of prehistoric developments to others more learned in these mysteries, confident that whatever they may choose to say will in a short space of time have to be radically recast. Such are the troubles of a science no longer in its infancy, but assuredly as yet in the difficult period of adolescence. For the pure historian, the tale begins with the attack of Suetonius Paulinus upon Anglesey in 61 A.D.⁷⁹

His declaration of the difficulties of composing a satisfactory account of the pre-Roman context betrayed the fact that not only had he lost confidence in his own account of that period but also that he was not prepared to engage in debate in relation to that epoch. Accordingly, he assumed the position of the 'pure historian', for whom the primary sources did not permit consideration of the period prior to 61 A.D. Presumably, by this time, Lloyd regarded himself as a 'pure historian'.

⁷⁷ Op cit Chitty L.F. in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 92 1937 pp.129-150. See e.g. pp.32-3

⁷⁸ See Lloyd J.E., 'Presidential Address' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1937, vol. 92 no.2 pp.193-207.

⁷⁹ Ibid p.196

Lloyd's earlier work had assumed that a social continuum existed from the pre-Roman to the post Roman context.⁸⁰ By August 1937, Lloyd was in effect abandoning that concept and the defence of that concept. He was, temporarily, limiting the period of history on which he was prepared to pronounce to the period after 61 A.D. That self-constraining ordinance, it should be observed, followed shortly after the publication of Lily F. Chitty's article.⁸¹ Moreover, his address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association contained only a cursory reference to the Welsh tribes and made no attempt to identify them by name. The conclusions he drew as to their fate during the Roman era were also far less substantive than those contained in the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*.

Neither the classical writers nor the surviving inscriptions of the Roman period tell us anything of the life led by the natives of Wales during the three centuries of foreign rule. But the survival of Welsh – the Brythonic form of Celtic speech – points unmistakably to the persistence during these ages of a native culture submerged under the tide of invasion, but never clean wiped out. ... (T)he Romanization of Wales was never complete. It left roots, out of which new life could spring – a new Celtic culture, bearing very obvious marks of contact with Rome, but in essence independent.⁸²

By August 1937 not only was Lloyd most reluctant to allow himself to be engaged in debate regarding the pre-Roman context but he was also reticent to offer a view regarding the nature of the Roman occupation of Wales. Given such an approach, it is difficult to see how he could offer a coherent account of what emerged in the post Imperial context. As many aspects of his thesis could no longer be sustained, in due course he recognised that remedial action was needed.

The publication of the third edition of his *A History of Wales* in 1939 revealed that Lloyd, whilst retaining the first three chapters of his work, had effectively replaced them with a new introduction dealing with the prehistoric and Roman background.⁸³ Through his new introductory chapter Lloyd sought to divert his audience from the major theoretical flaw which characterised the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*, namely the Aryan racism which had informed his work. However, rather than addressing that issue head on, he focused on a side issue, namely the challenge posed to his work by advances in prehistoric archaeology and Roman archaeology.

Twenty-five years have seen the science of prehistoric archæology grow out of all knowledge and the excavation of Roman sites in Wales carried on with a zeal and systematic enterprise which have yielded most valuable results. Mere revision of the earlier chapters of the History would not have sufficed ; it would have been

⁸⁰ Op cit Williams E.W. in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44. See in particular pp.40-1

⁸¹ Op cit Chitty L.F. in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 92 1937 pp.129-150

⁸² Ibid pp.198-9

⁸³ Op cit Lloyd J. E., *A history of Wales* (London, 1939) 3rd ed. See 'Preface to the third edition' and 'Introduction' pp. xxix-lvi

necessary to re-write them. And had this been attempted on the same scale as in the first two editions, much delay would have followed and something produced which the advance of knowledge would soon have again rendered obsolete.⁸⁴

He presented his new introduction as constituting an updating of his earlier work. Moreover, the manner in which he rationalised the role to be fulfilled by it is of significance, for he saw his new introduction as amounting to only a temporary updating of the analysis which would soon itself be superseded. In effect he was urging his readers not to scrutinise his latest work too closely, as it would soon be out of date. That can be interpreted as in part, an attempt to legitimise the deeply inadequate acknowledgment of sources which characterised that introduction. This is quoted below, as set out by Lloyd.

(In these pages, extensive use has been made of *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, by R. E. M. Wheeler (Oxford 1925), *The Personality of Britain*, by Sir Cyril Fox (Cardiff, 1938), *Roman Britain*, by R. G. Collingwood, in the Oxford History of England (1937), and recent articles in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* and similar publications.)⁸⁵

By adopting that approach, Lloyd was depriving his readers of the opportunity to consider not only the nature of the arguments he was responding to, but also the breadth of the challenge which was emerging to his account of Welsh history. Moreover, whilst purportedly harnessing recent work to update his earlier account, Lloyd pursued a quite different strategy. He sought to establish new theoretical foundations for his work whilst presenting an unannounced response to the earlier articles by Iorwerth. C. Peate, Lily F. Chitty and Aileen Fox and probably other as yet unidentified authors.

Initially he demoted the Aryan racism which had informed his earlier work and in the course of his analysis constructed an alternative theoretical framework. As in his earlier address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association, he harnessed the structure of Cyril Fox's *The Personality of Britain* to provide an overarching framework for his new approach.

In composing his work, Fox had not focused specifically on human society but rather on the constraints and possibilities imposed upon successive civilisations by the environment of Britain. As director of the National Museum of Wales, his outlook was specifically focused on those aspects which he regarded as impinging on the Highland Zone, of which Wales was a part. Fox saw his work as providing

... a convenient summary of a variety of influences, internal and external, which helped to mould the successive cultures of the Highland Zone ...⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Ibid 3rd ed. See 'Preface to the third edition' pp. v-vi

⁸⁵ Ibid 3rd ed. p. lvi

⁸⁶ Fox C., *The Personality of Britain* (National Museum of Wales and the Press Board of the University of Wales, Cardiff 1932) See Preface.

Fox's analysis did not in itself provide an alternative to the Aryan racism which Lloyd was down-playing but it did provide a framework within which a rudimentary alternative could be fashioned. The shift which was underway in Lloyd's approach can be illustrated by contrasting the manner in which he introduced his analysis in 1911 and 1912, as compared to 1939. The first and second editions of his *A History of Wales* had opened on a racial note.

The region now known as Wales was inhabited by man in the earliest period during which science has clearly shown him to have dwelt in the British Isles. In the Pleistocene Age of geology, ... a rude race of hunters and fishers is proved by the discovery of its implements...⁸⁷

By contrast in the opening sentence of the new 1939 introduction, Lloyd latched on to the framework offered by Fox.

In the story of the island of Great Britain, it has become customary to distinguish between the Lowland and the Highland Zone, between the comparatively level tract, ... which faces the Continent ... and the mass of high ground which intervenes between this and Ireland.⁸⁸

Having introduced a new non-social overarching framework for his analysis, Lloyd was then in a position to distance himself from his earlier Aryan racism. Whereas his previous analysis had assumed a clear line of demarcation between initial Goidelic and a subsequent Brythonic incursions, he now acknowledged that analysis to be problematic.

... Another unsolved problem is the historical relation of Goidelic and Brythonic. It has been natural to treat the former as the older branch and to assume that those whose language it was came to Britain in the first instance, were edged out by the Brythons and thereupon colonised Ireland. With such scanty material as was available, Rhys sought to trace in Wales aboriginal Goidels, who ultimately gave way to Brythonic tribes, including the Ordovices of Mid-Wales. All such views may now be regarded as in the melting pot. ... All that is beyond dispute is that, when from the geographer Ptolemy and the "Antonine" Itinerary we derive our first knowledge of the place names of Wales and the borders they are found to contain Celtic elements of the Gaulish and Brythonic type.⁸⁹

Lloyd's earlier view of the dynamic leading to the formation of the Welsh nation had assumed that the Ordovices had survived as a pure Aryan tribe until the end of Roman rule. Now the whole issue of the purported relationship between Goidel and Brython was being acknowledged to be uncertain.

⁸⁷ Op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 1st ed. p.1

⁸⁸ Op cit Lloyd J. E., 1939 3rd ed. p. xxix

⁸⁹ Ibid 3rd ed. p. xxxviii.

Lloyd's earlier analysis had also been predicated on pre-Roman Britain being composed of two distinct peoples. In the first edition of his *A History of Wales*, Lloyd had drawn upon the work of Julius Caesar to depict a deep line of social demarcation between an earlier Iberian and Goidelic population and their Brythonic conquerors.

Behind this prosperous Brythonic foreground, Cæsar reveals to us, in dim and shadowy tints, a background of savage life of which, in all probability, he knew nothing from actual observation. "The men of the interior," he says (distinguishing them from those of the coastwise lands), "for the most part sow no corn, but live on milk and flesh and clothe themselves in skins." They are, in short, a pastoral and not an agricultural people, alike in their food, their clothing and their habits. Thus is briefly described the condition at this epoch of the older inhabitants of Britain ...⁹⁰

In the first and second editions of his work Lloyd had viewed the earlier less advanced Iberian and Goedelic population as having been confronted by a more advanced Iron Age people, the Brythons. They were seen as relentlessly driving the earlier inhabitants from their contemporary homelands towards the west, thereby establishing a Brythonic supremacy over parts of pre-Roman Britain.⁹¹ In 1939 he found it necessary to abandon the interpretation offered by Julius Caesar.

Archaeology, for instance, does not support his [i.e. Caesar's] statement that the men of the interior for the most part sowed no corn, but lived on milk and flesh and were clothed in skins.⁹²

Moreover, whereas previously he had viewed the Brythonic invasions as occurring from around 250 B.C.,⁹³ having abandoned Aryan racism he now presented a different scenario in which he referred to the Celtic rather than the Brythonic invasions of Britain, an aspect the linguistic implications of which he regarded as being ambiguous.

The tendency, in fact, is nowadays to bring the Celtic invasion of Britain down into the Late Bronze Age and to place it at no very great interval from the Belgic irruptions from the Continent which Cæsar records as having occurred within recent memory. What languages they displaced and what were their affinities are matters of sheer conjecture.⁹⁴

Whereas earlier he had conceived of the initial Goidelic invasion of Britain as occurring from around 1,200 B.C.⁹⁵ he now viewed that process as having occurred in a much more recent context. In the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*, Lloyd had also

⁹⁰ Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1911 1st ed. p.36

⁹¹ Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1884 pp. 341-408. See pp.359 & 362

⁹² Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1939 3rd ed. p. xxxix

⁹³ Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1911. See p.30

⁹⁴ Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1939 3rd ed. pp. xxxvii-xxxviii

⁹⁵ Op cit Lloyd J.E. 1911 1st ed. p.18

identified the Belgic incursions of the immediate pre-Roman era as the earliest Brythonic movements into Britain.

It is most probable that the use of iron was introduced into Britain by the Brythonic invader, and that the beginning of the British Iron Age thus coincides with the era of the Brythonic settlement...

Two other evidences there are of the progress in civilisation which the race had achieved at the time of its settlement in our island – its mastery of horsemanship and charioteering and its possession of a coinage.⁹⁶

By 1939 he acknowledged that the processes he was considering had occurred over a far longer timescale.

The introduction into Britain of iron and of other culture elements associated with the use of that metal is dated about 600-500 B.C.⁹⁷

That adjustment to Lloyd's historical perspective was of fundamental importance, for without highlighting its significance, he was recasting the whole timescale and rationale of what he had previously regarded as the Brythonic transformation of Britain. Whereas previously he had envisaged a process which had begun around 250 B.C., he was now acknowledging a process which had been initiated up to 350 years earlier. It created a further difficulty for Lloyd, for an explanation was needed as to what had occurred in the intervening period. The problem for Lloyd was that Lily Chitty had already begun to fill the void with evidence of developments which were deeply challenging to his narrative.

Chitty had tentatively traced the advance of elements who had introduced the inturned entrance to the hill-forts which lay up the Wye and Severn valleys, into what Lloyd regarded as the heartlands of Ordovician territory. Moreover, she was explicit in her view that the advance of the Belgic invaders had been prevented from reaching the western Midlands by the Dobunni of the Cotswolds.⁹⁸ That posed a major challenge to Lloyd's analysis, for it indicated that what he had regarded as one Brythonic movement was in fact a far more complex phenomenon constituted of a number of different incursions which had occurred at different times. With Lloyd having identified the Cornovii and the Ordovices as members of his chosen racial group, Lily Chitty was arguing that the advance of the Belgic forces had been blocked before they ever reached the west Midlands. That deprived Lloyd of the Brythonic tribes whom he had identified as the founders of the Welsh nation.

It was the extent of the challenge posed by Chitty's work which seemingly led Lloyd to announce in his presidential address to the Cambrian Archaeological Association what proved to be his temporary abandonment of consideration of pre-history. By 1939 however, he had regained his poise and as a consequence the new introduction to his *A*

⁹⁶ Op cit Lloyd J E 1911. See pp.33-4

⁹⁷ Op cit Lloyd J E. 1939 3rd ed. pp. xxxv-xxxvi

⁹⁸ Op cit Chitty L.F. in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 92 1937 pp.129-150. See in particular pp.136 & 140

History of Wales contained a lengthy paragraph which appears to be a direct but unannounced response to the pioneering work of Lily Chitty. Referring to the intrusion of new elements bearing the iron age, he stated.

As usual, the Lowland Zone of the physical geographers was first occupied ; Wales was little influenced, save by intruders here and there in her coastal districts, until the third or second century B.C. ... The construction of earthen (or stone) ramparted hillforts or camps is the chief feature of the period, and these are widespread in the country ; but close examination shows that their builders occupied the eastern borders, the sea plains and the flanks of the greater river valleys, rather than the mountain complex and, ... it is likely that the majority are not earlier than the last century of independence. The almost complete absence from Welsh sites of such typical Iron Age relics as coins and currency bars serving the same purpose shows that the cultural penetration, as contrasted with the military, lacked depth and force.⁹⁹

With regard to both earthen or stone ramparted hillforts, Lloyd dismissed the challenge to his analysis posed by Chitty's article. Were the analysis to be limited to the Welsh Marches and if his dating of those forts is ignored, then there is some substance to Lloyd's position. S. C. Stanford, in a study of hill-forts in Herefordshire and Shropshire published in 1972, identified an incursion of a La Tène population up the Severn and the Wye, which on the basis of radiocarbon analysis was dated to c.390 B.C. In keeping with Lloyd's earlier claims, Stanford noted that only three of the sites associated with that incursion were located in Wales. They were Burfa Camp in Radnorshire together with The Breiddin and Llanymynech in Montgomeryshire.¹⁰⁰

Nevertheless, in a further paper, Stanford regarded the above movement as one of two early incursions which had a massive impact on an area of Wales extending from the Wye estuary in the south to the Dee estuary in the north and across to Pen Dinas hillfort on the Ystwyth estuary to the west.¹⁰¹ If the stone walled forts of the west were also included, then Lloyd's argument would have to be regarded as being completely misplaced. It appears that through her article Lily Chitty had identified the route of one of the key Celtic migrations of history and it was quite inappropriate of Lloyd to dismiss her work in the manner that he did.

Lloyd also responded to the challenge posed by the work of Aileen Fox. In the first edition of his *History of Wales* he had depicted the Silures as an Iberian people located in an isolated position to the north of the Severn Sea.¹⁰² In the new introduction, Lloyd saw the land of the Silures as being particularly open to external influences from across the Bristol Channel and at last he recognised the Silures as an Iron Age people,¹⁰³ an aspect

⁹⁹ Op cit Lloyd J E. 1939 3rd ed. pp. xxxv-xxxvi

¹⁰⁰ Stanford S. C., 'The function and population of hill-forts in the central Marches' in op cit Lynch F. & Burgess C. 1972 pp.307-19. See in particular pp.308 & 318

¹⁰¹ Stanford S. C. 'Welsh border hill-forts' in Thomas C. (ed.), *The Iron Age in the Irish Sea province* (C.B.A. Research Report 9, 1972) pp.25-36 See in particular pp.33-5

¹⁰² Op cit Lloyd J E, 1911, 1st ed, pp. 37-8.

¹⁰³ Op cit Lloyd J E, 1939, 3rd ed, pp. xxxvi.

which fully accords with the modern archaeological perspective.¹⁰⁴ As with his response to the work of Lily Chitty, once more Lloyd failed to acknowledge that he was responding to the work of another author.

Lloyd's analysis was also under pressure with regard to the Roman evidence, and yet again he adopted a deeply disreputable strategy. He sought to defend his former view by seeking refuge in an article by Francis Haverfield published in 1901 whilst ignoring the subsequent work of that same author. In depicting the purported military character of the Roman presence in Wales, he stated.

The troops were concentrated in those parts of the province which lay open to barbarian invasion; one legion at York ... one at Chester and one at Caerleon, with other auxiliary troops, kept a watch upon the turbulent tribes of the West. Meanwhile, to quote Haverfield, "the Midlands and the South-east of Britain were almost as empty of soldiery as Italy itself. They contained a peaceful population which was not unacquainted with Roman speech and culture."¹⁰⁵

By quoting an article by Haverfield published in 1901, Lloyd was able to sustain his contrast between a militarised Wales and a south-east of Britain under civilian control. However, in a subsequent article published in 1906 Haverfield had viewed the civil zone of Roman Britannia as having been extended by the Roman Governor, Agricola, to include the lands of the Silures.

