

The History of Belerion:

*An Investigation into the discussions of Greeks and
Romans in Cornwall*

[Volume One of One]

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Signed:

Cara Sheldrake

Abstract

"Who controls the past [...] controls the future: who controls the present controls the past,"¹

In the first century BCE Diodorus of Sicily described a corner of the British Isles he called Belerion and drew attention to the ingenious way the inhabitants extracted tin and the civilised manner they had acquired through trading that metal. In 2012 a tourist may stay in a bed and breakfast near Penzance or buy books from a shop named after that promontory. However, during the nineteenth century a debate amongst historians arose as to the meaning of Diodorus' Greek text, its relationship to other classical texts and the status of Cornwall in antiquity. The discussion involved at least ten treatments specifically of the topic in Cornwall alone and was incorporated into a variety of other narratives. The debate offers an unusual insight into the role of classical texts in the description and understanding of local identity.

This thesis looks at passages from the classical world that have been linked to Cornwall and which often have very little academic scholarship relating to them, and examines how they have been interpreted by Cornish historians. It will show how, despite the inconclusiveness of the ancient material, a connection between Cornwall and Greek and Roman traders has been constructed by Cornish writers, and why they were interested in doing so. This thesis suggests that the political and social contexts of local historiographers has actively shaped the interpretations of the texts often assigning a meaning to classical texts that allows a narrative of independence, cultural sophistication and unbroken mining innovation to be constructed concerning Cornwall. As such this thesis will form part of a rapidly expanding inter-disciplinary interest in our understanding of responses to the Classics and to our conception of the formation of regional historical narrative.

¹ G. Orwell (1973) p.38.

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Abbreviations

Where applicable abbreviations abide by the standards set out in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Hornblower and Spawforth 1996 edition) principal authors and works are as follows:

Caes. - (C. Iulius) Caesar

B. Gall – Bellum Gallicum

Diod. Sic. – Diodorus Siculus

Eratosth. - Eratosthenes

Hdt. - Herodotus

Plin. - Pliny (the Elder)

HN – Naturalis Historia

Plin. - Pliny (the Younger)

Ep. - Epistulae

Strab. - Strabo

Geog. - Geographika

Tac. - Tacitus

Agr. - Agricola

Other Abbreviations used are as follows:

Carew - R. Carew (2004) *The Survey of Cornwall* J. Chynoweth, N. Orme & A. Walsham (eds.) Devon and Cornwall Record Society: Exeter

Corn. Arch. - *Cornish Archaeology* (1962-) Cornish Archaeological Society

Corn. St. - P. Payton (ed.) (1993-) *Cornish Studies (2nd Series)* University of Exeter Press: Exeter.

FGrH - F. Jacoby (1923 -) *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*

Lewis & Short - C.T. Lewis and C. Short (revised etc.) (1879) *A Latin Dictionary; Founded on Andrews' edition of Freund's Latin dictionary* Clarendon Press: Oxford

LSJ – H.G. Liddell & R. Scott, (eds.) Revised by H.S. Jones (1996) *Greek-English Lexicon* Clarendon Press: Oxford

POxy. – (1898 -) *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*

R. *Corn Gaz.* – (16th Mar.1811 - 27th Dec. 1900 &c) *The Royal Cornwall Gazette Falmouth Packet, Cornish Weekly News, & General Advertiser* Truro, England

RE – A. Pauly, G. Wissowa and W. Kroll (1893 -) *Real-Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*

RIC – Royal Institution of Cornwall

VCH part 1 – W. Page, (ed.) (1906) *The Victoria History of the County of Cornwall Vol. 1* Archibald Constable and Co. Ltd: London

VCH part 5 – F. Haverfield (1924) [Revised by M.V. Taylor] “Part 5: Romano-British Remains” *A History of the County of Cornwall* W. Page (ed.) Victoria History of the Counties of England: London

Introduction

Visitors to Cornwall are confronted with a complex image of the county that claims to be a modern surfing paradise and culinary and technological innovator whilst proudly displaying UNESCO world heritage status and boasting stone circles older than Stonehenge.² Delving into the history of Cornwall, however, suggests that contradictions and identity issues are more than skin-deep. It is possible to trace trends in the developments and popularity of images of Cornwall over the last several hundred years and moreover to show that the reasons for the shifting depictions of the region are themselves interesting and varied. Furthermore, it is clear that imagery is usually offered with a supporting background narrative that reaches across history to the audience. This thesis examines and offers new theories about the formulation of one historical trend in the county. It specifically shows how classical texts have been interpreted and manoeuvred to provide a series of coherent stories about the region of Cornwall in antiquity and its relevance to the modern county. It aims to identify trends in how and why writers working on the history of ancient Cornwall pick individual pieces of classical source material and select sections of text from them.

The thesis will offer a novel reflection on the ancient texts that talk about the tin trade in antiquity and their literary nuances and show how a variety of Cornish historians have chosen to interpret those particular texts in their unique local context and then suggest that one possible reason that they have done so is as part of the development of Cornish identity. The thesis will not only critically analyse little-studied historiographical material from the ancient world but will also offer a new interpretation of the creation of Cornish identity-narratives. By examining a selection of those Cornish writings from the late sixteenth century up to the beginning of the twentieth that build on the classical foundations in their descriptions it will also offer a new perspective on the usage of classical text in regional British historiography. Overall the thesis establishes that a range of Cornish historians actively engage with a specific set of classical material in order to demonstrate a strong tradition for mining and the existence of a pre-Roman community in the county that establishes a clear difference between Cornwall and the rest of Britain.

² See for example tourist focused websites: <http://www.visitcornwall.com/things-to-do/tourist-attractions/historic-sites-in-cornwall>; <http://www.cornwalls.co.uk/history/industrial/>; <http://www.cornwallinfocus.co.uk/culture/culture.php> [accessed 22/11/12].

It is hoped that the thesis will offer a new perspective on regional identity construction and its importance to interpretation of source material by historians. However, in order to focus on self-conceptualisation of identity the thesis does not examine in depth histories of England or Britain that happen to include the history of Cornwall (with one exception). It concentrates specifically on the interpretation of one subsection of documentary material, historiography, that focuses on the topic of early/pre-Roman conquest history in a single defined locale. Therefore it addresses the usage of five classical texts in a dozen Cornish writings³ as an in-depth case-study.

Within the thesis, Cornwall is used to indicate the area covered by the modern British county division. Where it is used about the secondary authors and their texts, Cornish refers to people resident in Cornwall for a significant portion of their lives or who otherwise choose to actively identify themselves by that title. No ethnic implications are to be made by the term Cornish, and generally it should not be inferred that the authors' inclusion in the thesis automatically implies an overarching genetic or racial link or association with any specific linguistic and/or cultural heritage. However, connections to Cornwall or claims to them may be made individually and will be clear and explicit where they appear. Therefore the collection of Cornish 'writings' being investigated is primarily limited by the fact that it is produced by Cornish authors (as defined above) as well as because they explicitly or implicitly use ancient texts in their treatment of Cornish history. It is not possible in a work of this scale to gather all the extant Cornish historical texts; so, in order to maintain the focus of the thesis unpublished manuscripts are not covered and to avoid dealing with the professionalisation of historical-writing no texts written after the beginning of the First World War are considered.⁴

Similarly, throughout the thesis the term classical is used to refer to any evidence from Greece (and Greek-speaking colonies) from the sixth century BCE up to and including its inclusion in the Roman Empire and evidence from Rome and related provinces from the 2nd century BCE to 3rd CE and the study thereof. The term classical is not, unless otherwise specified (for example in a quotation) used to imply 'canonical', in that this term should be considered neither as a value judgement nor to mean a

³ Although these texts all consider Cornish history their foci are varied as such it is hoped that a neutral term will encompass all the different types of sources being investigated without suggesting to the reader anachronistic genre conventions. - Also referred to as Secondary Texts/Material.

⁴ Further details about the choice of secondary texts is found at the beginning of Chapter Three pp. 140-142.

collection of historical or literary works from other eras that have been designated cultural artefacts (i.e. it should not be confused with the Penguin Classics range or any other collected group). The ancient evidence⁵ directly examined covers a smaller range of that period; the key texts were produced between 425 BCE and 79 CE and later texts have deliberately been omitted because of their fragmentary nature and reliance on earlier authors.⁶ These terms and limits are not without problems but they allow the thesis to create a more detailed case-study which focuses on key areas of interest.

The unique situation of Cornwall and the robust local historiographical tradition which underpinned and was influenced by a strong and long-standing Cornish identity make it a good area for consideration. Scholars from a variety of disciplines have established that Cornwall has a strong sense of regional individuality, which although not as strongly developed as in Wales and Scotland, not only proposes a Celtic background but also clearly differentiates it from other parts of England. On the other hand, a dependence on investment from the south-east of England and political incorporation within the English state have shaped the experience of Cornish writers and offer interesting parallels with other (especially industrial) English regions which allow a different series of comparative explorations for scholars. Importantly for this study, authors from the county have, in order to express Cornish peculiarity, deliberately articulated their own story by writing about local historiography and offering their own interpretations of evidence and scholarly theories.

This thesis specifically examines the sections of Cornish historiography that deal with the classical texts rather than, for example, medieval chronicles or early-modern documentation. This choice reflects the fact that not only does the classical material often form the first evidentiary sequences in narrative history across Europe but that it also holds a special place in both British society and historiography. Although the texts have been studied in their own right as literary and historical artefacts previously, this thesis builds on exploration of their inter-relationship with each other as offered by classical historians like Roller⁷ and social archaeologists like Cunliffe.⁸ Additionally it offers a unique opportunity to deal with the reception of these texts in a particular discourse and to address the extent and manner of their impact on both historiography and identity-formation. It aims to demonstrate that because of the privileged positions of

⁵ Also called Primary Texts/Material.

⁶ For more information on classical texts and their selection see the beginning of Chapter Two -p. 60.

⁷ D.W. Roller (2006).

⁸ Especially B.W. Cunliffe (2008) see particularly pp.302-310 and B.W. Cunliffe (ed.) (2001).

classical authors there is an unusual emphasis in local historiography on these texts and furthermore that by discussing the ancient texts outlined here Cornish writers have aimed to engage with a variety of traditions.

In order to examine these specialist usages of classical texts in the local Cornish context the thesis does two things; firstly it employs a close reading of all the texts⁹ that have been identified in order to assess what precisely it is that they say and look at literary and generic influences that have an impact on authorial choices and secondly it looks at social, political and economic factors in the creation of both historiography and identity and how they interweave. This involves analysis of the primary texts and their linguistic and literary nuances, then consideration of the exact text used by secondary authors. By studying the setting of the segments related to Cornish tin within each individual text in both primary and secondary material the relationships of the sections to the (stated and/or apparent) aims of the author and to the overall tone of the writing is illustrated. This helps to indicate the role and importance of the section and consequently the accuracy and level of detail of the evidence or analysis. Then, by evaluating the wider societal influences on all the texts, such as political climate or scholarly trends, and, by investigating the subsequent impact of the works both on other historians and on other social expression such as works of fiction and newspapers, this thesis builds up a context for the discussion of the history of Cornish tin which in turn illustrates the role depictions played and why they changed. For example, the extent of ancient geographical knowledge was affected by Caesar's expeditions which not only made information about Britain more accessible but also made ideas about barbarism more nuanced, and thus classical discussions of Cornwall were also changed. Likewise, by investigating the effects rapid industrialisation had on topics of interest amongst the Cornish elite, some of the reasons for the appeal of ancient mining in various writings is elucidated. This sort of contextualisation not only requires historicisation of the texts but also an assessment of the impact that awareness of previous scholarship in the same field had on the later authors and whether, especially in Cornwall, the writings played a wide-ranging role in society.

The thesis is divided into four basic parts; the first chapter demonstrates the methodology and sketches previous scholarship in the area, the second is an in-depth survey and study of ancient evidence that discusses Cornwall, the third illustrates and analyses secondary history-writing on the subject of Cornwall that mentions the

⁹ Classical texts in Chapter Two and Cornish writings in Chapter Three.

classical era and finally the fourth draws these together by assessing the impact of the contexts of the secondary writing on the reasons for choosing and interpreting the classical texts as they do.

Chapter One¹⁰ outlines the background to the thesis by offering both some theoretical groundwork and a broad examination of the state of the current scholarship surrounding the texts being examined in both Classics and Cornish studies. In doing so it will specifically show how this thesis aims to fill in the gaps in earlier work and demonstrate a new understanding of the material. The chapter will also illustrate the influences behind the thesis' own methodology and where a novel cross-disciplinary synthesis of practices is adopted. The aim of the chapter is to offer the reader a foundation in the frameworks and fundamental tenets used in the thesis and to establish the relevance of the thesis to the traditions stretching before it and to the current wider disciplines surrounding it. It begins by setting out the reasons for considering Cornwall and its place within wider historical and sociological discourse especially the topics covered by Cornish studies as a discipline. This then leads into an analysis of the current scholarly understanding of ancient Cornwall which will be augmented by a discussion of Classicists' approaches to ancient authors and historiography and geography generally. Finally, the chapter will recap the key areas where this thesis identifies new connections and how scholarship will be enriched by new study.

The second chapter outlines what we know about the convergence of the classical world with Cornwall from the ancient sources. It demonstrates what was written about 'Cornwall' and about tin by authors based in the Greco-Roman world between the fifth century BCE and the first century CE. In doing so it will give an interpretation of the existence of an inter-relationship between the peoples and what might have been known by the classical Mediterranean world about its far-western counterpart. It does not attempt to produce a historical or archaeological account of Cornwall in antiquity but it does use current understanding of that period of Cornish history as a tool to interpret the texts and examine their plausibility. The chapter looks at five key texts that are widely referenced by later writers and identifies why terms such as Cassiterides¹¹ and Iktis¹² were related to Cornwall as well as reasons for being sceptical about the extent of the

¹⁰ Throughout the thesis references to chapters of this thesis are capitalised and references to chapters and books by other authors are not.

¹¹ In Greek: κασσιτερίδες. Usually understood to mean tin-islands from the root κασσίτερος (kassiteros) tin. *LSJ* p.882 [See below especially 2.2.3 pp. 97 -117 & 130].

¹² From Diod. Sic. 5. 22. Also referred to as Ictis or Iktin, it is often (but far from exclusively) identified with St Michael's Mount.

knowledge possible about Cornwall in antiquity. Overall Chapter Two illustrates the variety of ancient literary material that is used by more recent Cornish authors and considers its potential nuances creating a new comparison of the ancient texts.

Chapter Three, therefore, can move on to look at the ways the evidence presented in Chapter Two has been collated and presented by various authors from the early modern era onwards. It aims to offer a comprehensive survey of Cornish historiography up to the twentieth century that demonstrates the ways the emphasis and understanding of the classical material have shifted in various representations of ancient Cornwall. The chapter covers historical texts from the end of the sixteenth to the early twentieth century and explores different types of writing, ranging from professional academic to children's first history and varying in focus from parochial survey to archaeological illustration to polemic. It illustrates each author's personal choices; showing how certain sections of ancient text and particular artefacts have been cherry-picked by writers and how quotation, translation or adaptation of primary evidence is used to justify particular positions. The chapter additionally investigates whether claims made by historians about, for example, the location of Iktis fit the evidence and are physically plausible and/or backed-up with archaeological evidence or are convenient literary constructs. It will also look at what function mentioning that particular classical representation serves within the text. Furthermore, the chapter both highlights areas where the Cornish writings vary from the ancient material and from each other and emphasises any similarities or trends. The idea is to distinguish which patterns in and formulated from ancient evidence are important to scholars writing about Cornwall. It will therefore examine whether some pieces of classical evidence are more popular or useful than others and whether direct quotations or references are used for particular purposes. The chapter also considers whether some types or periods of writings use more evidence or use particular classical examples more than others.

After the methodological background offered in Chapter One and the presentation of the evidence in Chapters Two and Three, the threads will be tied together in Chapter Four by offering explanations for these patterns. Firstly, the chapter will look at how variation in availability of texts and translations and advances in academic and scientific theory affected approaches to classical texts. Then it will demonstrate the importance of classical material for framing a narrative and its overall relevance to the historiography of Cornwall. All of which material will then feed into a discussion of the socio-political

background of the authors discussed in the third chapter. The trends in selection and usage will thus be shown to be influenced by localised political interests, such as support and funding for mining projects or county independence and by educative and culture-based agendas. The aim in this section is to do three things; firstly to assess the usefulness of the status and understanding of Classics in formulating a Cornish narrative, secondly to place periods of Cornish history within the perspective of local identity-formation writing and thirdly to consider these uses of Classics in comparison to other scholarly discourse. This discussion will show reasons for the development of distinctive Cornish narratives, such as isolation and unusual economic growth, and why historical texts especially articulate that Cornish uniqueness and finally why classical texts have been used in the construction of these narratives at all.

Each of these chapters builds on the previous ones, expanding and re-presenting the information in order to look at what is important to individual writers and why. The thesis culminates in the proposition that the classical texts examined in Chapter Two played a vital role for a number of Cornish historians and because of the wide range of interpretations possible they also perform subtly different roles for the various writers. It shows that one of the key functions of classical material in Cornish historiography is to promote the prestige and antiquity of a distinct Cornish identity.

Chapter One: Backgrounds

1.1: Writing Cornwall: Mining and Pride

....*Did Joseph once come to St Michael's Mount*

Two thousand years pass in a dream

When you're working your way in the darkness,

Deep in the heart of the seam.

Where there's a mine or a hole in the ground

That's what I'm heading for that's where I'm bound

So look for me under the lode and inside the vein,

Where the copper, the clay, the arsenic and tin

Run in your blood and under your skin¹³

Perhaps one of the other most iconic images of Cornwall is that of the silhouette of an engine house on the skyline as used both by the successful Cornwall and West Devon Mining Landscape World Heritage Site bid and on the 'Made in Cornwall' logos covering food-wrappings and endorsed by the county council.¹⁴ On the Cornish County Coat of Arms two men flank a shield; one is a fisherman and the other a miner;¹⁵ they serve to evoke a sense of Cornish identity that is deeply bound up in its working heritage. The widely used imagery associated with mining in Cornwall is no coincidence but rather it is now an integral part of Cornish identity. It is an identity rooted in the landscape and the power of mining's economic force in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and which has been reinforced by a complex series of traditions and historical stories. The place of mining in Cornish society was at one stage so prevalent that modern commentators have noted the mediation and suppression required to balance it with a pastoral Celtic identity.¹⁶ Accounts of local engineering heroes are joined by murkier tales of druidic rituals round stone circles and ancient Phoenician traders coming to find tin which despite, or perhaps because of, their lack of credentials

¹³ From the song *Cousin Jack* by Show of Hands (found in the liner notes for the album *Dark Fields*).

¹⁴ Made in Cornwall logo:



¹⁵

Cornish coat of arms:



¹⁶ See below pp. 45-47 & 266-269.

hold an enduring fascination for authors and audiences.

The history of Cornwall is now integral to the full-scale heritage tourism drive across the county; it has been picked over by amateurs and scholars alike and codified into a recognisable brand for consumption by the general public. In the early twenty-first century several strands of historical narrative that describe Cornwall co-exist in the popular imagination. The key threads are divided between a grass-roots image of the county based on a collection of stories, symbols and memories and a formal chronology supported by current archaeological and textual theorisation about historical events. Different narratives arise from the variety of traditions and they present multiple images of the county and form parts of multiple local identities. As well as a former mining superpower as demonstrated in the iconography mentioned above, Cornwall has been described as, amongst other things, a Celtic nation,¹⁷ a Liberal stronghold, a rebellious backwater and a tourist riviera.¹⁸ Naturally, however, these ideas intersect and overlap, especially in popular historiography and tourist information, and draw on key ideas and symbolism from earlier writings about history.

Since *The Invention of Tradition, Imagined Communities* and *Myths and Memories of the Nation*¹⁹ there has been a re-evaluation of the role that shaping and presenting history has for a nation or region. The role of historiography in the shaping of nations is now well studied²⁰ and (if little else) the importance of communal memory (even where fabricated) for collective endeavour has been established in a variety of environments, from Central Africa²¹ to the Jewish diaspora.²² In Cornwall those multiple identities identified above (such as the Celtic nation and tourist destination) share a historical canon, including key facts and personalities, and access a mutual understanding of Cornishness but choose to emphasise the elements most relevant to their preferences. In this fashion interested parties have constructed Cornish histories to demonstrate their own stance, including the idea of a long-standing mining community.

Furthermore, rhetoric about Cornish mining is not simply a eulogy to the variety of impacts caused by the technological and social changes that were precipitated by the process of industrialisation (and subsequently during de-industrialisation), but it also

¹⁷ E.g. H Jenner (1905) pp. 234-246.

¹⁸ Generally see E. Westland (1997) pp. 1-5 and M. Stoye (2002a) pp. 30-49, 66-74, 78-83, 157-168. On the Cornish Riviera and the Railway see P. Payton and P. Thornton (1995) pp.83-103; C. Thomas (1997) pp. 107-128; R. Perry (1999) pp. 94-106.

¹⁹ Respectively: E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger, (eds). (1983); B. Anderson (1996); & A.D. Smith (1999).

²⁰ J.H. Liu & D.J. Hilton (2005).

²¹ E.g. W. MacGaffey (2005).

²² E.g. E. Bourguignon (2005).

acts as a common bond, both geographically (amongst, for example, widespread emigrant populations) and temporally (to one's forebears and successors). Mining history specifically creates a linking thread from prehistoric to modern Cornwall and hence pride in a modern Cornwall can simultaneously be an acknowledgement of growth and progress and respect for ancestral skills.

As this thesis will further illustrate, the idea of an ancient tin trade originating from Bronze Age Cornwall has been reiterated with such vigour in the county that by the nineteenth century it had moved into popular English history.²³ Whilst the notion of the Phoenicians coming to Cornwall has been relegated to myth, stories about trade with the Greeks long before the Romans came to Britain are not so simply dismissed by scholars.²⁴ Stories relating to the origins of civilisation and mining help to establish a precedent for a long-standing Cornish society. By incorporating the words of classical authors into the history of early mining, and by hypothesising about Hellenistic traders, a connection to that major, more famous culture, is formed. Additionally, through the descriptions of Roman interactions with Cornwall that they suggest, historians put forward an image of a Cornish society that is not dominated by conquest or colonisation. Whether expertly verified or historically unsubstantiated, these are important ideas to the people (re)constructing stories about Phoenician and Greek traders and Cornish miners as historical narrative and to those attempting to use the stories to establish background precedents for their contemporary situation. This thesis therefore proposes that the ancient activity of the Cornish was a vital part of identity-construction particularly as it related to the critical area of mining, and that consequently, even where their assumptions and conclusions were misguided, Cornish authors adopted a distinctive and careful criticism of classical texts to support their identities.

It is clear from the investigations below that the early history of the county has been somewhat neglected by broad-scope Cornish historiography and specialists alike in recent years. This thesis hopes to demonstrate that those investigations done on ancient Cornwall change in style and tone from the early-modern period to the late nineteenth century and that this is qualitatively and quantitatively different to the late 20th/21st century scholarship outlined in this chapter. With respect to Cornish self-

²³ E.g. C. Dickens (1850) p. 7-8; W. Longman (1863) p. 3; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cornwall; <http://www.cornwallinfocus.co.uk/culture/celts.php>; See also T. Champion (2001).

²⁴ See e.g. R.D. Penhallurick (1986); D.W. Roller (2006); B.W. Cunliffe (1983) and *idem.* (2001).

conceptualisation, modern scholarship has focused on the dual impacts of industrialisation and the collapse of the mining industry. However, this thesis not only suggests that these nineteenth century issues shaped discussions of mining to fit with contemporary concerns but also proposes that the relationship between identity, historiography and mining is more complex and more deeply embedded in social consciousness so that the image of ancient Cornwall is fundamentally connected to the idea of a historical continuum of mining. This thesis, therefore, shows that stories of ancient Bronze Age tanners and Mediterranean traders have been significant to the Cornish mining mythos, and consequently to the whole historiographical identity project.

The rest of Chapter One is divided into three parts. Between them the sections describe the key conclusions of the recent scholarship that covers one or more of the topics of this thesis, including work by historians, archaeologists and classicists, and they introduce the theoretical trends across the disciplines which influence the methodology and conclusions of the thesis. The chapter serves both as a review of the current scholarship that deals with Cornwall generally, the history of Cornwall specifically including analysis of ancient Cornwall and theoretical issues relating to interpretation of the primary and secondary texts, and also offers some of background contexts necessary to understand the texts in Chapters Two and Three.

This first part (1.1) introduces the key historical and social features of Cornwall that make it unusual and give it its status as a separate area of study and then goes on to outline two areas of specialist study and their contributions to the background and methods of the thesis. The first sphere of specialism (1.1.2) is the discipline of Cornish Studies which suggests types of historical analysis suitable for Cornwall and has begun the process of unravelling why the county has built up its unique situation. By illustrating the types of analysis that have previously been applied to Cornwall, methods that influence the practical task of addressing the 'writings' in Chapter Three are demonstrated and the explanations for the peculiar place of ancient mining in Cornish identity offered in Chapter Four are foreshadowed. The section will also show that Cornish studies has not yet looked at the role of historiography in the process of defining Cornwall nor investigated classical Cornwall specifically. The second approach considered in this first part of the chapter (1.1.3) is the narrative historiography of the

county. This section introduces the key studies used to provide historical contexts for the works in Chapter Three and more importantly it shows how twentieth century historians and modern archaeological analyses have incorporated ancient Cornwall into their discussions. Therefore the section serves as a contrast to the use of ancient texts by authors in Chapter Three.

The second part of the chapter (1.2) introduces the study of ancient Cornwall and its role in historiography from the perspective of a different discipline – namely Classics. This part of the chapter looks at the relevance of previous classical scholarship to the thesis from two angles. Firstly it considers the ways that ancient Cornwall can be approached by classicists in addition to the literary analysis that is the basis of Chapter Two, such as a broad view of the role of geography in literature and politics, the social history of Roman Britain and opinions of the Celts. These studies broaden the context of the texts being examined and show how this thesis offers a synthesis of approaches. Secondly, this part of the chapter will introduce modern theoretical approaches to the role of classical texts and their interpretation in non-classical societies and thereby prefigure the analysis of the use of ancient material in Cornish historiography in Chapter Four by outlining what has already been done and why this thesis builds on those ideas.

Finally the third part of the chapter (1.3) draws together all these theoretical influences in order to offer an account of the overall process of investigation and analysis used in the thesis and offer a summary of the ways that the thesis builds upon the older material. This will highlight how the thesis makes a new contribution to knowledge and leads into the analysis itself.

1.1.1 What is Cornwall?

As mentioned above, the fact that the modern Cornish have a sense of their own identity is clear both from the local literature, especially political rhetoric and tourist information,²⁵ and also from the academic debate surrounding the topic in modern Cornish Studies and other areas of the social sciences.²⁶ Nonetheless identity is not a static concept and has been approached differently over time, including across the

²⁵ 37,000 people defined themselves as Cornish on the 2001 Census despite it not being officially included in the list [cited <http://www.cornwall.gov.uk/default.aspx?page=26948>]; note also the existence of Mebyon Kernow political party and a plethora of Cornish webpages.

²⁶ See below esp. pp. 26-29 and summaries of modern debates outlined in *Corn. St. Vol. 10* e.g. P. Payton (2002) and C.H. Williams (2002); Also J. Willett (2008) and R. Dickinson (2010).

duration of the time-period of the historiography being investigated in the third chapter. In Chapter Four there is a detailed discussion of identity theory which is then applied to the writings being investigated. However, this section aims to demonstrate some of the features that have contributed to, and been drawn on to illustrate, the individuality of the region in order to offer a background to the process of identity-related historiography in Cornwall and to show why it makes a fertile area for study.

The modern notion of a Cornish nationalism that is dependent on a sense of Cornish identity, separate and distinguishable from that of England, and that is recognisable to outsiders is often founded on the existence of an independent Cornish Celtic language.²⁷ The argument for the status of Cornwall as Nation then moves through issues relating to the biological and ethnic descent of Cornish peoples and usually also cites a number of special local customs as evidence for the county's individuality. As such the current argument for Cornish identity follows, in principle, the criteria set out by Davies in his 1994 presidential address to the Royal Historical Society for a historical 'people,' namely: a sense of distinctiveness from 'others' that extends beyond antipathy towards outsiders but also includes features such as separate language, law, life-style, dress and personal appearance, agricultural practice and social values.²⁸ Some of these identity-markers have been distinguishable in Cornwall over the course of its history, others have changed dramatically or been re-invented in the last 150 years (e.g. the invention of the Cornish kilt). Therefore the brief summary of Cornish historical difference²⁹ given below illustrates the existence of a tension between the need for economic and political interaction of the Cornish with their neighbours and the ethnic and cultural separation from the rest of England. Furthermore it demonstrates that there has been an evolving series of images of the county created both internally and externally.

At least since Aethelstan set the river Tamar as the boundary of Cornwall (Cornubia) and drove the Cornish west out of Devon in 936 CE³⁰ it has been possible to talk about Cornwall as a geographical entity. Yet this not only reminds us that even the name of the place and peoples has changed over time,³¹ but also that for the four

²⁷ See L.C. Duncombe-Jewell (1901) p. 302 & H. Jenner (1905) pp. 239-240. On the importance of language to identity-construction see R.R. Davies (1997). On language as signifier of Celticity see P. B. Ellis (31/10/11). Also see M. Bowman (2000) pp. 83-84.

²⁸ R.R. Davies (1994) p.11.

²⁹ A handy timeline of key events relating to Cornwall can be found in B. Deacon (2004b) pp. 202-211.

³⁰ W. Stubbs (ed. & trans.) (1887) p. 89 [quoted in P. Payton (2004) p.69] However, see also *Anglo Saxon Chronicle* which offers 927 CE as the date Aethelstan united the kings incl. the Cornish.

³¹ e.g. Belerion (see below p. 122); but also note Kingdom of Dumnonia and the West Wales/Welsh

thousand odd years that the region was inhabited previously its boundaries and allegiances were less well defined.³² Early classical writers do not have a clear understanding of the British Isles as a physical entity and certainly do not necessarily classify a south-western peninsula as the object of their discussions. Thus, although with the advance of the Roman empire more information about Britain became available,³³ it is nonsensical to suggest that the ancient authors discussed in Chapter Two have a concept of Cornwall as a fixed location or bounded space. However, by contrast, the secondary writers discussed in Chapter Three all have a clear territorial space in my mind when they choose to discuss Cornwall and its history. For these authors the physical boundaries allow clear demarcations of difference from their physical neighbours and therefore affects their ideas about and attitudes towards the nature of ethnic and political separation.

To a lesser extent the date of the fixing of Aethelstan's boundary marks the beginning of Cornwall as a political subsection of the English state and thus, more importantly, the beginning of debates into the type and level of its integration with the rest of the British Isles. In early British history Cornwall is frequently listed as a separate territorial component of the realm in a similar manner to Wales or French provinces,³⁴ this suggests a degree of political separation from London. Furthermore, as well as being a county of England, Cornwall is also the title of the Duchy traditionally inherited by the eldest son of a reigning monarch, which demonstrates a unique political importance. Originally created in 1337 from an earlier earldom and for a long time synonymous with the county,³⁵ the Duchy has a special legal status that both distinguished it from other parts of the country and accorded it with certain rights and privileges. The constitutional and consequent legal ambiguity surrounding the Duchy³⁶ is further highlighted by the pre-existing Stannary Parliaments and Laws that protected

moniker.

³² For a summary of the various territorial changes through the Roman and medieval eras see esp. P. Payton (2004) pp.25-80; additionally M. Todd (1987) pp. 236-310.

³³ Even the Celtic kingdom Dumnonia (covering modern Cornwall and Devon) was not specifically identified or delimited until fairly late in the Roman occupation.

³⁴ E.g. dispatches from ambassadors & esp. Polydore Vergil, quoted in M. Stoye (2002a) p.31 & D.R. Williams (ed.) (2007) p.15.

³⁵ Although now officially a more commercial body. For history of formation See P. Payton (2004) p.78-80, for an alternative view of its role see J. Angarrack (2002) and <http://duchyofcornwall.eu/index.php> [09/02/12] (also by Angarrack).

³⁶ Cf. J. Kirkhope (2010); <http://www.cornishstannaryparliament.co.uk/>; <http://www.thisiscornwall.co.uk/Laws-surrounding-Duchy-Cornwall-seen-mysterious/story-13893783-detail/story.html>.

local miners.³⁷ These rights further cemented the position of mining within the county and tied power and, hence, identity back to that activity. Additionally, the political distinction has enabled Cornish commentators to speak of the 'ancient privilege' of their home and perhaps contributed to the tendency of some writers to mention Cornwall as a separate constituent part of Britain.³⁸

Culturally, after the incorporation of Cornwall into England, there was a slow but steady decline in the Cornish language³⁹ and the gradual adoption of English fashions and customs brought by incoming clergy and Oxford/London-educated gentry. Nonetheless there are surviving written examples from visitors to the county discussing how different Cornwall was to London and the Home Counties⁴⁰ dating as far back as Medieval era and evident throughout the intervening centuries. During the Tudor period the Cornish took part in a series of revolts which Stoye attributes to their defensiveness of increasing English encroachment on the ethnic and cultural boundaries.⁴¹ Despite the discontent outlined by Stoye,⁴² Payton⁴³ and others⁴⁴ these rebellions were not evidently secessionist in their aims. Nonetheless, the English reactions to these uprisings, particularly in the popular press, served both to stereotype the Cornish as backward-looking rebels and to hasten the adoption of appeasement-style commentary by Cornish gentry in order to counter-act such images.⁴⁵ This period saw a substantial amount of centralisation, in part due to the strategic importance of Cornish ports in the battles against the Spanish and in part due to changing religious policies, both of which increased the presence and influence of English ideas.⁴⁶ So successful were these measures that after the Restoration, the staunchly royalist Cornish forces were re-

³⁷ See e.g. R.R. Pennington (1973).