It is fairly certain that the whole lowland area, as far west as Exeter and Shrewsbury, and as far north as the Humber, was conquered before Claudius died, and Romanisation may have commenced at once. Thirty years later Agricola, ... openly encouraged the process. ... Certainly it is just at this period (about 80-85 A.D.) that towns like Silchester, Bath, Caerwent (Venta Silurum), seem to take shape, and civil judges (legati iuridici) were appointed, presumably to administer the justice more frequently required by the advancing civilization.¹⁰⁶

Lloyd should have quoted from the latter article, but it was not in his interest to do so, for it included Venta Silurum within the Roman civil zone and thus contradicted the account he wished to present of the Roman occupation of Wales. Despite the fact that he claimed to be updating his earlier work, Lloyd shunned an article published in 1906 in order to quote from an earlier article published in 1901.

Similarly Lloyd ignored the mounting evidence that Carmarthen had been the civitas capital of the Demetae. Haverfield had pointed to that possibility in his *Military Aspects*

¹⁰⁴ For a history of the Silures see Howell R, *Searching for the Silures, an Iron Age tribe in south-east Wales* (Tempus, Stroud 2006)

¹⁰⁵ Ibid p. xliii. His quotation from Haverfield is from Haverfield F., 'The Roman army in Britain', in Traill H.D. & Man J.S. (eds.) *Social England*, vol. 1 (Cassell, London 1901) Illustrated edition pp.76-106. See p.83

¹⁰⁶ Haverfield F.J., 'The Romanization of Roman Britain', in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol.2 1906 pp.185-217. See p.208

of *Roman Wales*¹⁰⁷ published in 1910, with that view subsequently being supported and strengthened in the Royal Commission volume on the County of Carmarthen, published in 1917.¹⁰⁸

Lloyd could not address the issue of the Romanisation of Wales on the basis of evidence, for doing so would have betrayed the fact that the weaknesses in his *A History of Wales* extended to his treatment of the Roman Conquest. That would have been disastrous to the credibility of his whole work. Once more Lloyd was prepared to hamper the development of Welsh history in order to sustain his own thesis. In 1939 Lloyd rejected any fundamental amendment to the distorted view of the Roman conquest presented in his earlier work.¹⁰⁹ Rather he was engaged in a desperate attempt to blunt the major challenges which had emerged to his analysis and to salvage his own thesis as best he could.

Following his surprise abnegation of interest in pre-history at the annual meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association in August 1937, it appears that Lloyd was seeking refuge from mainstream archaeology and history. The location of that refuge was revealed at the National Eisteddfod of August 1938, for there he advocated the composition of a new Welsh Dictionary of Biography, with R.T.Jenkins being named as its editor.¹¹⁰

The broader issue concerns the extent to which his work subsequently retained its credibility amongst Welsh historians. It is worthy of note that the key early challenges to his analysis emerged from outside that discipline, from within the ranks of the anthropologists and archaeologists. After 1939, the difficulties at the heart of Lloyd's work were recognised by some Welsh historians. In an obituary published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* in 1947, Robert Richards, former professor of economics at Bangor, medieval historian and then Labour M.P. for Wrexham, praised Lloyd's contribution to the development of Welsh history up to 1282, but also noted the limitations of his work.

It would be idle to pretend that Lloyd has shown equal mastery over the whole of this extensive field, and in the re-issue of the work which was called for after a lapse of some 30 years he confesses to the difficulty he experienced in keeping abreast of the latest discoveries in the field of archaeology. This is a field in which the spade is mightier than the pen, and a chance discovery may easily overthrow

¹⁰⁷ Haverfield F., *Military aspects of Roman Wales* (Cymmrodorion, London 1910) p.109

¹⁰⁸ *An Inventory of the ancient monuments of Wales and Monmouthshire. Vol. 5, County of Carmarthen* (H.M.S.O., London 1917) See Item 726 pp.248-9.

¹⁰⁹ Op cit Williams E.W. in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44. See in particular pp. 34-40

¹¹⁰ See e.g. *Manchester Guardian* 2 August 1938 p.14 'A Dictionary of Biography: New Welsh project, Sir John E. Lloyd's advocacy'. Lloyd's interest in this field was not new for in the period to 1900, he had contributed 126 entries to the Dictionary of National Biography. See Fenwick G., *The contributors index to the Dictionary of National Biography* (St Paul's Biographies, Winchester 1989) p. xxxiii, & op cit Pryce H. 2011 pp.57-8

half a century of research. Much the same considerations apply to the Roman period.¹¹¹

For Richards, the difficulties experienced by Lloyd in 1939 in relation to the early chapters to his work, was a significant blemish on his record. For others it appears that his reputation survived largely intact. In a lecture titled *Of Welsh Nationality and Historians* broadcast by the B.B.C. in January 1951, J. F. Rees played down the problems inherent in Lloyd's work.

It contained the results of many years of work on the original authorities and so cleared away many errors and misconceptions. More recent work, particularly in archaeology, may require some revision of the early chapters, but the main structure stands and is likely to stand.¹¹²

In keeping with the argument presented by Lloyd in the preface to the third edition of his work, both Richards and Rees saw the key problem with Lloyd's work as emanating from discoveries in the field of archaeology, rather than from the Aryan racism which had informed his analysis and his associated denial of the full impact of the Roman conquest on Wales. As time lapsed the deep flaws in Lloyd's work receded further into the background.

In an address to the Cymmrodorion at the Rhyl National Eisteddfod of 1953, J. Goronwy Edwards focused on Welsh historiography during the twentieth century. In the course of his address he focused on Lloyd's contribution, both in terms of his work and the impact it had had on the discipline. With regard to the publication in 1911 of his *A History of Wales*, he stated:

Hyd heddiw, dyma'r llyfr unigol mwyaf ar hanes Cymru, a buasai cyhoeddi hwn yn ddigon, ar ei ben ei hun, i wneud yr ugeinfed ganrif yn hynod mewn hanesyddiaeth Gymreig.¹¹³

Until today, this is the single most important book on Welsh history, and the publication of this in itself, would be sufficient to render the twentieth century unique in Welsh historiography.

What is remarkable is that in praising Lloyd's work, Edwards offered no qualifying comments regarding the third edition of 1939. By 1953 Lloyd's own admissions of the inadequacies of the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales* no longer registered in the mind of J Goronwy Edwards, a leading historian of his time. Not only had Edwards failed to penetrate beyond Lloyd's own admissions, but even those

¹¹¹ Richards R. 'Obituary. Sir John Edward Lloyd' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1946-7, vol. 99 pp.302-3

¹¹² Rees J. F., *Of Welsh nationality and historians*, B.B.C. Welsh Home Service, Annual Lecture, 2 January 1951. (B.B.C., London 1951) see p.19

¹¹³ Edwards J.G., 'Hanesyddiaeth Gymreig yn yr ugeinfed ganrif', in *The Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, 1953 pp. 21-31. See in particular p. 24. See also Edwards J.G., 'Sir John Edward Lloyd 1861-1947' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1955 vol. 41 pp.318-27

admissions had been forgotten. Edwards proceeded to consider the impact Lloyd's work had had on Welsh history as a discipline.

... (I) raddau helaeth, y llyfr hwn a benderfynodd gyfeiriad hanesyddiaeth Gymreig dros y deugain mlynedd er pan gyhoeddwyd ef. Wedi cael y llyfr hwn yn sylfaen ac yn safon, y duedd naturiol oedd troi yn enwedig at y cyfnodau y tu allan i'w derfynau, hynny ydyw, y cyfnodau diweddarach, y cyfnodau ar ôl cwmp Llywelyn.¹¹⁴

... to a great extent, this book determined the direction of Welsh historiography over the forty years since it was published. Having had this book as a foundation and standard, the natural tendency was to turn in particular to the periods beyond its boundaries, that is, the later periods, the periods after the fall of Llywelyn.

Transformed into the terminology of a later age, it seems clear that for Welsh History, Lloyd's pre-1939 contributions had been established as its paradigm. That did not imply that Lloyd's work was valid. Rather it implied that the discipline had quite correctly judged that Lloyd's *A History of Wales* was more successful than other major historical works in defining the nature of the history of Wales. As a consequence Welsh historians were not particularly interested in the flaws either implicit or explicit, revealed in his introduction to the third edition. Rather they were primarily focused on extending the scope of Lloyd's work into the post 1282 context. In the case of the natural sciences, such a scenario was referred to by Thomas Kuhn as the practice of 'normal science'.¹¹⁵ Within the field of Welsh History, it seems clear that Lloyd's, *A History of Wales* had from its initial publication in 1911 been adopted as the discipline's paradigm and had laid the basis for normal Welsh history.

With Lloyd having established an accepted perspective on the history of the period prior to 1283, what can be referred to as normal Welsh History tended to focus on research into subsequent periods. In such a context, for Welsh historians, consideration of the tribal structure of pre-Roman Wales was unlikely to be a key topic of interest for their focus lay elsewhere. As a consequence, the early history of Wales became primarily the concern of Welsh archaeologists. As a consequence it was as a result of developments within the archaeological field that interest in the tribal structure of pre-Roman Wales ultimately emerged anew.

J. E. Lloyd and the Welsh archaeological perspective.

In 1920 R.E.Mortimer Wheeler was appointed Keeper of Archaeology at the National Museum of Wales and lecturer in archaeology at the University College of South Wales

¹¹⁴ Ibid p.27

¹¹⁵ See Kuhn T. S., *The structure of scientific revolutions* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1970) See in particular ch. 3 pp. 23-42

and Monmouthshire, Cardiff.¹¹⁶ In 1924 he was appointed director of the National Museum of Wales and in 1925 his *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* was published.¹¹⁷

In assuming his responsibilities within Wales, Wheeler was entering a field within which considerable academic endeavour had already been invested in the interpretation of its archaeological remains. The first volume of *Archaeologia Cambrensis* had been published in January 1846, with the Cambrian Archaeological Association being established in 1847.¹¹⁸ It was also a field to which Francis Haverfield, the figure usually regarded as the founder of British archaeology,¹¹⁹ had made a noteworthy contribution. Haverfield had proceeded from consideration of the Roman conquest of southern Britain rather than from a specifically Welsh perspective, but his work encompassed the Welsh dimension and his endeavours resulted in 1910 in the publication of an important lecture titled *Military Aspects of Roman Wales*.¹²⁰ As has already been noted, Haverfield's work had provided a framework which Lloyd had drawn upon in composing his *A History of Wales*.¹²¹ Given that Haverfield proceeded from very different assumptions to those of Lloyd, the foundations of his work need to be considered, for they offered an alternative underpinning for the development of Welsh archaeology.

Central to Haverfield's analysis of the Roman Empire was the distinction between military and civil areas. Haverfield recognised that the Roman Empire had developed a framework of local government based upon *civitates*.¹²² It was a system which granted considerable local control to its citizens but also contributed to their Romanisation: by contrast there also existed territories which were subject to military control.

In 1901 Haverfield believed that within much of the territory of Britannia, the social context had not permitted the civilian form of self-government to be established. Rather in areas beyond the midlands and the south-east of Britain, he believed that the Roman army had remained in control, with Wales being located within that military zone.¹²³

In 1903, the discovery at Caerwent of a rectangular pedestal erected in honour of a commander of the Second Legion at Caerleon, by decree of the council of *Civitas Silurum*, significantly amended that picture.¹²⁴ In an article published in *The Athenæum* in September 1903, Haverfield highlighted the importance of that discovery, for it implied

¹¹⁶ Op cit Matthew H. C. G. & Harrison B. (eds.) 2004 vol. 58 pp.436-8 **Wheeler, Sir (Robert Eric) Mortimer**

¹¹⁷ Wheeler R. E. M., *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1925)

¹¹⁸ See Lloyd J. E., 'Introduction' in Nash-Williams V.E., *A hundred years of Welsh archaeology* (Gloucester, Cambrian Archaeological Association 1946) pp. 11-23. See in particular p.11

¹¹⁹ Op cit Matthew H. C. G. & Harrison B. (eds.), 2004, vol. 25 pp. 856-7 – **Haverfield, Francis John**

¹²⁰ Haverfield F., *Military aspects of Roman Wales* (Cymmrodorion, London 1910)

¹²¹ Op cit Williams E.W. in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44. See in particular pp. 34-40

¹²² Haverfield F, 'The Roman World', in Hogarth D G (ed) *Authority and archaeology* (John Murray, London, 1899) pp. 296-331

¹²³ Op cit Haverfield F, in Traill H D & Man J S (eds) 1901 pp. 76-106 See in particular p. 83.

¹²⁴ Collingwood R G & Wright R P (eds.), *The Roman inscriptions of Britain*. vol 1, *Inscriptions in stone* (Clarendon Press, Oxford 1965) p. 107, **monument 311**.

that the civilian form of self-government had been established within the territory of the Silures.

A Roman inscription was found at Caerwent six months ago, which has not, I think, received the notice it deserves. ... The monument was erected by the Community of the Silures, in accordance with a decree of the authorities thereof. This latter fact throws a real light on the local administration of Roman Britain.

The unit of Roman as of Greek life was, in respect of space, the town. ... Our new inscription shows that the same system obtained in Britain. This canton of the Silures is just like any Gaulish *civitas*. It has a council of rulers or magistrates (*ordo*), and through the agency of this body it is able to erect in its chief town – Venta Silurum – a monument to a Roman officer who had at some time, perhaps, befriended it.

We possessed indications previous to the discovery of this monument that the cantonal system was used in Roman Britain. We had references to a “*civis Cantius*” a “*civitas Catuvellaunorum*” and the like. But the new inscription has added largely to the certainty and definiteness of our knowledge. It is a discovery of real importance for the history of Roman Britain.¹²⁵

After the discovery of the inscription at Caerwent in 1903, there could be no doubt that the civil form of Roman government had been established within the territory of the Silures. As a consequence there was no justification for regarding all of Wales as having been located within the Roman military zone. Whilst it must be acknowledged that Francis Haverfield never fully articulated the significance of that discovery at Caerwent, it is also apparent that J. E. Lloyd set out to minimise its significance,¹²⁶ arguing that most of the territory of the Silures had remained under military rule. Lloyd regarded the *civitas* capital, Caerwent, as merely a small enclave within the tribal territory. Referring to the legionary base at Caerleon, Lloyd stated:

West and north of Caerleon, ... the military necessities to which it owed its existence had everywhere to be recognised, to all but absolute exclusion of Roman civil life. It was only necessary to travel a few miles eastwards to enter a different atmosphere. Caerwent, it may be inferred from its name of Venta Silurum, was a tribal centre before it fell under Roman sway; its ruins have hitherto furnished no evidence of a garrison in the Roman period, but, so far as they have been excavated, suggest that it retained its importance as a place of peaceful resort and habitation, where luxury was not unknown.¹²⁷

Despite the fact that Venta Silurum would have possessed authority over the whole of Silurian territory, in order to limit the impact of the new discovery on his analysis, Lloyd

¹²⁵ Haverfield F, ‘A Roman inscription at Caerwent’, in *The Athenæum*, 26 Sept 1903 p. 420.

¹²⁶ Op. cit. Williams E.W. in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44. See in particular pp. 34-40

¹²⁷ Op cit Lloyd J E, 1911, 1st ed, p. 80

adopted a stratagem of regarding only the territory in the immediate vicinity of Caerwent as belonging to the civil zone whilst viewing the remaining territory as belonging to the military zone. It is evident that Lloyd had no evidence to support such a view. Had such claims been made in relation to the other *civitates* of Britannia they would have been rejected.¹²⁸

As noted earlier, Lloyd sustained that position not only in the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*, but also in the new introduction to the third edition. That was fully in keeping with his approach to the broader Roman archaeological remains of Wales. In relation to Carmarthen, he was most reticent to consider the possibilities.¹²⁹

With regard to the situation within Gwynedd, Lloyd's difficulties were compounded, for his distorted interpretation of Penmachno monument 103 that had enabled him to sustain his analysis of the tribes of Wales. When the nature of that inscription is considered in its entirety, the extent to which it challenged his analysis is underlined.

CANTIORI(x) HIC IACIT [V]ENEDOTIS CIVE(s) FVIT [C]ONSOBRINO(s)
MA[G]LI MAGISTRAT

Cantiorix lies here. He was a citizen of Venedos (and) cousin of Maglos the Magistrate.¹³⁰

Given that Cantiorix was identified as a citizen of Venedos and as being related to Maglos the magistrate, the inscription pointed very directly to the existence of a *Civitas Venedotis*. Lloyd was aware of the existence of the inscription, for he had referred to it in his analysis of the tribal structure. Despite that, in his chapter on Wales under Roman rule, Lloyd overcame the considerable difficulties it posed to his analysis by ignoring it completely.¹³¹

The discovery of the Caerwent inscription early in 1903 was a pivotal point in the interpretation of Welsh history. On the one hand the rationale of the new evidence together with the analysis offered by Haverfield could have led to a recognition that Wales had been assimilated into the Roman system. Lloyd however opted to entrench his own long-held position. As a consequence a very different concept of Wales as a land which had not been integrated into the Roman Empire became established within Welsh History.