³⁸ See P. Payton (2004) pp.70-90 and below, following pages & pp.259-262.

³⁹ Notably discussed in P. Beresford Ellis (1974) and more recently M. Spriggs (2003); see also articles on its revival in *Corn. St. Vols 4, 6 &c.*

⁴⁰ E.g. Archdeacon of Cornwall (1342) "the folk of these parts are quite extraordinary, being of a rebellious temper, and obdurate in the face of attempts to teach and correct" quoted by P. Payton (2004) p. 90 & Andrew Borde *Introduction to Knowledge* (1542) "Cornwall is a pore and very barren cuntrye of al maner thing except Tyn and Fyssh" quoted in A.K. Hamilton-Jenkin (1970) p. 124 and considered in M. Stoye (2002a) pp.34-5.

⁴¹ M. Stoye (2002a) pp.21-28, 41-49.

⁴² M. Stoye (1999).

⁴³ P. Payton (1992) pp.57-60.

⁴⁴ Notably H. Speight & I. Arthurson whose contributions are discussed in M. Stoye (2002b) pp.108-109.

⁴⁵ See J. Chynoweth (1994) pp. 14-15. Below on Carew pp.155-156. Also M. Stoye (1996). See further Chapter 4 pp. 269-270.

⁴⁶ A.L. Rowse (1941) discusses for example the closer attention paid to taxation and rearrangement of tenancies after the dissolution of the monasteries pp.194-222. On the role of Cornwall in public affairs under Henry VIII see also A.L. Rowse (1941) pp.223-252 and further on the role of the Cornish in the foreign wars of the Tudor times see J. Chynoweth (2002) pp.226-231.

branded as loyal English citizens⁴⁷ and yet the older images of the savage and uncivilised nature of Cornwall were difficult to dislodge.⁴⁸

Bernard Deacon argues that this representation was then superseded during the industrial revolution with a mixture of positive and negative stereotypes associated with mining,⁴⁹ and especially the landscapes and types of people involved. Importantly for this thesis from the late eighteenth until the early twentieth century Cornwall was home to a number of technological advances⁵⁰ and social upheaval, including the spread of Methodism and mass migration, that allowed for a reconstruction of its relationship with the centre. Specifically, in his doctoral thesis Deacon suggests industrialisation based on deep metal mining during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries gave the Cornish a renewed pride as inhabitants of one of Europe's first centres of industrialisation.⁵¹ In this sense Cornwall resembled other industrial regions in early nineteenth century Britain.⁵² However, it also differed from these regions, most notably in its demography, but also in the social relations produced by rural industrialisation and in the way its historians had re-fashioned a history of the Cornish as a distinct group. Older and/or Celtic identity-models were grafted onto a sense of local pride that was founded on productive industrialisation in the nineteenth century.

This difference between regions was then underscored by a marked process of de-industrialisation in Cornwall and concurrent rise in interest in tourism and Celtic connections. During the latter half of the nineteenth century especially, there was a resurgence of interest in the Cornish language and tentative links made to emergent Celtic nationalisms in Ireland, Wales and Scotland.⁵³ It was also during this period that the majority of the texts in Chapter Three were written which shows a marked increase in the interest in local historical writing and also a growing confidence in cultural nationalism. Chapter Four of this thesis will more fully explore the role of these historical (political, socio-economic and cultural) changes on the Cornish sense of their own identity and more particularly how that sense of identity shapes the role of narratives on ancient mining.

⁴⁷ M. Stoye (2002a) pp.157-168.

⁴⁸ B. Deacon (1997a) pp.7-24.

⁴⁹ B. Deacon (1997a) pp.10-21 & *idem.* (2001).

⁵⁰ For a review of literature dealing directly with the history of Cornwall in the industrial revolution see P. Payton (2002) pp.117-131.

⁵¹ B. Deacon (2001) pp. 5-7 & 65-90.

⁵² E.g. H. Kearney (1989) p.219; S. King & G. Timmins (2001) p.37; P. Payton (2004) p.181; B. Deacon, (1998) pp. 27-28 & 34-35.

⁵³ See e.g. A. Hale (1997b); G. Tregidga (1997).

During the twentieth and into the twenty-first century the political aspect of Cornish identity became increasingly important. Activists have built up evidence of the historical differences between Cornwall and England and of the historical differentiation that was acknowledged by previous governments. These arguments are intended to establish legal precedent and show sufficient cultural integrity as a grouping to qualify for acceptance as a minority and as such to be granted a degree of autonomy from the government in London. More importantly for this thesis, the last century has also seen a rise in the call for and practice of specifically Cornish scholarship both from the political movement and through the development of the Institute of Cornish Studies. The increased academic focus on issues relating to Cornwall and on its relationship with the UK and other regions internally was complemented by wider trends in British historiography and social sciences including cultural studies, regional and human geography and tourism studies. This rising interest in local studies and cultural expression has allowed academics to utilise a variety of tools to demonstrate and explain the Cornish struggle for self-identity, its peculiar notion of difference and the negotiation between its peripheral nature and its need for central support. In this way Cornish (and wider Celtic) studies contextualises the historiography within the thesis by suggesting modes of analysis as well as by offering detailed analysis of local historical activities and trends, demographic information and social practices.

1.1.2 Studying Cornwall

Although it might be too simplistic to define Cornish Studies as an umbrella term for all the papers written which touch on Cornwall, the welcome page for the Institute of Cornish Studies quotes the outline for the field set out by its founder, Professor Charles Thomas as:

the study of all aspects of man and his handiwork in the regional setting (Cornwall and Scilly), past, present and future. The development of society, industry and the landscape in our fast changing world is as much of concern ... as the history of those vast topics in the recent and remote past.⁵⁴

The web-page goes on to explain how the focus within the institute has changed somewhat since its inception in 1970/1 because of the research interests of its various

⁵⁴ Available at [http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/history/research/centres/ics/\[09/09/12\]](http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/history/research/centres/ics/[09/09/12]).

members and outlines recent publications. The page “About the Institute”⁵⁵ further details the development of the research focus in the Institute from an early concentration on archaeology, medieval history and natural environment to modern interest in post-1800 political and sociological developments and the work on the Cornish Audio Visual Archive. This perhaps goes some way to illustrating the potentially broad scope of Cornish Studies as an idea which encompasses many disciplines but it doesn’t quite explain the difficulty of collecting them together and demonstrating themes beyond geographical boundaries of investigation. Over the last twenty years or so academic papers and theses published under the auspices of the institute and by its members in other arenas have covered linguistic debates, the history of the Cornish language, analysis of literature from or about Cornwall, the history and politics of migration and tourism, applied economic, sociological and political theory and historical analysis.

In this thesis three distinct threads from Cornish studies are drawn out and utilised. They are respectively: traditional, document-based historical investigation of the county; theories and analyses of cultural and social identity; and methodologies developed to marry the different imaginative strands. The impact of the third thread is the hardest to categorise since it overlaps considerably with the other theoretical underpinnings of the thesis from, for example, Classics. The first two, however, have a more direct effect; the first helps form a historicist context for the Cornish writings being investigated, and secondly local identity-theory offers one of the key routes of analysis for authorial motivations. Work done by regional specialists on the socio-economic climate of the production of the specific Cornish texts discussed in the thesis is especially important to my analysis and similarly the contextualisation of the particular political affiliations of writers themselves allows patterns of thought to be distinguished. Therefore it is possible to illustrate how (if not why) cultural moments have an effect on historiography and what interaction with the Classics exists.

Since the beginning of the directorship of Philip Payton, and particularly from the beginning of the new millennium, Cornish Studies has undergone a rigorous internal methodological critique in the dedicated journal, *Cornish Studies*,⁵⁶ which is especially demonstrated in a series of articles and responses by Bernard Deacon, Payton and Malcolm Williams.⁵⁷ The purpose of this critique has been to evaluate the discipline and

⁵⁵ Available at <http://humanities.exeter.ac.uk/history/research/centres/ics/about/> [09/09/12].

⁵⁶ Published by University of Exeter Press - First Series 1973-1988; Second Series 1993-now.

⁵⁷ See in particular *Corn St. Vol. 10* e.g. B. Deacon (2002), M. Williams (2002) (also C.H. Williams (2002)); and further discussion: B. Deacon (2004a); M. Williams (2006).

explore how academic Cornish Studies influences other disciplines and the wider society and to investigate the (conscious and unconscious) cross-pollination of ideas from a variety of disciplines. Such discussion has begun to assess what the point of local inquiries is for scholars, what approaches they can share and how the theories and investigations can be used. This has led to a call for more detailed regional surveys and for wider integration with macro-level study. Not only has the internal reflection, although quickly out of date, served to direct studies and suggest new avenues for investigation but it has also exposed gaps and weakness in previous work. In particular, Mark Stoye and Bernard Deacon have drawn attention to the calls for wider recognition of the importance of regions in academia especially the 'nouvelle vague' of British history in the 1990s and in cultural geographies.⁵⁸ This allowed them to explore reasons for acknowledging Cornwall as a meaningful constituent part of the historical and modern British experience that would profitably feed back into wider disciplines, like national history and geography, as well as discussing the paucity of specialist historiographical literature relating to Cornwall.

This methodological debate during the nineties and early noughties has therefore had a twofold effect; firstly it has increased the visibility of Cornish issues in wider scholarship and secondly it has influenced theoretical backgrounds to the practice of identity and social research. Although perhaps still quite a limited field, all the theoretical discussion creates a foundation for multiple analyses of Cornish identity. It has allowed a movement away from the simple 'ethnic nationality' explanation of difference and towards more complex descriptions and analyses. Multiple commentaries on identity primarily offer to the thesis a variety of examples of the expression of identity in Cornwall. In the last two editions of *Cornish Studies* four articles and one review have included the word identity in their titles. They include consideration of the role of language in modern Celtic identity, the role of history and folklore in Cornish pagan identities and an analysis of identity discourses in Victorian Cornwall.⁵⁹

More generally, these studies have considered modern manifestations, migrant variations and historical iterations of identity and both assumed the principle of distinctiveness whilst attempting to describe and qualify its nature. The works showcase the items and practices which the Cornish used in different times and places to assert their difference from Others. For example, this body of scholarship has examined the

⁵⁸ M. Stoye (2002a) pp.1-4, 9-13; B. Deacon (2001) pp.19-42; B. Deacon (2007) pp. 5-8.

⁵⁹ Respectively: S. Dunmore (2011); J. Semmens (2010) & G. Swallow (2010).

way that certain Cornish groups during the late Victorian era approached Celtic versus Anglo-Saxon identity which is discussed by, amongst others, Trezise and Tregidga,⁶⁰ and several works by Payton have also investigated the reaffirmation of 'Cornishness' amongst migrant miners in comparison to both the native people and other populations, notably *Making Moonta*.⁶¹ Identity theories developed with reference to Cornwall have been expanded across a variety of disciplines. Thus the notion of migrant Cornish identities is used as a helpful tool to explain or describe Australian archaeological work,⁶² and research by geographers in territorial and politico-economic regional spaces is able to use Cornwall as a case-study.⁶³ This thesis, therefore, joins and draws on a broad field of study of the internal and external differentiation of the Cornish by looking at the internal formulations of the county's early history and historians' role in Cornish identity.

Furthermore this thesis suggests not only that historiography was influenced by the changes in ideas about local identity over time but also that people involved in identity-expression used ancient history in order to explain their contemporary situation. Some work has already been done on the changing manifestations of identity and reasons for change. Deacon argues⁶⁴ that a distinctive Cornish identity was formulated by those within the county during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and deliberately differentiated itself from externally constructed identities such as those identified by Stoye. Furthermore, he suggests that it incorporated or aimed to counteract other identities. He identifies subtle changes in identity-expression that were influenced by the stages of internal industrialisation. This works in some measure to add subtlety to the model posited by Payton who associates shifts in expression of identity with three phases of Peripheralism⁶⁵ that themselves affected the type of negotiation with the centre (i.e. London) enacted by writers and other cultural actors.⁶⁶ As such he forms part of a body of work on centre-periphery relations in Cornwall and the Celtic fringe more widely, especially the work of Railings and Lee and of Rokkan and Urwin which Payton cites.⁶⁷ It is clear that both Deacon's and Payton's work on the factors underlying

⁶⁰ S. Trezise, (2000) and G. Tregidga, (1997). See also: A. Hale & P. Payton (2000); A. Hale (1997a); *idem.* (1997b); R. Perry (1999) p. 95.

⁶¹ P. Payton (2007); and *idem.* (2005). See Also R.M. James (1994).

⁶² D. Mullen and P.J. Birt (2009).

⁶³ M. Jones & G. MacLeod (2004).

⁶⁴ B. Deacon (1997a) and (2001).

⁶⁵ P. Payton (1992) *passim* esp. pp. 8 & 17.

⁶⁶ Such as businessmen, politicians and other individuals involved in creating and maintaining a cultural context.

⁶⁷ C. Railings & A. Lee (1977); S. Rokkan & D.W. Urwin (eds.) (1982) and others quoted in P. Payton

Cornish difference are influenced by sociological theories developed in cultural studies and in other Celtic studies disciplines and this suggests other areas where models of development might be found.

Models of centre-periphery relations in Cornwall have also taken new shape recently in the work of Simon Naylor in the field of cultural/historical geography. His recent monograph on the topic of the nineteenth century study of science in Cornwall⁶⁸ builds on previous work on the topic.⁶⁹ It demonstrates multiple scales of spatial interactions within Cornish scholarship by discussing the relationships between local, county-wide and national organisations and suggests that in certain fields (such as geology) Cornwall was able to disseminate knowledge outwards rather than being reliant on diffusion of ideas from London. Through this study not only do we see a renegotiation of the role of centre and periphery (with resultant impacts on identities) but also in levels of difference and incorporation. This work ties in with updated models of political regions such as Gordon MacLeod's work on the hybridity of identity⁷⁰ and newer work on historical perceptions of peripheries generally, such as Keith Lilley's consideration of medieval formulations of Celtic alterity.⁷¹ In Chapter Four this thesis utilises these recent ideas of the complex levels of interaction in local spaces and the negotiation of different levels of dependence and separation to suggest a role for historical constructions that attempt to describe or define those relationships.

Overall the scholarship identifies a series of preferred Cornish identities and expressions of them that change over time (because of a variety of political and social pressures)⁷² and suggests that further work on Cornish interpretations of identity will show even more nuances and influences. However, the discussion of identity has failed to consider two key points that this thesis works some way towards redressing. Firstly, although the work already done has suggested some theoretical consideration of the reasons behind identity-formation – for example, Deacon's suggestion of reactive categorisation of the special Cornish experience of industrialisation – it has only just begun to synthesise how various other internal and external factors have affected

(1992) pp. 25-28.

⁶⁸ S. Naylor. (2010).

⁶⁹ Esp. S. Naylor (2002) and S. Naylor (2003).

⁷⁰ G. MacLeod (2002) pp.53-68. On politics of Regions see also: M. Jones & G. MacLeod (2004) pp. 433-452.

⁷¹ K.D. Lilley (2002).

⁷² Clearly different scholars prioritise different factors.

specific expressions of Cornishness, such as the history of mining. Furthermore, although there have been discussions of specific examples of expressions of Cornish identity in multiple genres (e.g. oral history and travel-writing)⁷³ and on the impact of local identity on a variety of topics,⁷⁴ work has not addressed the specific framing of Cornish identity within internal historiography.

1.1.3: A Cornish Historiography

Whilst the overall history of the county forms a recurrent theme throughout this thesis and it is important to create a contextual picture of the writers' historical background in order to discuss the factors that have influenced Cornish writers both in their choice to discuss the classical world and have affected their treatment of it, it is also worth examining the ways more recent writers have synthesised these issues. This examination will both demonstrate their influences on the thesis and highlight how this work covers new ground. As well as offering comparative modern historiography, this section will cover current scholarship on the historical detail so that subsequent chapters can compare this to the texts using more literary analysis. However, detailed investigation of specific events and experiences, where appropriate, will be dealt with as part of studies of individual writers in Chapter Three, and in Chapter Four the notable historical trends will be considered with specific reference to identity-building activity in Cornwall.

The topic of ancient Cornwall is one with several difficulties for scholars not least the scarcity of clear evidence. Modern scholarship has taken its lead from archaeological work and rightly shown caution in making direct statements about the lives of the inhabitants of the Cornish peninsula up to and including their involvement in the Roman Empire. This is especially true in discussions about mining and trade, activities whose traces have been largely destroyed or obscured by subsequent activities. However, it also seems that other aspects of the history of the county have regularly been subsumed into works of wider geographical scope and/or are in serious need of revision to take advantage of more recent theoretical insights or to highlight areas of similarity and difference with other regions.

⁷³ On oral history see the work of CAVA and e.g. G. Tregidga & L. Ellis (2004); On travel-writing: C. Lane (2005) and R. Dickinson (2008).

⁷⁴ Above pp.26-27. Also consider e.g. migrant populations and pagan spirituality and work such as M. Bowman (2000) and A. Hale (2002).

A survey of the relevant academic historiography of Cornwall demonstrates the relative scarcity of modern treatments. For example, although the role of the Tudors in the county has recently been updated in the works of Chynoweth and Stoye,⁷⁵ their predecessor A.L. Rowse's 1941⁷⁶ work is still a key comprehensive guide to the era. The history of mining in the county has fared a little better; G.R. Lewis' 1907 work on Medieval tin-mining in the region⁷⁷ has been supplemented by Hatcher's (1973) and Gerrard's (2000) surveys of the early British tin trade.⁷⁸ In terms of broad studies, there are three key twentieth century works on Cornwall's history – first the surveys by A.K. Hamilton-Jenkin,⁷⁹ then F.E. Halliday's *History of Cornwall* in 1959⁸⁰ and finally Philip Payton's 1996/2004 offering,⁸¹ and they are joined by a handful of more amateur contributions and some more temporally or spatially focused works.⁸²

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, history in Cornish Studies as a discipline has aimed to cover a wide variety of topics. A slant towards studies of nineteenth century migration is balanced by both a new critical analysis of the twentieth century, interest in the process and individuals involved in the language-revival movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and a renewed interest in folklore and its role in the county. Outside of Cornwall and specialist Cornish topics, historians of the British isles have notably compared Cornwall to, for example, other experiences of industrialisation such as that of the north-east⁸³ and to experiences of Celtic nationalism such as in Wales.⁸⁴ Although these studies are still small-scale they suggest a wider range of comparative studies might be fruitful. However because of the nascent nature of the studies, this thesis has not grappled with the potentially broad scope of such inquiries.

The early twentieth century historians of Cornwall, Hamilton-Jenkin and Halliday

⁷⁵ J. Chynoweth (2002); M. Stoye (1999) & (2002a) pp.18-49.

⁷⁶ A.L. Rowse (1941).

⁷⁷ G.R. Lewis (1907).

⁷⁸ J. Hatcher (1973) (pp.10-14 discuss Greek & Roman evidence and Cornwall is regularly referred to throughout); S. Gerrard (2000) (pp.14-23 cover antiquity – though not exclusively Cornish the focus is clear); J.A. Buckley (1992). See also J. Rowe (1953) (a socio-economic history of the county from 1688-1850); J. Whetter (1974) pp.59-83.

⁷⁹ A.K Hamilton-Jenkin (1934) and A.K Hamilton-Jenkin (1970) which is a composite of works published in 1932, 1933 and 1934.

⁸⁰ F.E. Halliday (1959).

⁸¹ Within this thesis references are made to the 2nd ed. - P. Payton (2004). Note that Payton has also written a history of modern Cornwall and a number of other monographs.

⁸² Note, particularly works by: V. Acton, D.B. Barton, A.M. Kent, J. Matingley, N. Orme.

⁸³ P. Payton (2002) pp.127-129; M Sandford (2006).

⁸⁴ E.g. on sport in nationalism A. Seward (1998) – comparing Wales at p. 90; For an example of Celtic nationalism in France see M. Dietler (1994).

have a few points worth mentioning when considering the modern analysis of ancient Cornwall. Hamilton-Jenkin's role in modern historical work is primarily as a rich source of original references for the late nineteenth and early twentieth century particularly relating to social practices. The style and scope of his work often seems to echo that of Carew in the seventeenth century and as such can usefully be read in parallel. Halliday, twenty-five years later, gives more information on the ancient world. Interestingly, Halliday chooses to include the passage from Diodorus discussed in Chapter Two as the first potential written description of the county⁸⁵ in contrast to Hamilton-Jenkin who offers no sources for this period at all. In fact, Halliday also draws on references from Carew, Stukeley and Borlase to demonstrate early archaeological finds, and extensively on Julius Caesar for cultural descriptions. Although Halliday's work is substantially more detailed than Hamilton-Jenkin's and offers a far more comprehensive theoretical analysis of the cultural life of the prehistoric Cornish based on archaeological and other academic work, proportional to his whole work it scarcely represents more interest. However, two themes are evident: firstly the physical separation of Cornwall from much of England leading to a different progression of changes to elsewhere and secondly the sense of a long-standing connection to Brittany and Ireland and inherent comparability to parts of the 'Celtic fringe'.

When they discuss the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, during which period the majority of the antiquarians being investigated in Chapter Three lived, both Halliday and Hamilton-Jenkin focus in their historical monographs on the economic boom and bust, social conditions and the advent and growth of Methodism within the county. In general, although both outline the achievements of engineers and the role of the big land and mine owners neither focus on literary output or social projects. Halliday briefly mentions the importance of William Borlase's work (which also appears in his bibliography) and acknowledges the rise in scholarly societies in the 1830s which he attributes to rising Georgian prosperity following the end of the Napoleonic Wars⁸⁶ but he does not talk about their outputs. The only historian investigated in this thesis mentioned by Hamilton-Jenkin's *Story of Cornwall* is Richard Carew but his further reading list also mentions William Copeland Borlase and Thurstan Peter⁸⁷ and his other works use the elder Borlase and Polwhele as references.⁸⁸ Unlike Hamilton-Jenkin

⁸⁵ F.E. Halliday (1959) p.47.

⁸⁶ F.E. Halliday (1959) p.287.

⁸⁷ Note also that he uses H. O'N Hencken and S. Baring-Gould.

⁸⁸ A.K. Hamilton-Jenkin (1970) see index (various).

whose other works focus on the traditional activities and customs of the Cornish, Halliday's interests were more literary and his other important publications include for example commentaries on Shakespeare and Hardy. Halliday also published the key edition of Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* (only recently updated in Chynoweth, Orme & Walsham's 2004 edition) which included other relevant material and made the text accessible to far more people.

After Halliday, there was a long hiatus in the production of general monograph-style histories of Cornwall. Eventually this was broken by the appearance of Soulsby's 1986 and Payton's 1996 Histories, which were followed by the re-opening of the *Victoria County History* project,⁸⁹ reprints of a number of older texts⁹⁰ and Payton's later revisions to his study. Payton's work especially marks a new approach to the history of Cornwall as a whole and is particularly influenced by the trends in difference and identity theory that he was working with in Cornish Studies. Payton offers a complex picture of the prehistoric inhabitants of Cornwall, choosing to stress both the variety of interpretations offered and the complexity of the Celtic issue. Payton refuses to commit to a judgement on the notion of the Cassiterides or the location of Iktis, nonetheless, he does mention both Publius Crassus and Diodorus as corroboration for the idea that trade foreshadowed Roman interest in Britain.⁹¹ In common with other areas of his history this section stresses the variety of possible interpretations of the ancient evidence and this aspect of the work offers a valuable insight into the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth century historians. For example, he gives a summary of local archaeological works from Borlase to Hencken and Todd⁹² and in his chapters on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries he mentions a number of economic studies. Although Payton does not critically assess the authors in this thesis his work therefore offers a starting point for exploring their backgrounds and connections.

Overall these broad twentieth century studies demonstrate an increasingly complex picture of the ancient Cornish and their potential interactions with other cultures. They suggest an interest by local historians in expressing a comprehensive view of the county and illustrate (albeit in a limited fashion) the role of earlier historians in modern

⁸⁹ See <http://www.victoriacountyhistory.ac.uk/counties/cornwall> (24/11/12) which has not tried to update Haverfield's Roman section of the 1906 work (mentioned below p.34) but includes new material from Nicholas Orme on religious history and has added valuable detail to the parochial studies that were unfinished.

⁹⁰ This process has been greatly speeded by the volunteer digitisation of out-of-copyright books and their subsequent availability on Project Gutenberg, Google Books and Amazon Kindle.

⁹¹ P. Payton (2004) p.47 (note that he refers the reader back to M. Todd (1987)).

⁹² P. Payton (2004) pp.14-15.

writings. They also provide important information and source-material for study of those historians. However, their interest in classical connections is at best tentative and muted even on the topic of the Roman occupation of the county. Given the scope, scale and style of the works it is perhaps not surprising that they choose to skim over the issue of the tin trade and ignore nineteenth century controversy on the topics which are the key focus of this thesis.

As well as these generalist tomes there are also a handful of works that focus specifically on the pre-historic era in the South-West. Academically, these predominantly fit within an archaeological, materially-based remit although a large number of amateur populist works have also been published. Noticeably, in *Cornish Studies Ten* the scholarship of ancient Cornwall is dealt with by a report on archaeological activity in the county⁹³ rather than any reference to textual analysis. Since this thesis does not attempt to grapple either with the actual daily activities of pre-historic Cornwall or in detail with the early attempts to reconcile physical remains with literary narratives, much modern archaeological analysis offers little to the discussion. Nonetheless it is important to note that contemporary assessment of ancient texts owes much to studies of how they match our physical information and the two disciplines especially complement each other. For example, the issue of the evidence for ancient Cornish mining and trade is predominantly addressed by the fieldwork undertaken over the past century. However, the impact of that fieldwork although somewhat contextualised by theoretical and social archaeologists is more usefully dealt with for this thesis by classical historians who have begun to attempt to use it to elucidate the ancient texts.

Up to and including the early twentieth century,⁹⁴ analyses of Cornish prehistoric materials tend to draw two main conclusions. Firstly, the scarcity of pre-Roman trade or luxury goods finds, as opposed to monumental and homestead remains, has led to a general assumption of a lack (or at least the comparative unusualness) of inter-cultural and prestige activity.⁹⁵ Secondly, that the Roman penetration, both civil and military, of the county was minimal and late and that the surviving remains represent either a late

⁹³ C. Thomas (2002).

⁹⁴ The beginning of the twenty-first century has seen a great deal of new work in Roman-era archaeology in Cornwall. However, it remains to be seen how this will be interpreted by historical narratives. (See following pages and pp.131-135).

⁹⁵ For a discussion of prestige goods economy and trade in 'Celtic' communities see B.W. Cunliffe (2011) esp. p. 201-3. For an early C20th analysis of Cornwall's role See below on Haverfield, Halliday and A. Fox (1964) pp. 140-152; Also e.g. R.G. Collingwood (1924).

empire revival in tin-mining or the gradual 'Romanisation' of local individuals.⁹⁶ Overall this is based on the premise that the material culture of ancient Cornwall not only barely survives but also that what does survive is not sufficient to justify claims of significant tin trading especially during the first century CE. These ideas were common when much of the literature in Chapter Three was written but are gradually being over-turned by new evidence.

The earliest two comprehensive studies of ancient Cornwall from the 20th century, the *Victoria County History* and Hencken's in-depth study,⁹⁷ are still key analyses for many historical writers and represent the most important county-specific works. Part one of the *Victoria County History*⁹⁸ covers topics including geology and flora and fauna and the other parts of the proposed work included a parish gazetteer and Haverfield's Romano-British section. In the first part there is a brief outline of pre-historic archaeological finds largely based on Borlase's text as well as discussion of excavations by W.C. Borlase and Thurstan Peter (parts of all of whose work is examined in Chapter Three). In a section on "Stone Circles" the author⁹⁹ particularly comments on the use of Diodorus in discussions of druidry¹⁰⁰ and in G.R. Lewis' segment on 'Tin-Mining' the portion of Diodorus' text discussed in Chapter Two is quoted and a number of the secondary texts from Chapter Three are also referenced.¹⁰¹ Lewis assumes that the argument is completed and concludes that Diodorus' description is broadly accurate and even that Phoenician trade is plausible. It is worth remembering that his analysis of later medieval mining has remained influential so this opinion has also retained currency. Part five of the *VCH*, which covers Roman Cornwall, was largely compiled by Francis Haverfield before his death. It also includes a re-working of his *RE* article on the Cassiterides¹⁰² and discusses the literary evidence for tin.¹⁰³ Haverfield's discussion is less enthusiastic than Lewis' and highlights the inconsistencies between our various surviving ancient accounts as well as problems with the earlier analyses.

Hencken, writing more than a decade after Haverfield's death and with enough time

⁹⁶ This is based largely on Haverfield's discussion: F. Haverfield (1912) and F. Haverfield (1924) pp.21-26. See further on the following pages.

⁹⁷ H.O'N. Hencken (1932).

⁹⁸ W. Page (ed.) (1906). Hereafter referred to as *VCH part 1*. Also referenced in this thesis *VCH part 5*: Haverfield (1924).

⁹⁹ Namely G.F. Tregelles.

¹⁰⁰ *VCH part 1* pp. 404-405.

¹⁰¹ *VCH part 1* pp. 522-523.

¹⁰² F. Haverfield (1919) "Cassiterides" in *RE*; Inclusion in this respected Encyclopedia suggests his analysis was broadly representative of contemporary scholarship.

¹⁰³ *VCH part 5* pp.15-19.

for these ideas to have taken root, brought a fresh impetus and newer approaches to regional archaeological studies.¹⁰⁴ His work aims to be both accessible to the general public and useful to a more serious technical scholar. In particular, Hencken addresses issues raised in this thesis in an entire chapter on “The Prehistoric Tin Trade”¹⁰⁵ which outlines all the prehistoric finds either relating to mining or found in a mining context. He highlights the possibility of trade with Brittany and Ireland in the early Bronze Age but points out that the archaeological evidence is stronger for mining-practice and trade in the later Bronze Age and early Iron Age. Unlike some previous commentary he considers implications of this trade for the local communities such as the need for roads and ships as well as discussing the material goods being transferred. Notably he ascribes the lack of foreign prestige goods to the need for consumables in a region without much fertile land.

Hencken is doubtful about the likelihood of much of the ancient textual material referring to Cornwall. Significantly, he blames William Camden (the first author to be examined in Chapter Three) for starting tales of Phoenician trade with Cornwall which he thinks are clearly implausible, although he does reference the texts of both Strabo and Avienus. Hencken likewise dismisses discussion of Midacritus (from Pliny) and focuses his attention on the voyage of Pytheas by comparing the testimonies of Avienus, Timaeus (again via Pliny), and Diodorus. Like many of the authors considered here, he quotes Diodorus at length and suggests his own theories on possible trade routes and the location of Iktis. After some discussion, including consideration of other scholarship on the topic,¹⁰⁶ Hencken chooses St. Michael's Mount as the most plausible location. Although Hencken's work has now been superseded by fresh archaeological analysis, because of the respect accorded to his work on prehistoric Cornwall, his analysis remains influential.¹⁰⁷

After these two works, two more surveys also had a wide-reaching impact. Aileen Fox's study of the South-West is a tour de force that covers Cornwall, Devon and Somerset and is highly insightful on the Roman occupation of the region. She focuses her attention later than Hencken, perhaps unwilling to devote the time and space to the

¹⁰⁴Note the positive review given by the eminent archaeologist V. Gordon Childe (1932) pp. 460-461 and his other archaeological excavations and publications.

¹⁰⁵H. O'N. Hencken (1932) pp.158-188.

¹⁰⁶The Bibliography includes, Carew, *VCH* (pp.15-26); *RE*; W. Ridgeway (1890); M. Cary (1924); T. Rice-Holmes (1907).

¹⁰⁷Theories based on his work and discussions appear in A. Fox (1964) [Bibliography p.173 &c], R.D. Penhallurick (1986) [e.g. pp.142, 170 &200] as well as the use of his diagrams in other archaeological work e.g. H. Quinnell (1986) pp.111-134 and in more populist press.

extensive Mesolithic remains that fill much of Hencken's work. Lady Fox is clearly interested in the social archaeology of the region and offers a number of new ideas in part influenced by her own excavations across Devon and Cornwall. Later, Fox also excavated and published on a Roman fortlet in Cornwall¹⁰⁸ and consequently inspired further study on the presence of Romans in the county. In her chapter on early Bronze Age trade she suggests that grave goods in the South-West show Mycenaean inspiration and trade with Ireland¹⁰⁹ and although the work focuses on how homesteads demonstrate social changes she also discusses overseas trade in her chapter on the Celtic Peoples.¹¹⁰ Lady Fox largely follows the established narrative of early Carthaginian control of metal trade in the Atlantic regions that triggered Pytheas' exploration and a well-established overland network by Diodorus' time. It is, however, notable that, despite making no attempt to date or quantify pre-Diodoran trade, she comments on what she sees as a growing range of evidence for contact.

Fox's work has since largely been superseded by Malcolm Todd's south-western survey¹¹¹ which updates many of her findings and offers an invaluable guide to his archaeological predecessors back as far as Camden and Borlase.¹¹² Todd describes the nature and frequency of metal finds in the South-West and theorises that changes in land-holding patterns from the mid-late Bronze Age represent a changing attitude towards control of metal sources but that this need not mean there was an expansion of trade. He offers a brief and cautious analysis of the wider contacts between south-west Britain and the Mediterranean which does highlight the role of literary material in modern understanding. He specifically separates the myth of the Cassiterides from the first century testimony of Caesar and Diodorus and comments both on possible finds that corroborate the hypothesis of early traders and on the plausibility of various locations for Iktis.¹¹³ Todd summarises the state of contemporary understanding of early metallurgy in the region by saying that “[the] exploitation of tin and copper sources during the second millennium BC is a subject of obvious significance but one which has not yet been elucidated by major discoveries in the field or by detailed analysis of artefacts.”¹¹⁴ This is a feeling echoed nearly twenty-five years later in a summary of

¹⁰⁸ A. Fox & W. Ravenhill (1972).

¹⁰⁹ A. Fox (1964) pp.69-83 (Ireland -pp.80-81 and Mycenaean influences at pp.82-83).

¹¹⁰ A. Fox (1964) pp. 115-117.

¹¹¹ M. Todd (1987).

¹¹² M. Todd (1987) pp. 11-31.

¹¹³ M. Todd (1987) pp.185-188.

¹¹⁴ M. Todd (1987) p.109.

work done since the 1980s in *Cornish Archaeology Volume Fifty*,¹¹⁵ which comments that there is still very little metallurgical evidence for the period.

Overall these studies of Cornwall's pre-historic archaeology demonstrate that there was a significant population in pre-Roman Cornwall and that they were involved in mining activity but that if they were engaging in trade it was for non-recoverable goods such as grain or hides. The surveys suggest that there is a potential for a more nuanced picture to be created with more work but also that previous academics have been extensively influenced by the contemporary concepts of Britain more generally. The texts also show that there has been a regular and consistent interest in both the region and period and in re-interpreting earlier theories.

As Charles Thomas' article¹¹⁶ points out, the raw material available in Cornwall must first be uncovered, categorised and analysed as well as woven into these types of wider narratives. Over the course, not only of the last century, but even the last twenty years the methods which have been used to do this have developed immensely.¹¹⁷ The advances both in archaeological technique and in the extent of surveys within Cornwall have enabled a broad picture of cultural and technical practices during the late Bronze and early Iron Age to develop. Nonetheless the picture is still quite limited and contestable. This arises not only because a number of the sites were thoroughly plundered during the early-modern period before excavation records became important but also because of the scarcity of monetary and trading-goods related finds. Thomas highlights in particular the work done by local groups, especially the Cornwall Archaeological Society¹¹⁸ and the county council's Historic Environment Service, to preserve finds and to centralise projects within an academic purview but laments the lack of funding for synthesising holistic narratives from what is gleaned and the danger of popular misunderstandings especially on the issue of Celts.¹¹⁹ Although fieldwork and publications on archaeology in the county have run the gamut from studies of the coastal activity in the neolithic period to the preservation of a Georgian country house,¹²⁰ much of the fieldwork has yet to be turned into meaningful analyses.

However, a general description of archaeological scholarship up to the mid-

¹¹⁵ A.M. James & H. Quinnell (2011) p. 225.

¹¹⁶ C. Thomas (2002).

¹¹⁷ Consider the comments made about the use of aerial photography and geophysical surveys in *Corn. Arch. Vol. 50* esp. J.A. Nowakowski (2011).

¹¹⁸ Whose journal (*Cornish Archaeology*) is invaluable in its publication of excavation reports and analysis.

¹¹⁹ C. Thomas (2002) pp. 83-85.

¹²⁰ E.g. A.M. Jones & S.J. Reed (2006) and R.W. Parker, P. Manning & G. Young (2008).

nineties on the life and habits of pre-Roman, Iron Age Britain is given in Hill's overview in the *Journal of World Prehistory* which especially notes the complexity of the trade and exchange networks.¹²¹ Similarly, the scholarship on earliest European metal production networks was recently summarised by B.W. Roberts¹²² which adds to other overviews such as Shepherd's 1993 *Ancient Mining*.¹²³ In Cornwall, new excavations and surveys at locations like St. Michael's Mount and Trevelgue cliff castle have shed new light on Iron Age activity in the county but, although this potentially influences readings of Iktis, more work clearly needs to be done.¹²⁴ In depth studies on tin mining and trade/exchange-networks over the last thirty years such as those of Penhallurick¹²⁵ and Muhly¹²⁶ discuss the prevalence and practicality of tin-mining in the South-West. Muhly, in particular, by summarising a number of the scientific studies such as artefact compositional analysis and locations of alluvial tin deposits, has argued that north-western Europe (i.e. Cornwall, Devon and Brittany) was a primary source for Aegean bronze manufacture.¹²⁷ This claim has been contested by other experts like Budd et al,¹²⁸ who suggest that there is insufficient evidence of large-scale mining in Cornwall to support more than local metalwork until at least the medieval period.

Penhallurick's influential study of tin in antiquity stresses the particular importance of Cornwall (perhaps influenced by his long-standing association with the county) and remains a key survey of dateable finds associated with Cornish mining sites. As well as identifying the geological features that make regions tin-rich and the feasibility of different extraction methods in different places, the 1987 monograph specifically outlines prehistoric finds in tin-streams and early tin ingots. It not only details the circumstances of the discoveries and probable dates for the items but also includes diagrams of key items. However, the work suffers from the failure to use all of the data to reach a firm conclusion and consequently does not effectively demonstrate the supremacy of Cornish tin in the ancient world. This is partially because of the unreliability of so much of the provenance for the materials because of the age of the early excavations that he uses which makes dating activity unreliable and is partially

¹²¹ J.D. Hill (1995) pp. 60-63.

¹²² B.W. Roberts (2009).

¹²³ R. Shepherd (1993).

¹²⁴ J.A. Nowakowski (2011) p.248; Also J.A. Nowakowski & H. Quinnell (2011); P.C. Herring (2001).

¹²⁵ R.D. Penhallurick (1987) and R.D. Penhallurick (1997) pp. 23-34.

¹²⁶ J.D. Muhly (1985).

¹²⁷ J.D. Muhly (1985) pp. 287-291.

¹²⁸ P. Budd et al (1992) pp. 677-686 – argues insufficient evidence of any smelting makes conclusions meaningless; P.T. Craddock & B.R. Craddock (1997) p. 14 suggests further work is needed for any proof. Note also M. Todd (1987) p.231 on lack of evidence for Roman tin extraction in Cornwall.

because the author does not present an over-arching thesis. Nonetheless the scope of his study has not been superseded and the data has been much recycled.

Finds at Hengistbury in Dorset¹²⁹ and across the South-West¹³⁰ show Cornish material were amongst the items being moved and traded by the early Britons, both around England and probably across the channel. Cunliffe has also stressed that during the Bronze Age (and early Iron Age), when the initial tin-trade is posited, both coastal and sea routes in the Atlantic region were vital to the transmission of ideas and techniques as well as to the movement of goods.¹³¹ These excavations are complemented by specialist studies of ancient European tribal interactions which demonstrate the feasibility and problems of using a centre-periphery model for the economic relationships¹³² and suggest that there were a number of complex networks before the Roman conquest. Though there has been some debate on the practicalities of cross-channel movement and wider trading-relations, both seem not only feasible but likely scenarios.¹³³ Williams argues, for example, that the trade for Spanish olive oil was well established by the late first century BCE and largely unaffected by later Roman conquest¹³⁴ and though it now seems unlikely that Cornwall exported tin to Ireland in any quantity¹³⁵ the striking similarity of some artefacts suggests interaction between the two regions.¹³⁶

More specifically, there have been a handful of twentieth century attempts to directly link Cornish mining to the ancient Mediterranean world. Most importantly there have been the works of Laing¹³⁷ on the possibility of Greek interaction, and Cunliffe (1983) and Hawkes (1984) who both address the issue of the possible location of Iktis via archaeological finds.¹³⁸ Since Cunliffe's arguments in favour of Mount Batten off Plymouth the topic of Iktis has largely been dropped (although Nowakowski alludes to the possibility of more archaeological work being done)¹³⁹ probably due to discomfort

¹²⁹B. Cunliffe (2005) p.478 [Cunliffe previously published excavation reports in 1978 & 1987].

¹³⁰E.g. pottery from the Lizard found in Somerset: T. Moore (2007) p. 82.

¹³¹B. Cunliffe (2001) and B. Cunliffe (2005) pp.471-472. See also J.C. Henderson (2007) pp.282-304 and S. Sherratt & A. Sherratt (1993).

¹³²E.g. M. Rowlands, M. T. Larsen & K. Kristiansen (eds.) (1987) and more recently: K. Kristiansen & T. B. Larsson, (2005).

¹³³See e.g. P.R. Davis (1997) and R.G. Winslade (2000-1). More generally - S. Rippon (2008) and K. Muckelroy (1981).

¹³⁴D.F. Williams (1995).

¹³⁵R. Warner, N. Moles, R. Chapman & M. Cahill (2010).

¹³⁶R.D. Penhallurick (1987) pp. 113 & 163; P.M. Christie (1986) pp. 96 & 104.

¹³⁷L.R. Laing (1968).

¹³⁸B. Cunliffe (1983) pp.123-126 and C.F.C. Hawkes (1984). See also I.S. Maxwell (1972).

¹³⁹J. Nowakowski (2011) p.248 – she suggests a number of alternative candidates.

with working with the classical texts where so little conclusive evidence has been found, and the question of prehistoric tin-working in Anatolia (and thus its feasibility as a key Mediterranean source) remains unresolved.¹⁴⁰

The main issue with the archaeological understanding as it stands for this thesis, aside from the clear need for more work to be done, is that its relationship to literary history is unclear. What incorporation of the archaeological material by classical and other historical scholars exists is summarised below but it is also worth noting that many of the key analytical texts were produced in the 1980s and thus have not grappled with more recent finds or theories. Although this thesis does not attempt a synthesis of the modern material or to address technical issues it does suggest new areas of exploration and re-examines the relationship between textual and material understandings.

Alongside these largely academic overviews there has been a considerable number of popular works¹⁴¹ and a broader selection of monographs and articles from outside the county either focusing on one specific aspect of Cornish history or archaeology, or referencing the county as part of a wider study of a particular topic such as the rise of antiquarianism or attitudes to the Civil War. It is worth noting that the synthesis of these focused research topics has so far been limited especially in terms of the interface of material and documentary studies. In *Cornish Studies*, the most recent general survey of modern scholarship,¹⁴² found over a series of articles in *Volume Ten* of the second series, offers a brief summary on several periods of Cornish history. It includes discussions of the medieval era, the early modern period and the industrial revolution.¹⁴³

Nonetheless existing specialist studies have worked to demonstrate the relevance of historical scholarship to the wider community. Modern historical scholarship from a number of disciplines offers a particularly relevant backdrop to this thesis by showing a wide interest in antiquarianism and learned societies across Britain from the eighteenth century onwards. These works tend to include Cornish authors such as Borlase and Polwhele and use Cornwall as a case-study in regionalism. Although earlier historical writers are mentioned and referenced by the twentieth century monographs discussed above, with the exception of Richard Carew and William Borlase,¹⁴⁴ their roles in

¹⁴⁰J.D. Muhly (1993); K.A. Yener, P.B. Vandiver & L. Willies (1993) and J.D. Muhly (2001).

¹⁴¹Evidenced by both an Amazon.co.uk search and the diversity of websites showcasing individual theories on related topics.

¹⁴²Now ten years out of date.

¹⁴³*Corn. St. Vol. 10* (2002). Respectively A. Buckley (2002); M. Stoye (2002b) and P. Payton (2002).

¹⁴⁴ On Carew see particularly two editions: F.E. Halliday's (R. Carew(1953)) and Chynoweth, Orme &

shaping the modern historiography of the county and their value as sources are still largely unexplored within these works. It is true that in contrast to this trend, Spriggs investigates Scawen, and Williams looks at Morton Nance;¹⁴⁵ however both focus on their role with respect to the Cornish language and, despite three articles published on Henry Jenner,¹⁴⁶ little comparable investigation is being done on the roles of prominent individuals within the antiquarian movements which this thesis hopes to encourage.

These individuals are also still under-investigated by literary critics and theorists generally as we can see from the relative absence of discussions about their lives and opinions in *Cornish Studies* and other journals. However, Mark Brayshay has recently published an invaluable collection of essays¹⁴⁷ that places Cornish topographical writers in the context of their relationships to each other and their counterparts across the South-West, and as such marks a key point in changing attitudes to local scholars in a historiographical sense. Brayshay's work, and that of his contributors, capitalises on a trend towards regional studies that has already been demonstrated in the study of Cornish Studies as a discipline and forms a stepping-stone to more comparative studies. For example, the trend is also demonstrated in the studies on the contribution of Cornish antiquarians to wider British knowledge/scholarship and attitudes which is beginning to be noted by scholars such as Naylor whose work was noted above.

Generally speaking, therefore, this thesis aims to improve a small but growing field of historical interest in Cornish writers, their social contexts and concerns by investigating the local antiquarian understanding of textual and material evidence using recent work on the relevant time-periods. The work simultaneously offers the first comprehensive survey of historiographical approaches to ancient Cornwall and adds to the work being done on the intellectual life and its interaction with social practices in Cornwall, particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Furthermore the thesis contributes to modern perceptions of the particular role of classical texts and education in intellectual life, especially in non-central regions of Britain. Therefore the next section aims to demonstrate ways that classical learning has contributed to the debate on the nature of ancient Cornwall, to the study of British society and to the thesis as a whole.

Walsham's (2004) edition [Referred to as Carew in this thesis]; plus commentary incl.: D.N.C Wood (1977) and on Borlase: P.A.S. Pool (1986).

¹⁴⁵ M. Spriggs (2005) and D.R. Williams (2008).

¹⁴⁶ Namely A. Hale (2005), D. Everett (2011) and C. Phillips (2011).

¹⁴⁷ M. Brayshay (ed.) (1996).

1.2: Ancient Cornwall: Classicists Speak

As will be shown in Chapter Three, Cornish historians make use of classical literature as well as (and sometimes instead of)¹⁴⁸ archaeology in order to describe and explain the state of ancient Cornwall. In so doing they also draw on their classical educational heritage and used shared understandings to create and manipulate expectations of both the classical texts and the place they represent. This thesis in part follows the trend of using classical material as a foil to consider the present in that it also draws from a classical background in order to critique the ancient literature. It goes beyond that, however, in that the analysis of the secondary literature aims to consider the value of the classical within the historiographical.

Within the thesis Classics has two key roles. First and foremost as a discipline it offers multiple analyses of the texts that have been used by the literary historians to create a picture of ancient Cornwall. As such within the thesis it plays a similar role to Cornish history in that it allows for a historicist contextualisation of the passages that addresses the circumstances of their composition and therefore suggests reasons for the observable trends in approaches to the west and Cornwall. For example it identifies any background of rising imperialism, changing philosophical conceptions of barbarians or involvement in political unrest on possible authorial intentions to the pieces being examined. However, as well as suggesting crucial historical circumstances that should be considered when analysing texts, Classics has also adapted a broad range of literary analyses for the ancient texts including semiotics, narratology and critical post-structuralist reader-response interpretations. Thus, the second key role for Classics within the thesis is providing a theoretical framework for interpreting the use of ancient material. In the way that Cornish Studies suggests means for interpreting the role of historiography and mining within Cornish identities, Classical Reception identifies and proposes reasons for the role of Greco-Roman texts in societies, and, in this instance, in historiography specifically. The thesis combines the two by suggesting that classical (and classicising) historiography has a vital role in Cornish identity-formation and therefore in Cornish society.

¹⁴⁸For a number of the authors examined this is at least partially due to an absence of scientific research or background knowledge of the topic.

This section of the chapter introduces these two roles of the classical discipline in the thesis. It will give an outline both of the work that forms the critical mirror for analysis of the insights posited by the secondary texts (i.e. the modern work that covers similar ground) and of the work that provides a theoretical stepping-stone for this thesis. Firstly, it is important to demonstrate the twentieth and twenty-first century classical approaches to ancient Cornwall both generally and specifically. This portion looks at how Classicists have incorporated archaeological and textual material into narratives about Britain and outlines other areas of study that relate to Cornwall such as research into ancient mining practice and trade networks and the connection to Celtic scholarship. Secondly, this section will introduce key theoretical concepts from classical studies and particularly comments on the main scholarship that has investigated the role of Classics in British academic culture and its appropriation into narratives of territorial control and dissent. It shows that no other systematic collation of these ideas has been made and therefore that the thesis is novel in its aim.

This section will not provide a comprehensive study of all the stylistic and thematic concerns identified by classicists as providing an introduction to theoretical study of ancient material, such as the role of politics. However, an overview tailored to the issues being studied in the thesis forms the introduction to the texts in Chapter Two. Furthermore, this section does not attempt to give a complete review of literary criticism on each of the authors being examined in the second chapter despite the wide variation in the depth and scope of current analyses across different texts and topics since it would be impossible to catalogue the vast wealth of classical scholarship. Instead in Chapter Two the relevant textual analysis will be used extensively to interpret the texts. The section will also not attempt to demonstrate the specific way that Reception theories affect the interpretation of Cornish material, which is covered in Chapter Four, but instead aims to show why the theories are relevant to this study.

1.2.1: Placing Cornwall in the Ancient World

For classicists, discussions of Britain generally are based on the linkages between the island and the centres of the Classical world and inevitably the focus is on the relationship with Imperial Rome because of the length and impact of that connection. Since this thesis does not deal with the later periods of the Roman empire the experts on Roman Britain who dominate the classical scholarship are largely unhelpful, although,

not entirely so. Scholars have also, for example, acknowledged that not only did the Romans have concepts of 'the west' and of Britain specifically prior to its conquest by the Empire but also that they may have inherited ideas from Greek literature on the west and increasingly that classical civilisation also had subtle influences on the island, albeit indirectly, from an earlier period. This thesis will contribute to that body of work by looking in depth at pieces of classical text referring to the region.

Using Archaeology

Our understanding of the Roman occupation of Cornwall is still very limited and based predominantly on the archaeological work. As David Braund points out in the introduction to his book *Ruling Roman Britain*,¹⁴⁹ the literary evidence relating to the Roman occupation of Britain has failed to get nearly as much critical attention as its archaeological counterpart, and without doubt discussion of the pre-Roman era literature is weaker still. As commented above, known Roman remains in Cornwall are quite scarce and predominantly date from the late empire and this has led to a thesis of basic disengagement by the Roman elite. The scarcity of excavated military remains¹⁵⁰ has suggested a non-belligerent populace and that no commercial enterprises were regularly exploited. Consequently much scholarship on Roman Britain has stopped at Exeter with a brief note that the rest of the peninsula was conquered early in the campaigns.¹⁵¹ It is worth continuing the cautious hypothesis that the lack of remains indicates that the Romans were not involved in exploiting Cornish tin, which seems to fit with the even more scarce imperial references to such activity, and was a contributing factor in the general exclusion of the portrayal of Roman Cornwall from this thesis.

The ancient historical narrative of the Claudian conquest does not really deal with the far west of Britain and unlike in the case of Scotland or Wales there is not an associated wealth of Roman literature describing the landscape and people of the region (which in those cases largely comes from Tacitus). Therefore we see no direct ethnography of Cornwall from the imperial era. However, antiquarians such as those

¹⁴⁹ D. Braund (1996) p.1.

¹⁵⁰Note of course the exception of Nanstallon and a number of recent discoveries:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/10372659> &

http://www.bbc.co.uk/cornwall/content/articles/2008/01/30/aboutcornwall_romanfort_feature.shtml [S. Hartgroves & J. Smith (2008)]. Archaeologists from Exeter University are currently working on a site at Ipplepen (in Devon) which may offer more information on Roman activity in SW England (<http://blogs.exeter.ac.uk/diggingromandevon/>) [accessed 22/11/12].

¹⁵¹Nanstallon was probably only active until the legions withdrew from Exeter in 75 CE.

considered in this thesis have attempted to apply Caesar's anthropological observations to the builders of Cornish megaliths. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when interest in druids was particularly strong, it was especially his depictions of the Celtic societies in Gaul that captured imaginations and was considered analogous to the local Cornish situation although other ethnographers, such as Posidonius, were also sometimes considered. More recently, although stone circles and tombs are no longer attributed to druids, there has been a reassessment of both the concept of ancient Celts and of what the classical writers have said about them.

Celts meet Classics

Although it would be a mistake to simply equate Cornish with a Celtic identity because of the complexity of modern identity, the image of Cornish as Celtic is very important.¹⁵² This is in part to do with the classical literature that is (and has been) related to the region, as this thesis will illustrate, and in part is a modern cultural construction. However, in order to broaden the picture of the ancient Cornish peoples encountered by conquering Romans and their potential Mediterranean predecessors noting the region's relationship with ancient Celtic tribes and ideas helps to contextualise Cornwall within the wider archaeological background of the European bronze and iron ages. This larger-scale view inevitably requires assessing trade-networks and interactions between peoples particularly with respect to those civilisations who have left us the most remains and written records – that is the Greek, Roman and Egyptian worlds. As discussed above, models for likely interactions between groups and tribes have been mapped out by scholars along centre-periphery lines and, as amphora finds in Britain have demonstrated, connections reached at least as far as Rome and were certainly more extensive between local tribes.¹⁵³

Eighteenth and nineteenth century concepts of the spread of artistic and cultural ideas through the migration of Celtic tribes (based in part on the indefinite geographical descriptions given by Herodotus and the Polybian comments about Celtic tribal movement)¹⁵⁴ have been contested by scholars such as Cunliffe and other theorists.¹⁵⁵ New studies have (re-)assessed the links between European regions - especially on the

¹⁵²See above pp. 26-27 (esp. n.60); Also below in Chapter 4 esp. pp. 239-240.

¹⁵³See D.F. Williams (1995).

¹⁵⁴B.W. Cunliffe (2011) pp.191-192, pp. 195-199; P. Freeman (2000/2001) pp. 22-28.

¹⁵⁵B.W. Cunliffe (2008) pp.294-296; B.W. Cunliffe (2013) p.32; Consider P. Sims-Williams (1998) pp. 29-33. On various different migration theories see J. Collis (2003) pp.93-98.

Atlantic littoral - through (amongst other things) linguistic relationships, the potential ethnic origins of Bronze Age tribes and the applications of the idea of Celticism by historians and politicians. Several of these new assessments have a direct impact of the study of Cornwall both with relation to its nature in the prehistoric era and with regard to conceptions of identity in the area.

Thus, the study of the Atlantic fringe regions of Europe has led increasingly to examination of the term Celtic and its application to these regions especially through Simon James' re-evaluation of the usage of the term Celtic from the 1700s and other critical considerations.¹⁵⁶ The issue has largely centred on the topic of the origins of the ancient Celts and their potential diversity and its contrast to the modern sense of (political) fellowship and the creation of a Celtic mythos, including art and music and, for example, types of Cornish Celtic identity.¹⁵⁷ A search for origins has naturally led to a discussion of the origins of the term Celtic (κελτοί, Celtae etc.)¹⁵⁸ in Greek and Latin literature such as the works of Strabo and Caesar¹⁵⁹ and to further consideration of how concepts attached to ancient term(s) have altered since classical times.¹⁶⁰ The meaning of Celts to the Greeks and Romans has been reassessed by both archaeologists and anthropologists interested in the Celtic phenomena but also by Classicists¹⁶¹ attempting to create a more coherent picture of the classical view of the fringes of the world, the west and barbarian 'Others'.

It is possible to trace a link between ideas used in the 'Othering' of Celts by Greco-Roman authors and the images of the 'Celtic fringe' that have been co-opted in more modern discourse. Silke Stroh¹⁶² argues that the representations of noble and ignoble savage applied to the Celts in (amongst others) Tacitus and Caesar were also used to categorise highland Scots in the eighteenth and nineteenth century as part of imperial and colonial discourse. Stroh further suggests not only that the conflicted portrayal of barbarians was inherited from the classical tradition but also that it has been possible to use these formulations on subjects not temporally or spatially distant because of the classical linkage. Although the article specifically discusses the case of Scotland it

¹⁵⁶S. James (1999) pp.43-67. Also J. Collis (2003) pp.27-92 suggests an evolution of the idea of the Celts and outlines key individuals in the process; Also M. Dietler (1994) pp. 584-605.

¹⁵⁷B.W. Cunliffe (2011) pp.190-210. Also M. Kneafsey (2002) pp. 126-138; A. Hale (2002) pp.157-170.

¹⁵⁸See e.g. T.P. Bridgman (2005a); P. Sims-Williams (1998) pp. 21-28 and P.S. Wells (2002) pp.103-118.

¹⁵⁹Various e.g. Strab. *Geog.* 1.2.28, 1.4.3, 4.4.1-2; Caes. *B Gall.* 6.11.5, 6.13.3; Also Diod. Sic. 5.29.1-3, 5.32.1 5.32.7 &c.

¹⁶⁰See esp. H.D. Rankin (1987) pp. 295-299 and P. Keyser (2011) pp.31-70.

¹⁶¹E.g. L. Bonfante (2011a) et al; T.P. Bridgman (2005b); A.M. Riggsby (2006) pp. 47-71 &c.

¹⁶²S. Stroh (2009) pp.339-354.

offers a model for other Celtic regions as well. Her analysis supports a wider view of usages of the ancient texts partially through its recognition of the inherent difficulties in a broad application of Celtic associations¹⁶³ and partially because it suggests an open-ended interpretation of classicism in literature.

Overall this is, of course, comparable to the way that Romanticism generally influenced portrayals of ancient Britain¹⁶⁴ and builds on work by, for example, Pittock and Dietler¹⁶⁵ on the topic of the images of Celts used by centralised narratives such as 'British History'. This type of scholarship, as Stroh notes, has had a twofold effect on the direction of some elements of Celtic commentary; firstly they have asserted a modified internal-colonial model for Celtic 'nations'¹⁶⁶ that allows alignment with the overseas colonies of European empires and secondly they have noted strong similarities and links between Celticism and Orientalism.¹⁶⁷ This suggests firstly that the portrayal of Cornwall both internally and externally may be found to show similarities with other cultures dominated by London culturally as well as economically (albeit under a more complex model involving complicity in other imperial projects) and therefore can usefully be subjected to similar analysis and compared and contrasted with them. Secondly it implies a rhetoric of what it means to be Celtic that is strongly influenced by a differentiation from the cultural norms of South-East England and as such represents a form of 'Othering' that can trace root ideas to classical patterns. Not only does this model bring the topic of depictions of Cornwall into the realm of post-colonial studies (albeit tentatively) but it also suggests that in dealing with the ancient history of the county the approaches of classical reception can offer a new viewpoint. Modern Celtic scholars have begun to assess how classical ideas about their 'Celtic' neighbours have influenced modern concepts of Celticity and more generally have begun to consider the influence of ancient notions of barbarity and civility on the mindsets of more modern historians and politicians and in this way analysis of classical texts and their role is being absorbed into broader historical and sociological studies.

¹⁶³For example - Scotland as a disunified entity – highland vs. lowland Scots.

¹⁶⁴S. Smiles (1994) *passim*

¹⁶⁵M. Pittock (1999) see esp. pp.1-19 and pp.35-44 and M. Dietler (1994).

¹⁶⁶First posited in economic terms by M. Hechter (1975). Critiqued e.g. M. Chapman (1992) pp. 120-145; P. Payton (1992) pp.30-32 [see below Chapter 4 esp. pp.256-259]. Later adapted to reflect social, political and rhetorical formulations see e.g. T. Brown (ed.) (1996); M. Kneafsey (2002) pp. 123-125.

¹⁶⁷Most strongly developed (for fairly obvious reasons) in Ireland. See e.g. C. Carroll and P. King (eds.) (2003) esp. J. Lennon (2003) pp.129-157; but note also the contributions of K. Trumpener (1997) p.xiii and J. Shields (2005).

1.2.2 Tradition, Reception, Society

Generally, Classics attempts to achieve a balance between using the texts to access historical knowledge, reading the texts as literature and contemplating what our readings tell us about ourselves. Hence, classical studies¹⁶⁸ are important not simply as a means of understanding texts within their own literary and historical context, as in Chapter Two, but also because Classical Reception offers suggestions for deciphering the reasons for varying uses of any classical heritage (or tradition). Thus, as well as attempting to broaden factual understanding of the historical periods and linguistic nuances, the discipline examines the varieties of usages and adaptations of classical material as well as offering possible reasons for the resulting diversity. Classical Reception, especially, aims to address how individual circumstances are reflected in the perceptions and appropriations of pieces of classical material; for example, by contrasting provincial and metropolitan productions of classical drama or in this case representations of history.

Overall, theoretical aspects of classical studies, as further considered in this section, have three roles in the thesis. They offer models for reading the ancient texts and their re-workings by examining techniques of textual composition and assessing strategies of reading and critiquing. Secondly, Classics exposes ideas and models that are inherited from the ancient world such as political systems or concepts of barbarians and thereby identifies the influence of the ancient world in multiple spheres of modern life. As a corollary, by using theories such as those considered below, classical studies offers ways of considering multiple textual interpretations by contrasting the different representations of the same texts and considering what it is about the text and the situation of the individual representation/reading of that text that appears to create a particular reading.

As with Cornish Studies, the most subtle classical influence on this thesis is the discipline's reflections on its own methods and analyses and Classicists' attempts to define what they can and should do.¹⁶⁹ From the rise of the of post-modern criticism in the twentieth century, theory in a general humanist sense has increasingly shaped

¹⁶⁸By which a broad discipline encompassing philology, history, literature and philosophy as well as Reception Studies but not limited to scholars with skill in the original languages is envisaged.

¹⁶⁹E.g. R. Bracht Branham et al. (1997) pp. 153-158; P. Cartledge (1998); I.J.F. de Jong & J.P. Sullivan (1994); S. Harrison (2001); L. Venuti (2008) and more.

classics and history both with respect to processes of textual deconstruction and with regard to the acknowledgement of the 'situatedness' of interpretation. It stresses ways for critics to become keener readers by becoming more aware of their own presuppositions and methods of analysis as well as noticing the problems inherent in understanding authorial intention. In this thesis it is shown that the aims and intentions of the classical author do not necessarily help any use of the text as a piece of historical evidence. The conscious and unconscious manipulation of reader expectations can hamper more modern understanding of the material and therefore the retrieval of information about, for example, sources of tin. Furthermore (misplaced) cultural expectations of the text and/or the specific choice of words similarly skews scholars towards individualised readings of emphasis and implication in the text. Critical theory aims to uncover the 'tricks' used by creator, re-writer and critic to manipulate understanding and to illuminate the paradigms that influence all three stages (writing, re-writing and reading) at any given point in space and time (albeit imperfectly).

It is helpful to consider how classicists have used and developed theoretical models formulated in other fields. The main areas of development come from historical studies, literary criticism and cultural studies and these may be usefully divided into two overlapping spheres - firstly new methodological processes for analysing text (such as narratology and/or semiotics) and secondly interest-oriented epistemological critique (such as Marxist or psychoanalytical perspectives). In summary, theories either help to break down the writing by looking at how the words and phrases convey a meaning and/or try to identify why we might choose to privilege one type of meaning over another.

The first sphere of textual analysis is largely based around practices of literary criticisms which thanks to Hayden White's theories can be productively applied to historiographical material.¹⁷⁰ Within the thesis it is chiefly relevant to the methods of analysing the primary and secondary texts. In order to consider the similarities and differences between the individual ancient and modern texts both in the apparent picture the writers build up of tin-trade and/or Cornwall¹⁷¹ and in methods of construction of meaning (i.e. the tools and conventions used to create that picture) the thesis investigates the patterns within the texts and the wider structural and generic models that are shared or subverted. It does this by applying traditional methods of close textual

¹⁷⁰H. White (1973). See also H. White (1984) and various criticisms.

¹⁷¹With the understanding that that picture may be contingent to this author at this time.

reading and making use of a variety of new theoretical approaches to ancient texts, especially work by de Jong (et al) on narratology¹⁷² and Hartog and Henderson's contributions to New Historicism.¹⁷³ This style of literary-critical theory has yet to be extensively applied to the classical texts examined in this thesis, such as Diodorus and Strabo, and this author has not attempted to propose new readings based on any of the in-depth approaches being developed but rather to remain conscious of the possibilities such critical thinking offers.

The second sphere of textual analysis is important to the investigation within the thesis because it has destabilised monolithic interpretations of ancient historical texts and opened up viewpoints that centre 'others' such as queer, race and gender theory and therefore allow for marginal re-readings, like specifically Cornish issues. These discourses have encouraged scholars to use their analysis of the classical texts to reconsider the process of writing history and creating literature or art¹⁷⁴ and to consider the impact of dominant paradigms on canon formation both in antiquity and in scholarship. For this thesis the most important analysis in the classical field is the study of the reading and understanding of those texts in subsequent generations, commonly called Reception Studies. 'Classical Reception Theory' as a sphere of study has largely built upon broader reception theory and the earlier domain of classical tradition¹⁷⁵ which particularly investigated the evolution of the translations and adaptations of particular texts or types of texts,¹⁷⁶ elucidated the process of changing scholarship and noted key figures in its development. Modern Classical Reception has expanded these investigations, but also particularly aims to assess the role of ancient texts in society generally. It looks at ways groups respond to the texts and how their circumstances influenced the readings and uses of the texts and also explores how ideas based (directly or indirectly) on classical thought and classical models influence societies. By discussing the use of classical texts within a specific society this thesis aims both to add more examples of reception of classical material to the field and to highlight the

¹⁷²Notably *Studies in Greek Narrative Vols. 1-3* (on Narrators, Time and Space) published by Brill 2004, 2007 and 2012.

¹⁷³See especially: F. Hartog (1988); J. Henderson (2001); on the role and problems of New Historicism see J. Brannigan (1998) and L. Edmunds (2005).