On assuming his responsibilities in Wales, Mortimer Wheeler had an opportunity to revisit that whole issue. By following the rationale of the earlier work of Francis Haverfield, as an archaeologist, Wheeler was in a position to correct the fallacies which

¹²⁸ The issues in question were aired in an interesting debate in the late 1950s and early 1960s. See review by Frere S., 'Town and country in Roman Britain' in *Antiquity* 1959 vol.33 pp.67-8 and the response by Mann J.C., 'Civitas, another myth' in *Antiquity* 1960 vol.34 pp.222-3. Mann's response led to a further lengthy contribution by Frere. See Frere S., 'Civitas – a myth?' in *Antiquity* 1961, vol.35 pp.29-36

¹²⁹ Op cit Lloyd J. E., 1911, 1st ed, pp. 74-5

¹³⁰ Op cit Nash-Williams V. E. 1950 See p. 92 **Monument 103 Penmachno**

¹³¹ Op cit Lloyd J. E., 1911, 1st ed, pp. 65-70

Lloyd had built into the analysis of Welsh history. That was not to be. In his *Prehistoric and Roman Wales* published in 1925,¹³² Wheeler opted to develop the flawed perspective offered by Lloyd rather than the one advanced by Haverfield.

Wheeler's volume was also disappointing from an historical perspective. Given the nature of the topic, the limited attention devoted to the pre-Roman tribes is quite remarkable. The index to his volume contained but three references to the Silures and two references to the Ordovices, with the Demetae, the Cornovii and the Dobunni passing unmentioned. Whilst Wheeler's work was abundant in its consideration of archaeological remains, it contained a yawning gap in relating those aspects to such social structures as the territory of the pre-Roman tribes. That points to the difficulty of relating archaeological artefacts to major aspects of social structure.

It seems reasonably clear that in composing his *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, Wheeler's approach to overcoming that difficulty was to adopt historical orthodoxy as a framework for much of his analysis. Accordingly in 1925, Lloyd's work secured a new platform. From subsequent comments it is clear that Lloyd was aware of the manner in which history could harness archaeology and the potential dependence of archaeology on history. It was an aspect revealed in his address to the annual meeting of the Cambrian Archaeological Association at Bangor in 1937.

My only title to stand here is as one who for something like fifty years has been deeply interested in archaeology, has given close attention to its results, and has appreciated to the full the value of its services as a handmaid to history, though, perhaps, in this gathering it would be discreet to evade the question as to which is handmaid and which is mistress.¹³³

By then Lloyd would have been fully aware of the manner in which Mortimer Wheeler's analysis had been dependant on his own. In the preface to his volume, Wheeler had acknowledged the intellectual contribution made by Lloyd.¹³⁴ His analysis, moreover, proceeded from within the historical framework developed by Lloyd. That is evident from the manner in which he interpreted the account presented by Tacitus of the defeat of a branch of the Ordovices by Agricola.

It was not until A.D.71-74 that Petilius Cerialis finally subdued North Wales ; and the work of conquest was completed with the subjugation of the Silures by Julius Frontius between 74 and 78, and with the 'almost complete extinction' (Tacitus) of the Ordovices of mid-Wales at the hands of Agricola in the latter year.¹³⁵

For Wheeler, the tribes of north Wales were seen as having been conquered followed by the Silures of south Wales and then the Ordovices of mid Wales. In accordance with Lloyd's pre-1937 analysis, the Ordovices were seen as a tribe inhabiting a territory within

¹³² Op cit Wheeler R. E. M. 1925

¹³³ Op cit Lloyd J. E., in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 1937, vol.92 pp.193-207. See in particular p.193

¹³⁴ Op cit Wheeler R. E. M. 1925, p.5

¹³⁵ Ibid p.218

mid-Wales. Rather than challenging Lloyd's analysis, Wheeler located Lloyd's contentious analysis at the heart of the new discipline of Welsh archaeology. Wheeler also went further, for he presented in a more developed form one aspect which was only implicit in Lloyd's work.

Lloyd's analysis implied that in the pre-Roman context the territory of latter day Wales could be seen as already containing a specific group of tribes. The territorial distinctiveness of modern Wales could accordingly be read back into the pre-Roman context. Wheeler rendered that assumption explicit.

The Roman occupation ... marks in some sense the consummation of prehistoric Wales. The natural position of Wales as a frontier-land found formal recognition in the development of the peninsula as a self-contained unit in the imperial frontier-system. From the point of view of the conqueror Wales became an armed camp, save for a limited area in the south-east where, behind the base-fortress of the 2nd Legion, a small fenced town, Venta Silurum, was planted to disseminate 'Kultur' amongst the restless Silures. But it is clear that this seed took no deep root. ... In Wales practically the whole of the native tribesmen thus retained and developed their own social traditions.¹³⁶

It should be observed that Mortimer Wheeler's concept of Wales as 'a self-contained unit' and as 'an armed camp' was predicated on Lloyd's view of the location of 'Welsh' tribal boundaries. His concept of Venta Silurum as 'a small fenced town' which had been 'planted' to propagate Roman 'Kultur' was also grounded in Lloyd's work. The latter concept was fully in keeping with Lloyd's earlier flawed analysis of *Civitas Silurum*. In relation to the existence of both a group of tribes specific to Wales and with regard to the extent to which those tribes had been Romanised, Wheeler had swallowed whole the defective analysis Lloyd had presented in the first and second editions of his *A History of Wales*. The opportunity to correct the major flaws inherent in Lloyd's work was missed. Indeed rather than correcting those deficiencies, Wheeler elaborated them and built them into the very foundations of Welsh archaeology.

There is a further aspect to Wheeler's analysis which should not pass unnoticed. It concerns the limited significance accorded to the legionary fortress at Viriconium. Whereas Lloyd, for instance, had acknowledged its importance in the Roman conquest of Britannia,¹³⁷ it does not even feature in the index to Wheeler's volume and is only acknowledged as a 'probable military site' on his map of the Roman period.¹³⁸

For Wheeler, Roman military control of Wales was based on a rectangular system of forts and roads with Chester, Caernarfon, Carmarthen and Caerleon at its corners. The significance to that system of the legionary fortress at Wroxeter (Viriconium) was not considered.¹³⁹ Wheeler's approach was in keeping with his understanding of the tribal

¹³⁶ Ibid p.290

¹³⁷ Op cit Lloyd J.E., 1911. See vol. 1 pp.54 & 73-4

¹³⁸ Op cit Wheeler R. E. M.1925. See fig 113

¹³⁹ Ibid p.222

boundaries, for if the Cornovii was a tribe whose territory lay beyond the boundary of Wales, the legionary fortress at Wroxeter could not be regarded as relevant to the Roman conquest of Wales.

In 1925, through his *Prehistoric and Roman Wales*, Mortimer Wheeler had appropriated a key aspect of Lloyd's thesis and built it into the Welsh archaeological paradigm. As a consequence Welsh History and Welsh Archaeology marched hand in hand, with both sustaining Lloyd's flawed assumptions.

With his version of Welsh history having earlier influenced the work of Mortimer Wheeler, in 1939, Lloyd was able to harness archaeology to support his own historical analysis. In the new introduction to the third edition of his *A History of Wales* he declared.

The picture which archaeology is gradually evolving for us is that of a country largely held by its ancient inhabitants, clinging to primeval habits, but kept under control, with varying degrees of strictness, according to the exigencies of the time, by a great military system which was based upon Chester and Caerleon.¹⁴⁰

What Lloyd omitted to mention was that the picture which archaeology was presenting was one based on his own earlier work, a considerable portion of which by 1939, he could no longer sustain. Through the work of Nash-Williams, Welsh archaeology continued to elaborate Lloyd's paradigm, before a turning point was reached which led to those assumptions being questioned with many being subsequently abandoned.

In the introduction to his volume *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, published in 1954, V. E. Nash-Williams acknowledged that his work had been inspired by his former teacher Mortimer Wheeler.¹⁴¹ Moreover his volume emulated that of his former tutor in the cursory consideration granted to understanding the pre-Roman tribes. That aspect was confined to the first four pages of his brief introduction¹⁴² but at the back of his volume he did insert a map which provided a broad indication of the location of those tribes. The locations granted them appears to have been intended to largely replicate the earlier maps of Rhys and Lloyd.¹⁴³ He did however, refer to the Ordovices as a north Wales tribe, rather than a mid-Wales tribe but caution is called for in interpreting that statement.

Having sustained Wheeler's concept of the Welsh frontier as a rectangular system of forts and roads referred to by Nash-Williams as 'a great defensive quadrilateral',¹⁴⁴ he saw control of Wales as having been divided between the Chester and the Caerleon commands, with the boundary between the two running somewhere between Caersws and Castell Collen.¹⁴⁵ Modern day Montgomeryshire would accordingly have been included

¹⁴⁰ Op cit Lloyd J E, 1939 3rd ed. p. lv

¹⁴¹ Nash-Williams V.E., *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1954) See 'Foreword'.

¹⁴² Ibid, see pp. 1-10

¹⁴³ Ibid, see map immediately after Index.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid, see p.7

¹⁴⁵ Ibid pp.7-9

in north Wales, with the territory of the Ordovices being seen as extending south of Caersws. In turn Nash-Williams is explicit in regarding the Cornovii as a tribe whose territory was located in Shropshire and Staffordshire.¹⁴⁶ Moreover, in keeping with the precedent set by the work of Wheeler, the significance of the Roman legionary fortress at Wroxeter to the conquest of Wales was largely disregarded. The manner in which the Roman conquest of Wales was being conceptualised as a process of invasion, conquest and incorporation into a Roman frontier system also needs to be considered.

Having outlined in an introductory chapter the key stages in the invasion and conquest of Wales,¹⁴⁷ in a brief concluding chapter, Nash-Williams set out the subsequent history of the Roman occupation. This was an aspect which Lloyd had largely disregarded, for he believed that the Roman conquest had no lasting impact on the development of the Welsh nation.¹⁴⁸ As Nash-Williams's description of the Roman occupation constituted a significant new narrative, it is worthy of being quoted at length.

The organization of the Welsh frontier, begun ... immediately after the completion of the military conquest of the country in 74-78, took upwards of thirty years to complete. ... It included the making of over 700 miles of strategic roads, the laying-out of two legionary fortresses with their adjuncts, and the construction of some twenty-four auxiliary forts, besides various lesser posts. The final decades of the 1st century were thus a period of intensive building activity in Wales, which reached its climax between 100 and 110, when most (though not all) of the various stations, hitherto relatively lightly equipped with earth-and-timber defences and buildings, were wholly or partly reconstructed in stone. ...

The pacification and consolidation of the frontier thus finally affected were followed, from about 120 onwards, by a partial and apparently progressive withdrawal or reduction of the Welsh garrisons ... presumably to meet the needs of the intensified military activity developing at this time in northern Britain. ... For the remainder of the century the Welsh frontier, largely denuded of troops but exposed to no direct danger, was left to subsist on little more than a care and maintenance basis. Only at Forden Gaer, in mid Wales, was occupation unabated, or even intensified, perhaps as a local precaution for the continued safety of the adjacent lead and copper mines and the neighbouring town of Wroxeter (*Viroconium Cornoviorum*).

With the end of the 2nd century and the opening of the 3rd the long period of settled security and quiescence came abruptly to an end, and was succeeded by a widespread renewal of military activity in Wales, stimulated at the outset by the new forward policy of the Emperor Septimius Severus (198-211) and perhaps, more immediately, by signs of a growing native restlessness on the Welsh frontier itself. Chester (*Deva*) and Caerleon (*Isca*), the legionary bases, were, as was

¹⁴⁶ Ibid p.107-8

¹⁴⁷ Ibid pp.1-10

¹⁴⁸ Op cit Williams E.W. in the *National Library of Wales Journal* vol. 36 no.1 2014 pp.1-44. See in particular pp. 28-30

inevitable, quickly affected by the new developments ..., both fortresses ... underwent extensive renovation ...

The local dangers that had troubled the security of Wales intermittently during the 3rd century were ... reinforced and overshadowed towards its close by wider and more uncertain perils now beginning to threaten the province as a whole from without. To meet the changed military situation the old frontier quadrilateral with its purely landward strategy was supplemented (or recast) shortly before or after the opening of the 4th century by the addition of a specially constructed coastal station of a new type established at Cardiff. ... Later, two further though smaller stations ... were perhaps added at Caernarvon ... and Holyhead

Problematical also is the subsequent history of the reorganized frontier. ... (T)he latest certain date yet established for effective military control in Wales is at Caernarvon, where the original fort ... was finally evacuated apparently during the revolt of Magnus Maximus in 383. Possibly this date, which appears to be valid also for Forden Gaer and perhaps Caerleon, may in due course be found applicable to Wales as a whole. ... ¹⁴⁹

Through the above, Nash-Williams elaborated both the archaeological framework developed by Mortimer Wheeler and the historical framework sketched by Lloyd. Accordingly, he made an important contribution to the development of Welsh history. In due course, the Mortimer Wheeler / Nash-Williams thesis was taken up in a selective manner and incorporated into the orthodox account of Welsh history as contained in John Davies's *Hanes Cymru* first published in 1990.¹⁵⁰

By developing the foundations laid by Mortimer Wheeler, Nash-Williams played a key role in elaborating a distinct paradigm for Welsh archaeology. Subsequent amendments to the understanding of the Roman archaeology of Wales have been made from within its assumptions and need to be understood by reference to it. The key figure who pursued the critique of Lloyd's thesis as elaborated by Mortimer Wheeler and Nash-Williams was Michael Jarrett.

The erosion of Lloyd's thesis within Welsh archaeology.

Jarrett's contribution came in the wake of the publication in 1958 of a new study of second century samian ware by J.A.Stanfield and G.Simpson. Their work led to an initial questioning of the validity of the Lloyd, Mortimer Wheeler and Nash-Williams paradigm. That study revealed that samian ware by central Gaulish potters at a number of sites in Wales should be dated to a period considerably after their garrisons had been assumed to have been transferred elsewhere.¹⁵¹ Moreover, the excavations of Roman forts and the

¹⁴⁹ Ibid pp.140-3

¹⁵⁰ Davies J., *Hanes Cymru* (Allen Lane, London 1990). See pp.30-6. Also Davies J., *A History of Wales* (Allen Lane, 1993) pp. 30-6

¹⁵¹ Stanfield J.A. & Simpson G., *Central Gaulish Potters* (Oxford University Press, London 1958) See pp xliii-xlvi. That process of re-assessment is summarised in Jarrett M.G., 'The military occupation of Roman Wales' in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20. See in particular pp.206-7

discovery of new auxiliary forts led to a broader re-assessment of the traditional interpretation.

The concept of an unified militarised Wales, which had been implicit in the first and second editions of Lloyd's work and which had been rendered explicit by Wheeler and elaborated by Nash-Williams, was abandoned in its pure form. Through three key articles published between 1963 and 1968,¹⁵² Michael Jarrett developed an amended version of the paradigm. He saw the response to the Romans as having been diverse, with some of the tribes of Wales being accommodative of the enemy whilst others remained hostile. That approach pointed to the need not only to locate the territories of those tribes but also to identify their attitude towards the Romans. That new outlook was revealed in a paper by Jarrett, *The Military Occupation of Roman Wales* published in 1963.¹⁵³ Jarrett, then observed that,

... tribal attitudes, as indicated by ... [Roman] campaigns, must be examined, since in them lies the explanation of much that follows.¹⁵⁴

Jarrett's own assessment of the overall course of events was set out succinctly in the same paper.

By 80 [A.D.] ... north-west, central, and south-east Wales were covered by a network of roads with regularly spaced auxiliary forts. As far as we can tell these forts were restricted to the territory of the Silures and Ordovices, presumably because the other tribes were giving no trouble. From the time of Agricola the military history of Roman Wales is the story of consolidation, with the gradual abandonment of forts as they proved unnecessary.¹⁵⁵

Whereas Wheeler had conceived of an overall process of conquest in which 'Wales became an armed camp',¹⁵⁶ there now emerged a very different concept in which hostility to the Romans was seen as having been confined to specific tribes. That in essence constituted the core of the new post-Lloyd, post-Wheeler, post-Nash-Williams narrative. That re-assessment of the nature of the Roman conquest of Wales rendered the definition of territories of the tribes of Wales and their attitude to the Romans into key issues.

Jarrett mistakenly refers to the study by Stanfield and Simpson as having been published in 1956, whereas in fact it was published in 1958. See p. 206 and footnote 4.

¹⁵² See op cit Jarrett M.G., in the *Bulletin of the Board Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20 ; Jarrett M.G., 'Early Roman campaigns in Wales' in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1964 vol.121 pp. 23-39. Also Jarrett M.G. & Mann J.C. 'The tribes of Wales', in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. There is an unexpected incongruity to those articles in that they addressed the issues concerned in reverse order. Had Jarrett considered the issues in sequence then the series would have opened with the article, 'The tribes of Wales', before focusing on 'Early Roman campaigns in Wales' and concluded with the article 'The military occupation of Roman Wales'. This aspect may have contributed to the difficulties confronted by Jarrett in analysing the material.

¹⁵³ Op cit Jarrett M. G. in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid p.207

¹⁵⁵ Ibid pp.210-11

¹⁵⁶ Op cit Wheeler R. E. M. 1925, p.290

Moreover, at that stage the existence of Roman forts was seen as constituting an index of tribal attitudes towards the Romans and as evidence of the extent of tribal territories.

In 1963 Jarrett regarded Wales as having had four tribes, two of whom, namely the Demetae and the Deceangli, were viewed as having been reconciled to Roman domination, whilst the Silures and the Ordovices were regarded as being fiercely hostile. The manner in which Jarrett proceeded to identify the territories of both tribes raised important theoretical issues.

The territory of the Silures probably extended from the Bristol Channel to north Brecknockshire, and westwards into Cardiganshire. Such an extent of Silurian territory seems to be the only explanation for the Belgic pottery found in recent excavations at Llanio.¹⁵⁷

The description of Silurian territory is unexceptional except for the ascription of part of Cardiganshire as belonging to the Silures. Such an assessment seemingly based on the presence of Belgic pottery at Llanio was surely very presumptive. In 1968, in a joint article, Jarrett and Mann expressed similar views, suggesting that the territory of the Silures extended to the west coast.

The early abandonment of the forts which, it is suggested, ring Demetic territory, may indicate that a strip of Silurian territory extended across Cardiganshire to the west coast.¹⁵⁸

The content of Jarrett's article, 'Early Roman Campaigns in Wales', casts further light on the issue, for there he located the above analysis within a broader framework.

The two marching camps at Y Pigwn and the early fort at Llandovery suggest that the Usk valley was an important campaigning route in the 1st century. The Belgic pottery from Llanio may indicate that Silurian territory extended into Cardiganshire, providing one possible motive for advance up the Usk and over the watershed to Llandovery. Military considerations suggest that the occupation of Llandovery may be due to an appreciation of the possibilities of the Towy valley. ... (It is not difficult to imagine a force being landed in Demetic territory and advancing up the Towy to join a force which had penetrated up the Usk valley and over Trecastle mountain. In such circumstances Llandovery would be a key site. The Usk route has the advantage of separating the Silures of Glamorgan and Monmouthshire from their compatriots further north; if the route is extended down the Towy the southern part of the tribe is encircled.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Op cit Jarrett M. G., in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20. See in particular p.209

¹⁵⁸ Op cit Jarrett M.G. & Mann J.C. in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. See in particular p. 171

¹⁵⁹ Op cit Jarrett M.G. in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1964 vol.121 pp. 23-39. See in particular p. 29 and also Fig. 1 p.38

At that point Jarrett appears to have conceived of the territory of the Demetae as being confined to the land to the south of the river Teifi and to the west of the river Towy, with the Silures occupying an unspecified territory to the north of the river Teifi. In referring to the southern Silures, it is worthy of note that he does not locate the territory of the northern Silures but appears to have assumed that they occupied a considerable part of Cardiganshire. In 1963, Jarrett provided an equally contentious assessment of the territory of the Ordovices.

The Ordovices were probably a tribal federation, rather than a single tribe. Probable sub-tribes – e.g. the Gangani of Lleyn are recorded. The tribal territory probably extended as far south as Radnorshire, though the chief strongholds, as later of the principality of Gwynedd, were probably in Snowdonia. The tribe never became romanised, and at all times some forts in its territory were held. After the time of Hadrian, the chief aim of the Roman government appears to have been to contain this tribe ; forts at Forden Gaer and Caersws protected the Midlands, while those at Caernarvon and Caerhun controlled access to the important corn lands of Anglesey, a function closely paralleled by the medieval castles of Caernarvon and Conway.¹⁶⁰

That assessment was replete with difficulties. Initially it should be observed that Jarrett's view of the Ordovices appears to have been based on the work of Lloyd but without acknowledging his source. Whereas Lloyd in the first edition of his *A History of Wales* had conceived of Gwynedd as 'a group or confederacy of tribes',¹⁶¹ Jarrett in 1963 conceived of the Ordovices as 'probably a tribal federation'. However, where Lloyd regarded that confederation as including both the Gangani and the Deceangli, but excluding the Ordovices,¹⁶² Jarrett in 1963 conceived of the Ordovices as leading a federation of tribes which may have excluded the Deceangli. Moreover, for Jarrett, the Ordovices led their federation from a base in Snowdonia, a view which Lloyd had explicitly excluded. In a subsequent article published in 1968 and jointly written with J.C. Mann, Jarrett amended his position so as to conform with that of Lloyd. That adjustment needs to be placed in context.

In an article *The tribes of Wales* published in 1968 in the *Welsh History Review*, Jarrett and Mann focused on the territories of the pre-Roman tribes.

The object of this article is to assemble the relevant evidence to indicate approximately the areas occupied by the various tribes of Wales recorded by Roman authors, and the areas assignable to the *civitates* which, in some cases at least, succeeded them. This seems the more necessary because it has not been

¹⁶⁰ Op cit Jarrett M.G., in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20. See in particular p.209

¹⁶¹ Op cit Lloyd J. E., 1911 p.40

¹⁶² Ibid pp.39-41

attempted before, and because various assumptions are commonly made without any evidential justification.¹⁶³

As they set out with the aim of considering anew the location of the tribes of Wales, they claimed not to be aware of the earlier attempts to address the issue. Their position needs to be viewed with caution, for it is clear that they had a considerable awareness of the efforts of Welsh linguists and historians to locate those tribal territories. In their article they do not formally refer to the major works of John Rhys but in relation to the Ordovices, in a tortuous manner, they did draw upon the work of Lloyd. However, they failed to fully acknowledge their source.¹⁶⁴

A post-Roman inscription from Penbryn, Cards. (SN 2951), is a memorial to an *Ordous*. It is difficult to assess its significance: it must imply that a local government unit continued to be called *Ordovices* (or *Ordovi*) in the sixth century, and perhaps indicates that it did not, at that date, include Penbryn. At the same general period, another inscription from Penmachno, Caerns. (SH 7850), mentions a *Venedotis cives*. This is certainly within the area later known as Gwynedd, and he could be expected to be at home at Penmachno; if this is accepted, Penbryn ought surely to be accepted as belonging to the Ordovices.

Place-names are of some relevance here. Dinorwic, Caerns. (SH 5961), refers to this tribe. It means ‘fort of the Ordovices’, and was probably given by people who were not Ordovices either to an Ordovician colony within their territory or to a site on their borders with the Ordovices. The date of this cannot now be established. Sir John Edward Lloyd quotes Cantref Orddwy as an old name for Merioneth; Rhyd Orddwy is located near Rhyl, Flints. The date and significance of these names is uncertain.¹⁶⁵

Jarrett and Mann were drawing on material contained in the fourth chapter of Lloyd’s *A History of Wales*, and specifically from pages 119-20. The rationale of their analysis was also firmly located within Lloyd’s work and needs to be understood from within that framework.

Lloyd had set out what he saw as the post Roman conquest of the territories of the Goidelic and Iberian tribes by the Brythons under the leadership of Cunedda and his sons, including Ceredig. Lloyd envisaged that to be a process involving the conquest of territory and the planting of Brythonic colonies within the conquered lands. He interpreted various place names as marking the advance of the Brythons.

¹⁶³ Op cit Jarrett M.G. & Mann J.C., in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. See in particular the introductory paragraph on page 161.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid. They do cite one contribution by John Rhys, namely his note on ‘The Chester Pigs of Lead’ initially published in *The Academy*, and subsequently published in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 5th series vol. 9 1882 pp. 165-6. This is referenced in note 16 of the above. In the body of the text they also draw on the work of J. E. Lloyd and refer to him by name in relation to some of the material drawn from his work. See pp.169-70. This will be discussed later in this analysis.

¹⁶⁵ Op cit Jarrett M. G. & Mann J. C. in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. See in particular pp.169-70

Rhyd Orddwy, near Rhyl, Cantref Orddwyf, an old name for Meirionydd, and Dinorwig, which is found as *Dinorddwyg*, seem to mark their progress into Goidelic country, while at Penbryn, in Cardiganshire, is an inscribed stone of the fifth century set up in memory of “Corbalengi Ordous,” an Ordovician settler, it may be believed, who came into this district in the train of Ceredig.¹⁶⁶

Lloyd saw that process as entailing a sufficiently large incursion of a Brythonic population as to ensure the displacement of the Goedelic language by the Welsh language.

...(O)nly the arrival of a very numerous Brythonic colony would establish that balance in favour of the language which enabled it ere long to sweep Goidelic from the field.¹⁶⁷

As noted above, that analysis belonged to the fourth chapter of Lloyd’s *A History of Wales*, a chapter which he quite unjustifiably retained unaltered in the third edition of 1939. What is abundantly evident is that after 1939, Lloyd was not in a position to sustain the above analysis, for its foundations had long been shown to be inadequate. It was certainly not an analysis which Jarrett and Mann should have drawn upon.

In 1963 Michael Jarrett had regarded the Orodovices as a tribe whose territory was centered on Snowdonia, possibly not recognising that he was challenging as aspect of Lloyd’s account. By 1968, Jarrett and Mann appear to have decided to adjust their position to fully accommodate Lloyd’s pre-1939 analysis. In effect Jarrett and Mann were hopelessly trapped in the snares within Lloyd’s work which still awaited the unwary. Far from breaking new ground they largely replicated Lloyd’s flawed pre-1939 analysis.

In 1963, having considered the extent of the territories of the Welsh tribes, Jarrett then proceeded to consider tribal attitudes towards the Romans. As noted earlier Jarrett was replacing Wheeler’s concept of a conquered Wales being an armed camp, with a concept of specific tribal territories being armed camps.

As far as we can tell these forts were restricted to the territory of the Silures and Ordovices, presumably because the other tribes were giving no trouble.¹⁶⁸

Hostility to the Romans was regarded as having been sustained by the Silures and the Ordovices but Jarrett had to acknowledge that the hostility of the Silures was essentially short-lived.

Originally hostile, this became the most highly romanized of the Welsh tribes, and by 200 it does not seem to have been necessary to hold any auxiliary fort in its lands.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Op cit Lloyd J. E., 1911 p.119

¹⁶⁷ Ibid p.120

¹⁶⁸ Op cit Jarrett M. G., in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.210-11

Jarrett was implicitly recognising that the establishment of *Civitas Silures* entailed the romanisation of that tribe and was quite validly moving beyond Lloyd's earlier analysis. Given that the Silures had been assimilated into the Roman system by the year 200, for Jarrett the Ordovices became the key Welsh tribe who had sustained a long term resistance to the Romans. With Jarrett already having described the Ordovices in his 1963 paper,¹⁷⁰ in 1968, in his joint paper with J. C. Mann a more elaborate account of Ordovician territory and their resistance to Roman rule was provided.

The evidence ... points to a tribe with extensive territories, stretching from the upper Severn valley over most of mid-Wales and the march; it may conceivably have been a federation, with the Gangani and Decanti as subordinate units, but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that most of Ordovician territory lay in central rather than north-west Wales. Roman dispositions confirm this view. In the Flavian period, forts were held throughout these areas. By the late third century they had apparently been reduced to a total of six; Caernarvon and (probably) Caerhun, close to the Menai Straits and controlling access to and from Anglesey, and Castell Collen, Caersws, Forden Gaer and Leintwardine in east-central Wales, controlling movement from the presumed heart of Ordovician territory to the Midlands and the lands of the Cornovii and Dobunni.¹⁷¹

By 1968, the concept of an unified militarised Wales, which was implicit in the first and second editions of Lloyd's work and which had been rendered explicit by Wheeler and elaborated by Nash-Williams, had shrivelled into a concept of a militarised Ordovician territory. Moreover, that concept was being sustained by a number of very contentious analytical strands.

Firstly, the concept of the territory of the Ordovices was based on work which Lloyd had recognised as inadequate in 1939. Secondly, the existence of Roman forts was viewed as evidence of continued native resistance to Roman rule, with other possibilities being disregarded. Thirdly, evidence of integration into the Roman system was largely ignored. Thus the founding of a *Civitas Venedotis* was overlooked despite the fact that Penmachno monument 103 pointed to its existence. The inscription on that monument had been transcribed and translated by Nash-Williams in his volume *The Early Christian Monuments of Wales* of 1950.¹⁷² Moreover Jarrett and Mann had referred to it in their paper of 1968.¹⁷³ Jarrett's key conclusion that the Ordovices 'never became romanised' was contradicted by that evidence. If the existence of *Civitas Silurum* was viewed as indicating that the Silures had been romanised, why was the existence of *Civitas Venedotis* not viewed in a similar light? That issue seems never to have been addressed.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid p.209

¹⁷⁰ Ibid p.209

¹⁷¹ Op cit Jarrett M.G. & Mann J. C. in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. See p.170.

¹⁷² Op cit Nash-Williams V. E. 1950 See p. 92 **Monument 103 Penmachno**

¹⁷³ Op cit Jarrett M. G. & Mann J. C. in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. See in particular pp.169-70

It is an aspect which highlights the essentially functional nature of intellectual paradigms. Despite its inadequacies, the paradigm innovated by Lloyd and amended by Wheeler, Nash-Williams and Michael Jarrett, still offered a way forward for those Welsh archaeologists who were focused on the Roman period. In adopting Lloyd's paradigm Welsh historians had largely focused on the post-1282 context. By contrast, Welsh Romanist archaeologists were focused on piecing together evidence relating to the Roman conquest of Wales. Despite the fact that both approaches left major issues unaddressed, Lloyd's paradigm provided practitioners within both fields with a sense of purpose. It sustained their activities and enabled them to make piecemeal corrections to its assumptions.

For Welsh Romanist archaeologists the key issue to be resolved concerned the nature of the Roman conquest of Wales, with subsequent issues relating to the integration of the tribes into the Roman system being left to be addressed at a subsequent juncture. That reality is evident in the approach adopted by Michael Jarrett in 1963, for his focus was firmly on the Roman conquest. He stated:

We may briefly summarize the military history of Wales during the Roman period as follows:

- 49-74. Campaigning, resulting in permanent conquest only of the Deceangli.
- 74-78. Conquest of the Silures and Ordovices, followed by the building of roads and forts in their territory.
- 78-95. Period of consolidation.
- 95-117. Rebuilding of legionary fortress in stone, slight reduction of auxiliary garrison.
- 117-40. Substantial alterations to the dispositions of garrisons, giving a reduced overall force in Wales.
- 140-200. Further reorganization of garrisons with some reduction of overall strength. Rebuilding in stone of forts intended for the permanent army of occupation.
- 200-300. Auxiliary forts only held on the edge of Ordovician territory, presumably to contain this unromanized tribe.
- 300-400. New coastal forts added against raiders from Ireland.¹⁷⁴

Jarrett and Mann's subsequent article of 1968 did contain one other important innovation. They drew attention to evidence that Kenchester had been located in the territory of the Dobunni, thus suggesting that the Wye represented the eastern and northern boundary of Silurian territory.¹⁷⁵ With Rhys and Brynmor-Jones having initially raised that issue in 1902,¹⁷⁶ the possibility that the territory of the Dobunni extended into central Wales thus re-emerged, though Jarrett and Mann did not pursue the matter. The general framework

¹⁷⁴ Op cit Jarrett M.G., in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20. See in particular p.219

¹⁷⁵ Op cit Jarrett M.G. & Mann J.C., in the *Welsh History Review*, vol. 4 1968 pp.161-71. See pp. 170-1. The issue will be considered further, later in this analysis.

¹⁷⁶ Op cit Rhys J & Brynmor-Jones D, 1900 pp. 21-2.

which they presented in their article *The tribes of Wales* was in turn carried forward to Michael G. Jarrett's 1969 revision of Nash-Williams's, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*.¹⁷⁷

In the preface to his revised edition, Jarrett noted that the chapters relating to the Roman invasion, and the subsequent Roman occupation of Wales had been considerably expanded.¹⁷⁸ Despite that, consideration of the territories of the pre-Roman tribes was confined to one paragraph.