¹⁷⁴T. Von Nortwick (1997); C. Martindale (2002).

¹⁷⁵See however the debate on the terminology: L. Hardwick (2003) pp.1-11; F. Budelmann and J. Haubold (2008) pp.13-25.

¹⁷⁶The study of the adaptation of texts is still a very important area in all aspects of Classical Studies Contrast for example early twentieth century Ovidian studies such as E.K. Rand (1926) and L.P. Wilkinson (1955) with modern works such as M. Kilgour (2012) and J.G. Clark, F.T. Coulson & K.L. McKinley (eds.) (2011).

consequences of those receptions.

Reception Studies encourages scholars not to think simply of the works and historical moments as a chain of consequences but to question our ideas about the connections between texts, audience and attitudes in society. It has been a fertile area of publication which comprises, as well as individual works, several international journals, British and Australasian study networks, a *Greece and Rome* survey, a *Blackwell Companion to Classical Tradition* and series under the editorship of Maria Wyke.¹⁷⁷ Especially important in the context of this thesis are the broader considerations of the use of Classics that spread beyond straightforward textual re-working as source, pattern or point of departure. That is the studies re-interpreting the role Classics has played in British culture and re-evaluating the notion of a classical tradition both of scholarship and in terms of inherited social and political traits. This thesis aims to consider how a specific milieu, in this case that of Cornish antiquarianism, interacted with the classical historical texts both through the exposure to and interpretation of the texts by individuals and by investigating how the incorporation of the texts into narratives was influenced by society and aimed to influence it. Therefore of particular relevance to the thesis are those parts of classical reception that investigate the role of classical learning in the seventeenth through to the nineteenth centuries and its prevalence; the parts that examine the impact of classical models on historical thought and study and those that address the use of Classics as an expression of hegemonic power or of subversion.

The study of the place of classical scholarship within society can be divided into several key sub-groups. Firstly, there is the study of the texts, editions and translations themselves. The key goal of this type of study is to demonstrate the way our understanding of the ancient material has changed through the discovery of new manuscripts, the creation of vernacular translations and the incorporation of classical imagery and text into literary works. By tracking changes in approaches to texts and their uses it becomes easier to identify the correlation of those changes to social trends and by identifying the availability and proliferation of classical material it is possible to examine to what extent it had a broader impact on society. In this thesis the access of the Cornish writers to ancient texts and interpretations of those texts affects the way that

¹⁷⁷*International Journal of Classical Tradition*, Institute for the Classical Tradition, Boston University (1994 -); *Classical Receptions Journal*. L. Hardwick (ed.) Oxford University Press (2009-); L. Hardwick (2003); C.W. Kallendorf (ed.) (2007) – which despite its title aims to give an overview of modern reception studies; CRSN: <http://www2.open.ac.uk/ClassicalStudies/GreekPlays/crsn/index.shtml> (27/5/12) – Publish *New Voices* and *Practitioners Voices* online.

they re-worked their material so this type of investigation forms essential background work.

Surveys of the publication of editions based on new manuscripts and of early vernacular translations of individual classical authors works do exist¹⁷⁸ but understanding of their impact is hampered by uncertainty about the spread of the printing of such material and their general availability. Burke notes that, during the Renaissance, Roman historians seem to be twice as popular in terms of variety of editions as Greek historians but there are very few figures for the size of print runs¹⁷⁹ and a significant variation in whether they seem to have been read in the ancient language or in vernacular translations.¹⁸⁰ Collections of textual variants were considered unfashionably positivist during the latter part of the twentieth century¹⁸¹ but seem to be beginning to be reconsidered as shown by the publication of an anthology of classical literature in reception¹⁸² and works based around the traditions of individual classical writers. For many reception scholars the main focus has been on the authors and the works of poetry and drama and their impact on the major literary writers and classical scholars across the centuries.¹⁸³ However, scholarly interest has also covered the creation of translations and miscellanies in philosophical and historical-writing for political reasons such as Walbank's discussion of Dryden's relationship to Polybius¹⁸⁴ and more recently in the special edition of the *Classical Receptions Journal* dedicated to Pausanias.¹⁸⁵ In this way, the role of the accessibility of ancient factual writers (like those in this thesis) in influencing social trends is beginning to be investigated.¹⁸⁶ Nonetheless there is still an unevenness in the coverage of different classical authors – so whilst there is an enduring interest in new textual editions and re-writings of Homer, the Greek tragedians, Ovid and Virgil,¹⁸⁷ there has been a mere smattering of articles on the tradition and reception of writers like Diodorus and Strabo who are central to this

¹⁷⁸E.g. R.R. Bolgar (1977); F. Seymour Smith (1930).

¹⁷⁹P. Burke (1966) p.136.

¹⁸⁰P. Burke (1966) p.138.

¹⁸¹See, for example L. Hardwick & C. Stray (2008) pp.1-9; R. Hexter (2006) pp.23-31.

¹⁸²R. deMaria & R.D. Brown (eds.) (2007).

¹⁸³See examples relating to Ovid above p.50 n. 176.

¹⁸⁴F.W. Walbank (1989/2002) pp.295-309.

¹⁸⁵*Classical Receptions Journal. Special Issue: Receptions of Pausanias: From Winckelmann to Frazer. Vol. 2 No. 2* (2010).

¹⁸⁶See also the University of Bristol project on the Reception of Thucydides (<http://www.bris.ac.uk/classics/thucydides/>) and the “Legacies of Greek Political Thought” Research Group (<http://lgptblog.wordpress.com/>) and F. Cox-Jensen (2012).

¹⁸⁷E. Hall (2008); I. Hurst (2006); J.A. Gruys, (1981); S. Goldhill & E. Hall (eds.) (2008); G.W. Most & S. Spence (eds.) (2004); J.C. Pellicer (forthcoming 2013).

thesis but who were less well-known. This paucity of study may be as a result of the relative scarcity of new editions and translations of the factual material and its comparative lack of visibility in the literary genres (such as poetry and novels) that have been key areas of modern research. It also probably reflects the more recent scholarly trends in popularity of the study of ancient authors – an area worth investigating further.

The second sub-genre of the study of Classics within society is the treatment of the nature, diversity and dispersion of classical education. This field of study not only considers who was learning which classical texts and what they learnt about the texts but engages with the type of environment this learning took place in and what effects differences in learning practices might have had. These investigations complement those on textual distribution but further demonstrates the spread of standardised interpretations and translations to the writers in Chapter Three and the ways that certain groups and ideas were excluded. Notable works include, variously, Christopher Stray's works on the study of Classics in schools and universities in nineteenth century Britain,¹⁸⁸ McElduff's view of hedge schools in Ireland¹⁸⁹ and thoughts on the role of Classics in women's learning by, for example, Stevenson and Winterer.¹⁹⁰ These studies contribute to our perceptions of the pervasiveness of classical education amongst the individuals involved in antiquarian study and their notions of the shared understanding of classical material. However, more detailed work would need to be done to uncover the trends in, for example, what texts might be expected to be learnt by heart, which might have been owned and read by a majority of gentlemen and which ones could be considered esoteric or specialist at any given time and how and why those expectations were dependent on the availability of texts and translations.

Studying classical education demonstrates one of the processes by which ideas and images from the classical world were shared amongst groups, and potentially how others were disadvantaged by being excluded from such build-up of understanding. This means it is possible to hypothesise about ideas that were taken for granted by people with a shared education and what ideas might need more explanation. For example, a child educated with Caesar's stories would have a strong image of druids not shared by someone who was raised with Irish mythology and these differing ideas could subtly influence their approach to archaeological investigation of druids in later life. The study

¹⁸⁸Including but not limited to C. Stray (1996a); idem (1998a) and (1998b).

¹⁸⁹S. McElduff (2006).

¹⁹⁰J. Stevenson (1998) and C. Winterer (2001).

of education also potentially opens up a means of examining examples of standardised editions and translations and therefore of looking at where interpretations of individual texts are transmitted and built upon. This is because it seems likely that texts used in an educational context might have a broader audience than those only available to serious scholars and subscribers -especially when smaller charitable schools emulated the larger more prestigious institutions. By looking at what common early influences there were on scholars it is hoped that unconscious trends might be identified and whether ideas based on individual editions and authors could be traced especially amongst writers who perhaps never become philologists or translators in their own right. This is important because it allows scholars to identify innovations or deliberate reactions to established understanding.

These two fields of study overlap in the examination of the life and works of eminent scholars, particularly in Wilamowitz's and J.E. Sandys' invaluable histories of classical scholarship,¹⁹¹ and in retrospectives of the role of classical associations or institutions.¹⁹² Study done on the works and professional interests of individuals has allowed classicists to consider their influence on the development of ideas and to demonstrate the ways that people have shared information. However, individual cases not only highlight the topics and styles that were important in various circles, but also demonstrate models of interpretation that may have also been used by less prominent scholars and can helpfully be compared to those texts. Like re-evaluations of the roles of particular classical authors, biographies of major classicists have recently enjoyed an upsurge in publication for example, new considerations of the life and works of Gilbert Murray and Jane Ellen Harrison.¹⁹³ This field of study has been greatly aided by the availability of records of classically-related publications and the preservation of critical responses to texts¹⁹⁴ which help demonstrate the impact of individual works on the broader public. The assessment of the role of individuals becomes less reliable as one goes back in time. This is partially because of the trouble with obtaining information about the way early researchers shared ideas in letters and marginalia and the effects mentors had on distant researchers¹⁹⁵ and partially because of the general difficulty in

¹⁹¹U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1982); J.E. Sandys (1967) [1st published 1903-1908]. It is worth also noting the existence of R.B. Todd (ed.) (2004).

¹⁹²Again largely covered by Chris Stray's editions on the CA and Oxford and Cambridge Universities: C. Stray (ed.) (2003); idem (2007b); idem (1999); idem (2001).

¹⁹³C. Stray (2007a); M. Beard (2000); A. Robinson (2002).

¹⁹⁴Notably by commentary and reviews in the periodicals *Critical Review* and *Gentleman's Magazine*.

¹⁹⁵For example it is not clear to what extent Carew was influenced by Camden's classical research and whether Borlase tailored his research to please Stukeley (see Chapter Three e.g. pp. 154-155, 158-159,

defining the importance of any particular contribution to collective scholarship on an issue or text.

This difficulty with assessing impact means that, although the role of Classics in the lives of some socially prominent individuals (such as Gladstone)¹⁹⁶ has been considered, this has had little scholarly follow-through into the understanding of how their interactions with the Classics shaped their broader communities or changed social relationships with the Classics. This is a tricky area to research, however, hypotheses about the role of individuals in disseminating ideas are vital to this investigation which suggests that the interpretations of classical texts by Cornish writers was both influenced by their social background and also had an effect on their milieu which should be noted. This type of classical study therefore offers a starting point for the consideration of the way Cornish antiquarians interacted with classical 'common knowledge', specialist monographs and each other by suggesting ways of investigating connections between individuals and offering post-modern approaches to the role of personal circumstances in writing and reading texts.

Recent scholarship has emphasised the role of readers' renegotiation of ancient texts and the complexity of the interplay between how cultural expectations shaped interpretations of the texts and how texts were used to challenge and mould cultural norms. Different critics have addressed different aspects of readership but the most useful in this context are Iser's 'implied reader'¹⁹⁷ and the idea of 'interpretative community'. The first aspect emerges from the language of the text itself in Chapter Two and relates to the way that the author suggests a type of reader in their work and the second idea about readership considers how the social background of the reader influences the construction of the texts and is therefore hinted at in Chapters Three and Four. The way that different types of people interact with Classics both as readers and as writers and the overall role of Classics in society are important facets of the thesis and so the investigation of the key figures and key works features in these chapters alongside the analysis of influential social trends.

So, the final sub-group in the study of the role of Classics in British society is the most nebulous and probably the largest and it concerns the examination of the use of classical models for thoughts and behaviours. This area of Classical Reception helps to

166-167).

¹⁹⁶D.W. Bebbington (2008). See also E. Vandiver (1999) on Wilfred Owen.

¹⁹⁷W. Iser (1974).

explain the links between more modern historiography and the ancient practices and illustrates some of the key reasons why Cornish writers have chosen to incorporate classical material. Unlike studies of the texts, of responses to those texts and of the re-imaginings of them, this sub-group has considered the way attitudes shaped in a classical education informed social practices. This includes, for example, the way that ancient texts formed the basis for growing systems such as law, scientific enquiry and constitutional reform. Scholars such as Phiroze Vasunia, Miriam Leonard and Jonathan Sachs¹⁹⁸ have explored the way the potential openness of classical models was especially used in politics and demonstrated the variety of locations and situations to which they have been applied, including the framing of the American Constitution, the French Enlightenment, British imperial expansion and anti-colonialism.¹⁹⁹ Many scholars have therefore shown not only that classical material is capable of offering a collective frame-of-reference but also that it acts as a mutual point of origin for cultural and political change.

This sub-field of study also exposes the way that social ideas and concerns were expressed by reference to ancient society and conversely how attitudes to and interpretations of the classical world were shaped by contemporary issues. The most clear illustrations of this type of study are investigations into the way that classical ideas and imagery were presented in order to justify or vilify gender stereotypes or sexual orientation during different periods of history. Thus, for example, papers by Holt Parker and Yopie Prins have explored the conflict between perceptions of Sappho as schoolmistress and Sappho as homosexual lover and the effect of those different portrayals on attitudes to female education and sexuality.²⁰⁰ This type of investigation into the role of Classics attests to the flexibility of the imagery and power of the classical world in British society especially both as an exemplar for individuals and groups and as a means of justification for diversion from the current norms. Classical themes and stories (both mythological and historical) maintain a pervasiveness and utility of expression that is apparent from continued fascination with classical settings for modern films and novels.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁸E.g. S.A. Stephens & P. Vasunia (eds.) (2010); M. Leonard (2005); J. Sachs (2009). See also P. Ayres (1997) and M. Reinhold & J.W. Eadie (1973) pp. 1-3.

¹⁹⁹So, for example, Aristotle's mixed constitution influenced the founding fathers of the USA; the use of Polybius and Tacitus in Montesquieu; the analogy of the Roman Empire as justification and critique of the British Empire and Periclean Athens as a model for post-colonial democracy.

²⁰⁰H.N. Parker (1996); Y. Prins (1999).

²⁰¹See, for example, the success of HBO's *Rome* series and the recent releases of films such as *Clash of the Titans* (and its sequel *Wrath of the Titans*); Extensive study of the representation of the classical

However, since they can also carry unintended associations, classical precedents were not unproblematic for those adopting or living with them, as scholars such as Hall and Winkler show.²⁰² Nevertheless, this has encouraged selectivity and negotiation with the original material and what re-writing of the classical stories and models allows for is the testing of ideas and the subversion of expectations. This use of the Classics has especially been explored in the study of production and re-writing of classical material by communities outside of western Europe (and North America), particularly those by former European imperial colonies. Post-colonial studies have overlapped with Reception to show that not only are ideas about the classical world transmissible without the use of original language texts but also that they can have relevance outside the direct sphere of influence of the classical worlds. The multiple uses of the Classics in post-colonial settings have shown that the texts can be used powerfully to protest against the *status quo* and the normative models that utilise them.²⁰³

Generally speaking, therefore, the field of reception has strongly influenced the theoretical portions of this thesis. It has begun the process of acknowledging that the ancient historiography studied in Chapter Two has had a literary critical response spanning from its own time to modern writing that influences the way that the texts are understood and which should be studied alongside the texts. Furthermore, scholars have begun to analyse and critique some of those responses. As a result of these analyses, Reception Studies suggests a number of possible means to approach and explain the usages of classical material in Cornwall. Particularly, Chapter Four of this thesis makes use of ideas about the role of Classics in society to show that the classical paradigm was not only a 'universal language' but also a means of providing a new model for Cornwall's identity.

1.3: Summary – Methodology and Novelty

As the previous sections of this chapter have demonstrated, although there has been significant research into Cornish history, not only is the understanding of local

world on film and popular culture more generally has been done over the last 15 years or so by scholars such as Maria Wyke, Martin Winkler and Gideon Nisbet.

²⁰² E.g. E. Hall (2011); M.M. Winkler (2000); E. Reisz (2010).

²⁰³ Studied for example in: E. Foeller-Pituch (1995); J. Gibbs (2007); E. Greenwood (2010); L. Hardwick (2008).

historiography limited but the role of history and historians in the expression of Cornish identity is still under-explored. Furthermore, although classicists have demonstrated the power of ancient texts in a number of discourses their function in later historiography generally still needs more work. Since archaeologists, classicists and Cornish historians, as seen above, all take an interest in the potential connection between the ancient Mediterranean and Cornwall this area offers a way of approaching both gaps. This thesis aims to take a new look at the questions by investigating two different sets of texts, classical and modern, and suggesting some reasons for their intersection. Through this research, the thesis hopes to shed new light on the roles of the texts in cultural discourse. In order to achieve these goals a thorough and consistent investigation of the texts is required to lead into a theoretical analysis of their aims and impact.

The theories used to investigate both the ancient and modern texts look at how the meaning of the work is produced and how it is conveyed by investigating the language, internal structures of signification and rhetorical devices. The textual structure of the work and the modes of engagement with the audience help to illustrate why it is interpreted in a particular way and how the author manipulates his audience into particular patterns of interpretation – it also shows that certain eras and genres indirectly influence the way that authors formulate their arguments. The thesis also uses theories from Reception Studies to assess the interpretations of the classical texts in order to investigate reasons for particular readings and usages. It suggests that the environment of the Cornish historians and their personal and political concerns influenced their understanding and presentation of the classical texts. Thus, the thesis suggests a post-colonial model for Cornish readings of classical historiography whereby the local tradition adopts and then subverts a centralised British narrative that otherwise fails to reflect their experience.

This thesis does not aim to answer the question of what the ancient Mediterranean world *knew* about Cornwall nor to prove that there was a tin trade. Instead it addresses what the classical writers *said* about the western regions and tin and how those words were understood and manipulated by subsequent historians. Therefore Chapters Two and Three, first and foremost, address their respective texts as pieces of literature. The analysis will look at textual patterns in the works that seem to be used to build up persuasiveness or to highlight particular ideas. In Chapter Three this will involve looking at which classical texts are referenced and the way they are discussed but in

Chapter Two it requires more emphasis on possible reasons for introducing the topic as well as noting key-words. This approach is supplemented by an investigation of the contexts of the writing and their connections that aims to demonstrate common influences and issues in the production of the texts and furthermore force the analysis to consider its own preconceptions and expectations of genre or content. With regard to the classical material, although this type of analysis has been done to a certain extent before, this thesis will be looking at areas of the text that have been skimmed over from the perspective of demonstrating their relationship to promoting an individualised view of the world. It also shows the ways those sections fit with or contradict received ideas about the author or the topic. With regard to the Cornish material, in several instances this thesis marks the first detailed consideration of those texts and thus hopes to open up new areas of study and to suggest new ideas about their composition and role in society. It especially offers a new synthesis of the body of Cornish historiography and demonstrates connections and quirks.

The thesis does not aim to open up a new method of approach to textual material generally but it does suggest a new area of overlap between ancient and modern (historical) works which helps put a different perspective on the use of classical texts, especially in the way they can shape identities. This thesis demonstrates that Cornish writers before the twentieth century have deliberately approached the idea of ancient Cornwall through the discussion of classical texts but it also shows that they treated the texts as artefacts that either demonstrated the factual knowledge of the ancient writers or illustrated their ignorance and mendacity. It demonstrates the potency of the classical texts to add a sense of importance and *gravitas* to historical narrative and to offer the practice of tin-mining in Cornwall a powerful precedent and hence tradition. The thesis also shows that the representation of the sections of the texts was strongly influenced by a local sense of difference and the desire to fix that precedence of unique identity in a classical framework. Finally it proposes that the classical material was important to identity-building because of the combination of its privileged place within historiography and the way that malleability of interpretation allowed the subversion of the normal framework.

Chapter Two: Ancient Material

Geography and Imagination

This chapter begins the presentation of the literary evidence relating to ancient Cornwall, specifically it investigates different classical writers. It will examine in detail a series of snippets of texts that have more recently been related geographically or thematically to the region or to a tin trade connected with the Atlantic, and assess whether it is plausible that the original author or his audience intended or understood a connection to Cornwall. The chapter introduces the texts that are used extensively by the writers in Chapter Three to connect their understanding of the history of Cornish tin production to the ancient narratives of tin from the west of Europe. The chapter begins the process of showing the difficulty of creating a coherent narrative about Cornish tin that relates to classical historiography.

There are five key texts for analysis – four in Greek and one in Latin ranging from the fifth-century BCE to the first CE. The material that will be considered in detail is from Herodotus' *Histories*, Polybius' *Histories*, Diodorus Siculus' *Library of History*, Strabo's *Geography*, and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.²⁰⁴ Each of the sections of text included in this chapter has been chosen because it was actively used and commented on by Cornish writers during their consideration of ancient Cornwall. A handful of other writers are mentioned in the later texts, namely, Pytheas, Timaeus, Caesar, Tacitus and Avienus. The first two are fragmentary and much of the relevant material is actually covered by the core authors so they will be discussed at those points but are not considered in their own right. Similarly, although Avienus' text is more complete, his work is very late and appears to be heavily derivative and is also not considered here. Caesar and Tacitus present more of a challenge because, although they are key sources for Ancient Britain, they have little to say about Cornwall. Consequently a few notes about key sections from them for Cornish writers and possible reasons for their silence are considered but they are not examined in any detail.

As Chapter Three will show, various words and ideas from ancient texts were deemed to refer to a Cornish tin-trade but those early local historians disconnected the classical sources from their background. Therefore in order to make this dis-location

²⁰⁴Unless otherwise specified, book and chapter references for the ancient texts are based on Teubner editions and translations are from Loeb Classical Library (W. Heinemann, London & Harvard University Press, Cambridge MA.).

more apparent in later discussion this chapter aims to (re)place the ancient snippets within a fuller textual context and highlight problems of interpretation for the works and the body of literature more generally. To do this, the aims of each ancient text, its generic conventions and the knowledge gaps the author was aiming to fill will be discussed. The analysis will then consider the narrative and persuasive functions of mentioning information that potentially relates to Cornwall in each piece and how these various authorial considerations affect potential interpretations of the information for the reader. Each section will briefly flag up any linguistic issues that may influence modern critical understanding.

The first part of the chapter will briefly discuss the general issues of interpretation of ancient texts. It will cover the problems in ancient investigation: missing evidence and the use of earlier source material by classical writers, the variations of constructs of genre and variety of content, and, the issues surrounding translation, transmission and cultural misconceptions. As such, the first part of the chapter serves as an introduction to the theories and ideas raised in the second section, which is arranged thematically by authorial interests and looks at the sections of text individually and in depth. The texts have been divided into four sections loosely based on the thematic concerns of their writers and mirroring the patterns of the Cornish authors. The first section discusses a (pseudo-)scientific approach to tin through the text of the elder Pliny, the second considers three key political authors who all fail to actively discuss Cornish tin but nonetheless are important to commentators; the third is a discussion of ethnographic approaches to the far west and the last looks at the key evidence presented by Diodorus. Finally the chapter looks at what similarities and conclusions can be drawn and what areas of difficulty are particularly important.

2.1: Reading Classical Texts

This section of the chapter introduces several of the key features that define and distinguish ancient historiography from modern-day understandings of the term. The ancient texts are virtually impossible to categorise as one overall entity; they are separated by hundreds of years of cumulative changes in knowledge and writing

experience as well as political backgrounds and geographical space.²⁰⁵ Nevertheless the writers share some thematic concerns and organising principles. In all of the pieces the author tells his audience that one of the intentions of the work is to educate readers in moral and political matters²⁰⁶ rather than (exclusively) to entertain. The actual fulfilment of this aim is not necessarily evident from the surviving content but the statement of this intention demonstrates the perception of the work each author wished to encourage and perhaps the expectations of the audience. All the writers are concerned with the portrayal of events and information²⁰⁷ and in practice this means that these works focus on either the physical/geographical areas outside of their readers' experience or on overarching political issues. Furthermore, all the texts considered are writing narrative prose and not poetry so although we may see the use of rhetorical devices we see much less use of word choice according to, for example, rhythm and metre. They enjoy demonstrating their own linguistic and investigative skills and commenting on those of others. They all display self-conscious analysis and/or language that betrays their awareness of their readers. Moreover, they are all concerned with creating an impression of their own reliability, accuracy and objectivity as well as proving their own individual worth, independent merit and skill with language.

However, the section does have three main aims: firstly it gives a brief overview of some of the types and availability of evidence for modern understanding of the texts, secondly it discusses the variations in formulation of genre and expectations related to that and finally it talks about the linguistic issues of understanding including reconsidering rhetoricism and why translations are not simply linguistic. This is not a comprehensive overview of all the issues relating to the study of the classical texts but is specifically tailored to the texts that will be covered in the second part of the chapter.

2.1.1: What is Ancient Research? - The Problem of Lost Sources

By studying the underlying principles of ancient academic investigation and contemplating both stated aims and actual examples, theorists and historians are able to analyse the means that the writers used to obtain information (the processes of their investigation) and the areas of interest that are likely to be elaborated by the ancient

²⁰⁵For some of the difficulties associated with forming a “theory of ancient historiography” see J. Marincola (2007a) and for a history of ancient historiography - S. Hornblower (1996) pp. 7-54

²⁰⁶See specific examples in text e.g. Polyb. 1.35.6-10 below p.88 and Diod. Sic. 1.3.5-8 below p.118.

²⁰⁷On the relationship between portrayal of facts and moral purpose see e.g. J.L. Moles (1993); See also R. Nicolai (2007).

writers because they were key to their aims or were simply popular topics. These processes and topics of curiosity in turn suggest reasons for mentioning 'Cornwall' and further informs judgements on the references' reliability as source-material for later writers and whether they are appropriate. Furthermore it is possible to suggest the names of and relative importance accorded to earlier source-material which in turn allows historians new avenues of study as well as extra complications. The first approach to finding the processes of investigation is to consider what the authors themselves say they are doing especially since each classical writer investigated offers a self-conscious analysis of their work including how they have found evidence and the way their work was different to the rest of the work on the topic.²⁰⁸ The second is to see what they actually do in the texts. This is a very complex area of study that has been investigated and applied to individual authors by experienced scholars²⁰⁹ but a few broad ideas are worth repeating.

Unlike modern historians, early authors simplistically considered documentary evidence to be, at best, untrustworthy and that, at worst, the use of it was a marker of poor investigation and lack of authorial skill.²¹⁰ In part, this is a result of the lack of documents, unreliability of the practice of keeping archives and their relative inaccessibility and even ancient scholars were aware of the mutability of the epigraphic record.²¹¹ In part, however, this is because of the primacy afforded to authorial autopsy (especially in geographical, ethnographic and contemporary history texts) and its close cousin the eyewitness report. This means that it is hard for modern writers to ascertain where information in the accounts studied comes from; not only are many of the records no longer extant but in certain cases the author obscures the origins of data given by people such as merchants and local tribes.

Nonetheless, for the sections examined in this chapter all the authors plainly do not actually use personal autopsy and instead rely on material produced by other writers.²¹²

²⁰⁸For a short analysis of the way ancient historians used sources see L. Pitcher (2009) pp.47-91.

²⁰⁹Amongst others: J. Marincola (1997); S. Hornblower (ed.) (1996); G. Schepens (2007) – see also individual authors below.

²¹⁰All the writers are aware of not necessarily believing sources J. Marincola (1997) pp.103-105; Polybius is the most extreme example of dislike of their use - Note Polyb. 12.11.2 etc.; see e.g. D.S. Levene (2005); Hdt. is uneven in his use of sources but also suggests he is correcting previous writings (e.g. 4.42.4), similarly Strab. (1.3.1-2; 1.4.1); See also A.B. Bosworth (2003); G. Schepens (2011) and below.

²¹¹For an example of the use of epigraphy see: S. West (1985); On Ancient criticisms see Hdt. 1.51; On Attitudes and Uses generally see P.J. Rhodes (2007).

²¹²Any unwritten eyewitness accounts used or interviews conducted are not signposted in the texts and cannot be reliably commented on.

There is evidence that the later writers amongst this selection had read the earlier ones (i.e. Herodotus and Polybius are used extensively) but real criticism of the other works examined in the chapter only appears in Strabo whereas Diodorus, for example, prefers to rework his predecessors' texts. Since, during this period of historiography, it is not very common to cite literary evidence for direct facts unless they are attributed to the most famous authors (like Homer), where individual authors are mentioned each reference has attention drawn to it. This suggests that the attribution is important for some reason. It might mean either that the comment is easily verifiable by an attentive audience and therefore can be used to prove the author's education and background or that it is obscure and demonstrates his active inquiry methods. It is possible to hypothesise that this means that certain texts or topics carried more weight along the historiographical tradition;²¹³ however, this neither confirms their reliability nor solves the issues of non-surviving and unnamed sources.

Textual evidence from the authors also shows that they used a number of works for these sections that do not survive today, including those of Pytheas and Timaeus.²¹⁴ It is tempting to see these unknown works as filling in the blanks about details of the tin trade or of Cornwall that have been left by the surviving writers or to attribute discrepancies to misreadings. However, such conjectures are misleading since they imply that these earlier writers have more information at their disposal and are more trustworthy despite the fact that there is no evidence for either of those scenarios. In fact from the texts that do survive we can suggest that some later writers made much more effort at critical analysis of their sources.

It is key that the ancient writers (and presumably their readership) have a hierarchy of understood reliability in their methods of investigation and consequently display a preference for highlighting areas that demonstrate their skill or personal effort. Ancient writers were not naïve about the danger of using witness accounts and indeed Polybius discusses the need for careful assessment of the relative value of conflicting accounts.²¹⁵ For example, various authors sometimes accuse each other of deliberate falsehood²¹⁶ in order to discredit a rival's work or to show that they have critically assessed previous sources. Comments about the trustworthiness of one's predecessors are then augmented

²¹³Consider for example the prevalence of Hdt. in later historiography see e.g. S. Hornblower (2006).

²¹⁴Also relevant to the western regions are Posidonius, Hanno and Himlico.

²¹⁵See Polyb 12.4c4-5.

²¹⁶E.g. Thucydides implicitly about Herodotus -see J.L. Moles (1993); Polybius on Timaeus Bk. 12 - M. Fox (2001); T.P. Wiseman (1993). Note also Seneca (*Quaestiones Naturales* 7.16.1f) quoted and discussed in T.P Wiseman (1993) at pp. 122-123.

by specific references to source material (note, for example, Pliny's reference to Timaeus)²¹⁷ and analysis of the reliability of that source. Whilst it encourages an analyst to be cautious about the accuracy of the writer's portrayal of his rivals or sources, this practice is designed to convince readers of the individuality of the author's work and of the work's place as both supplementary and superior to other texts on a similar theme. It also aims to further illustrate and critique the process of authorial investigation and analysis.²¹⁸ Therefore cross-references and commentary about other authors become important parts of later works and polemic was not uncommon. Polybius, for example, dedicates a segment of his work to explaining the flaws in other geographical theories and so doing implies that his own analysis improves upon these others. It is clear, therefore, that an awareness of previous and contemporary knowledge on the relevant topics was vital for the classical writers to be taken seriously by an audience that they could expect to be well-read. Furthermore such critique reminds modern scholars that information presented in ancient texts has already gone through several layers of interpretation before our readings.

Thus the notion of sources in ancient texts is problematic for modern analysts for two reasons; firstly (and most importantly) it is almost impossible to recreate the content of the ancient material being compared and contrasted especially where the critical historian is the one of the few surviving sources for the writer, and secondly that it is very difficult to assess the esteem that individual writers were held in by other historians and the overall relevance of any text to its successors. This is further exacerbated by the fact that for many of the extant writers not all of the individual work being looked at survives, let alone the rest of that author's corpus. Finally, when considering the source-material used by the ancient writers and their investigative practices it must be remembered that at best we are comparing them with our own scanty corroborative evidence (material and textual) and also that we struggle to place them within their own standards of proof and reasoning. Specifically, it is virtually impossible to check that many of the quotes made are accurate representations of lost sources, if they were intended to be, and what purpose the chosen representation served.²¹⁹ Furthermore, outside of the cultural context of their composition it is difficult

²¹⁷Plin *HN* 4.30 See below pp. 82-83.

²¹⁸See e.g. Strabo on Polybius and Posidonius below pp.112-114; Note J. Marincola (1997) pp.94-99; G. Schepens (2011) pp.105-110

²¹⁹For an example of the trouble with judging a work by its apparent sources and cross-referencing see C. Rubincam (1998a).

to assess where and why some ideas (particularly in ethnography) could be hypothesised from prior example²²⁰ and why some were better left to eye-witnesses.²²¹

2.1.2: A Problem of Genre – The aims of writing

[...]...in history the standard by which everything is judged is the truth, while in poetry it is generally the pleasure one gives; however, in the works of Herodotus, the father of History, and in those of Theopompus, one finds innumerable fabulous tales.²²²

It would be impossible to cover all of the different topics and influences behind the works of the ancient writers or to categorise them in modern terms²²³ but as our choices of title suggest they have bearing on our ideas of geography and history. Although external contemporary theoretical work existed from Aristotle onwards,²²⁴ it is the words of the ancient historical writers themselves that give the most striking picture of the aims and limits of their work. All the writers being investigated were creating and defining their genres²²⁵ and therefore choosing the nature of their content and the appropriate style of narrative. Furthermore, the writers often describe both what is special about their work but also what links or sets it apart from related pieces. Polybius, for example, contrasts the historian's art with the tragedian's focus on emotions,²²⁶ and similarly Tacitus proudly talks of his writing being *sine ira et studio*.²²⁷ In this he suggests that he is writing objectively and not letting passions bias his work²²⁸ and therefore actively sets history in opposition to the emotionally persuasive aspects of drama and rhetoric.²²⁹ Thucydides talks about not telling imaginary stories, reminding

²²⁰For example the use of analogy in Hdt.: see R. Thomas (2000) e.g. pp. 200-211.