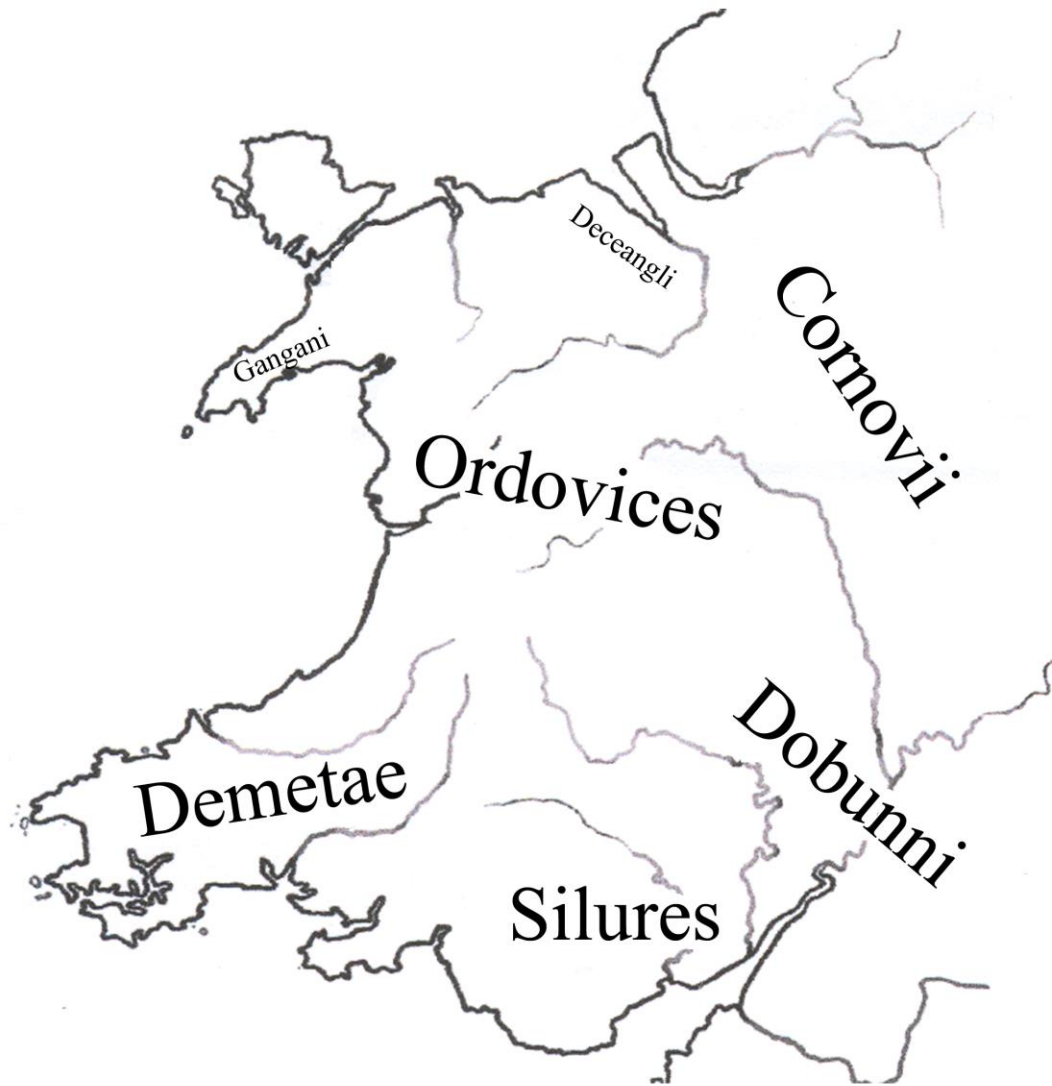
It seems clear that Wales was occupied by some five major tribes at the time of the Roman conquest. ... The *Dobunni*, whose territory lay mainly east of the Severn, probably held land as far west as the Wye. This river is likely to mark the northern and eastern boundary of the *Silures*, whose land extended to the Bristol Channel. Their western border, with the *Demetae*, is not clearly defined. The *Demetae* certainly occupied the south-western peninsula, though St. David's Head is named from the *Octapitae*, a group otherwise unknown. Most of mid Wales was the territory of the *Ordovices*, whose land may have extended into Snowdonia to the north-west. In the north-west the *Gangani* ... are recorded ... North-east Wales, perhaps only the area bounded by Dee and Clwyd was the home of the *Deceangli*.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁷ Jarrett M. G., (rev) Nash-Williams V. E. *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1969)

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid* p. v

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid* pp.3-4. In order to avoid discussion of the possible relationship between the *Decanti* and the *Deceangli*, I have deliberately omitted Jarrett's reference to the former tribe. Such a discussion would not be pertinent to this analysis.

Map 4. Michael Jarrett and the tribes of Wales (1969)



Based upon Jarrett M.G., (rev.) Nash-Williams V.E. *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (University of Wales Press, Cardiff 1969) Fig. 2 p.3

Despite its brevity, Jarrett's account was significant, for his description of the territory of the Dobunni as extending to the eastern bank of the Wye represented an important consolidation of the account presented the previous year in *The tribes of Wales*.¹⁸⁰ Once more Jarrett did not venture to consider the extent of Dobunnic territory but the evidence

¹⁸⁰ Op cit Jarrett M. G. & Mann J. C., in the *Welsh History Review*, vol 4 1968 pp.161-71. See in particular pp. 170-1

he provided,¹⁸¹ pointed to the possibility that the lands to the east and north of the Wye along its lengthy course to its source at the summit of Pumlumon, may have belonged to that same tribe. It was an issue of great significance to locating the boundaries of the pre-Roman tribes, for had it been concluded that the territory of the Dobunni extended deep into mid-Wales, the territory accorded to the Ordovices would have been amended. That issue and the parallel issue of the location of the boundary between the Ordovices and the Cornovii were never addressed by Jarrett.

Despite that failure, Jarrett's revision did accomplish a number of further updatings. In particular, a synthesis was established between Jarrett's account of the Roman conquest of Wales as presented in his articles, *The Military Occupation of Roman Wales*¹⁸² and *The tribes of Wales*,¹⁸³ and the earlier account presented by Nash-Williams.¹⁸⁴

(T)he Flavian period saw the establishment of a pattern of military control ... which was to last until the end of Roman rule in Britain.

The dispositions in Wales formed a model for the garrisoning of northern Britain ... At the period in question there were three legionary fortresses involved, at Caerleon, Wroxeter, and Chester, though Wroxeter was not held for long. ... The legionaries would often be on campaign, not necessarily in the area near their base ... The legions were not expected to take part in routine police and patrol activities. These fell to the auxiliary troops, who were placed in forts holding 500 or 1,000 men. In the Flavian period these forts appear to have covered almost the whole of Wales except for the south-west and the north-east. The distribution of forts presumably indicates the territory of the Silures and Ordovices (with any allies they may have had); the lands of the Demetae and Deceangli appear to have been almost exempt from military occupation.¹⁸⁵

The earlier Nash-Williams concept of a military system based on the legionary fortresses of Chester, Caerleon and now Wroxeter remained, but it was recognised that there was no blanket militarisation of Wales. Rather military dispositions were viewed as having been focused specifically on the territories of the Silures and the Ordovices.

Jarrett's revision also contained a number of other important amendments. In particular he departed from a key aspect of the paradigm established by Lloyd in stressing that during the Roman period, Wales did not constitute a distinct geographical or political entity.

Wales was not a geographical or political unity in the Roman period. Even the Flavian dispositions ... reveal this, with closely-spaced forts in the territory of the Silures and Ordovices, and virtually none in the remaining areas. Nor should we

¹⁸¹ Ibid pp. 170-1

¹⁸² Op cit Jarrett M. G. in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20.

¹⁸³ Op cit Jarrett M. G. & Mann J. C., in the *Welsh History Review*, vol 4 1968 pp.161-71

¹⁸⁴ Op cit Nash-Williams V. E. 1954

¹⁸⁵ Op cit Jarrett M. G., (rev) Nash-Williams V. E.1969 p.8

see the Romans treating Wales as a whole; the problem of the Roman governor was to use a small army to the best advantage, and we shall not be surprised to find that some forts are abandoned at a time when others are being reoccupied. Wales cannot be viewed in isolation. *Britannia* was a single province until the end of the second century, and events in Wales were undoubtedly linked with events on the northern frontier, even if the links cannot be clearly detected today. This must limit the inferences we can draw from the evidence before us: reoccupation of a fort in Wales *may* imply rebellion, actual or threatened, amongst the local population. But it may simply mean that troops no longer required on the northern frontier were being moved to a convenient fort which happened to be without a garrison.¹⁸⁶

By 1969, the movement away from the Lloyd paradigm initiated by Stanfield and Simpson's study of second century samian ware, was gathering momentum. For Jarrett, Wales was no longer to be regarded as an area having its own tribes but rather as an integral part of the province of *Britannia*. In another major departure, Jarrett abandoned his earlier approach in which he had viewed the existence of fortifications as an index of the hostility of native tribes. Now, the continued use of those fortifications could simply mean that they provided a convenient location at which troops no longer required on the northern frontier could be garrisoned. Moreover, Jarrett emphasised the essential fluidity of the system.

For the second century it has seemed desirable to discuss modification to the pattern of Roman control for periods of 20 years at a time. These conform, approximately, to the reigns of successive emperors, and also to changes on the northern frontier. It is of course impossible to justify such a practice by the evidence available, for that evidence is not susceptible of such precise dating. The most that can be said is that the story presented seems to be the most plausible at present, even though hardly a single point of detail is incontrovertible.¹⁸⁷

The Roman occupation of Wales was not only to be regarded as an integral part of the Roman conquest of *Britannia*, but also the occupation of Roman fortifications in Wales was to be viewed as being essentially fluid with their continued occupation not necessarily being geared to the hostility of the tribes in whose territory they were located. With this latter amendment to his position, Jarrett delivered a major blow to his previously stated views, for previously he had regarded the existence of fortifications as an index of tribal territories. It was an aspect of particular significance to the territory to be accorded to the Ordovices, for earlier he had plotted the territory of that tribe by reference to fortifications which had been in continuous use. Jarrett appears to have recognised that his theoretical *volte-face* left his analysis of the territories of the tribes of Wales in an analytical no man's land, for he raised that issue in a subsequent paper.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid pp.20-1

¹⁸⁷ Ibid p.21

It is also evident that Jarrett's abandonment of his own position was timely, for in a paper published in 1976 it was challenged by H.N.Savory, Keeper of the Department of Archaeology at the National Museum of Wales.¹⁸⁸

It is not ... a sound procedure to equate the extent of the original Silurian and Ordovician territories with the distribution of known Roman forts, on the assumption that these tribes resisted while the Deceangli, Cornovii and Demetae did not: Jarrett and Mann, indeed, even argue on this basis that the territory of the Silures must have extended to Cardigan Bay because of the line of Roman forts space out along the road from Brecon through Llandovery to Llanio, Trawscoed and Pennal.¹⁸⁹

The difficulty of interpreting the existence of Roman fortifications as evidence of the hostility of specific tribes was further underlined in a paper by J. L. Davies read in 1989. He highlighted the fact that following the reforms implemented by Emperor Diocletian - reforms which entailed the need to collect taxation in kind - military fortifications could have been maintained in order to facilitate the process of tax collection.

The formalisation of the *annona militaris* - seemingly one of the products of the Diocletian period - devolved a great deal of administration upon the shoulders of the army, with particular reference to the collection, storage and distribution of supplies. It may, therefore, be possible that the continued occupation of some, at least, of the Welsh garrison posts has as much to do with financial and administrative matters as strategic considerations.¹⁹⁰

In addition, Davies's paper identified further aspects which needed to be considered in relation to the continued use of Roman fortifications in Wales. There were possibilities that they were required simply as a means of garrisoning troops no longer required on the northern frontier or to meet the challenge posed by external threats.

The fact that the location of Roman forts could no longer be employed as an index by which to locate the territorial boundaries of the western tribes, deprived Welsh

¹⁸⁸ Darvill T., *The concise Oxford dictionary of Archaeology* (Oxford University Press, Oxford 2008) 2nd ed. pp.405-6 **Savory H. N.** In 1939, Savory had joined the National Museum of Wales as Assistant Keeper, subsequently serving as Keeper of the Department of Archaeology from 1955 to 1976.

¹⁸⁹ Savory H. N., 'Welsh hillforts: a reappraisal of recent research' in Harding D.W. (ed.), *Hillforts* (Academic Press, London 1976) pp.237-91. See in particular pp.283-4 At what point Savory had initially aired his criticisms of the work of Jarrett and Mann is not known.

¹⁹⁰ Davies J. L., 'Roman military deployments in Wales and the Marches from Pius to Theodosius I' in Maxfield V. A. & Dobson M.J., *Roman frontier studies 1989* (University of Exeter Press, Exeter 1991) pp.52-7. See in particular p.55. It should be observed that Davies in highlighting the above was not abandoning the broader Welsh archaeological paradigm, for in alluding to the problem of the Ordovices which lay at its core, in relation to the forts referred to above he stated: 'However, their geographically restricted distribution, coupled with their seemingly differential occupation sequences, may mask an underlying long-term internal security problem, particularly in eastern mid-Wales.' See also Davies J. L. 'Roman military deployment in Wales and the Marches from Claudius to the Antonines' in Hanson W.S. & Keppie L. J. F., (eds.) *Roman frontier studies 1979* (B.A.R. International Series 71(i), Oxford 1980)

archaeology of one of the key tools it had employed to determine those boundaries. Implicitly, it raised the issue of what indices remained available to determine that issue.

Given that background it is not surprising that in his Seventh Annual Caerleon Lecture, delivered in 1993, Michael Jarrett felt it necessary to reconsider the issue of the tribes of Wales and in particular the location accorded to the Ordovices.¹⁹¹ The issue had to be addressed in the light of the advances achieved in the intervening years. Accordingly the narrative could no longer be structured around a concept of a militarised Wales, or even militarised tribal territories within Wales. Moreover, the analysis could no longer focus simply upon Wales. In moving beyond those geographical boundaries, Jarrett recognised that the new boundaries he was adopting were somewhat arbitrary in nature.

It is clear that the Romans had no concept of 'Wales'. All our documentary references are to political units – tribes, for short – which occupied the approximate area of what we call Wales. It was with the tribes, rather than a piece of land defined by natural features, that the Romans were concerned. Since tribal boundaries are, and are likely to remain, matters for debate we must still impose a geographical limit to the east. That is best taken as the line of the lower and middle reaches of the Severn and the Dee. It involves adding to modern Wales the whole of Herefordshire and much of Shropshire and Worcestershire and Gloucestershire.¹⁹²

It is worthy of note that in 1964, in his article 'Early Roman Campaigns in Wales',¹⁹³ Jarrett's analysis had satisfactorily analysed the Welsh material from a Britannia wide perspective. His other work had been heavily influenced by the work of Lloyd, Mortimer Wheeler and Nash-Williams. In 1993 he was moving away from the latter influences and identifying more with the framework employed in the article published in 1964 in the *Archaeological Journal*.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, his 1993 article which again bore the title 'Early Roman Campaigns in Wales' in part entailed a reworking of material originally published in 1964. It seems clear that for a number of decades Lloyd's analysis as elaborated by Mortimer Wheeler and Nash-Williams had acted as an obstacle to the development of archaeology in Wales.

Despite the advances he had achieved, by 1993 it appears that Jarrett had abandoned all hope of being able to offer a satisfactory analysis of tribal boundaries, for he regarded them as 'likely to remain, matters of debate'. Moreover, despite having extended the analysis to include part of the territories of both the Cornovii and the Dobunni, Jarrett's treatment of both tribes was most unsatisfactory. Referring initially to the Dobunni he stated:

¹⁹¹ Jarrett M. G., *Early Roman Campaigns in Wales* (National Museums of Wales, Cardiff 1994)

¹⁹² *Ibid* pp.5-6

¹⁹³ *Op cit* Jarrett M.G. in the *Archaeological Journal*, 1964 vol.121 pp. 23-39

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*

This latter tribe scarcely concerns us: its heartland was the Cotswolds, but a third-century inscription from Kenchester, Herefordshire was set up by R.P.C.D., usually interpreted as *res publica civitatis Dobunnorum*.

Similarly the Cornovii are of little relevance to our theme. Most if not all, of their lands lay east of the Severn and the Dee.¹⁹⁵

Having broken out of the intellectual straight jacket which Lloyd had constructed, Jarrett once more failed to question old assumptions. In turn his perplexity with regard to the territory to be accorded to the Ordovices was again revealed.

The Ordovices represent the biggest single problem in understanding first-century Wales.¹⁹⁶

In an attempt to resolve that conundrum, Jarrett had over the years harnessed a number of different sources. He had drawn on the flawed analysis of J. E. Lloyd to locate their territory: employed the existence of Roman fortifications as an index of their territory and had harnessed the classical sources. In the Seventh Annual Caerleon Lecture his focus was firmly on a renewed attempt to employ the classical sources to resolve that issue. Having wrestled with the problem for over thirty years there is, however, a suspicion that by the early 1990s he was employing the classical sources to reaffirm his long held views rather than to consider them anew. Accordingly, his conclusions were much in accordance with his earlier analysis.

If the Ordovices held Leintwardine, Dinorwic and a site, possibly Caersws, between Wroxeter and Caernarfon, it looks as though their power base was in mid-Wales and the central Marches, a more likely area than Snowdonia and certainly one able to support a larger population.¹⁹⁷

The definition of the territory of the Ordovices continued to be an amended version of the account which Lloyd had acknowledged as inadequate in 1939. Having side-stepped an analysis of the territory of the Dobunni and the Cornovii, Jarrett had little new to offer with regard to the boundaries of the territory of the Ordovices.

Jarrett's paper is of primary interest in so far as it initiated or contributed to a trend within Welsh archaeology, which recognised the need to locate the analysis of the tribes of Wales in a significantly broader geographical setting, with Wales and the Marches emerging as that setting, primarily for pragmatic reasons. That framework was adopted by Christopher J. Arnold and Jeffrey L. Davies in their *Roman and Early Medieval*

¹⁹⁵ Ibid p.12

¹⁹⁶ Ibid pp.12-3

¹⁹⁷ Ibid p.14

Wales, published in 2000,¹⁹⁸ and by Barry C. Burnham and Jeffrey L. Davies in their further revision of Nash-Williams's *The Roman Frontier in Wales*.

The Burnham and Davies revision of 2010 was published by the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, forty-one years after Michael Jarrett's revision¹⁹⁹ of Nash-Williams's *The Roman Frontier in Wales*.²⁰⁰ With it came the new title, *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*.²⁰¹ The nature of that title is in itself worthy of consideration, for in many ways it encapsulated many of the key changes in outlook which had occurred within Welsh archaeology in the years following the publication of the original volume.

Nash-Williams's concept of a great military frontier extending down the eastern boundary of Wales from the legionary fortresses at Chester to Caerleon, represented the ultimate development of the Lloyd/Mortimer Wheeler thesis. Through the work of Michael Jarrett that thesis had been eroded and an alternative concept of a Roman frontier emerged, in which resistance to Roman power was centred on the land of the Ordovices. With time that model was also abandoned and a far more fluid concept of conquest was adopted in which the continued use of key military sites was no longer regarded as being necessarily geared to the suppression of a recalcitrant native population. The geographical setting for the analysis of the Welsh tribes also broadened to encompass Wales and the Marches.

Given that transition, there was a need to revise Nash-Williams's earlier title *The Roman Frontier in Wales*. The volume edited by Burnham and Davies accordingly emerged with an amended title *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches*. The new title not only acknowledged the existence of a plurality of Roman frontiers, but also recognised that those frontiers lay not only within Wales but also beyond it within the Marches. It implied that the conquest of Wales had not constituted a fundamentally distinct process but rather represented a specific phase in the Roman conquest of southern Britain. Nonetheless, Wales and the Marches were seen as having distinct characteristics.

It was a region which must have taken on a shape and significance to Rome, not only in geographical terms as a large peninsula thrusting into the Irish Sea and the first substantial upland mass which the army encountered in southern Britain, but also because its inhabitants, seemingly more politically fragmented than their neighbours to the east and south-east, offered much more stubborn resistance which seemingly only ended with the suppression of a rebellion of the Ordovices and the capture of Anglesey in the autumn of AD 77 or 78.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Arnold C. J. & Davies J. L., *Roman and Early Medieval Wales* (Sutton Publishing, Thrupp 2000) See p.3. A broadly similar approach is also evident in Manning W., 'The Conquest of Wales' in Todd M. (ed.), *A companion to Roman Britain* (Blackwell, Oxford 2004) pp. 60-74

¹⁹⁹ Op cit Jarrett M. G. 1969

²⁰⁰ Op cit Nash-Williams V. E. 1954

²⁰¹ Burnham B. & Davies J. L., (eds.) *Roman frontiers in Wales and the Marches* (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Wales, Aberystwyth 2010)

²⁰² Ibid pp.19-20

In adopting the framework developed by Lloyd, Mortimer Wheeler had seen ‘Wales as a frontier-land’.²⁰³ For Burnham and Davies the distinctiveness of Wales and the Marches lay in its geography and political structure. Moreover, as the Romans advanced beyond their long established Severn-Trent frontier, Burnham and Davies recognised that alliances with native tribes would have been one of the factors defining the location of the Roman frontier.

The frontier, such as it was, would have been essentially coterminous with the territory of allied tribes, ...²⁰⁴

From that initial context the Roman frontier would have shifted, reflecting the impact of the great campaigns waged by Rome, with attempts to locate those frontiers being acknowledged as constituting a major challenge.

A precondition of military success was the concentration of forces and supplies at key points. Overwhelming force was gathered on the Welsh frontier by c. AD 73/4 ...

Reconstructing the course of Flavian operations in Wales is difficult given the sparse documentary evidence: Anglesey is the only geographical feature mentioned by Tacitus (*Agricola* 18). Our knowledge of military operations is, thus, wholly dependent upon the interpretation of archaeological data, marching-camps and operational bases.²⁰⁵

Consideration of those operations led to some common ground with the earlier analysis of Mortimer Wheeler, Nash-Williams and Michael Jarrett.

The legionary fortresses at Chester, Wroxeter and Caerleon were the backbone of the system whereby control was exercised over the region.²⁰⁶

Chester and Caerleon had long been recognised as being key bases in the Roman conquest of Wales but now, in keeping with Jarrett’s earlier analysis,²⁰⁷ Wroxeter became a key component in the military apparatus of conquest. However, Burnham and Davies present an entirely new perspective not only on the process of militarisation entailed in the conquest, but also on the subsequent process of pacification.

If the Flavian military network in Wales and the Marches represents the apogee of the early imperial system for the control of newly conquered territory, it conveys an impression of overkill, especially in relation to the probable modest population of the region in the 1st century. ... (T)he situation changed rapidly with the

²⁰³ Op cit Wheeler R. E. M.1925 p.290

²⁰⁴ Op cit Burnham B. & Davies J. L., (eds.) 2010 p.37

²⁰⁵ Ibid p.43

²⁰⁶ Ibid p.47

²⁰⁷ Op cit Jarrett M. G. 1969 p.8

decision to push into Scotland, thereby ushering in a phase of selective garrison reductions which was to gather pace by the first two decades of the 2nd century.²⁰⁸

They present a picture of a conquest which had been accomplished by 78 A.D. with the militarisation of Wales and the Marches then diminishing during the subsequent forty years or so. This latter phase appears to have been initiated from around 79 A.D. through the massive reorganisation of Wroxeter with *Legio XX* being transferred around 83-4 A.D. to a new base in northern Britain.²⁰⁹ The significance of this analysis needs to be emphasised. Whereas Lloyd followed by Mortimer Wheeler and Nash-Williams had envisaged the militarisation of Wales as a feature which had been sustained throughout Britannia's incorporation within the Roman Empire, Burnham and Davies saw that phase as being essentially brief.

By Hadrian's reign Wales and the Marches ... had effectively ceased to be a frontier zone. By the latter part of that century the remaining units were few in number, possibly fragmented and by the 3rd century substantially reduced in strength. At some posts the garrison may have amounted to no more than a detachment of a few dozen *stationarii* operating as a security force in charge of the collection points for the *annona* ...²¹⁰

As Hadrian's reign extended from 117-138,²¹¹ the above highlights the essentially short-lived nature of the Roman military phase within Wales.

At this point it is appropriate to contrast the interpretation offered by Burnham and Davies in 2010 with that offered by Lloyd in 1911. For Lloyd

(t)he first point ... which has a bearing on the question of the relations of conquerors and conquered in Wales is the military purpose of the two standing camps of Isca and Dêva, with their network of dependent forts. No one who knows anything of the Roman army under the Empire will need to be told that two legions were not quartered for at least a couple of centuries on what is now the Welsh border without very good military reasons. There were but three in Britain and not many more than thirty in the whole Empire. ... While the northern peril was real and instant, ... the legions of Chester and Caerleon were stationed there quite as much to keep in subjection the Ordovices and the Silures, whom it had taken so many years to subdue ...²¹²

The existence of the legionary bases at Chester and Caerleon, in Lloyd's view, pointed to the continuing threat posed by the Ordovices and Silures. Burnham and Davies offer a markedly different interpretation.

²⁰⁸ Ibid p.48

²⁰⁹ Ibid pp.47-8

²¹⁰ Ibid p.48

²¹¹ Grant M., *History of Rome* (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London 1978) See p.404

²¹² Op cit Lloyd J. E., 1911 p.82

Throughout the 2nd and 3rd century the legionary fortresses at Caerleon and Chester ... had been retained long after the areas they were designed to watch were pacified. Certainly in Caerleon's case its retention after the Antonine period was in a tactical sense an anachronism, since it was remote from any serious threat, and is best explained by military inertia and by the fact that it represented a strategic reserve and a key piece in the balance of military power after the division of Britannia into two provinces...

Archaeological evidence from both fortresses testifies to ... [the] recurrent absences of personnel. Chester shows evidence of a severe reduction in the intensity of occupation from c. AD 120 onwards ... At Caerleon too there was a hiatus in rebuilding in stone until after c. AD 160, ... which must surely indicate the absence of much of the legion from its base until the withdrawal from Scotland had been completed.²¹³

On the basis of detailed field work extending over many decades, Welsh archaeology is at long last casting aside the intellectual legacy bequeathed by Lloyd and laying the foundations of a new understanding of Welsh history. On the basis of the foundations laid by figures such as Aileen Fox, Lilly Chitty and Michael Jarrett, and culminating in the work of Burnham and Davies, a point has been reached at which the views of modern archaeology are diametrically opposed to those advanced by Lloyd. Following a brief period of conquest, Wales is now regarded as having been rapidly assimilated into Roman Britannia, with the military aspect to Roman rule then receding. Burnham and Davies explain the diminished role of the Roman military in the following terms:

That the majority of forts could be abandoned is surely indicative of the acceptance of Roman rule, however truculently. While the Dobunni, Cornovii and Silures had gained *civitas* status under Hadrian, and probably by the end of the reign the Demetae too, a large portion of the region lacked the normal administrative framework based on the tribal *civitas*, even allowing for an extension of *civitas* boundaries. The remaining forts may thus have provided foci for an administrative system vested in the army and on the judico-administrative role of the *centurio regionarius* ...²¹⁴

That process of assimilation was seen from an early date as having encompassed not only the lands of the Dobunni and Cornovii primarily located to the east but also the Silures and the Demetae deep within western Britannia - all being reorganised as *civitates*. Moreover, in referring to the post of *centurio regionarius*, Burnham and Davies moved beyond the simple model of conquest, with territories being viewed as belonging either to the military zone or to the civil zone. Rather their analysis recognised that within the Roman system the army was responsible for organising the transition of conquered tribes from being subject to military control to being part of the civil zone. The key army official having responsibility for that process was the *centurio regionarius*. In relation to

²¹³ Op cit Burnham B. & Davies J. L., (eds.) 2010 pp.58-9

²¹⁴ Ibid p.54

this aspect Burnham and Davies carry the analysis far beyond the advances achieved by Michael Jarrett.

Almost a hundred years after the publication of the first edition of J.E.Lloyd's *A History of Wales* in 1911, the publication of Barry C.Burnham and Jeffrey L.Davies's *Roman Frontiers in Wales and the Marches* in 2010, highlighted the fact that Welsh archaeology has come to conclusions which are diametrically opposed to those of Lloyd. Whereas Lloyd had viewed Wales as in the main remaining as part of a military zone throughout the Imperial context, Burnham and Davies present a picture whereby Wales was largely, rapidly assimilated into the Roman civil system. Moreover, whereas Lloyd can be seen as having deliberately eschewed consideration of the process of assimilating the native tribes into the Roman system,²¹⁵ the work of Burnham and Davies points to the centrality of that process.

Given that the transformation of tribal territories into *civitates* is likely to have constituted a key initial stage in the process of assimilation, with the Dobunni, Cornovii, Silures and Demetae participating in that process at an early stage, with the Ordovices following subsequently, the issue of the location of the boundaries of those tribes again emerges to the fore.

Regarding that issue, Burnham and Davies make no claim to have advanced significantly beyond the analysis offered by Michael Jarrett.²¹⁶ His analysis was largely dependent on the earlier work of Rhys and Lloyd, and bereft of the concept of the Roman forts as an index of tribal territories he could not advance beyond that which had been achieved by Lloyd.²¹⁷ Given that situation the challenge now is to identify a basis upon which the analysis of the tribes of Wales can be advanced.

The tribes of Wales; towards an alternative perspective.

Attempts to locate the boundaries of the tribes of Wales have historically drawn heavily on the work of Ptolemy. The brevity of his account, implies that no definitive conclusions can be drawn from his work alone. Given subsequent difficulties in establishing the location of those tribal boundaries, the issue arises as to what primary evidence can be harnessed to supplement the summary descriptions of Ptolemy. Before considering that issue, it is appropriate to clarify the nature of the evidence provided by Ptolemy.²¹⁸

²¹⁵ Lloyd could have addressed the issue when considering Venta Silurum, but did not do so. See op cit Lloyd J. E., 1911, 1st ed, pp.80-1

²¹⁶ Op cit Burnham B. & Davies J. L., (eds.) 2010 pp. 19-23

²¹⁷ As is the case with the above authors, Toby Driver's analysis of the tribes of Wales also appears to be derived ultimately from the work of Rhys and Lloyd. See Driver T.G., *Architecture, regional identity and power in the Iron Age landscapes of mid Wales* (Archaeopress, Oxford 2013) BAR British Series 583. See in particular pp.40-3 and fig 3.12 p.41

²¹⁸ This analysis of the foundations of Ptolemy's work draws heavily on two works, namely op cit Rivet A. L. F. & Smith C. 1982 pp. 103-47 & Manning W. H., 'Ptolemy and the pre-Flavian military sites of Britain', in van Waateringe W. G., van Beek B. L., Willems W. J. H., Wynia W.L., *Roman Frontier Studies 1995* (Oxbow Books, Oxford 1997) pp.33-40.

It is believed that Claudius Ptolemaeus never set foot in the Roman province of Britannia, for he was a mathematician and astronomer who was based in Alexandria. His key work from the British perspective, the *Geographia*, is dated by Rivet and Smith to the period 140-150 A.D.²¹⁹ Such an early date in itself limited the evidence available to him in his consideration of western Britain, but his sources were even more restricted than that date suggests.

Ptolemy based his *Geographia* primarily on an earlier work by Marinus of Tyre who himself employed secondary sources. Moreover, Ptolemy appears to have harnessed two sources of different dates. For the area which is of specific interest to this analysis, namely the territory to the south of the lands of the Brigantes, it appears that he employed a pre-Flavian source composed before 65 A.D.²²⁰ For the lands to the north, a later source reflecting the situation that existed to 84 A.D. was employed, but Ptolemy did selectively update that northern material so as in one instance to reflect an event which had occurred as late as the early 120s.²²¹ The material of relevance to western Britain should be regarded as relating to the pre 65 A.D. context, that is a period prior to the conquest of most of the Welsh tribes. That should be taken into account when using Ptolemy's work to locate the relevant tribal boundaries.

A further issue concerns the nature of the project which both Ptolemy and his predecessors were pursuing. Ptolemy, as well probably as Marinus of Tyre were not focused on producing a detailed map of Britain. They were engaged in a far broader undertaking which sought to represent graphically the world which was known to them. As a consequence they never attempted to produce detailed maps of specific tribal areas, or even Roman provinces. Rather, their aim was to record only those details necessary to their undertaking and that usually amounted to no more than the names of the main tribes together with a few key settlements within each tribal area.

For Ptolemy, what was essential was to be able to give co-ordinates for one or more locations within each tribal area so as to place a specific territory on his map. Given that in 65 A.D. the lands of a number of western tribes had not been completely over-run by the Roman army, the settlements referred to by Ptolemy were not necessarily Roman forts or even substantial settlements. Despite the fact that those locations were referred to as *poleis* or cities, that term was used in a very loose manner.²²²

An issue also arises with regard to the accuracy of his co-ordinates. As noted above, for his basic data Ptolemy relied on secondary sources such as the work of Marinus of Tyre. Those sources were then supplemented by information drawn from Roman road lists - sources similar to the Antonine Itinerary - to provide Ptolemy with the distances between key locations. He then appears to have replotted the locations cited by Marinus and

²¹⁹ Op cit Rivet A.L.F. & Smith C. 1982, pp. 103-47 and in particular pp.103 & 114

²²⁰ It is evident that J.E. Lloyd had not grasped this fact for he regarded the absence of references to locations such as Segontium and Conovium as reflecting a weakness in Ptolemy's work. See op cit Lloyd J. E. 1911 pp.39-40

²²¹ Op cit Manning W. H., in van Waateringe W. G., van Beek B. L., Willems W. J. H., Wynia W. L. 1997, pp.33-40. See in particular pp.33-6

²²² Ibid p. 33

recalculated the relevant co-ordinates. As a consequence, his work is characterised by considerable inaccuracy.²²³ Despite those short-comings, his *Geographia* remains a key source for any attempt to locate the tribal territories of early Roman Britannia. Given an awareness of the rationale of his work, the challenge is to identify complementary material which will enable key tribal boundaries to be located.

Ptolemy's account located the Brigantes as the key group to the south of whom were situated three tribes, the Ordovices, the Cornovii and the Corieltauvi.²²⁴ That outline has traditionally been interpreted as implying that the Ordovices enjoyed a dominant position within northern Wales, with the Cornovii being relegated to territory beyond Offa's Dyke. Whilst that orthodoxy has dominated the archaeological literature of Wales, it should be observed that an alternative interpretation does exist within the broader archaeological literature. That accords the Cornovii an important position within mid-Wales. Initially, the perspective offered by the work of Ian A. Richmond will be considered.²²⁵

In 1963, in a context in which Michael Jarrett was publishing his earliest analysis of the tribes of Wales,²²⁶ Richmond presented a contrasting view of Cornovian territory.

The tribes with whom the Cornovii marched were the Coritani of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire in the east, the Brigantes to north-east, the Deceangli to north-west, the Ordovices to west and the Dobunni to south. ... The northern boundary will be the Mersey valley and the sea, the north-westward the Saltney marshes, the south the Clwydian Hills and the east end of the Berwyns. The west lies wide open, and here it may be thought that to any overlord commanding the Wrekin the wide lands of the Upper Severn valley would prove as attractive as they did to the Normans, for whom the natural frontier lay at Montgomery, where the Severn debouches from the Welsh hills. This was the heritage of the Dark Age kings of Powys, which included much of Cornovian territory, thus to be thought of as embracing the fertile eastern division of the Upper Severn.²²⁷

²²³ Ibid p.33

²²⁴ Op cit Rivet A. L. F. & Smith, C. 1982. See pp. 141-3.