²²¹That is not to say that numerous attempts haven't been made and that logical rules from various philosophical schools have not been applied to the analysis of the texts – just that such debates are unending.

²²²Cic. *De Legibus* 1.1.5 M: Quippe cum in illa ad ueritatem, Quinte, <quaeque> referantur, in hoc ad delectationem pleraque; quamquam et apud Herodotum patrem historiae et apud Theopompum sunt innumerabiles fabulae. Text and Translation from C.W. Keyes (ed.) (1948) pp. 300 & 301.

²²³Especially since we have not yet agreed on modern categories of genre (see e.g. K. Clarke (1999) pp.1-76).

²²⁴E.g. Aristotle (*Poetics* 1451b) and Cicero (*De Oratore*).

²²⁵See, for example, the literature about Hdt. and 'History' below pp. 67-68 esp. n.233; Polyb. attempts to redefine history on his own terms (K. Sacks (1981) pp. 7-10 & 171-186) and Strabo on Geography – K. Clarke (1999) pp. 196-210 & 294; On the creation of a “tradition” of History see J. Marincola (1997) pp.12-19.

²²⁶Polyb. *Hist.* 2.56.10-14.

²²⁷Tacit. *Annals* 1.1.3.

²²⁸On bias in ancient historical writing see T.J. Luce (1989).

²²⁹From e.g. Aristotle *Poetics*. On the relationship between history and rhetoric see below pp.73-74.

his readers of the importance of Truth.²³⁰ Of the writers investigated in this chapter, two make proportionally larger contributions to the description of the processes of their genre – namely Polybius (history) and Strabo (geography). Both say that one of the key aspects of their work is to expand knowledge and both explicitly say they aim to correct past errors.²³¹ However, as the above quote from Cicero hints (and the texts demonstrate) the writers neither always achieve their stated aims nor seem to want to obey their own limitations.

The authors investigated in this chapter not only attempt to write and redefine history and geography, they comment on political issues and they interact with new knowledge. When considering the western regions generally and Cornwall in particular, several areas of inquiry are important: ethnography, travelogue, geography and science. Ancient historiography of the sort that survives often encompasses several of these areas and more importantly it borrows from the different areas. It would be too simplistic for the level of education and interplay of styles that surrounds writers, especially of the Hellenistic era, to assume that fashions and discoveries in philosophical and scientific investigation did not have an effect both on the information and topics covered by the authors discussed here and on the way that information was presented. As well as borrowing elements of style from rhetoric, tropes such as types of lists and patterns for classifying the world were adopted from genealogies and scientific investigations and patterns were influenced by theories advanced by philosophical schools. Nor were the writers immune to influences from sensationalist travel-literature and later from novels.²³² Theoretical consideration of the layers of meaning in the texts is therefore affected by how individual works inter-relate to other 'genres' of ancient material and to each other. For example, Herodotus is reacting to other literature being produced at the same time and, as we see below, bases parts of his work on pre-existing studies such as that by Hecateus, and similarly there is a clear link between Eratosthenes' scientific models and Strabo's geography.²³³

Herodotus begins all our debate on the nature of historiography when he introduces his work by telling us he is offering an *ιστορίας ἀποδείξις* (*historiēs apodexis*) or

²³⁰Thuc. 1.21.

²³¹E.g. Polyb. *Hist.* 1.3.7-10; 3.58-59 ; Strab. *Geog.* 10.3.5, 14.1.6.

²³²Consider for example the genre-blending of Pausanias and the influence of Euhemerus; See E. Gabba (1981) – especially on Diodorus.

²³³On Hdt and his predecessors see pp.97-98 (esp. n.393) & 101-102. On Strabo's sources see also pp. 107, 109 & 114-115.

“demonstration of research” in his statement of authorial intent.²³⁴ He further glosses this for us by telling us that his work will serve as a record of deeds and events so that they may be saved from oblivion. In doing this Herodotus offers the first known use of the word that we transliterate as ‘History’ within a 'historical' text and despite the fact that he clearly does not use the term to mean specifically temporal analysis his text has consequently often served as a model to be emulated or denigrated when writing 'histories', especially in the classical eras being considered. A concern with historiography as a didactic medium is explicitly apparent in the reasons that Polybius and Diodorus give for writing history²³⁵ and Strabo similarly emphasises the utility of geography to statesmen.²³⁶ Perhaps the idea of acting as an example is even at the root of Herodotus' expressed desire to preserve and demonstrate things of renown.²³⁷

This root interest in providing guidance for readers means that it is important to consider whether the sections under investigation help the stated aims of the author (such as showing why the Romans became powerful) and whether they illustrate particular principles implicit in the text. That is, it is vital to examine if the key sections simply add information to the narrative or if they illustrate investigative technique or indeed also demonstrate a thematic trope. Though overt alliance to a specific set of beliefs was rare, it is noticeable that the narratives have a variety of motivating or causal factors that depend on the era and location of the composition such as a preference for either human or divine agencies.²³⁸ A political philosophy is more readily apparent in Polybius²³⁹ than the other classical writers being investigated in this thesis. However, Diodorus has a strongly moralistic tone to his writing and normally gives divine providence a key role in historical causation²⁴⁰ and traces of Stoicism have been identified in Strabo and Pliny.²⁴¹ This type of conceptualisation tends to have the most impact upon the ways that links and connections are made within the work and, loosely

²³⁴Hdt. 1.1.0: Translated as “exposition of enquiries” by D. Asheri, A.B. Lloyd & A. Corcella (2007) pp. 8-9 & 72-73. Herodotus's meaning in this phrase has been debated at length as is discussed in Asheri's “General Introduction” in the same pp. 1-56; See Also E.J. Bakker (2002); D. Lateiner (1989) pp.7-8 and R. Fowler (2006) pp. 31-32.

²³⁵E.g. Diod. Sic. 1.2.8; 1.3.5 &c; Polyb. 1.35.6-10. For more detailed commentary see e.g. C.W. Fornara (1988) pp.108-118; K. Sacks (1981) pp. 122-126, p.130; P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp.3-6— see also below p.88 on Polyb. and p. 117 on Diod. Sic.

²³⁶Strab. *Geog.* 1.1.1; See Also D. Dueck (2000) pp.47-48.

²³⁷C. Welser (2009).

²³⁸ See e.g. C. Horst Roseman (2005); K. Sacks (1981) pp.123-124; Preference for Nature as causal force e.g. E. Paparazzo (2011) pp. 91 & 101.

²³⁹Although not easily defined – see e.g. C.B Champion (2004).

²⁴⁰P.J. Stylianou (1998) p.4.

²⁴¹D. Dueck (2000) pp.62-69; M. Beagon (1992).

following White's notion of tropes in historical writings,²⁴² can be used to detect political (and therefore philosophical) biases in ancient authors.

Although the subject-matter of the sections investigated in this thesis is not political and the writers are not aiming to directly give advice for running a state, it does seem that they are happy for political philosophy and opinion to influence their works. For example, some scholars suggest that Polybius' work should be considered pro-Roman and others argue that he was anti-Roman.²⁴³ Both of these conflicting opinions offer a different interpretative problem for places such as Cornwall beyond the edges of Roman control and Polybius' potential attitude toward them because his opinion of, and commentary on, conquest and resource management is mediated through his ideas of appropriate governance and political actions. We must draw attention to the unusualness of Polybius' situation within the political sphere; that is as an outsider but affiliated with the Scipiones, unable to act directly but in a close observational position and affected by the feelings of a conquered nation within the framework of an empire. Diodorus was also clearly affected by his home region's status as peripheral to the main Roman state and this perhaps influences his decision to write in detail about outlying regions and islands in his early books.

Philosophical ideas about the traits and quality of the natural world have a more direct impact on the types of section that potentially relate to Cornwall than political theories. That is that the philosophical models adopted by the ancient authors directly suggest methods of investigation, offer arguments by allusion and consider what may be proven in the text by positing very specific things about the shape, composition and inhabitants of the world itself and therefore of travelling possibilities, habitation limits and resource distribution. Furthermore, natural philosophy sometimes suggests complex ideas about the appropriateness of behaviours, evolution of society and the temperament of barbarians²⁴⁴ which subtly interrelate with more moralising philosophies. Recent theoretical work has especially investigated the interactions between the Greco-Roman world and outsiders and on classical conceptions of barbarians and fantastical places. These hypotheses are interesting for this thesis because they help to explain why

²⁴²H. White (1973) – This is not to suggest that White's tropes are the only or best selection of illustration of form helping to shape content.

²⁴³Consider for example the contrast between F. W. Walbank (1985) pp. 295-296 (note the gradual modification of Walbank's ideas on this from his earliest to most recent studies); B. Shimron (1979/80) referenced by C.B. Champion (2004) p.4 and A.M. Eckstein (1995) p.197; For interest in this debate, its subtleties and consequences see C.B. Champion (2004) *passim*. esp. pp. 4, 6-8, 237-9.

²⁴⁴On Celts in Classics see Chapter 1 pp.45-47.

different historians consider (e.g. Diodorus) or avoid (e.g. Polybius) the far west as an area of discussion or model.

A fairly large range of scholarship has been published about the way that the classical world viewed barbarian peoples; especially about how the Greeks interacted with their Eastern neighbours and how the Roman empire incorporated different regions and groups.²⁴⁵ Theorists in this area have generally demonstrated that any descriptions of ethnography in historical texts are partially determined by political and social philosophies. For example, by refining Cartledge's²⁴⁶ theories of the Self and Other in Greek ideas, Lynette Mitchell²⁴⁷ has developed a more nuanced analysis of the ways that a panhellenic community was created and investigated across the Greek world including through discussion of barbarians in the different texts. Although Mitchell's work focuses on interactions with Asian/Anatolian non-Greeks it also suggests that the Roman Empire adopted a parallel model of unifying motifs against perceived external threats. On a broader level, Romm's sweeping survey on the edges of the world in ancient thought²⁴⁸ demonstrates the evolution of thoughts about the extremities of the world from Homer onwards through a variety of authors including Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny. Romm identifies a number of trends in the texts including the development of ethnologic satire (a form of social criticism where idealised peoples are created to mock more 'advanced' Mediterranean culture), the practice of defending Homer's geography and the role of the concepts of the *oikoumenē* in Roman imperialism. To simplify the hypotheses, scholars have determined that both Greeks and Romans choose to depict peoples beyond their immediate surroundings in such a way as to illustrate their differences, positive and negative, from the home of the author. By illustrating these contrasts classical authors were able to express what it meant to be civilised and what bound their readers together as a group.

In the recent collection edited by Larissa Bonfante,²⁴⁹ some of the classical ideas relating to Western Europe were explored. These articles suggest that the depictions of the west were influenced by two philosophical ideas.²⁵⁰ Firstly that the barbarian fringes of the world are anti-civilisation. They are dangerous, wild and hard and the inhabitants

²⁴⁵ See for example: T. Harrison (ed.) (2002).

²⁴⁶ P.A. Cartledge (2002).

²⁴⁷ L.G. Mitchell (2007).

²⁴⁸ J. Romm (1992).

²⁴⁹ Mentioned in Chapter One p.46; L. Bonfante (ed.) (2011a).

²⁵⁰ See esp. P. Keyser (2011) p.53 but also L. Bonfante (2011b).

are therefore themselves unrestrained, warlike and uncivilised.²⁵¹ Secondly, and in contrast to the first characterisation, the extremities were said to be the home of various utopian societies, uncorrupted by money and politics and living off the luxurious fruits of the land.²⁵² These opposing notions have their roots in ideas about what constitutes civilisation and what causes changes to it. This includes theoretical philosophy about whether history moves in cycles or gets progressively more advanced through time or whether there is a decline from the prehistoric 'golden age', and is also influenced by opinions about the relationship of humanity to the natural world.²⁵³ It is particularly noticeable that islands feature strongly in paradoxography (i.e. classical works that deal predominantly with abnormal or inexplicable phenomena) and ethnography because of their unusual isolation and potential role in networks.²⁵⁴ This is significant both because of Britain's island status and because the other key tin-producing region which we will examine (the Cassiterides) is also characterised as insular and therefore unusual and representative of both physical and social oddities.

As well as these social and evolutionary philosophies there is clear evidence of interest in the work of pre-Socratic thinkers like Anaximander, Thales and Eudoxus and their scientific world-views.²⁵⁵ As such the authors being investigated have inherited geometric models that calculated the extent of the world and hypotheses that suggest which bits were habitable and even what sort of people might live on the edges of the world. Discussions of scientific ideas are framed around the concept of extending the knowledge of their readership including offering evidence as well as furthering their descriptions.²⁵⁶ Furthermore, the authors choose topics and assess information based on their opinions of what levels of proof are needed to substantiate claims, whether they believe the evidence and if they wish to demonstrate the "errors" of their predecessors.²⁵⁷ Thus, it can be noted that Herodotus' conception of the changes in climate across the world and the impact that had on the inhabitants' temperaments²⁵⁸ affects his descriptions of those inhabitants, and similarly the mathematical model

²⁵¹E.g. Celts as war-mongers Strab. 4.4.2; Displaying the heads of their enemies Strab. 4.4.5 & Diod Sic. 5.29; Celts as fearless Arist. *Eth Nic.* 3.7.7; Note commentary in P. Keyser (2011); For more examples see also P. Freeman (2002).

²⁵²See e.g. Hesiod *Works and Days* (167-73); Diod. Sic. 2.56.7; Strab. *Geog.* 7.3.3.

²⁵³I.e. the comparison between culture and nature see e.g. R. French (1994) pp. 4-9; See esp. Pliny and Strabo below.

²⁵⁴E. Gabba (1981) pp.57-58; C. Constantakopoulou (2007) pp.1-28.

²⁵⁵K. Clarke (1999) pp.42-44.

²⁵⁶E.g. Polyb. 4.38; F.W. Walbank, (2002) pp.31-52; Strab. *Geog.* 1.1.14; D. Dueck (2000) pp.53-62.

²⁵⁷Polyb. 3.58-59.

²⁵⁸Related to various Hippocratic texts (esp. *Airs, Water, Places*) see J. Romm (2010) pp. 219-223.

Polybius uses to calculate the bounds of the inhabitable world lead him to reject claims from other sources that contradict it.²⁵⁹

Although scientific philosophy influences the way that the classical writers choose and evaluate their evidence, its predominant role in the sections investigated in this thesis is to explain the characteristics of western Europe. Nonetheless this theoretical background must also be applied to information. The portions of the ancient texts under consideration in the thesis, with the exception of Pliny's analysis of mining, focus on descriptions of a particular place. Hence although the sources used by our authors are unclear, that data must be from earlier exploration and, despite the fact that Strabo is the only author who categorises his work as geography,²⁶⁰ it is clear that topography and ethnography were important features of the texts being examined. For example, Polybius particularly makes it clear that topography is an essential part of what he calls *πραγματική ιστορία* (*pragmatikē historia*)²⁶¹ and Diodorus specifically appears to separate geographical information into particular sections of his history.²⁶²

In antiquity there was, as well as the formal geography as defined in Strabo, a selection of works covering a broad range of material encompassing *periploi* (generally descriptions of sea voyages), travel guides, documentary fiction and more theoretical pieces.²⁶³ Most of this work does not survive, or is only referenced within the texts we are considering. As such it is difficult to evaluate and even harder to consider its relevance as evidence. Additionally, even 'scientific' geographical works are interspersed with travelogues that are frequently peppered with fantastic tales, like Herodotus' gold-digging ants.²⁶⁴ Herodotus goes as far as to make the display of wonders (or rare and unusual things - *θωμαστά*)²⁶⁵ part of his stated aim and they are apparent in later writers too. The fabulous aspects of the texts simultaneously captured the attention of the credulous and that of rationalising critics and although they attracted a lot of criticism they also serve to illustrate theories as well as entertain.²⁶⁶ It is more

²⁵⁹On Hdt. see below pp.100-102; Polyb. 34.6 (see below p.96); On geog in Polyb. see K. Clarke (1999) pp.79-114; Similarly Strab. on the structure of the world 2.2.1 and following. On habitat affecting ethnography K. Clarke (1999) p.295.

²⁶⁰Strabo wrote both a History and a Geography separately but K. Clarke (1999) argues for his deliberate conflation of the genres. See particularly pp. 294-336.

²⁶¹Polyb. 12.25e 1-7 [Walbank] B. McGing (2010)pp. 55, 66-7. See also D. Dueck (2000) pp.40-52.

²⁶²See for example: A. Burton (1972); A. Brown (forthcoming).

²⁶³For example: the Massaliote Periplus (theoretical source of Avienus' *Ora Maritima*); Pytheas' *On the Ocean*; Various works by Posidonius, Eratosthenes and Dicaerchus; the voyages of Hanno and Himilco; *The wonders beyond Thule* - novel by Antonius Diogenes.

²⁶⁴Hdt. 3.102.2 etc.

²⁶⁵[*thōmasta*] Hdt.1.1.0 See below p.100.

²⁶⁶Polybius and Strabo both criticise earlier 'fantasists' and insist on the utility of their own use of

frequently the unusual and implausible ideas which survive since they are heavily regurgitated, plagiarised and criticised by ancient authors and scholiasts.²⁶⁷ Unfortunately this makes it almost impossible to know what relevant (accurate or otherwise) information minor and allegorical writers may have contributed to the authors being investigated both because they are often unacknowledged (so as not to taint the apparent reliability of the evidence) and because the overlap with more rationalising ethnographic works is so broad.

This section, therefore, illustrates that there a number of competing strands of genre and style in each individual work as well as across the works as a whole. This fact means that not only is there not (and probably never could have been) a consistent growth of narrative about the tin-trade based on a shared sense of purpose in writing about it (and therefore in what details are important) and increasing information but also that because the works themselves derive much of their data and tone from multiple source-types it is more difficult to ascertain the value of the discussion of the tin-trade. However, it also demonstrates that because of this multiplicity of generic voices within the texts it is possible for a primarily historical text to include a discussion of the western ocean without it only serving as explanation for 'events'.

2.1.3: Lost in translation

Language and its use is important in the analysis of the texts because the consideration of the type of presentation of information about tin, whether it refers to Cornwall and the way it fits with the overall themes of the work are all dependent on the way the author uses language and the impression that forms in our minds as readers. This creates a number of problems for modern analysis. Most importantly the original language of the text is not only not native to its interpreters but also no longer spoken in that form by anyone. Discovering the meaning of the words is in itself a difficult task and not universally agreed upon but the understanding of the overall structure and culture that gives them nuance is even more tricky. Furthermore, the patterns of language and the modes of usage are also different to modern writing principally because they make use of different means of persuasion and there is a greater degree of conscious artistry.

geographical material e.g. Polyb.3.47-8; Strab. *Geog.* 1.3.16, 6.2.10; D. Dueck (2000) p.56-62, pp.158-160 (Strab.); K. Clarke (1999) pp.79-97 (Polyb.).

²⁶⁷Consider for example parodies such as Lucian's *True Histories* as well as the wealth of material in the Suda.

The use of particular words and word patterns amongst the classical writers can indicate a variety of approaches to the material and since the word-choice is the main tool for directing the reader towards a meaning it is worth noticing some of the trends displayed. For example, the main method used to illustrate methodological skills in all the different authors is through certain key-words and it is particularly indicated by terms that suggest the actions of the author. Verbs of perception (particularly seeing and hearing) aim to show a direct level of involvement in the process of discovery of information (especially in Herodotus) and verbs of knowing or investigating are used as indicators of analysis and decision which can be to build up a persuasive pattern.²⁶⁸ Similarly, some rhetorical tropes are of particular use to those authors who wish to persuade their audience of their point of view or strengths over other writers.²⁶⁹

More complex types of linguistic device are used by writers to demonstrate their skill with language and influence the readers' understanding of the importance of a section. For example, the type of rhetorical exposition that is relevant to discussion about the location of tin-production in the historical texts being examined is not generally found within formats such as 'character's' speeches (as might be seen in legal rhetoric),²⁷⁰ but is more subtly shown in textual formations and literary devices such as giving three examples or balancing either/or propositions.²⁷¹ Additionally, the use of rhetoric in the historical genre suggests to the reader an air of polish and learning that lend a tone of veracity²⁷² despite any doubts about the material. That is that in recognising a clever mode of speech the reader is persuaded that the writer is well educated and is therefore likely to have used recognisable scholarly methods of investigation, although some are less convincing than others. On the other hand by using rhetorical modes historians are vulnerable to criticism that they are ignoring facts or embellishing them to create a more dramatic effect.

Generally speaking, attention to the structural and ornamental aspects of factual prose has become more important for classicists from the latter half of the twentieth century onwards and has been less important to 'historians' than to linguists.²⁷³ By

²⁶⁸ See for example: F. Hartog (1988) pp. 260-309 & R. Thomas. (2000) p.168.

²⁶⁹ The idea of the rhetorical nature of ancient historiography was pioneered by A. Woodman esp. with regard to Thucydides see: A. J. Woodman (1988) and C. Pelling (2010) pp. 2-3.

²⁷⁰ On the role of speeches in history see C.W. Fornara (1988) pp.142-168; More generally C. Pelling (2000) pp. 5-9.

²⁷¹ E.g. on Rhetoric in Diod. Sic.: see K. Sacks (1990) pp. 93-108 (nb. Comparison with Polyb.) and also P.J. Stylianou (1998) on his use of cliché p.16.

²⁷² E.g. Cic. *De Orat.* 2.62-3 on truth in rhetoric.

²⁷³ Consider the key role of A.J. Woodman on studying rhetoric in Latin Historiography (esp. Tacitus) and Pelling on Greek historiography (esp. Thucydides) from the 1980s; Contrast the absence of comments

comparison, the earlier Cornish historians are less concerned about the impact of the process of composition and rarely consider it in their analysis. However, by flagging up areas that appear to be especially formulaic, the analysis in this chapter will demonstrate the effect this has on the reliability of the information presented and this can be contrasted to the Cornish readings in Chapter Three.

The patterns and choices of the authors are however only one part of understanding the actual text. It is impossible to consider the ancient material without addressing the fact that it is not directly transmitted to us as readers. Often the ancient words, and the ideas they represent, cannot be recreated directly in our modern language and culture²⁷⁴ and the art of translation is dependent on the contextualisation of the words and is regularly shifted by the rest of the interpretation of the text – creating a neat feedback loop. Our understanding of the language is hampered not only by time and distance but also by the extent to which our available literature is limited. Furthermore, even professional translators are at the mercy of text editors and manuscript availability.²⁷⁵ To a certain extent the actual words being discussed here as well as their meanings are contested, but, more importantly and less quantifiably, the translation is varied according to the reader's understanding of the authors' aims. The status subsequently afforded to the writer affects our stylistic expectations and the availability of different versions (manuscripts, editions and translations) to work with²⁷⁶ but furthermore a pre-conceived notion of whether the writer was talking about mining or not (etc.) will also colour how the translator chooses vocabulary. Thus linguistic understanding is not neutral and consequently interpretation can be skewed before commentary even begins.

This final part of the first section of the chapter has demonstrated two key ways that our understanding of the linguistic nuance of the text is hampered and shown that in drawing attention to these things this analysis highlights some of the ways that later writers can draw different conclusions from (broadly) the same texts.

on style in the works in Chapter Three. On the changing attitudes to language and style in authors see for example D. Langslow (2012) pp.85-110.

²⁷⁴See the excellent discussion of this idea in N. Morley (2008).

²⁷⁵For a discussion of the creative element this brings out in translation of classical texts see J. Balmer (2006).

²⁷⁶E.g. contrast Gold and Silver Latin; and the different survival patterns of the texts. On this subject see esp. L. Venuti (2008).

2.2: Ancient Texts

This part of the chapter will provide a detailed analysis of the ancient texts and create a picture of the surviving literature on the western tin-trade which emphasises the areas of disagreement and uncertainty in the ancient material and therefore highlights potential issues for the later writers. This section not only offers the reasons why older Cornish historians connected the texts with Cornwall but also identifies the problems with those assumptions for modern scholars. It presents and analyses Greek and Latin material written between the sixth century BCE and the first century CE which has been identified as referring to a place geographically similar to Cornwall in relation to Spain, France or Britain and/or that which refers to a tin trade to the west of Europe that is from Britain or an unidentified source or specifically not from a different known tin-producing region. The Cornish connection to the ancient world is formulated through two key areas, its location as part of Britain and its production and possible trade in tin.

It will deal with each of the identified authors in turn, examining them under the principles outlined in Chapter One. That is that the exact words that the writers use and how the phrasing compares to the rest of their *oeuvre* will be examined to see what emphasis that gives to the words and meaning. Where particular words are significant if they have been highlighted as problematic by editors and translators these issues will be explored. This section will also aim to contextualise the sentences/paragraphs within the whole work to analyse the motivations for its inclusion by the ancient author and furthermore to consider the place of that work within the author's known life and writings.

2.2.1: Early Scientific Text (or - What did the Ancients know about tin?)

In order to discuss connections to Cornwall it is important to look at the key feature of the supposed interaction between Cornwall and the classical world – that is tin and its trade. Despite interest in both the financial and political aspects of trade by many historical writers only one offers an analysis of the metal and its history. Therefore this section discusses Pliny the Elder, despite the fact that he is the latest of our key authors, because his work gives the most detailed exposition of the practice and pseudo-history of mining.

Pliny the Elder's encyclopaedia, *Naturalis Historia*,²⁷⁷ is a highly comprehensive attempt to cover all of the information on the natural world available in the early Roman Empire²⁷⁸ and amongst its contacts. It was planned as a work of reference for Pliny's contemporaries and successors and to glorify the name of Rome.²⁷⁹ It is this first use that we primarily find for the work.²⁸⁰ The wide range of topics leads to a lack of narrative flow and, at first glance, the breadth of material obscures Pliny's thematic and political agendas and makes it tricky for modern scholars to extract information from it about the extent of Roman knowledge about their surroundings and their beliefs about it. The text of Pliny's *magnus opus* includes three key points of relevance to this thesis: a description of the nature of different metals, the history of the introduction of metals to civilisation and a description of tin being transported from an island off Britain.

Although perhaps not involved in the first-hand travel journalism described as the investigative ideal,²⁸¹ Pliny appears to have been a dedicated scholar with access to a number of sources. The *Natural Histories* seems to have been influenced by the same kind of intrinsic interest in unknown and scientific phenomena that led to his fatal investigation of Vesuvius' eruption.²⁸² In the preface Pliny claims to have covered 20,000 topics using 100 sources some of which required specialist study²⁸³ and he offers a table of contents and index to illustrate this.²⁸⁴ *Natural Histories* comprises thirty-seven books, of which one is taken up by his description of his topics and the rest cover topics as diverse as astronomy, human physiology and perfumes. The areas of interest to this study within the work are those on geography and ethnography (lib. 4), anthropology (7) and mining (34).

There are problems with locating the passages of interest to the thesis within the overall context of Pliny's life, career and literary output.²⁸⁵ We know that he studied and wrote prolifically,²⁸⁶ that he was politically involved within the empire and at close

²⁷⁷Henceforth *Natural Histories* or Plin. *HN*: Latin text is from L. Ian & C. Mayhoff (eds.) -*Vol. I* (1906);-*Vol. II* (1909);-*Vol. V* (1897) [Hereafter Ian & Mayhoff +Vol. no.]. English is H. Rackham (trans.) -*Vol. II* (1947);- *Vol. IX* (1952) [Hereafter Rackham +Vol. no.].

²⁷⁸It is probable that it was published (at least in part) in 77CE and sent to its dedicatee (the emperor) Titus Plin. *HN* Praef. 1. See e.g. B. Baldwin (1995) and J.F. Healy (2000) p.37.

²⁷⁹Plin. *HN* Praef. Various. See R. Morello (2011).

²⁸⁰As commented in the preface of R.K. Gibson & R. Morello (eds.) (2011) p. iv.

²⁸¹As emphasised (if not necessarily practised) by Herodotus and Polybius. J. Marincola (1997) pp. 63-86.

²⁸²Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.

²⁸³Plin. *HN* praef. 17: J.F. Healy (2000) p.77 identifies even more authors.

²⁸⁴Plin. *HN* 1.

²⁸⁵Not least because the exact details of his military career are still unclear – for a summary of his life and works see J.F. Healy (2000) pp.1-35.

²⁸⁶See for example his nephew's list of his Books at Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.

contact with the emperors Vespasian and Titus and that he also spent time in Spain (perhaps getting experience of mining practices),²⁸⁷ Germany and probably Africa on an official level. His output, including several histories and work on grammar and rhetoric, appears to have been achieved despite his active political life rather than as a consequence of it and certainly it is not clear that he wrote directly on the politics or administrative duties with which he was involved in the way that Polybius does, for example.

Pliny treats the natural world as a context for the cultural world of the Roman Empire and his work is morally educational as well as informative. In recent years more work has been done by scholars to address the text as a complete whole rather than as a compendium of facts to be assessed for accuracy. Therefore scholars such as Beagon and Paparazzo identify how throughout the text Pliny expounds an underlying stoic philosophy²⁸⁸ and Murphy and Naas show that his use of ethnography and *mirabilia* illustrate a concern with the nature of imperialism.²⁸⁹ Pliny's themes are drawn out by his concentration on how human beings use and interact with the world around them, such as, in this context, Roman and local use of metals and the process of taking them from where they are provided by Nature.²⁹⁰ In common with other works investigated in this thesis, material that relates to Cornwall is an extension of information rather than specific moral instruction for the readers. The sections to be examined do fit clearly with the aim of offering reference material but they are not straightforward exemplars of his thematic concerns. Compared with some areas Pliny has not subjected the specific sections investigated to large amounts of signposting and critical source appraisal and the extent of his background research is unclear.

In order to understand the sections on tin and mining that Pliny offers, it is useful to start with the section on the qualities of tin and its mythology (which comes latest in the encyclopedia) in order to also consider the story of its discoverer and the geographical section. So, in book thirty-four, Pliny offers relevant descriptions of metals. Having covered gold and silver in book thirty-three, he moves on to brass, statuary, copper and iron in thirty-four and eventually mentions two types of lead, one of which is reasonably identified as being tin.

²⁸⁷M. Beagon (1992) p.4; J.F. Healy (2000) pp.8-11; R. Syme (1969) pp. 215-218.

²⁸⁸M. Beagon (1992) *passim* esp. pp.26-36, M. Beagon (2005) pp. 15-16; E. Paparazzo (2011) pp.89-112.

²⁸⁹T. Murphy (2004); V. Naas (2011).

²⁹⁰Identified themes include the Providence of Nature (A. Wallace-Hadrill (1990) pp. 82-84) the problem of Luxury (A. Wallace-Hadrill (1990) pp.85-90); Mining as unnatural - Plin *HN*. 33.1.

Sequitur natura plumbi, cuius duo genera, nigrum atque candidum. pretiosissimum in hoc candidum, Graecis appellatum cassiterum fabuloseque narratum in insulas Atlantici maris peti vitilibusque navigiis et circumsutis corio advehi.²⁹¹

The next topic is the nature of lead, of which there are two kinds, black and white. White lead (tin) is the most valuable; the Greeks applied to it the name *cassiteros*, and there was a legendary story of their going to the islands of the Atlantic ocean to fetch it and importing it in platted [*sic.*] vessels made of osiers and covered with stitched hides.²⁹²

The first reason for identifying *plumbum album* as tin is the use of a recognisably Greek term (*cassiterum*)²⁹³ that we also see in Herodotus and Strabo. Additionally, Pliny's subsequent illustration of the process of tin-streaming²⁹⁴ which is similar to that described by Diodorus²⁹⁵ shows a correlation to what we know about the metal and what the Greek sources tell us and this confirms that 'white lead' is the phrase for tin used in *Natural History*.

In this part of the *Natural Histories* Pliny follows his own established pattern of descriptions for each of the metals. Thus, he discusses some of the properties of tin and then offers the history of that metal which is the same format he also uses for gold and silver. Pliny illustrates the history of individual metals by discussing previous literary references to them and with respect to tin he specifically discusses Homer's use of the word '*cassiterum*'.²⁹⁶ Interestingly, Pliny also gives a description of the method of obtaining tin that bears some similarities to the process used in Cornwall known as 'streaming'.²⁹⁷ As John Healy shows, there are multiple points where Pliny's description of the properties of the metal correspond with modern scientific knowledge²⁹⁸ and this moderately accurate picture of the properties and uses of tin makes other information about the metal and its background seem more plausible, albeit perhaps artificially.

²⁹¹ *HN* 34.47 (16) [§156] from Ian & Mayhoff *Vol. V* p. 219 (lns. 4-8) Note that the editors added the *in* on the second line. They also offer a series of cross-references.

²⁹² Translation: Rackham *Vol. IX* p.241 [*HN* 34.47] (lines 156-160).

²⁹³ Κασσιτερος – *kassiteros* (tin).

²⁹⁴ Plin. *HN* 34.47.2.

²⁹⁵ Diod. Sic. 5.22.2 See below pp.124-126.

²⁹⁶ *album habuit auctoritatem et Iliacis temporibus teste Homero, cassiterum ab illo dictum. HN* 34.47 [§158] Ian & Mayhoff *Vol. V* p.220 (lns. 4-6).

²⁹⁷ J. F. Healy (2000) pp. 315-317.

²⁹⁸ J.F. Healy (2000) pp. 314-319; See also J.F. Healy (1986).