²²⁵ Richmond was originally from Rochdale but attended Ruthin School, where he appears to have acquired some grasp of Welsh. In an article on Roman Wales he cites the Welsh text of the Mabinogion, referring his English readers to an English translation of the text. At Corpus Christi College, Oxford his studies included Ptolemy's *Geographia*. An initial phase of his apprenticeship as an excavator was served under Mortimer Wheeler in the excavation of Segontium. See op cit Matthew H. C. G. & Harrison B. (eds), 2004, vol.46 pp.876-8. **Richmond, Sir Ian Archibald**. Also Richmond I. A., 'Roman Wales', in Foster I. Ll. & Daniel G. (eds) *Prehistoric and Early Wales* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1965) pp.151-175 and in particular ft.n.5 p.168

²²⁶ Op cit Jarrett M. G. in the *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies*, vol.20 1963 pp.206-20. See in particular pp.209-10. At that point, Jarrett was interpreting the situation from deep within the Mortimer Wheeler and Nash-Williams perspective

²²⁷ Richmond I. A., 'The Cornovii', in Foster I. Ll. & Alcock L. (eds.), *Culture and Environment* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1963) pp.251-62. See in particular pp.252-4. In this article, his use of linguistic evidence to support his archaeological analysis is reminiscent of the earlier approach of Sir John Rhys.

From Richmond we have an indication of the problematic nature of the traditional view of the frontier between the Ordovices and the Cornovii. He noted that for the military commander of the Cornovii located on the commanding heights of the Wrekin, ‘the west lay wide open’. Moreover, he raised an unaddressed issue at the heart of the traditional accounts of Welsh history. If the kingdom of Powys ‘included much of Cornovian territory’ how did that relate to the concept of Powys as the land of the Ordovices. His view of Cornovian territory ‘as embracing the fertile eastern division of the Upper Severn’ potentially extended Cornovian territory deep into the kingdom of Powys, seemingly rendering it into a Cornovian rather than an Ordovician realm.²²⁸

Earlier, in a magisterial survey of Roman Wales presented to the British Summer School of Archaeology at Bangor in 1959, Richmond had offered another insight into the location of the territory of the Cornovii.²²⁹ Though that article was not focused on the location of the tribal territories, in passing, it addressed that issue. He referred to the Ordovices as a north Wales tribe, whilst his map of Roman Wales extended the territory of the Cornovii deep into modern Montgomeryshire.²³⁰ That paper was not published until 1965, the year of Richmond’s death.²³¹ Though his views on the location of those tribal boundaries were not fully developed, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that as compared with the orthodox position within Welsh archaeology, Richmond had a very different concept of the location of the territories of both the Cornovii and the Ordovices.

The glimpse he provided of an alternative perspective on Cornovian and Ordovician territory was carried further by C.J.Spurgeon in a paper on the hillforts of the Upper Severn Basin published in 1972.²³² He regarded that basin as part of Cornovian territory.

The tribesmen defending the area against the Romans were probably of the Cornovii, later to be centred on the Romanised capital at Viroconium Cornoviorum. The apparent lack of any significant differences between the Shropshire sites and those under consideration supports this, as does the Dark Age unity of the two areas, within the kingdom of Powys, before the Mercian coming. On considering the sites it seems possible to suggest that Cornovian territory may have reached as far as the Caersws area, with Cefn Carnedd possibly representing the westernmost citadel of the tribe.²³³

The analysis presented by Richmond and Spurgeon casts a new light on the territory to be accorded to the Cornovii. Far from being a tribe to be located to the east of Offa’s Dyke

²²⁸ In 1976 H. N. Savory expressed his support for Richmond’s analysis. See op cit Savory H. N., in Harding D.W. (ed.) 1976 pp.237-91. See in particular p.283

²²⁹ Op cit Richmond I.A. in Foster I. Ll. & Daniel G. (eds) 1965 pp.151-175

²³⁰ Ibid. See in particular pp.151-3

²³¹ Ibid. Though presented in 1959, there is evidence that Richmond’s paper had been updated subsequently. See e.g. fnt. 4 p. 164. See also op cit Matthew H. C. G. & Harrison B. (eds), 2004, vol.46 pp.876-8. **Richmond, Sir Ian Archibald**

²³² Spurgeon C. J., ‘Enclosures of Iron Age type in the Upper Severn Basin’, in op cit Lynch F. & Burgess C. 1972 pp. 321-44

²³³ Ibid p.325

they emerge as having territory deep into the upper Severn basin.²³⁴ That however is not the end of the matter, for another leading Welsh archaeologist, H.N.Savory carried the analysis further. He argued that the hillforts of the Cornovii and the Deceangli were distinctive, being characterised by inturned entrances with a rectangular dry-stone lined guard-chamber which he regarded as constituting the classical ‘Cornovian’ type of hillfort entrance. Savory also acknowledged that such entrances featured further south in the Hereford area.²³⁵

The significance of Savory’s analysis is that it highlights the architecture of hillforts as a key aspect which can contribute to the identification of tribal territories. Thus where Rhys sought to harness Indo-European linguistics and Jarrett sought to harness the location of Roman forts, Savory offered an alternative means of locating those territorial boundaries. Indeed Savory is quite explicit in regarding north-west Wales as having a distinctive hillfort tradition.

...(T)here are recurring features at the Gwynedd forts which are hardly ever found in the Marches and must be derived from another direction. The most obvious is the predilection for back-terracing of the walls ... That the building tradition represented by such structures owes something to maritime connections with Brittany and even with southern France, is suggested also by the presence on at least one site in Gwynedd ... of dry-stone ramparts strengthened back and front with successive revetments, built up from the original surface in the manner of the *Murus Duplex* of southern France ...²³⁶

Savory’s analysis does not imply that there existed a direct relationship between a specific hill-fort building tradition and a particular tribe. Rather it implies that the architecture of hillforts constitutes one important aspect which needs to be taken into account when locating tribal boundaries. So as to appreciate the nature of the evidence presented by Savory, there is a need to step back from consideration of specific tribal boundaries to view the broader context. In his paper *Welsh Hillforts: a Reappraisal of Recent Research*, published in 1976 he considered

... the evolution of the defended settlement in Wales, from the Late Bronze Age onwards, as part of a cultural process in which the different, well-defined geographical regions of Wales and the Marches were affected, to varying degrees at different times, not only by variously orientated “contacts” and “influences” but by actual movements of people, displaced by the periodical upheavals which we know took place on the Continent during later prehistoric times, however little we may know about such movements historically in Britain.²³⁷

²³⁴ The territory accorded to the Cornovii by Graham Webster in his volume *The Cornovii* appears to be based on the work of Richmond and Spurgeon. See Webster G., *The Cornovii* (Duckworth, London 1975) and in particular fig. 4 p.7

²³⁵ Op cit Savory H. N. in op cit Harding D. W. (ed.) 1976 pp.237-91. See in particular pp.261 & 265

²³⁶ Ibid pp.268-9

²³⁷ Ibid p.241. See also Savory H.N., 'Wales from a Wessex point of view' in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 125 1976 pp. 1-12

The processes considered by Savory were complex and the most that can be achieved in the current article is to highlight the main features of his analysis. Savory was of the view that the hillfort architecture of the western (and southern) regions of Wales reflected contact with the traditions of Cornwall, Brittany and southern France. Alongside that tradition he saw a zone to the east, extending from the Severn estuary through the Welsh Marches and their adjoining areas to the west, within which a different hillfort architecture had been employed. He noted that

... the appearance of Continental elements in the final phase of the Bronze Age of southern Britain ... seems to have been accompanied by the spread of hillfort building. By now, however, hillforts were being built in contour as well as promontory positions and construction with single or double palisades, or timber-laced "box" ramparts, had replaced timber staging of the Wittnau and Dinorben type. Moreover, ... a distinctive form of deeply and sharply inturned entrance now appears in the Welsh Marches ... and survives there, in various forms, until the immediate pre-Roman period. ... In the broadest terms, this tradition must relate to Continental practice.

From the heavy concentration of inturned entrances in the Marches and their apparent failure to become well-established further west in Wales ... one might conclude that their introduction was due to the foreign element which also introduced timber palisades and timber-framed box ramparts, often used in southern England and on the Marches to enclose very large areas.²³⁸

Within Iron Age Wales, Savory envisaged two distinctive architectural traditions existing side by side. The westerly tradition reflected maritime contact with Cornwall, Brittany and southern France, whilst the tradition located in the Marches and the Severn basin reflected other more easterly Continental influences.

The analysis thus returns to the issue initially raised by Lily Chitty in her article of 1937.²³⁹ One key aspect to subsequent research has been an affirmation of the concept that the builders of those hill forts moved into Wales and the Marches along the river valleys from the south. In a Council for British Archaeology Report published in 1979 S. C. Stanford presented an overview of that process, venturing further than Savory's earlier article:

What we are envisaging then is an incursion into the rich farmland of Wessex and the comparably fertile areas of the Welsh Border by a group of warriors bringing the hill-fort idea and rectangular buildings some time between about 600 and 450 B.C. followed c. 300 B.C. by new adventurers from the Continent who introduced the guard-roomed inturned entrances and a military organisation that could maintain permanent guards. These were the 'Border Barons' of the earlier Iron Age, taking over the land of the Border even as the Normans were to do a millennium and more later. Such an invasion could bring about comparable

²³⁸ Ibid pp.253-4

²³⁹ Op cit Chitty L. F. in *Archaeologia Cambrensis* vol. 92 1937 pp.129-150

results with no more than two or three thousand warriors capable of subduing a peaceful population that was ill-organised for its own defence.²⁴⁰

What is of significance in these accounts is not only recognition of the existence of a distinctive architectural tradition within the Welsh Marches, but also that the thrust of the whole process lay to the south. Whereas Lloyd had envisaged new influences permeating Wales from the east, Chitty, Savory and Stanford identify a process of incursion into the midlands of Britain along the great rivers of Wales and the Marches, namely the Severn and the Wye.²⁴¹ In due course, that process led to the establishment of lines of demarcation between the sustainers of those architectural practices. A number of archaeologists have regarded that pattern of differentiation as representing tribal boundaries.

A. H. A. Hogg²⁴² saw the walled forts of north-west Wales as representing a separate cultural entity, whilst Savory was dismissive of Jarrett and Mann's claims that Ordovician territory extended into central Wales.

... (W)e cannot ignore the evidence ... of a distinctive hillfort group in north-west Wales, with a marked natural frontier separating it from the continuous spread of hillforts through the upper Severn basin, which one would naturally attribute to the Cornovii as Richmond, indeed, did ... These are two distinct cultures ...²⁴³

²⁴⁰ Op cit Stanford S. C. in Thomas C. (ed.) 1972 pp.30 & 33-4.

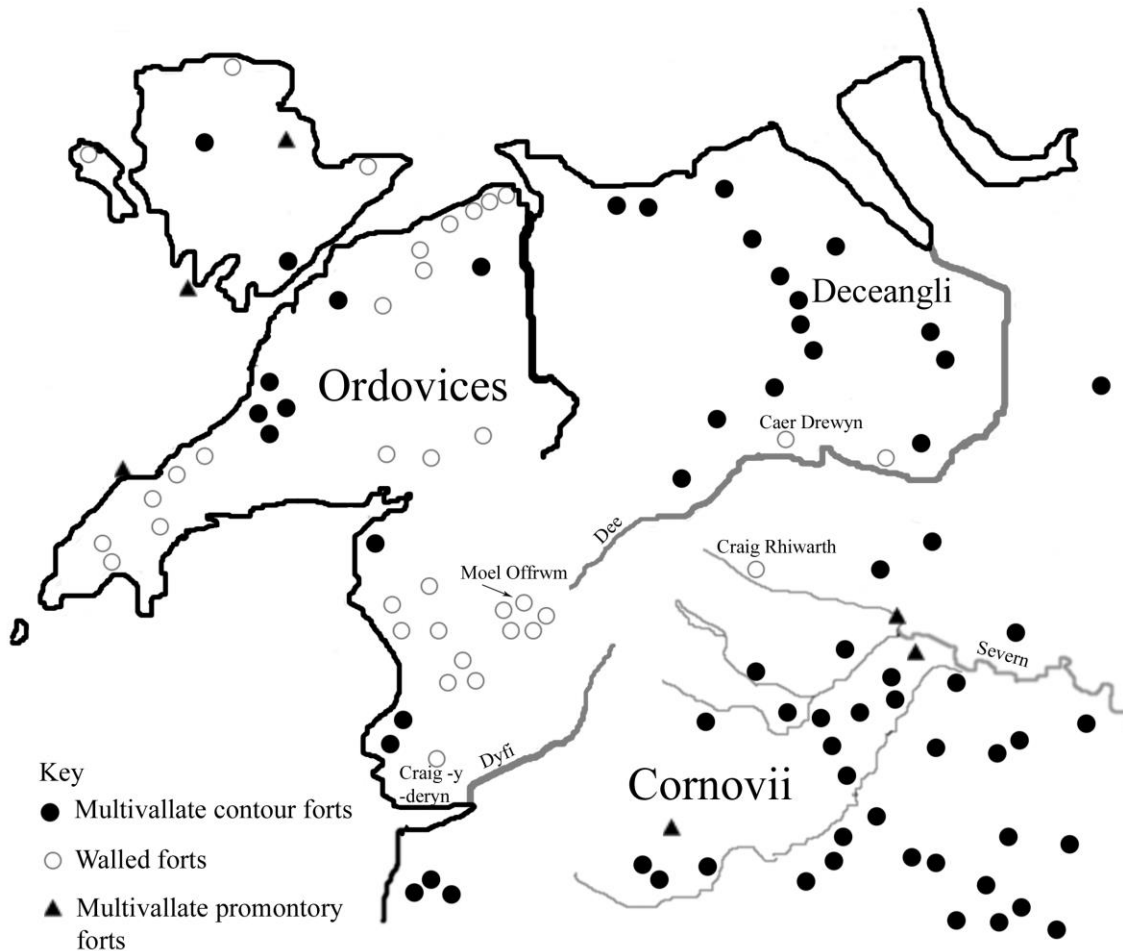
²⁴¹ It must be acknowledged that this approach is not supported by all archaeologists. Referring to the Welsh tribes J.L.Davies stated: 'The origins of these Celtic communities inhabiting the principality are to be sought not in a pattern of migration and interaction with indigenes but rather in a protracted phase of social and economic change affecting sedentary communities over at least a millennium.' See Davies, J.L., 'The Early Celts in Wales' in Green M. J. (ed.) *The Celtic World* (Routledge, London 1995) pp. 671-700. See in particular p.671. Subsequently Davies, working in collaboration with Frances Lynch, appears to have moderated his views. In *Prehistoric Wales*, in referring to the late Bronze Age and Iron Age, they stated '... it is now thought unlikely that any large-scale settlement by new people occurred at this time, although continental affairs undoubtedly influenced events in this country'. Whilst ruling out the possibility of large-scale settlement, in accordance with the views of Savory and others, that statement accommodated the possibility of small-scale movements of people. See Davies, J. L. & Lynch, F., 'The late Bronze Age and Iron Age' in Lynch, F., Aldhouse-Green, S. & Davies, J. L. *Prehistoric Wales* (Sutton Publishing, Stroud, 2000), pp. 139-219. See in particular p. 139. In recent years there has been further limited acknowledgement of the validity of the approach of authors such as Savory, Stanford and Hogg. In his paper 'Understanding the Iron Age: towards agenda for Wales' Adam Gwilt of the National Museum of Wales, stated that '... the regional diversity of hillfort characteristics, long described, deserves to come to the fore again in our thinking'. See Briggs C.S. (ed.) *Towards a research agenda for Welsh archaeology* (Archaeopress, Oxford, 2003) BAR British Series 343 pp. 105-22. See in particular p. 113 As yet that recognition of the importance of hillfort characteristics has not resulted in major inter-regional studies the equal of those presented by Savory.

²⁴² Hogg A. H. A., 'Early Iron Age Wales' in Foster I. Ll. & Daniel G. (eds) *Prehistoric and Early Wales* (Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1965) pp.109-150, & Hogg A. H. A. 'Hill-forts in the coastal area of Wales' in Thomas C. (ed.), *The Iron Age in the Irish Sea province* (C.B.A. Research Report 9, 1972) pp.11-23. Also Hogg A. H. A 'Garn Boduan and Tre'r Ceiri, excavations at two Caernarvonshire hill-forts' in *The Archaeological Journal* vol. 117 1960, pp.1-39

²⁴³ Op. cit. Savory H. N. in op cit Harding D. W. (ed.) 1976 pp.237-91. See in particular p.283

Savory saw the Ordovices as a tribe located in north-west Wales, with the territory of the Cornovii extending ‘through the upper Severn basin’ to their south. The ‘marked natural frontier’ which he regarded as constituting the boundary between the Ordovices and the Cornovii, was the Bala Cleft. He noted the possibility that by the late fifth century B.C. if not earlier, the walled fort tradition of Gwynedd had been established at both ends of that feature through hillforts at *Caer Drewyn* to the east and *Moel Offrwm* to the west.

Map 5. The tribes of north and mid-Wales and their hillforts



Based on Savory H.N., Fig 16 Distribution of Multivallate forts in Wales, in op cit Harding D.W. (ed.) 1976 p.283

He illustrated his analysis by means of a map which differentiated between multivallate forts and walled forts. His map also reveals that a number of walled forts existed to the south of the Bala Cleft, with a cluster of six small walled forts being located within southern Meirionnydd, together with one major walled fort at *Craig-y-Deryn* to the south of the river *Dysynni*. The existence of those fortifications indicates that Ordovician territory probably extended down to the river *Dyfi* and that the line demarcated by the river *Dyfi* and the river *Dee* constituted the boundary between the Ordovices and the

Cornovii.²⁴⁴ The existence of these distinct cultural regions is one key aspect which needs to be taken into account when considering the work of Ptolemy.