This introduction to the metal mentions a story of searching for the metal on islands in the Atlantic, which is probably an oblique reference to the stories of the Cassiterides that are discussed below. It is possible that Pliny chooses not to comment on the earlier texts about these islands because, based on his own geographical knowledge of the Atlantic coastal regions,²⁹⁹ he believes the statements to be erroneous. This idea is supported by his use of the word *fabulos* or stories to describe the comments rather than 'histories' or the like. Instead of discussing the islands, in the sentence that follows this identification of tin with 'white lead', Pliny indicates that Spain (specifically Lusitania and Gallaecia) is a primary location for alluvial mining. This textual emphasis on Iberian resources and uncertainty about maritime trade probably shows that the focus of the empire's exploitation was in that area rather than in Cornwall and this is emphasised by the discussions in Strabo.³⁰⁰ It is, however, also interesting that Pliny comments on the use of Celtic-style coracles of osiers and hide to bring back this tin from the Atlantic. This image ties in with his comments about Britain, discussed below,³⁰¹ and also connects this comment to other references to this sailing practice. However, from this section we learn little else that mentions trade or sources or any other type of real connection to the British Isles.

In book seven, there is a slightly more obscure reference that potentially offers a source or origin for tin.

plumbum ex Cassiteride insula primus adportavit Midacritus.

First Midacritus brought lead from the island of Cassiteris³⁰²

The specific use of the name 'Cassiteris' leads to the assumption that he is referring to tin (rather than lead). The clause says that the original source for the metal was an island. Unlike some of the examples of 'origins' that Pliny gives in his preceding sentences, this comment has no conflicting accounts about tin's derivations from other authors. Particularly notably there is no reference to any Egyptian or Phoenician claims about the topic although they are specifically referenced with regard to the origins of writing, medicine and gold.

Mention of a tin-island perhaps echoes comments made in earlier works by

²⁹⁹Note that the Ocean is a more abstract concept in some of our earlier authors. See J. Romm (1992) pp.38-41 on Hdt. On Strab. readings of Homer and theorising D. Dueck (2000) p.43.

³⁰⁰See below pp.108-109; Strab. *Geog.* 3.2.8-10.

³⁰¹Plin. *HN* 4.30 (ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare) See below pp.82-83.

³⁰²Plin. *HN* 7.57 (56) [§197] Ian & Mayhoff *Vol. II* p.69 (ln.15) – the editors note the alternative name Midas Phryx.

Herodotus, Strabo and Diodorus about islands called the Cassiterides (discussed in more detail below),³⁰³ although here the island is singular for no clear reason.³⁰⁴ This appears to be a separate source from Spain which Pliny, with his first hand knowledge of the area,³⁰⁵ would surely have mentioned by its own name. The sentence also offers us an individual to investigate as an earlier source. Pliny's subject in this snippet is the name, Midacritus. The individual does not appear elsewhere in any discussion that might be plausibly linked with the West although variations do appear in Hyginus³⁰⁶ and Cassiodorus³⁰⁷ and may point to an unknown western voyage in search of trading goods or it may be mythical in origin. In later analysis, Midacritus himself has variously been assigned the designation of Greek trader or more unconvincingly a corruption of something Phoenician/Phrygian.³⁰⁸ A new name for a Greek trader or traveller offers a different connection between the ancient Mediterranean and a 'tin island' of some description, albeit that both are potentially mythological.

This fragment about Midacritus is appended to book seven which is on the nature of man³⁰⁹ and is part of a list which contains attributions for inventors and discoverers of different crafts and materials. The appendix is mainly composed of mythologised firsts such as Ceres' introduction of flour and Cecrops' (or Argos') foundation of the first city and this sentence is part of the section on the first smeltings of metal after gold. Thus mentioning a first for tin-trade follows the general pattern of Pliny's perceived ideas of importance and signposts the sections in book thirty-four. In contrast to that book and like several other parts of book seven the appendix seems unscientific and rushed. It follows instead a heurematographical tradition³¹⁰ identifiable amongst Greek writers such as Theophrastus where gods, historical figures and city-states or nations are credited as the first of their field. The tradition varies in its style as it progresses and it greatly influenced Herodotean material, linking as it does to the unknown curiosities of the world³¹¹ and also appears in Pliny's comments on *mirabilia*.³¹² Therefore we must be extremely cautious about any emphasis put on this figure and the source of his 'lead'

³⁰³ See below pp. 97- 117 (esp. 99, 108-113) and 129-130.

³⁰⁴ Speculations about transcription errors or deliberate allusion to the island 'Mictis' he mentions earlier on (as discussed below) are currently unresolvable and so have been avoided.

³⁰⁵ See earlier comment on Pliny's first-hand experience of Spain as a Procurator p.78 n.286.

³⁰⁶ Hyg. *Fab* 274.6, [lin. 15ff.] (P.K. Marshall (ed.) (1993)p. 196).

³⁰⁷ Cassiod. *Var.* 3.31.4 (S.J.B. Barnish (1992) p.62).

³⁰⁸ E.g. Midas of Phrygia (See the critique of Reinach in M. Cary's (1924) pp.169-70 and M. Beagon (2005) p.434) or Melecartus (G.L. Craik (1844) p.12) See also below (p.175) from Hawkins.

³⁰⁹ M. Beagon (2005) pp. 39-57.

³¹⁰ L. Zhmud (2006) pp. 23-44; W.F. McCants (2012) pp.65-7.

³¹¹ See below on Hdt. pp.100-102 & 106 (and esp. commentary by J. Romm (1992)).

³¹² V. Naas (2011) pp.60-61; M. Beagon (2005) p.56.

both of which are offered as aetiological mythology rather than being presented as having been proven.

However, Pliny does offer us more interesting evidence, which despite his apparent clarity on the matter actually complicates our interpretations. In book four he tells us that Timaeus mentions the island of Iktis where white lead was produced or found.³¹³

Timaeus historicus a Britannia introrsus sex dierum navigatione abesse dicit insulam Ictim, in qua candidum plumbum proveniat; ad eam Britannos vitilibus navigiis corio circumsutis navigare.³¹⁴

The historian Timaeus says there is an island named Mictis lying inward six days sail from Britain where tin is found, and to which the Britons cross in boats of osier covered with stitched hides.³¹⁵

This sentence is part of a geographical description of Britain; specifically the size of the island or area formerly known as Albion and the islands also included in what was known as Britannia. Overall the section forms a description of the general layout of Europe. It carefully references several sources including Pytheas and Isidorus as well as Timaeus mentioned here. This part mentions various islands around the coast of Britain, some of which are more clearly identified than others, for example Hibernia/Ireland and Orcades/Orkneys whereas by contrast others, like Thule,³¹⁶ have had multiple possibilities suggested by commentators.

This passage has two key points; it supplies us with a clear piece of preceding source material and it offers credibility to the relationship between a British (Cornish) tin trade and an island/area named Iktis.³¹⁷ In terms of suggesting earlier roots by mentioning Timaeus, Pliny is clear about his source for this section in a way that is not often seen. The historian Timaeus appears at length in Polybius and is a possible source for the section in Diodorus discussed later; he is mentioned several times by Pliny³¹⁸ but is sometimes considered to be primarily a conduit for earlier writers like Pytheas.³¹⁹ As commented earlier³²⁰ the decision to name sources in ancient historiography was not

³¹³ *Proveniat* from *provenio* meaning come forth, appear, flourish Lewis & Short (1879).

³¹⁴ Plin. *HN* 4.30 (16) [§ 104] Ian & Mayhoff *Vol. I* p. 349 (lms. 7-11) [Trans: Book IV. 16 (30)].

³¹⁵ Rackham *Vol. II* p.199 Note the use of the word Mictis – from the 1933 reprint of Ian and Mayhoff see more below (next page).

³¹⁶ For some discussion of the debate see I. Whitaker (1981/2).

³¹⁷ See below on Diod. Sic. pp.127-128.

³¹⁸ E.g. Plin *HN* 3.13 [§85]; 4.36 [§120]; 5.10 [§56].

³¹⁹ From C.R. Markham (1893) p. 517 fn. * to B.W. Cunliffe (2001) pp. 75-76.

³²⁰ Above pp. 62-66.

straightforward thus Pliny's choice to name Timaeus is interesting. Such a comment might be used to demonstrate the process of research or imply that Pliny wishes to distance himself from the statements by shifting emphasis to other people's claims about tin or conversely it might suggest that this particular material was especially relevant and that Timaeus was actually a very important and respectable source who lent weight to the information.³²¹

More importantly, this section links tin with Britain. Although the text implies that the tin is produced on the island of 'Ictis' and the island itself is represented as being at some distance from mainland Britain. Not only is the island explicitly included in the survey of British island but the Britons sail there in their coracles. The description of these boats ties the passage back to the section of his mentioned above that talks about the story of tin being bought back from the Atlantic in boats of osiers and hides.³²² It is especially worth noting the use of the same descriptive words³²³ and, although this section doesn't mention the Atlantic specifically, it may mean both sections are from the same source. The information is not backed up by more first-hand material such as eyewitnesses and Pliny's knowledge of the area is limited by his lack of information. This is especially clear when he mentions that the Roman army have not long been making advances in Britain and have not penetrated the whole island so he cannot verify its size.³²⁴

The name and nature of the island that Pliny mentions in this passage are problematic for commentators. Firstly although the modern Teubner gives *insulam Ictim* earlier editions read *insulam Mictim* and despite the obvious linguistic similarity to Diodorus' *ικτιν* (Iktin) some writers have assumed that they refer to different places. Although the two historians may both be using the same earlier written source there is a strong variation in the alleged travel times to the island.³²⁵ This issue is considered in more detail below but it is important to highlight that Pliny is not at this point attempting to discuss tin or trade in detail and the section might be considered an interesting aside.

³²¹ Contra Polybius who berates Timaeus at length in Bk.12 of the *Histories*.

³²² Plin. *HN* 34.47 (*in insulas atlantici maris peti vitilibusque navigiis et circumsutis corio advehi*) See pp. 78-80.

³²³ *Vitilibus* from *vitilis* meaning "platted" and implying the use of osiers (*vitilia*) Lewis & Short (1879) p.1999 (which uses Pliny as its example) and *corio* (from *corium*) meaning leather or hide Lewis & Short (1879) p. 470.

³²⁴ Plin. *HN* 4.41.2.

³²⁵ Pliny gives six days but Diodorus says it is accessible at low tide (Diod. Sic. 5.22.2 – see below pp.124-125 & 127).

Natural Histories is the only serious Latin text to discuss tin and its movements in any detail and, although the material is dispersed over the whole work, Pliny serves as an interesting introduction to ancient tin. He describes its properties and uses as well as suggesting the first contact with it and a possible point of origin and trade. Significantly, Pliny mentions both tin-island(s) and Spain as sources of what he calls 'white lead' and adds details about an early merchant and a trading post on an island frequented by Britons. Despite the fact that he names Timaeus, determining Pliny's sources for the sections examined is not always straightforward and we do not see evidence of critical analysis of the texts.³²⁶ This means that it is difficult to know whether he offers material that is different from or more accurate than the surviving Greek works below and therefore whether his work should be preferred as the most "advanced" of the ancient texts. However, as we shall see below, the key ideas (with the exception of Midacritus) introduced here were in fact explored in more detail in earlier texts such as Strabo and Diodorus. In total, Pliny's evidence presents a complex, if fragmented, picture of different aspects of tin and the relationship of human beings to it.

2.2.2: Politics or Ignorance?

The next section of this chapter deals with authors who do not offer any concrete information about Cornwall or the tin trade but are important to the overall narrative about their relationship to the ancient world. It covers Caesar, Tacitus and Polybius and will explain why they are relevant to interpretations of both the other texts and to any extensive discussion of ancient Cornwall.

Roman Silence – Caesar and Tacitus

This thesis does not deal with the narratives relating to the Roman occupation of Cornwall or specific Roman interactions and therefore discussion of Caesar and Tacitus must be correspondingly brief. Nonetheless it is inevitable that Cornish interpretations of the other texts takes in comparisons with evidence from two of the most important early commentators on Britain so it is worth considering why tin is not mentioned in those texts. Julius Caesar and Tacitus might be expected to talk about a Cornish tin-trade but despite explicit discussion of the invasions of Britain and the island's relationship to

³²⁶This is despite his comparative diligence in naming authorities and interest in research – J.F. Healy (2000) pp.76-79.

the Mediterranean world they do not. There are three possible reasons for not mentioning the topic: there was no significant mining or trade in Cornwall at that time; the writers were unaware of anything to do with tin whether or not there was an active trade; or the topic was inappropriate for the work being written.

Caesar's conquest of Britain is alluded to by both Diodorus and Pliny and falls well within the time-frame covered by the thesis but his own account focuses on the practical aspects and makes no mention of Cornwall. Two areas of his discussion might have mentioned tin or Cornwall, namely the value of the trade as a motivation for invasion and any broad geographical and ethnographic description. However, tin is barely mentioned and the descriptive elements do not cover regions and peoples that have no impact on Caesar's actions.

Caesar does make some reference to the fact that there were trading relationships³²⁷ (and political alliances) across the channel and this has led to speculation about which British tribes and regions were involved and what was traded.³²⁸ Caesar does not talk about any specific assets that he believes would benefit Rome as a reason for invasion although he does talk about resources generally. His sole reference to tin suggests that it came from the interior of the island³²⁹ which implies that he knew little about the details and that he could not find a reliable source of information from the Gaulish tribes.³³⁰ Caesar implies that British tribal interference in continental activity was one of his key motivations for invasion.³³¹ Although this is disputed, it suggests that financial reward was not his key aim and that he was not searching for the source of the trade goods.³³² As such it is not surprising that he does not explore stories about them more thoroughly.

Caesar does give some description of Britain and the peoples that he encountered there. He describes the basic physical layout and suggests that the key harbours were already basically known. He also talks about some general customs of the British outlining their similarities to and differences from the Gauls and differentiates between the more civilised coastal British and those in the interior. Krebs and Schadee argue that his description both underscores his role as a heroic explorer and presents the British as

³²⁷Caes. *B. Gall.* 3.8-9; see also 2.4.

³²⁸See B.W. Cunliffe (1982); A.P. Fitzpatrick (1985) pp. 312-3, 315-8; See also C. Hawkins (1811) p.53 and Rev. Whitaker (1804) p.59 below pp. 177 and 199 respectively.

³²⁹Caes. *B. Gall.* 5.12: *Nascitur ibi plumbum album in mediterraneis regionibus* H.J. Edwards (trans.) (1917) pp. 250-251.

³³⁰Caes. *B. Gall.* 4.20; His use of written sources is also unclear although it is probable that he had some knowledge of Greek works.

³³¹Caes. *B. Gall.* 4.20.1; 5.4.1.

³³²H. Schadee (2008) pp. 171-3; See however, S. Mitchell (1983) pp. 90-99.

a suitable candidate for conquest.³³³ The overall comments are too numerous to discuss in detail but it is important to note not only the complexity of the characterisations but also the fact that Caesar tailors his ethnographic descriptions to make his political sensibilities comprehensible.³³⁴ Caesar seems to have carefully considered what sort of geographical and ethnographic knowledge to include in his account and that describing the more distant regions and networks of exchange were not his priority because they do not further his political persona.

Although Caesar's motivations for coming to Britain and evidence of cross-channel trade are sometimes discussed by the Cornish authors, the descriptions he makes of the Celtic tribes generally are more important to their overall narratives. His failure to correctly locate the source of tin has sometimes been taken to mean that there was no trade, although it equally plausibly suggests that Caesar didn't understand the activities of merchants³³⁵ or that trade-routes did not touch the (south-)east coast of Britain where Caesar was most active. It seems most convincing to suggest that the tin-trade was not significant enough politically for him to pursue.

Tacitus' descriptions of Britain are substantially later, evidently deal with a very different political situation and furthermore make no mention of tin or Cornwall at all. However they comprise some of the most extensive depictions of ancient Britain now extant and as such should not be completely ignored despite the fact that Cornish writers use them only sparsely even in their depictions of Roman Cornwall. It seems especially notable that despite mentioning that Britain's metal resources made it worth conquering³³⁶ he devotes no comment to tin and it must be assumed that either he or Rome was unaware or uninterested in the metal.

Although the *Annals* do describe events in Britain, the narrative is centred on Roman behaviour and actions and as such its absence of local information is probably unsurprising. However, the *Agricola* is presented as a biographical treatise and yet it contains substantial amounts of ethnographic material and his conception of Britain is important to his overall characterisation not just of events but also of the political and social spheres.³³⁷ Tacitus' lack of geographical information in the *Agricola* is striking, especially since he tells us that surveys and exploratory trips were carried out during

³³³C.B. Krebs (2006) pp.117-119 and H. Schadee (2008) pp. 172-173.

³³⁴H. Schadee (2008) *passim*; G. Woolf (2011) pp.86-88 & 114.

³³⁵Note when he says his contacts know little of Britain (at *B. Gall* 4.20) he says only merchants know more – his relationship with the traders is clearly not strong.

³³⁶Tac. *Agr.* 12.6.

³³⁷K. Clarke (2001).

this period and that there were written accounts available.³³⁸ Oglivie and Richmond suggest that much of the information Ptolemy used to construct his map of Britain must have also been available when Tacitus was writing and Clarke discusses a number of possible pieces of source-material.³³⁹ Nonetheless he mentions only a handful of rivers and islands and although he offers some new information on the layout of Scotland there is no consideration of west of Exeter; indeed there is no comment on when the region was considered conquered even though it must have been during the period he discusses. Similarly, there is some general consideration of climate and agriculture but mineral resources are barely mentioned.³⁴⁰ The financial rewards of conquest and any benefits of mining seem to be less important to Tacitus than the general promotion of the stability expanding the empire should bring.³⁴¹ Clarke and Pomeroy have argued that Tacitus uses his geographical descriptions to emphasise relationships to Rome³⁴² and, like Caesar, to express the suitability of Britain as a location for conquest. Given the unashamedly political nature of Tacitus' works the failure to mention tin must imply that its exploitation was not significant, at least in the British Isles.

Thus, despite Caesar's use for Celtic ethnography and Tacitus' overall status as a historian, their discussions of Britain are predominantly military and political in nature and as such have little time for the unknown and impractical. The absence of discussion cannot be because of Roman ignorance of tin-mining (given the existence of the written literature mentioned below) nor, given the archaeological evidence, can it be because production of tin in Cornwall stopped. What seems to be the most likely reason is that since it was not politically sensitive nor profitably taxable³⁴³ in comparison to other options such as the Iberian mines,³⁴⁴ which seem to have increased production over the course of the later republic and early Empire, it was not worth mentioning.

Polybius

Polybius is an author of some importance to the development of classical

³³⁸ Surveys e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 10.4; other available sources e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 10.1.

³³⁹ K. Clarke (2001) pp. 95-98; Some of which sources are discussed below and more are missing.

³⁴⁰ R.M. Oglivie & I. Richmond (1967) pp.35-36.

³⁴¹ He comments that removing Freedom from view might have a beneficial effect: Tac. *Ag.* 24.3

-commented on R.M. Oglivie & I. Richmond (1967) p.47.

³⁴² K. Clarke (2001); A.J. Pomeroy (2003).

³⁴³ Note that even Strab. says that the conquest of Britain hadn't been undertaken by the Romans because it wasn't worth it financially Strab *Geog.* 2.5.8.

³⁴⁴ On the importance of Iberian tin see J.C. Edmondson (1989); note Strab (esp. 3.2.9) below p.108; Also see pp.134-154.

historiography but who also offers next to no factual information about tin himself. However, what he does is open up the idea of a discussion about tin trade. Polybius does specifically reference Britain and the tin trade in the form of an explanation of why he is not writing about them. He is important to this discussion for three reasons: firstly his characterisation of historiography in general; secondly his influence on other ancient writers that potentially discuss Cornwall; and lastly, one small passage that touches on the subject-matter at hand.

Born in Megalopolis in Arcadia at the end of the third century BCE to a politically active family, Polybius was amongst those summoned as hostages to Rome in 168 where he became the tutor of the younger Scipio.³⁴⁵ He was particularly well-respected for his work organising a new form of government in the Greek city-states after the fall of Corinth and probably spent a part of his later life travelling. It is clear that he regarded his roles of politician and historian³⁴⁶ as inextricably linked and he tells us that he believed that experience made it easier to explain things.³⁴⁷ He also suggests that history itself should act as a teacher so that people do not have to make the same mistakes.³⁴⁸ Following these maxims, Polybius appears to have meant for his public (if not personal) life to be held up for judgement when reading his work, not least because he describes events in which he was involved.³⁴⁹ In doing so, Polybius takes the opportunity to illustrate his own credentials as the sort of historian he praises and to draw attention to his personal success and access to information. His authorial interventions thus encourage us to likewise use his experiences and personal situation in order to interpret the events and lessons he is projecting in his work. Overall we only have a small fraction of his writing to judge his tone, style or faults. As a historian he wrote several works that are now lost, including an account of the Numantine War³⁵⁰ and possibly a monograph specifically on Geography.³⁵¹ What survives is just the first five books of his *Histories*, a substantial portion of the sixth and some greater or lesser fragments of the other forty books that originally made up the work, three are totally missing.³⁵²

³⁴⁵ For detailed biographical information see F.W. Walbank (1957); F.W. Walbank (1972) pp.1-31; A. Momigliano (1977) pp.79-98.

³⁴⁶ Polyb. 1.1.2, 3.7.5, 12.27.8, 39.19.1, 28.3, 28.4-5; See C.B. Champion (2004) p.22 & F.W. Walbank (1957) pp.6-10.

³⁴⁷ Esp. Book 12. 12.25, 12.27 & 12.28. See also K. Sacks (1981) pp. 191-192.

³⁴⁸ Polyb. 1.35.6-10.

³⁴⁹ See e.g. 24.6.1-7, 28.6.9. 38.21.1-22 F.W. Walbank (1972) p.11; B. McGing (2010) pp.129-147.

³⁵⁰ Cic. *Ad Fam.* 5.12.2.

³⁵¹ Geminus 16.12. Quoted in C.B. Champion (2004) p. 20.

³⁵² K.W. Sacks (1981) pp.11-20 and more generally - J.M. Moore (1965); See also B. McGing (2010) pp.

Overall, Polybius' *Histories* focus on the growth and activities of the Roman Empire from about 220-216 BCE to 146 BCE and the fall of Carthage and Corinth - events that are firmly within his own lifetime and experience. It is perhaps obvious given this that he does not directly discuss Britain within the historical narrative, and also therefore not Cornwall, since none of the island was annexed by the Romans within that period and neither were the various communities in a position politically or economically to support Rome's enemies. The principle focus of the *Histories* is the way Rome became a superpower and Polybius tries to explain why he thinks that happened as well as describing the events of the years he is covering and considers crucial. The first three books recount the conflict with Carthage over Sicily, the causes of the second Punic War and Hannibal's invasion of Italy; he then moves on to cover part of that period of history from the point of view of events in Greece. After a digression on matters of the Roman constitution, the work becomes more fragmented as it continues to detail the Hannibalic campaigns and the events in the Achaean league. It also includes discussion of strategy and various suggestions for good military practice, attacks on other historians and a substantial interlude on geography.

Polybius comments that he followed the model of Ephorus in the style of universal history³⁵³ and that he was following on from where Timaeus left off.³⁵⁴ Although Polybius puts his own spin on the aims and process of historiography, many of his choices also reflect, and comment on, other historians' attitudes toward the function of history and could be fairly said to represent an extension of the historiographical tradition and read as conventions rather than as innovations.³⁵⁵ This aspect of his work helps scholars to re-consider the models and practices of other historians when they choose to include features like Cornwall in their discussions.

Although it constitutes a smaller and less consistent body of thought than the political thread of his writing Polybius does choose to include geographical material which might reasonably be expected to touch on Britain. It is difficult to judge this material and its extent in its entirety since the key geographical excursus in book thirty-four is missing. What remains of this spatial content is not made up of his own observations of the world and nor is it a description of his travels (despite his mention of them) but instead it forms a complicated series of insights mainly into the works of

212-222.

³⁵³Polyb. 5.33.1-3.

³⁵⁴Polyb. 1.5.

³⁵⁵F.W. Walbank (1972) pp.67-68; 40-54.

other writers. Thus the geographical knowledge is not a separate component to the historical themes of the narrative. Polybius himself describes geographical information as an important feature of universal history.³⁵⁶ Modern theorists like Clarke have emphasised how he integrates topography and ethnography with the political and philosophical. In fact, what Polybius does is use geography to explain or enrich the setting³⁵⁷ and to highlight his own methodologies and stylistic framework. However, despite mentioning both general topography and geographical theory throughout the work, Polybius fails to use any relevant material in the context of Britain.

The part of his work of interest to this thesis appears about half way through book three of the *Histories* during Polybius' narration of Hannibal's campaign against Rome. The text does not contain a direct reference to Cornwall but it requires a mention because it is an association of tin manufacture with that general part of the world. The text outlined here does not fall neatly into the category of description of events or background information (indeed what we glean about Cornwall from it is almost incidental to Polybius' intent) and it cannot simply be described as a means of furthering his theoretical (historiographical exposition or political commentary) aims or as a textual ornamentation. Instead it mixes the three roles.

He comments as follows:

ἴσως γὰρ δὴ τινες ἐπιζητήσουσι πῶς πεποιημένοι τὸν πλεῖστον λόγον ὑπὲρ τῶν κατὰ Λιβύην καὶ κατ' Ἰβηρίαν τόπων οὔτε περὶ τοῦ καθ' Ἡρακλέους στήλας στόματος οὐδὲν ἐπὶ πλεῖον εἰρήκαμεν οὔτε περὶ τῆς ἔξω θαλάττης καὶ τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαινόντων ιδιωμάτων, οὐδὲ μὴν περὶ τῶν Βρεττανικῶν νήσων καὶ τῆς τοῦ καττιέρου κατασκευῆς [...] ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἀμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸν πλεῖστον διατίθενται λόγον³⁵⁸

Some Readers will perhaps ask themselves why, since most of what I have said relates to Libya and Iberia, I have not said a word more about the mouth of the Mediterranean at the Pillars of Hercules, or about the Outer Sea and its peculiarities or about the British Isles and the method of obtaining tin, [...], all matters concerning which

³⁵⁶Polyb. 12.25.

³⁵⁷F.W. Walbank (2002) p.32; See Also K. Clarke (1999) pp.91-93.

³⁵⁸Polyb. *Hist.* 3.57.2-3 from L. Dindorf & T. Büttner-Wobst (eds.) (1905) p.280.

*authors dispute with each other at great length.*³⁵⁹

This paragraph has three key features for this thesis. Firstly it refers specifically to the 'preparation' of tin;³⁶⁰ next it thematically links that to Britain, the Outer Sea and its peculiarities and finally it mentions such preparation as part of an ongoing debate. However, it is also worth noting that perhaps because of his failure to further elucidate on these topics Polybius is amongst the least quoted of the classical sources by Cornish scholars.

As long as we accept the grammatical link as implying British tin,³⁶¹ this reference is the first surviving literary linkage we have of Britain and the tin trade and it allows us to offer a date no later than 116 BCE³⁶² for an open discussion on the topic. However, it is worth noting that thematically this section is also linked to Iberia which we know also had tin resources which were later extensively used by the Romans.³⁶³ The association with the 'Outer Sea' brings attention to the edges of the known world and the unusual, it links to the idea of the exploration of the *oikoumenos* and the categorisation of Self and Other.³⁶⁴ Thus in mentioning these things in connection to the particularities [συμβαινόντων ιδιωμάτων (*sumbainontōn idiōmatōn*) - characteristic peculiarities or specific properties] of the western ocean, Polybius is suggesting their continued exoticness as well as hinting that they are, although specific to that distant liminal area, also demonstrable within the boundaries of a scientifically historical investigation like the one he is doing.

The word κατασκευῆς (*kataskeuēs*) also has interesting resonances. It has meanings that suggest the state or condition of a thing and give an impression of technical expertise being involved³⁶⁵ the combination of which could connote not simply the mining and provision of ore but perhaps also the fashioning of ingots (i.e. preparing in the sense of ready to be used) presumably for sale. This convincingly implies that the edges of the known world do not solely produce a raw material but are capable of producing a valuable commodity. What is more unclear is whether it is more remarkable that the edges of civilisation have such a rich resource or that they are capable of the

³⁵⁹ Translation from Loeb Classical Library: W.R. Paton (trans.)(1954).

³⁶⁰ In Greek: τῆς τοῦ καττιτέρου κατασκευῆς (*tes tou kattiterou kataskeuēs*).

³⁶¹ Which must in turn mean Cornish tin.

³⁶² The latest posited date for his death by F.W. Walbank (1957) p.1 n.1 – though it has been contested and earlier options from 131 through the 120's have been suggested. See A.M. Eckstein (1992) for the debate.

³⁶³ See e.g. J.D. Muhly (1985) *passim* & J.C. Edmondson (1989) pp.84-102.

³⁶⁴ See above pp.70-71; and below p.101 on Herodotus and pp.110-111 on Strabo.

³⁶⁵ From *κατασκευή* – preparation, construction, fixed asset, state of a thing, device *LSJ* pp. 911-912.

production and exploitation of this sort of processed item.

It is worth noting that Polybius himself makes no commitment on the accuracy, implications or indeed details of his ideas about the western ocean. Indeed this is one of the issues that the section raises; why if he is not going to comment on the subject of Cornwall does he mention tin and the Atlantic at all? There are two possible answers and it is highly probable that both have a bearing on the discussion. Firstly, he includes it because he believes that issues like the method of obtaining tin and facts on the British Isles are topics of debate and secondly it forms a useful contrived digression into refuting the errors of previous work. Polybius specifically says that there are writers who are at odds with each other and that there are a great many words/debates.³⁶⁶ This plurality of writers and arguments implies a body of literature that dealt with the western limits of the known world in particular and that associated tin with that area. This in turn suggests a level of interest amongst the general reading public although not necessarily in Polybius' audience. However, is the notion of several authors mentioning this rather specialist topic feasible? Certainly we have no evidence to support the idea. Whether Polybius aims to mention the debate because it was indeed a popular topic used by other historians or simply as a means to talk about his own style, his use of the topic exemplifies his general methodological approach. Thus it focuses on his careful exposition of his own stylistic choices within the context of historical writing and showcases his often scathing attitude to other historians by way of a theoretical illustration.

The first reason for not giving details about the western ocean, Britain, tin production and the other topics that he mentions must be the reasons given in the text. The chapter itself continues by explaining Polybius' reasons for choosing not to get involved in the discussion. That is, firstly, his desire not to simply offer snippets of information that distract his reader and detract from the flow of the narrative,³⁶⁷ secondly that he wanted to give them sufficient time and space to explain them properly and thirdly that it is a sound general principle not to get involved in every aspect of the world you pass by in writing because students are not able to properly appreciate everything.³⁶⁸ Polybius then uses this as a segue into an explanation of the need to refute

³⁶⁶Polyb. 3.57.3: ὑπὲρ ὧν οἱ συγγραφεῖς ἀμφισβητοῦντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὸν πλεῖστον διατίθενται λόγον
Dindorf & Büttner-Wobst (1905) p.280.

³⁶⁷Polyb. 3.57.4 ἀλλὰ πρῶτον μὲν οὐ βουλόμενοι παρ' ἕκαστα διασπᾶν τὴν διήγησιν οὐδ' ἀποπλανᾶν ἀπὸ τῆς πραγματικῆς ὑποθέσεως τοὺς φιληκοῦντας, Dindorf & Büttner-Wobst (1905) pp.280-281.

³⁶⁸Polyb. 3.57.4-6.

past errors,³⁶⁹ whether they were malicious or simply based on, for example, the inherent difficulties of travel to and in the farthest reaches of the world, and he comments on the recent advances in those areas³⁷⁰ or more specifically his personal efforts in that area.³⁷¹

Stating that he wishes to make the narrative flow well seems to be an odd point to make as part of a digression that by its very nature is also a delaying tactic in the overall 'storyline', and thus itself an ornamentation device. At several intervals through the work as a whole Polybius breaks off his narration into digressions that principally discuss the nature of history. In this case he expressly comments that he is pausing to explain what he considers relevant within such digressions. The simple literary expedient of that choice cannot be denied, however, since it offers a potential foreshadowing if he chooses to bring it up again whilst simultaneously building the suspense of the audience with regard to the climax of this part of the narrative arc. However, overall his literary artifice is not strongly developed and he spends less time on textual decoration than many writers of his period. As Shuckburgh comments: Polybius doesn't have a flair for story-telling or the dramatic like his famous predecessors nor is his work filled with rhetorical stylising.³⁷² This is either excused by commentators because of his 'active' life or "[His] supposed 'poor style' is often treated as in some way an absence of historiographical mediation"³⁷³ and thence considered evidence for his direct recording role.

However, some of the other possible key purposes for this particular digression (as well as narrative delay) are also related to his methodological aims and concerns as a historian. Specifically this section forms the segue for a longer portion- the overall effect of which offers not only a justification of choices of material but also an insight into evidence gathering and a critique of other research, all of which also offers Polybius a means of illustrating his reliability and skill. Like the other classical writers (although even more explicitly) Polybius comments on his processes and these can be used to assess this section. Firstly, he is committed to as close to first-hand accounts as possible,³⁷⁴ which meant a focus on eyewitnesses where his personal observation was unavailable. Only after those were exhausted did he consider written material which

³⁶⁹Polyb. 3.58.

³⁷⁰Polyb. 3.59.

³⁷¹Polyb. 3.59.8.

³⁷²E.S. Shuckburgh (trans.) (1889) p. xviii.

³⁷³J. Davidson (1991) p.10.

³⁷⁴Esp. Polyb. 12. 27a.1; K.S. Sacks (1981) pp.62-65; see also pp.53-58, 179, 203-208.

meant that without further information to add from his own research he was not able to comment on this section. Secondly, Polybius' critical analysis of the texts requires a rejection of the fanciful and implausible as much as possible and therefore cannot indulge in speculation about the 'peculiarities' of the outer edges of the world. Polybius must work to maintain his persona of trustworthiness and therefore he cannot make claims which could be proven false or are generally deemed unreasonable and since he uses arguments based on reason and likelihood³⁷⁵ to illustrate the 'falsehoods' of his predecessors³⁷⁶ he works to ensure that his claims cannot similarly be undermined.

The idea of Polybius as a 'reporter of fact' not only feeds into his own stated concerns for historiography but also encourages the reader to take this section, and hence the linkage of Britain and tin, at face value. The concept of a lack of artifice in Polybius has been somewhat counteracted in recent criticism that has looked at the construction of rhetoric in the *Histories*,³⁷⁷ which demonstrates a more subtle structure within the text through its demonstration of an overarching thesis. For example, Marincola and Rood,³⁷⁸ amongst others, have commented extensively on the use of the intervention of the authorial persona in Polybius, particularly with regard to the manner that he uses it in this section on the west. These somewhat conflicting views of his technique therefore mitigate against either reading his choice to mention, but not describe, tin production as being simply due to the literal truth of his stated desire not to be sidetracked or only because the phraseology of the statement drew attention to his own skills and creativity.

The information Polybius gives us suggests that he almost certainly went to North Africa and to Spain.³⁷⁹ However, it is highly unlikely that, despite claims to have sailed in the west, he ever went as far as Britain himself. The idea of his travels is relevant here since the section touches on distant areas and perhaps because he is suggesting that he may be capable of offering his own experience to those without that opportunity and showing that his judgement should be trusted in these matters. In the case of the British Isles, however, he is reliant on other sources which because of his claims rather emphasises that he is unable to demonstrate personal investigation. Polybius also has no

³⁷⁵F.W. Walbank (1985) p.269.

³⁷⁶Notably Timaeus in Book 12. K. Sacks (1981) pp.22-32, 59-60; Also esp. e.g. Polyb. 12.9.3 – 12.10.9, 12.12.1-3; F.W. Walbank, (2005) p. 11; Discussion of other criticisms of his predecessors incl. on Pytheas (via Strabo) - S. Bianchetti (2005).

³⁷⁷For a description of advances in Polybian studies see F.W. Walbank (2002).

³⁷⁸J. Marincola (1997) pp. 188-192; T. Rood (2004) p.151.

³⁷⁹Polyb. 3.59.7. Note discussion of the dating of such journeys F. Walbank (1957) p.393.

evidence and presumably no means of testing the accuracy of those reports objectively by comparative study or logical analysis. Perhaps this also suggests that details of the tin trade were not known or that they were surrounded by information of dubious quality and therefore regarded as semi-fantastical or embellished and any espousal of such details might have compromised his reputation.

Polybius expressly states that he wishes to give a trustworthy account of the western region to the best of his ability in the proper time and place³⁸⁰ but we have no evidence of his fulfilling this offer. This may be either because his work on that (in the *Histories* or elsewhere) has not survived or because it never existed. Since we also have no commentary or quotations on such a passage by Polybius in encyclopaedias or other historians the latter option should perhaps be preferred by the cautious modern scholar despite the fact that it may well have fitted neatly into the topics of book thirty-four. There is simply not enough of the book surviving to be convinced that Britain was included.

What Polybius is able to do is comment on the lack of consensus about the topics and thereby suggest his own impartiality and that he had done active research without him having to commit to any of the specific evidence. This is especially important since Polybius then goes on to mention the need to correct past problems in geography but does not name any particular errors at that point.³⁸¹ This is an interesting selection for Polybius since like many other historians he regularly makes use of discussions of individual writers through the *Histories* mostly by comparing his work to theirs and explaining how his is better. Polybius writes in a consciously self-aware style that makes use of his place within a tradition of historiography - a tradition that encompassed his contemporaries as well as certain canonical writers and his own image of future generations. He demonstrates his awareness of his predecessors both as comparators for his work but also as source material, and yet it would be overly simplistic to assume a coherent attitude to individual writers from Polybius. Thus his negative comments about other writers' methodologies, including specifically their process of data-collection, do not act as an indicator that he does not use that writer as source material for his own information.

At other points in the work he does mention several authors specifically, including

³⁸⁰Polyb. 3.57.5 ἀλλὰ κατ' ἰδίαν καὶ τόπον καὶ καιρὸν ἀπονεύσαντες τῷ μέρει τούτῳ, καθ' ὅσον οἴοι τ' ἔσμεν, τὴν ἀλήθειαν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐξηγήσασθαι. L. Dindorf & T. Büttner-Wobst (1905) p.281.

³⁸¹Polyb. 3.58.

Timaeus, Dicaearchus, Eratosthenes and Pytheas.³⁸² These individuals are conspicuous in their absence at this point since their works could be considered relevant to a discussion of the West and indeed may even be those that he is referring to when he says the ideas are discussed.³⁸³ This is especially true of Pytheas who appears in the text with a direct reference to his claims of travels in Britain³⁸⁴ and is used to illustrate Eratosthenes' inconsistency in testing his sources.³⁸⁵ Polybius implies that Eratosthenes considered (or perhaps only selectively copied) Pytheas' work by saying that he believed some but not all of the tales given by Pytheas. Credulity on the topic of Britain is at that point explicitly unacceptable. In these other sections of the *Histories* Polybius chooses to demonstrate the apparent falsehoods of these (named) “geographers” by showing that their journeys are implausible, especially because of mathematical errors. For example, he argues that the distances claimed by Dicaearchus for the size of the Mediterranean are invalid³⁸⁶ and he criticises Pytheas as implausible on the grounds that he could not have afforded to make such long journeys.³⁸⁷ The type of criticisms offered imply that discrediting other writers' methodologies was more important to him than contributing to scientific knowledge because it highlighted his own good practice. Furthermore these criticisms suggest that Polybius has no alternative stories or proof with which to refute earlier claims, especially with regard to Britain, and suggest that the avoidance of the issue in the passage being discussed disguises his lack of first-hand knowledge whilst appearing to discuss something that has been debated in other writers.

We can infer either that at 3.57.2-3 Polybius mentions the idea of other people discussing such things as Britain on the basis that everyone will know to which debate or comments he is referring or conversely that he hopes that by not being explicit in his reference he will not be called upon to make judgement on such things. Therefore the overall impact of this section is to imply that there was a body of work that commented on the western oceans, and places and trade related to that, which was already in existence before Polybius but which there is no longer an opportunity to evaluate for ourselves. It also gives a *terminus ante quem* for that unknown debate. Although the section gives tantalising hints of earlier descriptions of Britain it does not offer sufficient information to confirm tin-trade. Instead it hints at a relationship whilst

³⁸² E.g. Polyb. 34.2.11; Much of Bk 12 is a polemic against Timaeus (See K.Sacks (1981) pp.60-71).

³⁸³ This is the view of F.W. Walbank (1957) p.394.

³⁸⁴ Polyb. 34.5.1-2 ὅλην μὲν τὴν Βρεττανικὴν ἐμβαδὸν ἐπελθεῖν φάσκοντος.

³⁸⁵ Polyb. 34.5.8 & 34.5.10 Compare Strab. *Geog.* 1.2.2 and 1.3.1 D. Dueck (2000) p.57.

³⁸⁶ Polyb. 34.6.

³⁸⁷ Polyb. 34.5.7.

carefully avoiding commitment. Polybius' text offers a first-person excursus into theory and methodology that uses the topic of tin-mining in the west as an example of a contentious area into which, interesting though it may be, it is not worth digressing – at least for Polybius.

2.2.3: The Tin Isles - Geography and Ethnography

Although Tacitus, Caesar and Polybius all refer to Britain not all of the material that Cornish writers have used to discuss their history has directly referenced the island. One of the most important tropes identifiable in the ancient writings is that of tin-islands or 'Cassiterides'. It first appears in Herodotus and is also important in Strabo and Diodorus. They are commonly considered by modern scholars³⁸⁸ to be a fictional amalgam of a number of places but for the eighteenth and nineteenth century commentators it seemed obvious that such a western maritime region that produced tin must have included Cornwall.

Herodotus

In Chapter 115 of Book 3 of the *Histories* Herodotus makes one solitary tentative mention of some islands he says are known as 'the Cassiterides'. They bear no relation to his primary narrative and Herodotus is doubtful that they really exist. However their very mention has piqued the interest of various Cornish historians. Despite the brevity of Herodotus' comment and the fact that, like Polybius, he refuses to indulge in any speculation, Herodotus' work sets a precedent both for information and in terms of style and therefore it is important to look at his contribution to the debate.

Herodotus of Halicarnassus wrote his account of the Persian War and its origins in the mid/late fifth century CE.³⁸⁹ These *Histories* are a difficult to use as a source, partly because of the paradoxical nature of Herodotus' subsequent reputation as both 'father of history' and 'father of lies' and partly because of the text itself.³⁹⁰ It can reasonably be assumed that his audience was well-educated and well-acquainted with the Greek world and it also seems increasingly certain that his work reflects fifth century Greek political and social concerns generally.³⁹¹ The text seems to demonstrate that he did some

³⁸⁸See Chapter 3 esp. 3.2.1 and also Chapter 4 Section 4.4.1.

³⁸⁹For a summary of his life see the introduction and first chapter of J. Gould. See also: D. Asheri (2007a) pp. 1-7; Further discussion of his aims and outcomes below.

³⁹⁰D. Asheri (2007a) pp.51-56; J.A.S. Evans (1968); S. Hornblower (2006).

³⁹¹E.g. S. Forsdyke (2006); C.W. Fornara (1971); Some commentators (like Marincola – see summary of

travelling to substantiate his personal enquiries, though we cannot trust all of his alleged eye-witness statements.³⁹² It is difficult to attribute stylistic and theoretical inspiration and, although most theorists see allusion and debt to Homer, Hesiod and Hecateus, the extent of their relevance may never be settled.³⁹³ However, Rosalind Thomas has usefully drawn attention to the philosophical-scientific components of the work which are especially important within Herodotus' geographical and ethnographical excurses, including his mention of the West.³⁹⁴

As this section briefly shows, scholarship is divided on how Herodotus conceived of the scheme, shape and purpose of the work despite his own descriptions of methodology.³⁹⁵ The text is filled with a multitude of facts and opinions arranged through a superficially meandering narrative and is difficult to relate to modern systems of categorisation and genre. On the one hand scholars like Jacoby³⁹⁶ believed that Herodotus began as an ethnographer and geographer on the model of Hecataeus (of Miletus) and only eventually became a historian (as in the modern sense of chronicler of the past rather than demonstrator of studies) weaving his many ideas together into a long and complex narrative. On the other side some scholars such as Pohlenz and Immerwahr³⁹⁷ believed that he set out to write what we now call a comprehensive historical narrative and that the all the 'less pure' sections are simply parts of that whole.³⁹⁸ It is not necessary to see these as mutually exclusive ideas but it is important to remember that Herodotus' work is filled with different styles of intellectual enquiry that are based on research, first-hand testimony and reasoning, some of which fit more easily into a flowing narrative than others and that scholars find it difficult to agree on what links all the parts of the text.

The sentence that apparently refers to Cornwall appears in book three which is part

debate in C. Dewald & J. Marincola (2006) at p. 3ff.) insist that his audience was Athenian, however, this probably has no relevance to the analysis here.

³⁹²For the importance of personal autopsy in history see above pp.62-63 and others; On the role of travel to substantiate claims etc. in Hdt. See also F. Hartog (1988) p.261; R. Thomas (2000) pp.11-12 [For the view that his travels and observations were largely faked see Fehling &c. (also critiqued in R. Thomas (2000)].

³⁹³See for example - J. Marincola (2006); R. Fowler (2006); N. Luraghi (ed.) (2007).

³⁹⁴R. Thomas (2000) *passim*.

³⁹⁵A discussion of the extent of scholarship on Herodotus is impossible in a work of this length but see for example B. Bravo & M. Węcowski (2004); J. Marincola (1987); R.V. Munson (2001); D. Asheri (2007a) pp.7-14. And below.

³⁹⁶F. Jacoby (1913) *RE* cols. 205-520 - For Jacoby's influence see especially C. Dewald & J. Marincola (2006) p. 2.

³⁹⁷H.R. Immerwahr (1966).

³⁹⁸For further details on the evolution of modern scholarship on Herodotus see C. Dewald & J. Marincola (2006) pp. 1-6 (incl. controversies relating to his who he was writing for and the extent of his fictionalisation).

of the discussion of the history of the Persian Empire. Specifically the book describes the reigns of Cambyses and Darius. Within the book as a whole, the section from 3.106 to 3.116 forms an excursus on the wonders (θωμαστά) of the farthest reaches of the world during which Herodotus completes a circuit of the extremities of the *oikoumenos* not just the lands abutting the Persian Empire. The author talks about the marvels of the Indians in the far-east, the Arabians in the south and Ethiopians in the south-west before moving to the western part of Europe. In 3.115 he tells the reader that he cannot tell them anything about ‘those areas towards the evening’ *with any certainty*.³⁹⁹ However, Herodotus does mention two geographical features of which he has heard; the river Eridanus and the Cassiterides. The river is the alleged source of amber and the other the source of tin. He says:

..οὔτε νήσους οἶδα κασσιτερίδας ἐούσας, ἐκ τῶν κασσίτερος ἡμῖν
φοιτᾶ⁴⁰⁰

*...nor do I know anything about the existence of the islands called the
Cassiterides, from whence comes our tin.*⁴⁰¹

Herodotus briefly dismisses both features as probably fictitious. He says that the name Eridanus appears to have been made up by some Greek poet⁴⁰² and allows us to infer that the Cassiterides are a similarly poetical (fictitious) concept. He then goes on to cast further doubt on ideas about the west, saying he cannot find anyone who has seen a sea beyond Europe⁴⁰³ which would of course be necessary for the existence of any islands. Herodotus finishes the section by declaring that, even if the islands and river are fictional,⁴⁰⁴ it is a fact that tin and amber come from the extremities.⁴⁰⁵ Therefore it is clear that Herodotus' text loosely connects tin trade with the north-western extremities, which is possibly the Atlantic towards Cornwall. However, the text also implies that 'tin islands' are a fictional concept based on a poetical fabrication of the world rather than eye-witnesses and that not even the existence of the sea that they should lie in is certain.

³⁹⁹περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν τῇ Εὐρώπῃ τῶν πρὸς ἐσπερινὴν ἐσχατιέων ἔχω μὲν οὐχ ἀτρεκέως λέγειν. Hdt. 3.115.1.
H.B. Rosén (ed.) (1987) p.325.

⁴⁰⁰Hdt. 3.115.1: Rosén (1987) pp. 325-326.

⁴⁰¹Translation from Loeb: A. D. Godley (trans.) (1921) p.141.

⁴⁰²He might be referring to Hesiod's *Catalogue of Women*. (P.Oxy 1358) - P. Keyser (2011) p.40;
Alternatively Hes. *Theog.* (338 fr. 150.23 Merkelbach-West) is suggested by D. Asheri (2007b) pp.502-503.

⁴⁰³Hdt. 3.115.2: τοῦτο δὲ οὐδενὸς αὐτόπτεω γενομένου οὐ δύναμαι ἀκοῦσαι τοῦτο μελετῶν, ὅπως
θάλασσα ἐστὶ τὰ ἐπέκεινα Εὐρώπης - H.B. Rosén (1987).

⁴⁰⁴Implied by δ' ὧν W.W. How & J. Wells (1912) p.293.

⁴⁰⁵Hdt. 3.115.2: ἐξ ἐσχάτης δ' ὧν ὅ τε κασσίτερος ἡμῖν φοιτᾶ καὶ τὸ ἤλεκτρον - H.B. Rosén (1987) p.326.

If Herodotus' evidence and confidence in the geographical features is so uncertain, why does he mention them at all? Do the Eridanus and the Cassiterides serve any purpose in the text and what are the implications of that role for a connection with Cornwall? This is a very small section of Herodotus' work and within a digression which in many ways is quite insignificant and has not been studied in detail. However, critical attention to Herodotus has highlighted several issues in the work which ought to be considered. Firstly there is the nature of the digression, its style and purpose and how that furthers the aims of the whole work. Additionally, since the section makes use of some of Herodotus' standard formats and contains elements of his key themes it is possible to consider to what extent this section fulfils pre-set patterns and therefore is 'decorative' rather than informative. Similarly, the extent to which Herodotus is using the section to illustrate his themes influences how accurate we expect his information to be.

These extra digressions, however tenuously they might be linked to the causes of the war which he purports to be illustrating, are one of the key features of the first part of *The Histories* (Books 1-6 in contrast to books 7-9 which are concerned with events of the war). This particular section is not overtly political and it does not offer comprehensive enough commentary to be considered philosophical explanation of events or relations between states. Instead, in keeping with Herodotus' wider thematic scope the portion more closely follows the aim, as stated in the proem, to display ἔργα μεγάλα τε καὶ θω(υ)μαστὰ.⁴⁰⁶ It does this by illustrating those rare and unusual things (θω(υ)μαστὰ) in the outermost areas that are both fine and difficult for the Greeks to obtain.⁴⁰⁷ Hartog translates θω(υ)μαστὰ as marvels or curiosities⁴⁰⁸ and this type of discussion must be where the section falls regardless of whether or not it offers extra information to modern historians.

Descriptions of marvels broadly act as entertainment for the reader and a delaying tactic within the overall narrative but it is also likely that they serve a distinctive role in illustrating Herodotus' schema of the world. These 'marvels' sometimes refer to unusual behaviour by Greeks or Barbarians as part of Herodotus' ethnographic or political descriptions but at least as often refer to natural phenomena. Generally this section is in

⁴⁰⁶[erga megala te kai thōmasta] Hdt.1.1.0 - H.B. Rosén (1987) p.1 Loosely trans: "great deeds and marvels" To be read with ιστορίης ἀποδείξις See above pp. 67-68 (esp. n. 234); Also esp. E.J. Bakker (2002).

⁴⁰⁷Hdt. 3.106.1 and 3.116.3.

⁴⁰⁸F. Hartog (1988) p.232.

the style of older travelogues and illustrations of geographical features.⁴⁰⁹ It completes a circuit of descriptions of the edges of the world in different directions and fits the world into a schematic model.⁴¹⁰ However, as well as offering an illustration of the limits of the known world, the distant regions and their trading goods are linked thematically in the excursus of which 3.115 forms part. Tin and amber, like the gold mentioned in connection with India and Ethiopia, are considered as (valuable) trading commodities and their sources make potentially unusual tales. The obscurity of the valuable is reason enough for their inclusion. There is no reason to presume that the river, islands and associated goods are the only available features of the west for him to mention. If there are other potentially interesting or known features in the North-West it is possible that as well as linking the items by their value Herodotus is commenting about hearsay or gossip on the topics. However, Herodotus often deliberately places extreme features at the edges of the known world in order to fit his theoretical scheme in depicting the ‘furthest inhabited reaches’ of the world.⁴¹¹

Rosalind Thomas follows Romm in saying that despite dismissing an external encircling ocean Herodotus categorises the world into a series of oppositions⁴¹² with extremes at the edges and a mixture in the middle. This model allows for both deserted parts and extreme climates at the end of the known world but also for wonders and luxury goods at other extremities all of which are in contrast to commodities and temperate climates in Greece. This theory of physical extremities representing Herodotus' model of Greeks versus Barbarians is examined further by Karttunen in his chapter “The Ethnography of the Fringes: Herodotus and the Rims of the World” in *Brill's Companion to Herodotus*.⁴¹³ However, he skims over the section discussed here in a few brief paragraphs and focuses on the fact that the West seems to be of little interest to Herodotus. In her earlier book Thomas also suggests that the whole section (3.106 – 3.116) is evidence that Herodotus has drawn inspiration from the 'Natural Philosophers' for much of the first section of *The Histories*. She asserts that he follows their tradition of describing wonders⁴¹⁴ and that he also was very much influenced by their methods of

⁴⁰⁹R.V. Munson (2001); see especially pp. 232-265.

⁴¹⁰See. J. Gould (2000) pp.63-85 & 86-109; K.A. Raaflaub (2002) p.155; On variant aspects of Hdt. themes see C. Dewald & J. Marincola (2006) pp.7-10; R. Thomas (2006) *passim*.

⁴¹¹ἐσχατης (eskhatēs) J. Romm (1992) p.39. On the importance of habitation and Hdt. emphasis on what is known see L.G. Mitchell (2007) pp.188-189.

⁴¹²J. Romm (1992): On the boundaries between known and extremities in Hdt see pp.37-40, on the Atlantic pp.156-157; on Geography and Fiction pp.172-213. See also F. Hartog (1988) p.33; on barbarians becoming more bestial towards the edges of the world.

⁴¹³K. Karttunen (2002).

⁴¹⁴R. Thomas (2000) p.138.

inquiry and exploration.⁴¹⁵ In part this is her explanation for why Herodotus writes in a digressive style that includes a lot of early scientific and hypothetical information; but she goes further than this and claims that it shows how he used contemporary scientific thought and terminology to categorise and explain the world in order to further account for why the Persian War started.⁴¹⁶ Thus, under Thomas' interpretation, Herodotus' comment on the Cassiterides specifically demonstrates a critique and commentary on previous theorists which presupposes that the Islands' existence was uncritically presented by recognisable writers. It also suggests Herodotus wished to challenge that presentation either as part of his scientific rationalisation of the existing trope of extremities or as demonstration of his new investigative skill.

One of the key goals of *The Histories* is to illustrate what is known and thus by extension to discuss what has been discovered, what can be discovered and what is fictional.⁴¹⁷ Herodotus uses the demonstration of his research to show off his own skill and to convince his readers that what he had uncovered was plausible. In order to offer the audience depictions and explanations of the exotic that they cannot experience outside his work it is important that he maintains their trust and belief in his interpretations. If he seems unreliable his status as a recorder of events in the war and therefore the analysis he bases on those events is also undermined.⁴¹⁸ Herodotus chooses to be both illustrative of oddities and also to show evidence of his analytical and truth-finding processes by describing what he has done to verify the information. As How and Wells' commentary puts it "The chapter illustrates a main principle of Herodotus' geography; he insists on the evidence of eyewitnesses".⁴¹⁹ Thus this brief chapter serves as a demonstration of his investigative skill for the entirety of the excursus in a similar way to other authorial expressions of scepticism throughout his work.

The phraseology appears to show that Herodotus has done little research on features to the west and has no intention of spending time relating them to his audience. Firstly, allowing for the fact that Herodotus displays his methods of inquiry as part of his literary approach,⁴²⁰ there is no notable source for either Eridanus or the Cassiterides. Herodotus says he has not found a reliable oral source and presumably (unless we

⁴¹⁵R. Thomas (2000) pp.135-136.

⁴¹⁶See also R. Thomas (2006) and J. Romm (2006).

⁴¹⁷Display of enquiry and knowledge: E.J. Bakker (2002) *passim*; On boundaries of known & unknown: J. Romm (1992) pp.34-41; Discovery by analogy: F. Hartog (1988) pp. 229-230 and using *θωμαστὰ* as extent of credibility F. Hartog (1988) pp. 236-237.

⁴¹⁸Herodotus' success in this is limited – for discussion of Herodotus' reputation see above n. 389 (p.97).

⁴¹⁹How & Wells (1912) p.292.

⁴²⁰*Ἀποδείξις ἱστορίας* See above pp. 67-68 and esp. J. Marincola (1987) and D. Lateiner (1989).

consider the reference to the poet to be probative) he also has no earlier literature about it.⁴²¹ This suggests we are unlikely to find any means of corroborating or dismissing Herodotus assertions.

Herodotus presents the reader with the suggestion of two features of the west (Cassiterides and Eridanus). Then he puts forward an analytical reason why he believes one unlikely, namely the idea that the name of Eridanus was created by a Greek poet at 3.115.2.⁴²² Finally he talks about confirming evidence from his own research with the use of phrases like “I have not been able to discover”. Of particular note for this section in terms of ways of demonstrating the action of research is Herodotus' emphasis on the first person and on visual evidence. Herodotus tells us *he* does not know about the western lands, *he* does not *know* anyone who has *seen* any evidence. It is worth noting the use of the emphatic ἔγωγε⁴²³ as well as repeated first-person verbs. Herodotus uses first-person interventions⁴²⁴ in order to build up an authorial persona who acts as an investigator and traveller within the text.⁴²⁵ Since he criticises some of his sources and praises others, analysing their reliability and likelihood, he imbues this persona with an appearance of rationality and neutrality so that at some points he can make assertions without citing his evidence.

Therefore the chapter seems to be a typical example of Herodotean investigative style because the reader is given anecdotal ideas (here the existence of Eridanus and ‘tin islands’) within a lengthy geographical digression and value judgements are offered about the quality of the information. This authorial intervention for credibility’s sake is typical for Herodotus. However, conformity to a pattern of digression and refutation does not give us as theorists (rather than as audience) a clue about the truth behind Herodotus’ analysis. Indeed it complicates matters because we cannot rule out the idea that the geographical features of the Eridanus and the Cassiterides, if not actually invented by Herodotus, were fleshed out and discussed solely to bolster his own investigative persona. In this instance his scepticism about the proof serves to encourage us to believe that he is confident of those things which he is willing to assert. Thus the

⁴²¹For further discussion of Herodotus’ source-material see e.g. D. Lateiner (1989).

⁴²²Τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἡριδανὸς αὐτὸ κατηγορεῖ τὸ οὐνομα, ὡς ἔστι Ἑλληνικὸν καὶ οὐ βάρβαρον, ὑπὸ [ποιητοῦ] δὲ τινος ποιηθέν. H.B. Rosén (1987) p.326.

⁴²³Hdt. 3.115.1: οὐχ ἀπρεκέως λεγείν; οὐτε γὰρ ἔγωγε ἐνδεκομαι Ἡριδανόν... H.B. Rosén (1987) p.325
Emphatic noted *LSJ* p.477.

⁴²⁴See for example J. Marincola (1987) and C. Dewald (1987).

⁴²⁵This persona may be created for the work or genuinely represent the writer Herodotus as a historical entity but we have very little means to test the theories – see e.g. R. Brock (2003); C. Dewald (1987) various.

audience could more happily deduce that tin is brought from the far west and possibly accept the implicit suggestion that some of the trade involved sea travel since the tin is interpreted as originating from islands rather than, say, mountains. Though this by no means suggests a direct link to Cornwall.

Chapter 3.115 is deliberately shorter than his accounts of the other directions and most of the words show uncertainty and negativity⁴²⁶ rather than being descriptive. The realism and concern with proof demonstrated above seems odd when contrasted with the flying snakes that appear in the same excursus preceding it.⁴²⁷ Indeed Karttunen especially remarks that a lack of information is not always sufficient to stop Herodotus from commenting and he also often cites untrustworthy or mendacious sources at length. It seems that tin and amber are not sufficiently unusual and exciting to warrant further investigation or else that their location is plausible enough within the scheme being offered. This is probably because although the Cassiterides fit into the categorical account of the edges of the *oikoumenos* they neither add much detail to his historical narrative since they had no (known) contact with the Persian Empire nor is the accessible reportage of the area spectacular or detailed enough to add to the scientific themes which enrich the text unlike, for example, the Ethiopians that also precede them in this excursus.

Therefore the reasons for a general ethnographical interest and focus on θωμαστά appear to be manifold but the most important are the notion of their function within wider social enquiry and explanation (Herodotus as Intellectual)⁴²⁸ and the concept of the importance of entertainment and/or performance across Herodotus' work (Herodotus as story-teller).⁴²⁹ This passage specifically seems to concern a point of intersection between Herodotus as displayer of marvels, Herodotus as literary scholar and Herodotus as investigator. Therefore, as well as loosely following his thematic concerns, this portion is a means of maintaining interest in his investigation both by picking out unusual features and by demonstrating his use of analysis. This is Herodotus being entertaining and didactic. Herodotus simultaneously aims to suggest new ideas and unusual information to his readers, convey ways in which events and situations interact and keep the interest, attention and belief of the audience. Herodotus as an author must create a stylistic voice and sustain engagement with his readers. As a part of a list of

⁴²⁶ Repeated use of οὐ(χ), οὐδενος and τινα.

⁴²⁷ Hdt. 3.109.1.

⁴²⁸ Esp. R. Thomas (2000); J. Romm (2006).

⁴²⁹ M.L. Lang (1984); R. Waterfield (2009).

inter-related sites, mentioning the west of Europe, and thus the Tin-Islands, is necessary to complete the circuit and rhetorical pattern. At worst Herodotus is completing his trope without giving his readers any new or interesting information about the west. At best the pattern shows Herodotus using his literary skill to offer an interesting piece of unusual information and if he is not detailed it is from simple lack of available sources rather than lack of interest.

To summarise, Herodotus' work is a difficult piece of evidence to work with. The textual snippet at 3.115 offers very little concrete information and seems to primarily act as a vehicle for displaying literary skill and demonstrating investigative practice and scientific knowledge. The section is short with little detail and phrased with emphasis on the negative elements; that is on what is not known rather than details of what has been found out. It forms a strongly rhetorical device as part of a list through its place amongst the circuit of extremities and the items associated with that and also because of the burden of methodological proof of investigation it shows. The section is also clearly part of an important theme to the first part of *The Histories* in which Herodotus depicts, limits and rationalises the *oikoumene* which it achieves both by being a recognisable feature on the edge of the world and through Herodotus' analysis.

Nonetheless Herodotus' mention of a resource strongly associated with Cornwall (tin) in the right general geographical area that stresses its connections with the extremities of the known world (i.e. the edge of Europe and the Atlantic), even whilst he is denying the likelihood of the existence of 'islands', leaves the critic the notion of a rumour or legend that inspired Herodotus in the absence of proof. To use this as evidence of any Greek trading with Cornwall would be assigning it meaning which is excessive for the detail and tone of the writing and reading interpretations that Herodotus does not offer us. On the other hand, convenient historical/geographical tropes are not enough motivation for Herodotus to fabricate an entire tin-producing region. As the primary source of tin in western Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth century and one with some evidence of Bronze Age workings this tentative link has been sufficient to create a sense of connection with the classical world for Cornish scholars and it might at least be used to show that tin was being brought from the west of Europe to the Greek speaking world by the fifth century BCE.

Although brief, the significance of a mention of a western tin trade by Herodotus should not be overlooked. Herodotus' writing had a wide influence on his successors

and continued to be copied and read in the Greek world and beyond. His works were supplemented, summarised, plagiarised and criticised and debate on his role in the creation of the historical genre began in antiquity and raged well into the twentieth-century.⁴³⁰ Additionally, in her book about the ancient genres of geography and history Katherine Clarke⁴³¹ talks about the influence of Herodotus on later geography writers because of his blurring of the (modern) disciplinary boundaries and his concern with scientific enquiry, journeys and ethnography, as seen above, as part of a method of explaining the world. Of particular relevance is the impact this had on the author Strabo who attempted both a *History* and a *Geography* and also chooses to discuss the Cassiterides.

Strabo

Strabo of Amasia, who was a Greek living under Roman rule between the 50's BCE and 24CE⁴³² gives modern readers an important insight into the historical, geographical and ethnographic knowledge in the early Roman Empire. Strabo is especially remembered for the breadth of his education and the impact of his geographical writings on the Byzantine authors.⁴³³ Although he also wrote a historical work unfortunately only his *Geography* survives in any quantity.⁴³⁴ It comprised a description of the 'whole' Greek known world between about 5 and 20 CE over the course of seventeen volumes.

Strabo's writing is more than simply a descriptive account of the physical features of the world and, like that of Herodotus, it particularly strays into the territories of ethnography and philosophy.⁴³⁵ Strabo's work is invaluable for its descriptions of the lifestyles and trading patterns of numerous peoples – or at least as a fascinating insight into the way these peoples and places were viewed by Strabo's contemporaries. Importantly, Strabo is particularly influenced by the idea of the description of the *oikoumenos*, its limits and its characteristics as a whole entity, and within that context Strabo also describes the Cassiterides as part of the boundaries of knowledge of the

⁴³⁰See (amongst others): J.A.S. Evans (1968) S. Hornblower (2006); A. Momigliano (1990) esp. pp. 29-53; On his use in creation of universal histories: S. Hornblower (2006) pp. 310 & 313.

⁴³¹K. Clarke (1999) pp. 59-69 &c.

⁴³²For a discussion of the dating of Strabo's life and the composition/revision of the *Geography* and scholarship surrounding it see: S. Potheary (2002). Earlier scholars date his birth to 63/64 BCE.

⁴³³For a recent assessment of Strabo's geographical legacy see: W.A. Koelsch (2004).

⁴³⁴The *History* was originally much larger than the *Geography* but now only survives in very fragmentary form. (*FGrH* 91).