To the south of the Brigantes it will be recalled that he located three tribes whose territories implicitly spanned the breadth of Britain, from the Irish Sea to the North sea. They were the Ordovices to the west, the Cornovii in the centre and the Corieltauvi to the east. Given the above analysis, the territory of the Ordovices can be regarded as being located to the north and west of the boundaries constituted by the river Dee and the river Dyfi, a territory within the north east of which the Ordovician exercised over-lordship over the Deceangli. That provides an initial basis for locating the territories of the other tribes of Wales. Given the relocation of the Ordovician from the territories in mid Wales formerly accorded them by Rhys and Lloyd, with the territory of the Cornovii being extended west into the upper Severn basin, the Cornovii emerge as the tribe which is axiomatic to locating the boundaries of the other tribes of Wales.

A key consideration concerning the territory of the Cornovii is that it included both the Roman legionary fort at Chester and the city of Viroconium. Given that the legionary base at Deva had been located within the territory of the Cornovii, their western boundary was defined by the territory of the Ordovices outlined above. To the east, the boundary between Cornovian territory and the territory of the Brigantes was also demarcated by rivers. I.A.Richmond pointed to the river Mersey as constituting that boundary.²⁴⁵ There is no reason to dispute that view other than that it fell short of recognising the full extent of Cornovian territory. According to this analysis the northern Cornovian boundary along the Mersey ran to its headwaters and then continued along the river Don to the Humber estuary. The river Mersey and the river Don are thus regarded as having constituted the northern boundary between the Cornovii and the Brigantes.²⁴⁶

With regard to the continuation of that boundary, Ptolemy implies that the territory of the Cornovii extended east to share a boundary with the Corieltauvi. Given that Cornovian territory extended to the Humber estuary, the river Trent emerges as the natural boundary between those two tribes, with the river Welland constituting the southern boundary of Corieltauvian territory.²⁴⁷ In turn the Welland watershed can be seen as following through into the headwaters of the Avon suggesting a natural boundary with the territory of the Cornovii and then the Dobunni.²⁴⁸ The immediate concern of this analysis is with

²⁴⁴ Ibid p.457 Craig Rhiwarth is the exception to the above analysis, for it is located well to the south of the river Dee. It can be viewed as indicating the fluid nature of the boundary at an earlier stage in history.

²⁴⁵ Op cit Richmond I. A., 'The Cornovii', in Foster I. Ll. & Alcock L. (eds.) 1963 pp.251-62. See also op cit Cunliffe B. 1991 p.188

²⁴⁶ Following the Roman conquest, it appears that this line was to be of continuing importance, constituting the southern boundary of the northern military province of Britannia in the fourth century. See Mann J.C., 'Duces and comites in the 4th century' in Johnstonn D.E. (ed.) *The Saxon shore* (Council for British Archaeology, London 1977) Research Report No. 18, pp. 11-15. See in particular p.12

²⁴⁷ Todd M. *The Coritani* (Duckworth, London 1973) See pp.14-5 Todd suggests that the boundary between the Coritani and the Catuvellauni ran between the Nene and Welland but it is difficult to understand why any military elite would opt for an indefinite boundary when a specific boundary which could be defended by arms was available. Also op cit Cunliffe B. 1991 pp. 175-8

²⁴⁸ Whitwell J. B., *The Coritani* (B.A.R., Oxford 1982) British Series 99. See pp.29-32. Whitwell states that there is at present little evidence upon which to locate the boundary between the Coritani and the Dobunni.

the location of the territory of the Cornovii with the Dobunni and as a consequence the territory of the latter tribe will initially be considered as a basis for locating its frontier with the Cornovii.

It is generally agreed that the Dobunni held extensive lands to the south of the Severn and the Severn estuary. As those lands are peripheral to this analysis, the generally accepted view of the location of that boundary is adopted and demarcated on the accompanying map.²⁴⁹ The key issue concerns the boundary of the lands which the Dobunni held to the north of the Severn.

The evidence that the territory of the Dobunni extended to that region takes the form of a milestone discovered in 1796 near Kenchester, the inscription on which included the letters R.P.C.D.²⁵⁰ Those letters were interpreted by Francis Haverfield as meaning *r(es) p(ublica) c(ivitatis) D(obunorum)*,²⁵¹ an interpretation which implies that Kenchester was located within the territory of *Civitas Dobunorum*. That indicated that in the pre-Roman context the area would have been part of the tribal territory of the Dobunni. It should be observed that the milestone in question was discovered at a very significant location, immediately to the north of the river Wye on the lowlands dominated by the great Iron Age hillfort, Credenhill. That hill-fort was described by S.C.Stanford as ‘an iron-age hill-fort capital’.²⁵²

Credenhill hillfort occupies a commanding position between the river Wye and the river Teme, the latter being a tributary of the Severn. Its location provides a magnificent view in a number of directions including to the south-east, towards the river Severn but also along the middle Wye valley.²⁵³ Another major iron age hill-fort, Burfa in Radnorshire is situated further upstream. Accordingly, it appears that the river Wye constituted the boundary between the Silures and the Dobunni in the Kenchester region and beyond. There is thus a possibility that having penetrated the area in the early fourth century B.C., a new military elite established itself in control of a series of hill forts located between the Wye and the Teme. That elite appears to have either consolidated pre-existing control or established the control of the Dobunni over a territory extending to the western watershed of the Wye on the slopes of Pumlumon, thus creating the possibility of a further extension of their territory west into the lands of the Demetae.²⁵⁴ The rationale of such a departure is reasonably clear.

See also ‘Map of Iron Age tribal coinage of the Coritani and neighbouring tribes’ Fig 4 p.369 which largely supports the interpretation offered above.

²⁴⁹ See e.g. op cit Cunliffe B. 1991 pp.170-5

²⁵⁰ Collingwood R. G. & Wright R. P., *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain*, vol. 1, *Inscriptions on stone* (Oxford, Clarendon Press 1965) p.703

²⁵¹ Correspondence, ‘Haverfield F. Romano-British place-names in Roman inscriptions’ in *The Academy*, August 1 1896, p.86. See also Applebaum S., ‘A note on three Romano-British placenames’ in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, vol.17, 1954, pp.77-9

²⁵² Op cit Stanford S. C. in *The Archaeological Journal* vol. 127 1970, pp.82-129

²⁵³ Op cit Stanford S. C. in *The Archaeological Journal* vol. 127 1970, pp.82-129. See in particular p.85

²⁵⁴ Ibid pp.118-24

Having reaching the summit of Pumlumon, on a clear day members of such a military elite could have surveyed the whole of Cardigan Bay, from Pembrokeshire to the Llŷn Peninsula. There beneath them they would have viewed the lowlands of what we now identify as northern Ceredigion, with the hill-fort at Pendinas on the estuary of the Ystwyth in the distance. S.C.Stanford refers to adventurers who struck out on their own to establish independent communities. Such a perspective provides one possible framework to explain the presence of a military elite having affinities to that of the Marches at both Gaer Fawr and Pen Dinas in northern Ceredigion. Such a force, operating from the upper Wye valley, could have penetrated the northern lands of the Demetae but subsequently failed to integrate its new conquests into the broader territory of the Dobunni.²⁵⁵

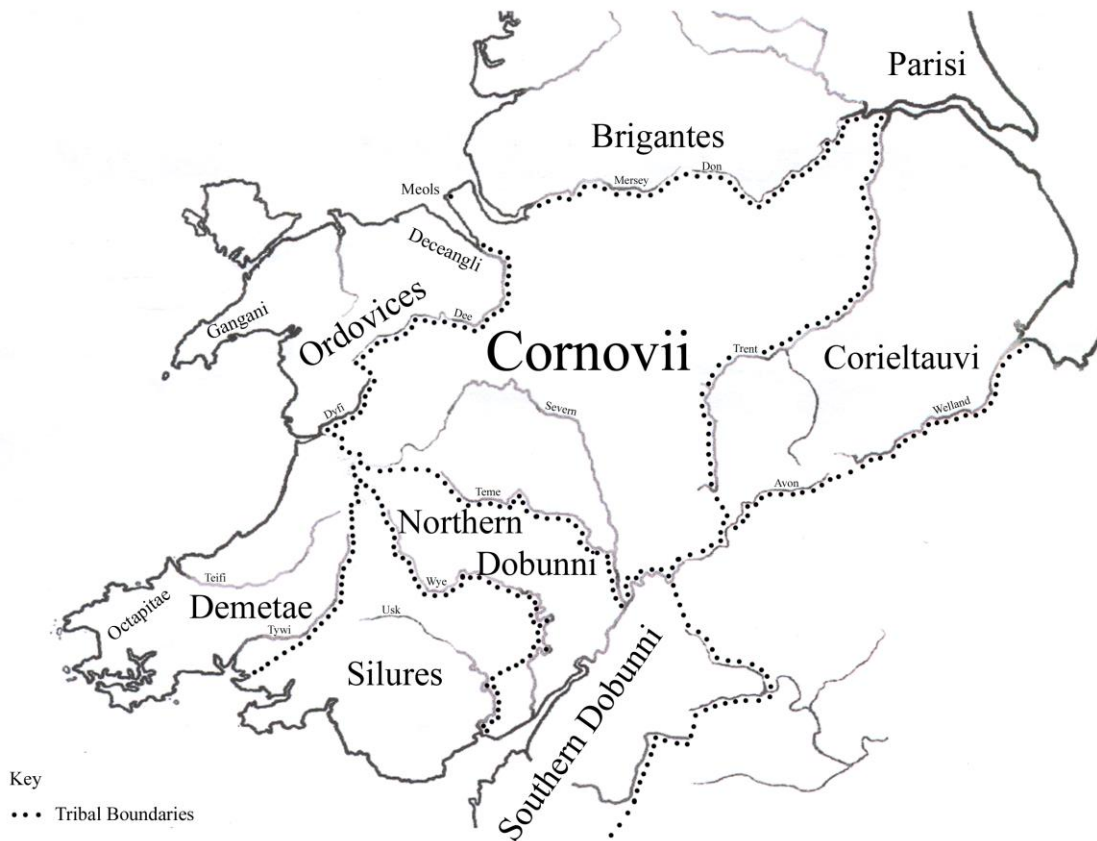
Stanford's analysis of the hill-forts also provides an indication of the location of the boundary between the Dobunni and the Cornovii. He noted that in terms of size and structure the hill-fort at Titterstone Cleve situated to the north of the river Teme appears to have been a capital for the hill-forts of south Shropshire.²⁵⁶ If that was the case, the river Teme, along its length, would have provided a boundary between the Dobunni and the Cornovii. Beyond the upper reaches of the river Teme, the upland which separates the river Wye from the river Severn as both flow from their respective watersheds in the Pumlumon range, may have demarcated the boundary between the two tribes.

Reference was made above to the manner in which the watershed of the Wye in the Pumlumon range offers a commanding position over northern Ceredigion. It should be observed that the watershed of the river Severn in that same mountain range offers an even more commanding position over western Montgomeryshire. For a military commander of the Cornovii based at Cefn Carnedd, the summit of Moel Fadian (grid ref. SN 828955) on the Severn watershed, lay less than a day's journey from his base. Were he to have made that journey, he would have been in a position to survey the course of the river Dyfi from its estuary twelve miles to the west, to its source twenty miles to the north in the mountains beyond Dinas Mawddwy. To such a figure, the strategic importance of the area would have been immediately apparent. Control of the southern bank of the Dyfi valley would offer the Cornovii access to the sea to the west, whilst presenting little in the way of natural defences against penetration from the east. If the Dyfi valley was not already subject to Cornovian power by the fifth century B.C., it is difficult to envisage how it could have subsequently resisted integration.

²⁵⁵ Op cit Stanford S. C. in Thomas C. (ed.) 1972 pp.25-36 See in particular p.34. The recent contribution by Toby Driver to the analysis of the architecture of the hill-forts of northern Ceredigion must be acknowledged. He saw those hill-forts as incorporating ideas derived from central and eastern Wales. His analysis, however, has not as yet been developed to encompass the broader perspective to the work of authors such as H. N. Savory and S. C. Stanford.

²⁵⁶ Ibid p.122

Map 6. The tribes of central Britain : an alternative interpretation



The concept of tribal boundaries which emerges from this analysis is fully in keeping with the account presented by Ptolemy whereby three tribes were seen as occupying territory which extended the full breadth of Britain. It is a perspective which also presents a very different concept of the territories of three of the Welsh tribes.

It confines the Ordovices to the land to the north of the rivers Dyfi and Dee, whilst in locating the boundaries of the Cornovii, it demarcates a territory which placed that tribe in a commanding position within the midlands of Britain of the pre-Roman era. That approach is firmly in keeping with the view of H. N. Savory.

It is ... difficult to resist the conclusion that at some stage in the fifth or fourth centuries B.C. a large area in the west Midlands and the Marches came under the same rule, vested presumably, in a royal dynasty and served by men who maintained a standardised tradition of military engineering over a long period.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Op cit Savory H. N. in op cit Harding D. W. (ed.) 1976 pp.237-91. See in particular p.266

It also identifies the Cornovii as a tribe having access to the estuaries of the rivers Dyfi, Dee, Mersey and Humber. In turn, the Dobunni are regarded as having a base to the south of the river Severn, and Severn estuary, but also as having extensive lands to the north, in the territory between the river Wye and the river Teme. A minor amendment is also proposed with regard to the territory of the Silures.

North of the Black Mountains, Silurian territory probably extended to the river Wye, but south of those mountains, the river Usk should probably be seen as constituting the boundary between Silures and Dobunni. This view is supported by the fact that a number of Dobunnic coins have been discovered in the region which lies between the river Usk and the river Wye south of the Black Mountains.²⁵⁸ The linguistic evidence tentatively advanced by Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, which regards the Silurian dialect as having been influenced by the dialect of the Dobunni, should also be seen as supporting that view.²⁵⁹ This redrawing of tribal boundaries does not impinge on the Demetae and as a consequence, their tribal boundaries need not be considered.

J. E. Lloyd and the tribes of Wales.

The basic difficulty with the analysis of the tribes of Wales advanced by J. E. Lloyd, stemmed not only from his Aryan racist assumptions but also from his identification of the Belgic tribes as the social force which carried the Brythonic language and Iron Age culture to Britain. That claim, which is of major importance to his analysis of the Welsh past, is clearly invalid and raises suspicions regarding the adequacy of much of his account of the development of early Welsh society. Those doubts extend well beyond the bounds of the initial three chapters of his *A History of Wales*, which though retained in the body of the books were effectively replaced by a new introduction in 1939.²⁶⁰

By focusing on relations between south-eastern Britain and the European mainland, Lloyd overlooked earlier contacts which originated from areas to the west. In order to cast further light on the development of the Welsh tribes, there is need to focus anew on the nature of the architecture of the hill-forts of Wales so as to identify the areas from which key structural features originated. Moreover, the revised approach to the tribal boundaries presented in this paper bears important implications for understanding not only the Roman conquest but also the Romanisation of Wales.

Also of importance to Lloyd's interpretation of Welsh history was the view that Wales had its own distinctive tribes whose territories did not extend significantly beyond the border subsequently established between England and Wales. The present analysis offers a very different view according to which two of the tribes of Wales, namely the Cornovii and the Dobunni, are regarded as having largely been based within latter day England. Lloyd's concept of Wales as having had its own distinctive tribes is thus fundamentally

²⁵⁸ Op cit Cunliffe B. 1991 pp.170-5 Ray Howell interprets the Dobunnic coins found within the region in question as evidence of trade. See op cit Howell R. 2006 pp.58-60

²⁵⁹ Op cit Rhys J. & Brynmor-Jones D., 1900 pp. 21-2. The inadequacy of their analysis can be readily acknowledged but it needs to be developed rather than dismissed.

²⁶⁰ Op cit Lloyd J. E., *A history of Wales* (London, 1939) 3rd ed. See 'Introduction' pp. xxix-lvi

challenged and a new territorial framework is presented from which to interpret the Roman conquest.

Through his treatment of the evidence relating to the Silures, the Demetae and the Ordovices, Lloyd sought to minimise the impact of the Roman conquest on Wales, but it is hoped that this study provides new indications of the extent to which Wales was Romanised. Thus, given that the territories of both the Cornovii and the Dobunni extended deep into Wales, the two *civitates*²⁶¹ established to govern their territories would have existed alongside *Civitas Silurum*,²⁶² *Civitas Demetarum*,²⁶³ and eventually *Civitas Venedotis*. Given that situation, and contrary to Lloyd's views, there can be little doubt that by the end of the fifth century the overwhelming proportion of the lands of Wales had been fully integrated into the Roman civil system.

Given the new view of the tribal territories outlined above, the challenge now is to broaden understanding of the course of the Roman conquest of western Britain and the subsequent process of Romanisation to which the tribes of Wales were subjected. That approach provides a means of correcting some of the fallacies which Lloyd built into our understanding of the past, some of which remain deeply embedded within Welsh History as a discipline.

E. W. Williams

30 April 2015

²⁶¹ That is, *Civitas Dobunorum* and *Civitas Cornoviorum*. See e.g. Wachter J., *The towns of Roman Britain* (Book Club Associates, London 1974) See in particular pp. 289-315 & 358-74.

²⁶² See e.g. *ibid* p.33

²⁶³ See e.g. *ibid* p.34