⁴³⁵For a detailed account of the influences and format of Strabo's text see D. Dueck (2000) esp. pp.31-106.

west, where in keeping with Strabo's ethnographic divisions they are depicted as resource rich and partially civilised.⁴³⁶

The work as a whole ambitiously aims to describe a large area and it succeeds in working broadly eastwards from Spain through Italy, Greece and India as well as returning across North Africa. Within this whole Strabo talks about the Cassiterides near the end of book three on Iberia and he also discusses Britain in book four which is about 'Celtica' generally.⁴³⁷ Strabo, however, clearly does not regard himself as a mere collator of facts and recorder of the insignificant and calls the text a colossal work devoted to the great, the useful, the memorable and the entertaining.⁴³⁸ He characterises his work as a science and philosophy that is useful to generals and politicians because it teaches them not only of the terrain but of the minds of those living in foreign places⁴³⁹ and he stresses the fact that there are theoretical underpinnings to the study in the form of mathematics and astronomy.⁴⁴⁰ It is clear that his influences include peripatetic and Stoic philosophy, geographical *periploi*, political histories like *Res Gestae* and the poetry of Homer.⁴⁴¹ Furthermore Strabo is important as a source for earlier geographies and histories and he directly cites (and critiques) Eratosthenes, Pytheas and Posidonius as sources.⁴⁴² In terms of the texts that are relevant to this thesis, Strabo notably makes lots of references to Polybius' *Histories* although he clearly perceives his role to be somewhat different to Polybius. It is also evident that he was aware of Caesar's *Commentaries* although his use of them is limited and he appears to rely on older material.⁴⁴³ It is less clear whether Strabo was aware of Diodorus' work and it is probably more fruitful to think of them as rivals with overlapping sources. In fact Strabo gives his readers quite a lengthy exposition on the nature and purpose of Geography and an even longer description of the flaws and misconceptions of his predecessors before he launches into an overview of the world, its climate and seas in book two, chapter five, finally beginning his detailed descriptions in book three.

⁴³⁶E.Ch.L. van der Vliet (2003)*passim* esp. p. 264.

⁴³⁷On the history of the editing and translation of Strabo's text see W.A. Koelsch (2004) pp.505-506. Note that throughout this thesis Strabo's work is divided like the other texts dealt with according to book, chapter and section (as found in Loeb, Teubner etc) and Causabon references have not been used.

⁴³⁸Strab. 1.1.23. See D. Dueck, H. Lindsay & S. Potheary (2005) and S. Potheary (2005a).

⁴³⁹Strab 1.1.16-18.

⁴⁴⁰Strab. 1.1.19-20.

⁴⁴¹See esp. D. Dueck (2000); A.M. Biraschi (2005) and D. Dueck (2005).

⁴⁴²Strab 1.1 lists his predecessors. See also: C. Horst Roseman (2005); On Eratosthenes in Strab. See D.W. Roller (2010) pp.30-37. Strab. 1.2.1-3; 1.2.12;1.3.1-2; 1.3.22-23;1.4.1-3; 1.4.9; 2.1.1-2 See also below pp.113-114.

⁴⁴³C. Horst Roseman (2005) p.34.

The section relating to the Cassiterides falls at the end of book three in a discussion of the islands associated with Iberia. In terms of its situation in the text and according to Strabo's description of the location of the islands it is clear that he does not associate them with Britain which he describes towards the end of book four in a chapter also considering Ireland and Thule.⁴⁴⁴ Strabo's coverage of the Spanish peninsula covers consideration of the climate, habits of the people and principal trading goods including a section on the types and extraction of metals.⁴⁴⁵ Strabo mentions the quality of the gold, silver, copper and iron found in Iberia and also comments on tin-mining. This first selection from Strabo is part of a commentary on Posidonius and clearly relates tin to both the Cassiterides and Britain. He says:

τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ ἐπιπολῆς εὐρίσκεσθαι φησιν, ὡς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρύττεσθαι: γεννᾶσθαι δ' ἐν τε τοῖς ὑπὲρ τοὺς Λυσιτανοὺς βαρβάροις καὶ ἐν ταῖς Καττιτερίσι νήσοις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βρετανικῶν δὲ εἰς τὴν Μασσαλίαν κομίζεσθαι.⁴⁴⁶

[Posidonius] says that tin is not found upon the surface, as authors commonly relate, but that it is dug up; and that it is produced both in places among the barbarians who dwell beyond the Lusitanians and in the islands Cassiterides; and that from the Britannic Islands it is carried to Marseilles.⁴⁴⁷

It is not actually clear from this text whether it is only the Turdetanians (whose region is being discussed beforehand) who must dig for tin in the same way that they dig for copper and the Attic Greeks mine for silver or if all tin-mining is done this way. Strabo goes on to say that Posidonius also says that amongst the Atrabrians the soil is rich in tin, silver and white gold and that the metal-rich soil is brought by the streams and can be scraped up and washed, which implies it is on the surface. The emphasis on the mineral wealth of Iberia ties in with the commentary on it that also appears in Polybius and Pliny, and archaeological evidence now shows that not only was Roman expansion and conquest in Spain deeply bound up in mining activity especially from the late second century BCE onwards but that it was a significant source of tin for the

⁴⁴⁴R. Chevallier (1984); I. Whitaker (1981/2).

⁴⁴⁵Strab. 3.2.3; 3.2.8-10.

⁴⁴⁶Strab 3.2.9: A. Meineke, (ed.) (1866) p.199 (ln.14-19).

⁴⁴⁷This translation: H.C. Hamilton & W. Falconer (trans.) (1903) p.221 – its emphasis is a somewhat outdated. See following pages.

Roman Empire.⁴⁴⁸

This brief comment foreshadows his later depth discussions of both the tin-islands and Britain. It also suggests an earlier source. Posidonius is an important predecessor for Strabo and the fact that this section is connected to him is important in two ways. Firstly, it allows Strabo to distance himself from the details and influences the level of importance and accuracy he assigns to the information. Not only does Strabo comment on Posidonius' work generally in his critique of geography in the first two books⁴⁴⁹ but in this section (and at other points throughout the work) he also specifically attributes information to the author whilst simultaneously complaining about both his rhetorical style and his lack of critical analysis.⁴⁵⁰ Posidonius is therefore presented as an important source for Strabo but we also see Strabo making a conscious attempt to demonstrate his own superior analytical skills. Secondly, accepting Posidonius as a source allows modern theorists to assign a date before Strabo's text to the firm establishment of a trading route from Britain across Gaul to Massalia (Marseilles). As is shown later,⁴⁵¹ the link between Britain and Massalia and the importance of Posidonius as a commentator in this area are also present in Diodorus and the correlation of these two ancient writers is vital to later historians.

Strabo's own consideration of the Cassiterides is less clearly referenced than this snippet but contains a surprisingly large amount of detail. He locates the tin isles to the north of the port of the Artabrians; that is probably somewhere in the Bay of Biscay. Although, since he slightly misconstrues the orientation of Spain, that direction is open to interpretation.⁴⁵² He tells his readers that there were ten islands, nine of which were inhabited, and goes on to describe the dress style of those inhabitants in some detail and their way of life.

αἱ δὲ Καττιτερίδες δέκα μὲν εἰσι, κεῖνται δ' ἐγγυὸς ἀλλήλων πρὸς ἄρκτον ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἀρτάβρων λιμένος πελάγια: μία δ' αὐτῶν ἔρημος ἐστὶ, τὰς δ' ἄλλας οἰκοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι μελάγχλαινοι, ποδήρεις ἐνδεδυκότες τοὺς χιτῶνας, ἐζωσμένοι περὶ τὰ στέρνα, μετὰ ράβδων

⁴⁴⁸ See e.g. J.C. Edmondson (1989); A. Orejas & F.J. Sánchez-Palencia (2002); R.D. Penhallurick (1986) pp.99-100.

⁴⁴⁹ E.g. Strab. 1.2.21; 1.2.34; 1.3.12; 2.3.5-6; esp. 2.2.1-3 and comparison with Polyb. In 2.3.1-3 and the last sentence of 2.3.8.

⁴⁵⁰ Strab 3.2.9: οὐκ ἀπέχεται τῆς συνήθους ῥητορείας, ἀλλὰ συνενθουσιᾷ ταῖς ὑπερβολαῖς Meineke (1866) p.198 (ln. 18-19).

⁴⁵¹ See discussion of Diod. Sic. Below pp. 129-130 and 132-133; See also Chapter Three e.g. Smith (below p. 180) and comments in Hitchens/Drew and T.C. Peter.

⁴⁵² E.T. Merrill (1916); S. Potheary (2005b).

περιπατοῦντες, ὅμοιοι ταῖς τραγικαῖς Ποιναῖς: ζῶσι δ' ἀπὸ βοσκημάτων νομαδικῶς τὸ πλεόν.⁴⁵³

*The Cassiterides are ten in number, and lie near each other in the ocean towards the north from the haven of the Artabri. One of them is desert, but the others are inhabited by men in black cloaks, clad in tunics reaching to the feet, girt about the breast, and walking with staves, thus resembling the Furies we see in tragic representations. They subsist by their cattle, leading for the most part a wandering life.*⁴⁵⁴

Moving straight from his description of Gades, Strabo here gives no direct reference for his assertions and yet he offers his readers numbers and strong visual imagery. Although it is possible ten was chosen to be an arbitrarily plausible but large number, when coupled with the gloss about one desolate island it seems likely that Strabo was being deliberately detailed. The description of the clothing of the people is also striking in its vividness; however this is perhaps more easily explained. By this chapter of the book Strabo has already exhibited several examples of notable clothing⁴⁵⁵ and this particular section clearly stands as a complement to the inhabitants of the Gymnesiae who opened the chapter and were allegedly first clothed by the Phoenicians. It is also important to note the similarity between this type of clothing and other 'Celtic' peoples described by both Strabo and other writers. For example, in their commentary Hamilton and Falconer draw attention to Tacitus' parallel use of the idea of Furies in his description of the British tribes arrayed for war.⁴⁵⁶

This highly visual section on the number of islands and clothing is then followed by a specific description of the activities and trade of the inhabitants of the islands. Strabo refers to the islanders as nomadic herdsmen who worked the mines on the Cassiterides and traded their tin, lead and cattle hides in exchange for pottery, salt and copper utensils.

⁴⁵³Strab. *Geog.* 3.5.11 Meineke (1866) p.239 [ln. 5-11].

⁴⁵⁴(3.5.11) This Translation: H.C. Hamilton & W. Falconer (1903) p.262. See also:H.L. Jones (trans.) (1923) pp. 156-9 [Loeb Classical Library].

⁴⁵⁵See for example Strab. *Geog.* 3.3.6.

⁴⁵⁶Tacit *Ann.* 14.30.1-3; *Strabo* Hamilton and Falconer (1903) p. 262 fn. 2; See also A.N. Sherwin-White (1967) pp.1-33; 44.

He writes:

μέταλλα δὲ ἔχοντες καττιτέρου καὶ μολίβδου κέραμον ἀντὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλλάττονται καὶ ἄλας καὶ χαλκώματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους.⁴⁵⁷

*Of the metals they have tin and lead; which with skins they barter with the merchants for earthenware, salt, and brazen vessels.*⁴⁵⁸

Strabo continues to be surprisingly detailed in his information in this section but again it is unclear what sort of source he is using to provide this material. Although there is no evidence to support the idea, it is tempting to suggest that this information comes from traders involved in sending goods to the west. However, it is more sensible to hypothesise that the information is from the same (probably written) source as his subsequent assertions.

The description works to build up an overall image of the islands as lacking key good and essentially under-civilised. By describing the goods-exchange in detail, Strabo offers his readers an illustration of the type of resources available on the islands and furthermore shows what the islanders need or desire. This comment demonstrates an economic interchange and not just the flow of valuable goods from a distant location, although interestingly Strabo does not emphasise the economic worth of the tin at this point. The exchange of raw materials for finished goods implies that the islanders lacked the knowledge or skill to create such items and probably shows the advantage that the Mediterranean traders had over their counterparts.

This idea of unequal exchanges is reinforced by Strabo going on to tell us that the Phoenicians monopolised the trade with the Cassiterides via Gades (πρότερον μὲν οὖν Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἔστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων κρύπτοντες ἅπασιν τὸν πλοῦν).⁴⁵⁹ This demonstrates the value and profitability of the trade to them perhaps because of the accessibility and low-cost of the raw material. Strabo illustrates the importance of the trade to the Phoenicians with a story about a ship's captain who was willing to wreck his ship in order to lead another to a similar fate rather than allow rivals to discover the location of the islands and was compensated for his actions. This story only appears here and in texts derived from Strabo and seems to be apocryphal

⁴⁵⁷ Strab. 3.5.11 cont. Meineke (1866) p.239 [ln. 11-14].

⁴⁵⁸ *Strabo* Hamilton and Falconer (1903) p. 262.

⁴⁵⁹ Strab. 3.5.11 cont.: Meineke (1866) p.239 [ln. 14-16].

rather than relating to a specific voyage but this does not detract from its role as an exemplar of Phoenician control and interest.

Strabo's identification of the Phoenicians with the tin trade also has two key roles in later Cornish writing. Firstly, the tight secrecy offers a possible explanation as to why there is no in-depth discussion of tin-commerce from the west before Diodorus because it was kept hidden from Greek and Roman traders who might have shared such stories and allows an earlier date for the beginning of a tin-trade for Cornish writers without requiring further written evidence. Secondly, it emphasises the value of tin in the ancient world and therefore ultimately elevates the status of its suppliers.⁴⁶⁰

Strabo then continues his narrative by explaining that the Phoenician blockade was eventually beaten by the Romans. The text specifically credits the voyage of Publius Crassus with opening up the trade route.⁴⁶¹ This name and story do not occur elsewhere and it is unclear to which of the individuals with those names Strabo might be referring. Perhaps the most likely candidate is a Publius Licinius Crassus who was consul in 97 BCE, governor of Hispania Ulterior and known for battles with the Lusitanians⁴⁶² which would have put him near where Strabo says that the Cassiterides were. This is perhaps to be preferred to the other suggestion of (his grandson) the Publius Crassus who helped Caesar conquer Aquitania in 56 and died in Parthia in 53.⁴⁶³ Neither, of course, necessarily actually opened a trade route for tin just because Strabo mentions the name. Instead it is perhaps more likely that Strabo has chosen an apparently appropriate individual to offer more detail to the more general ideal that the Romans made an active trade connection. This notion of the importance of the trade connection is in fact boosted by Strabo telling us that Crassus judged the metals easy to obtain and the inhabitants peaceable meaning that the trade was likely to be smooth and profitable.⁴⁶⁴ Not only does Crassus' assessment of the islands summarise the section as a whole it links back to Strabo's consideration of the Roman mining enterprise in Spain more

⁴⁶⁰ See below in Chapter Three e.g. pp. 178-179, 195, 202, 213 & 218. Ideas about the role of the Phoenicians in British mythology are also discussed in Chapter 4 pp. 237-239.

⁴⁶¹ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ ὁμῶς πειρώμενοι πολλάκις ἐξέμαθον τὸν πλοῦν: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσοσ [...] ἐκ περιουσίας ἤδη τὴν θάλατταν ἐργάζεσθαι ταύτην τοῖς ἐθέλουσιν ἐπέδειξε Strab 3.5.11 Meineke (1866) p.239 [ln. 22-23 & 25-27].

⁴⁶² See J.S. Richardson (1986).

⁴⁶³ Caes. *B. Gall* 2.34, 3.20-27; Cass. Dio. 39.46; Suggested by (amongst others) G. de Beer (1960) p.167; W. Ridgeway (1890) pp. 90-91. See esp. S. Mitchell (1983) who argues that the younger Crassus was both Diodorus' source and Caesar's motivation for invasion pp.82-87 & 95.

⁴⁶⁴ Strab. 3.5.11 cont.: ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ Πόπλιος Κράσσοσ διαβὰς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔγνω τὰ μέταλλα ἐκ μικροῦ βάθουσ ὀρυττόμενα καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρασ εἰρηναίουσ, Meineke (1866) p.239 [ln. 23-25].

generally.⁴⁶⁵

Finally at the end of the section Strabo adds one more piece of information about the location of the Cassiterides. He says: “καίπερ οὔσαν πλείω τῆς διεργούσης τὴν Βρετανικὴν,” which Hamilton and Falconer translate as “although the passage was longer than that to Britain”. Initially this appears to clearly reaffirm the separation between the Cassiterides and Britain but not all scholars have interpreted the Greek to mean that. It is possible to construe the text as meaning several different things: that the islands took longer to get to from Spain than Britain took to reach from Spain; that it took longer to reach the islands from Britain than it did to reach them from Spain; or even, that the sea journey (from an unspecified point) to get to the Cassiterides was longer than the sea journey to Britain. Hamilton and Falconer suggest that the Cassiterides are 'farther removed' from Spain than the southern shores of Britain but Jones' Loeb translation reads “albeit a wider sea than that which separates Britain from the continent.”⁴⁶⁶ It is clear that different Cornish scholars might approach the translation in different ways - especially if they wished to argue that the Cassiterides were in fact synonymous with the Scilly Isles. Regardless of the grammatical uncertainty about which 'separation'⁴⁶⁷ is more than which other, this brief comment is interesting because it repeats the thematic link between the Cassiterides and Britain that appeared at 3.2.9. This reiteration strongly suggests that what Strabo is trying to say is that Crassus made a sea trade in tin available despite (καίπερ) the existence of a shorter route from Britain. Unfortunately this contention is somewhat undermined by the absence of detailed comment about tin actually in Strabo's discussion of Britain.

Chapter five of book four of the *Geography* briefly describes Britain and Caesar's expeditions there. The section connects to the passage discussed above in that Strabo identifies a series of routes from the mainland to Britain. The chapter comes after Strabo's consideration of Transalpine Gaul (i.e. France and Belgium etc.) and is followed by brief comments on Ireland and Thule. In the brief overview Strabo gives of the island he does offer the readers a summary of the principal exports and imports of Britain and tin is not included in that list.⁴⁶⁸ Thus Strabo's predominantly ethnographic

⁴⁶⁵On Spanish Mines: Strab. 3.2.8-10 (see above) – Note esp. 3.2.10 on Polyb. and the value of the mining.

⁴⁶⁶H.C. Hamilton and W. Falconer (1903) p.263 n. 1; H.L. Jones (1923) p.159.

⁴⁶⁷διεργούσης – from διείρω meaning keep asunder or separate *LSJ* p. 423.

⁴⁶⁸Strab. *Geog.* 4.5.2: φέρει δὲ σίτον καὶ βοσκήματα καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ σίδηρον: ταῦτά τε δὴ κομίζεται ἐξ αὐτῆς καὶ δέρματα καὶ ἀνδράποδα καὶ κύνες εὐφυεῖς πρὸς τὰς κυνηγεσίας Meineke (1866).

description of Britain does not add to the overall picture of Cornish tin and instead suggests that at the very least Caesar's activities on the island had no relationship to tin at all. It is odd that after mentioning it specifically in book three he should omit it here but this is perhaps indicative of the use of a different textual source for information on Britain.

The connection between the Spanish mines and Posidonius has already been noted and there is sufficient correlation to suggest that he may also be the source for the Cassiterides (although this is speculative). By comparison Clarke attributes all of Strabo's British material to Pytheas.⁴⁶⁹ It is of course uncertain to what extent Posidonius also used Pytheas in his work. The attribution of Strabo's British segment to Pytheas appears to be based on Strabo's discussion of Pytheas' errors concerning Britain and the North in his critique of Eratosthenes.⁴⁷⁰ The hostility towards Pytheas in the earlier books might explain Strabo's reluctance to name him as a source in book four but the Caesarian material must post-date Pytheas and perhaps suggests an extra or alternative source. This seems likely when we consider that Strabo's main objection to Pytheas (and therefore to Eratosthenes' acceptance of him) is based around the figures that he gives for journeys. Strabo fundamentally disagrees that the conditions Pytheas describes would be possible that far north and west, an idea he bases on his conception of the temperate zones of the Earth⁴⁷¹ and he offers alternative distances and measurements. There are two explanations for the alternative figures, either Strabo has 'calculated' them himself based on his scientific philosophy or he has an alternative source.

It is worth noting that Strabo says he has not been able to verify the distance from Britain to Ireland⁴⁷² - Horst Roseman suggests that implies that he had not verified anything Pytheas said because there were no alternative sources.⁴⁷³ However it is also plausible that Strabo is being deliberately specific about his trouble finding details about this information because he had been able to get more accurate data about, for example, the length of Britain. Ultimately it seems that not only would multiple sources allow Strabo to augment (or cover up) his use of Pytheas in the Western region but it would also suggest a reason for varied accounts between books.

Overall is difficult to know how to regard Strabo as a source: his own travels to

⁴⁶⁹K. Clarke (1999) Appendix C p.374. Note she does also suggest that he may have used eyewitness accounts.

⁴⁷⁰Strab. 1.4.2-5; 2.5.8.

⁴⁷¹C. Horst Roseman (2005) pp.33-35.

⁴⁷²Strab. 2.5.8.

⁴⁷³C. Horst Roseman (2005) p.35.

mainland Europe were probably limited and the accuracy of his reports seems to be highly variable.⁴⁷⁴ In many parts of the text he makes allusion to personal witness of practices of the locals and of locations of temples within cities⁴⁷⁵ but this authorial autopsy is not present for the description of the far west.⁴⁷⁶ What is perhaps more noticeable is the fact that he also does not, during the sections considered here, stress his investigative work or give credit to eyewitness accounts of the regions. The absence of comment does not allow us to completely disregard the importance of such research in Strabo's work especially when we consider that the section on Britain appears to be reliant on a source (probably eye-witness) who is not otherwise acknowledged. As we have seen in Polybius, by the time of Strabo's writing the existence of the British Isles was part of classical geographical knowledge but actual reliable information was sparse and largely now unexaminable. Furthermore where individual writers are named, Strabo stresses his own lack of confidence in their reliability as source material. Posidonius is described as being over exuberant in his descriptions and Pytheas is disregarded as liar, neither of which inspires confidence in the quality of the information they have offered. Strabo perhaps hopes that his own more measured descriptions therefore seem more plausible and yet in these areas specifically it is not obvious why we should prefer Strabo's own description.

Generally the lack of clear attribution and analysis in the segments examined makes the level of detail that Strabo offers about the Cassiterides, their inhabitants and their connection to Rome all the more striking to modern critics. There are several explanatory options: Strabo either has a source he is not disclosing or he has made up the information and either he thinks that any source is not important to the audience or that it would not help his discussion. The work as whole is not presented as detail-oriented, instead it is offered as an overview which offers a contextualising picture.⁴⁷⁷ The theoretical elements of the texts suggest that Strabo chose the rational theoretical picture based on his extensive philosophical training and Daniela Dueck argues that Strabo's work was composed for an erudite audience.⁴⁷⁸ Therefore Strabo could expect to be required to make his assertions plausible as well as interesting and to avoid the

⁴⁷⁴S. Pothecary (2005b) p.162; M. Pretzler (2005).

⁴⁷⁵E.g. 15.3.15; 12.2.4; 14.1.43 – D. Dueck (2000) pp.18-21.

⁴⁷⁶The exception to this in the paragraphs being examined is his comment about having seen Britons himself in Rome. Strab. *Geog.* 4.5.2.

⁴⁷⁷S. Pothecary (2005a) pp. 7-10 and M. Pretzler (2005) pp. 148-151 & 158-9.

⁴⁷⁸D. Dueck (2000) pp.146-161 on dates of composition and editing; influence pp.151-152; intended audience pp.157-165.

purely fantastical or mythological.⁴⁷⁹ Strabo himself encourages us to take this view since he emphasises the scientific over the fantastical. However, with so little corroboration, it also seems plausible that he has chosen not to critically analyse the apocryphal stories on the topic.

If Strabo is given some benefit of the doubt it is possible to glean some likely information from him. Firstly, it shows that there was a western trade in tin which involved the Iberians (and probably the Cornish) selling to maritime merchants who may have been Phoenicians. Secondly, Strabo implies that the trade was protected from Greek and Roman sources who consequently knew very little detail until the Romans expanded their conquests and opened up more activity. Finally, two more tentative hypotheses can be made; namely that Caesar's trips to Britain had no interest in the tin trade which might of course mean that the quantity or profitability of any trade was insignificant and also that early trade was mainly in comestibles rather than coinage. This detail might be supposed to imply the primitive nature of the natives rather than offer an actual insight into the goods involved, however it does suggest a reason for the difficulty in finding archaeological evidence relating to this trade.

On the other hand there are several things that Strabo clearly does not provide. Initially although, unlike Herodotus, Strabo offers his readers a location and a description of the Cassiterides he clearly does not relate them to the British Isles. Any connection supposedly implied by the location of the islands in the Bay of Biscay and the fact that sailing vaguely north-west from Spain will lead you to Cornwall is too fanciful to be sustained especially considering the fact that British tin is separately, if only tentatively, mentioned. Secondly, despite the fact that Strabo connects the Phoenicians with the Iberian tin-trade and talks about their monopoly of the far western Mediterranean, and presumably the Atlantic routes, this is not sufficient to connect them to Britain. Strabo is poor evidence for both the extent of Phoenician activity which he does not detail and for a blockade of a sea route past the Pillars of Hercules because of the time interval between Phoenician and Carthaginian dominance and his writing so should be treated with caution. Additionally, although we have evidence for Massiliote trade in Iberia more generally⁴⁸⁰ and consequently can assume that land or river trade routes were established well before Strabo's text, he does not really discuss them which

⁴⁷⁹On the problems with the inclusion of “non-scientific” material associated with geography and ethnography see above pp.71-73.

⁴⁸⁰See also below Section 2.3 pp.134-135.

might imply the overall insignificance of their financial worth.

Strabo's *Geography*, therefore, is an interesting text in that it offers tantalising but unverifiable details about Herodotus' tin islands, and as such it has been much used and abused by subsequent scholars who have taken it to indicate a connection to the Scilly Islands and as evidence of the Phoenician control of commerce in tin. However, on more detailed analysis it appears to show not only that the Cassiterides were regarded as separate to Britain but also that there was a tin-trade from Cornwall via France⁴⁸¹ and that it was useful but not of vital importance to the Romans, perhaps because it was overshadowed by the more accessible Iberian workings.

All this material offers very little concrete connection between tin and Cornwall and based on it alone there is no strong reason to suggest that the south-west of Britain had any but a very minor local trade. It also does not offer much potential for interested traders despite Strabo's comments on the Phoenicians and Publius Crassus. Nonetheless the details about access to tin islands, Britain and their resources are tied together both by Pliny and more importantly Diodorus.

2.2.4: Connecting everything? - Diodorus Siculus

The only extant account which not only mentions an area linked to Cornwall but describes its location as part of Britain as well as linking it explicitly to the tin trade is the *Library of History (Bibliothēke)* by Diodorus Siculus which was composed in Greek between 56 and 36 BCE.⁴⁸² Diodorus' work offers one of the only direct and plausibly accurate descriptions available from the ancient world. Nonetheless his description of Britain and tin is a largely unappraised area in that its relationship to the whole project and wider contemporary historiographical material has not been analysed by literary critics and historical sceptics in the way the previous pieces have been.⁴⁸³

The *Bibliothēke* is presented as a type of comprehensive educative history⁴⁸⁴ and modelled on a mode similar to Polybius' *Universal History* (although different in tone

⁴⁸¹ Strab. *Geog.* 3.2.9 (See above p.108).

⁴⁸² See: P. Green (2006) pp. 2-3; C.H. Oldfather (1933) pp. vii-xi; C. Rubincam (1987) pp. 322-324; P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp.17-24.

⁴⁸³ Editions and commentaries on Diodorus have tended to focus on the later books; Scholarship is far more abundant in French and Italian than English. See esp. D. Ambaglio, F. Landucci, L. Bravi, (2008) (The series has so far published editions of Bks 18 & 13).

⁴⁸⁴ Diod. Sic. 1.3.5-8, 1.4.6, 5.1.1-4; On the implication of Diodorus' title for its content see Y.L. Too (2010) pp. 143-170.

and both following Ephorus).⁴⁸⁵ It is Diodorus' sole known work but it survives only in part; so from the original forty books only I-V and XI – XX are extant although there are a number of fragments or comments preserved by other authors. The material is arranged in a predominantly annalistic style for easy reference. Overall although Diodorus' ambition might have been to present readers with a complete historical outline of the world from creation to perhaps as late as the end of the Civil War it seems to have been somewhat patchily achieved and the whole work is quite unclear on the dates.⁴⁸⁶ It must nonetheless have covered a considerable amount of information from a variety of sources. The lack of contemporary referential material compels us to rely on the surviving text for information about research methodology and related sources. Scholars, taking their lead from the title of the work and his own description of examining multiple works,⁴⁸⁷ seem to show that his work comprises largely of collations, interpretations and re-workings of written source material available to him.

We know almost nothing of the life of Diodorus the man either from his own work or that of later scholars. His lifespan is estimated from the topics of which he reveals first-hand knowledge and he tells us he was from Agrigium in Sicily⁴⁸⁸ where he learnt the language of the Roman Empire. He suggests that some of his research for the material was done in Egypt and Rome and that he travelled extensively although we have no evidence for western excursions.⁴⁸⁹ The absence of further background leads us to three potential conclusions. Firstly, that he is unlikely to have been a statesman or philosopher in his own right so in contrast to Polybius he has no practical expertise to draw on or impart. Therefore although his work makes it clear that he believes history to be educational⁴⁹⁰ he does not advance a new theoretical perspective. Secondly, it shows that the text is neither highly original nor very controversial and finally that he is preserved primarily for his utility to scholars in terms of material gathered and topics covered. It is probably as a consequence of the first two ideas that his life was not extensively written about by his contemporaries and that his work was neither lauded by his successors nor carefully analysed subsequently even if it has been frequently used.

As Sacks said in 1990:

⁴⁸⁵ A. Burton (1972) pp. 35-7; J. Marincola (2007b); B. Sheridan (2010).

⁴⁸⁶ P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp.17-25; C. Rubincam (1998b).

⁴⁸⁷ Diod. Sic. 1.3.4-8, 1.4.2.

⁴⁸⁸ Diod. Sic. 1.4.4.

⁴⁸⁹ Residence in Rome: Diod. Sic. 1.4.2-3 Travels: Diod. Sic. 1.4.1.

⁴⁹⁰ Diod. Sic. 1.1 Indeed his tone is moralising and didactic. Consider P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp. 3-4.

The *Bibliothēke* is the largest Greek history to survive from antiquity. As a result, whatever its quality, in historical research it may be the most frequently cited ancient source. Conversely, there are few extensive studies devoted to the overall composition of the *Bibliothēke*.⁴⁹¹

The notable exceptions to this is analysis of Diodorus' surviving material on Egypt and on the Macedonian kings.⁴⁹² Thus, where his oeuvre has been analysed at all, it has largely been considered through the lens of those topics and their comparison with other writers such as Herodotus (on Egypt) and Xenophon and Arrian (on the Macedonians).⁴⁹³ Nineteenth century scholarship in particular was very derogatory about the text. He is accused of lacking independent dexterity with the material⁴⁹⁴ and numerous diversions from accepted Herodotean and Thucydidean histories are pointed out. Wright flatly says he has “no originality, no critical method and no sense of style.”⁴⁹⁵ Even Stylianou's recent commentary is scathing of his style and ability.⁴⁹⁶

There has however been a resurgence of interest in Diodorus' work as a whole beginning with Kenneth Sacks key 1990 monograph which is largely interested in creating a reputation for Diodorus' skill as an independent writer, unfortunately without any sense of how the work defines its own scope. The extent to which Diodorus is required to have used substantial personal scholarship and analysis in creating the *Bibliothēke* has been revised in recent years, with Green and Rubincam⁴⁹⁷ notably following on from Sacks. However, although the arguments of these scholars allow for Diodorus to have had power of interpretation over the material that he weaves, there is still a great deal of disagreement about whether the work shows internal consistency and an overall scheme. The debate over the extent to which Diodorus is a scholar in his own right has generated a variety of interpretations concerning how much Diodorus analysed and evaluated those sources before reproducing them. Burton and Stylianou see a multiplicity of stylistic tones and differing roles for morality and fate through the books and therefore suggest this is because of his reproduction without stringent editing of his

⁴⁹¹ K. Sacks (1990) p.206.

⁴⁹² Esp. Book I and the commentary on it by Anne Burton (1972); Also books XV -XVIII e.g. P.J. Stylianou (1998); N.G.L. Hammond (1937).

⁴⁹³ Consider T.W. Africa (1963); Commentary on Bk 16: E.I. McQueen (1995); V.J. Gray (1980).

⁴⁹⁴ See e.g. J. de Romilly (1985) pp. 198-199.

⁴⁹⁵ F.A. Wright (1932) pp.173-174.

⁴⁹⁶ P.J. Stylianou (1998) e.g. pp. 15, 49, 136-9.

⁴⁹⁷ K. Sacks (1990) *passim*; P. Green (2006) *passim* esp. preface; C. Rubincam (1998a).

sources.⁴⁹⁸ Sacks on the other hand detects an overarching theme and some uniformity to the tone that allows for extensive re-workings on Diodorus' part.⁴⁹⁹

Nonetheless Diodorus' work has long been plundered for the textual information primarily of use to compilers of dictionaries and encyclopaedias or as collaborative material for other ancient sources.⁵⁰⁰ Thus, since very little of that data is attributed to independent research or eye-witness accounts almost all of the early commentary on Diodorus is interested in where he gets his information from. Diodorus is erratic in his own acknowledgement of sources within the text which, especially when combined with his role as collator, has led to the variety of attributions of sources for his research that not only vary according to the book (and thus topic) being considered but also depend on whether the commentator suggests that the information comes directly from the earliest known sources or via intermediaries such as Ephorus.⁵⁰¹ Some books are also traditionally given single sources, such as Ephorus for 11-16 and Polybius for 28-32, where others have several probable sources or multiple possible backgrounds.⁵⁰² It follows therefore that Diodorus' evidence on Cornwall is only as good as his source material and his own ability to reproduce it accurately. This has led to later writers, including those investigated in Chapter Three, to focus on earlier writers when discussing the sections on Cornwall and allowed them to assume that the section pre-dates Diodorus' writing making an established Cornish tin-trade older than his work.

It must be assumed that the majority of the body of historical and geographical texts produced before 56 BCE was accessible to Diodorus since he appears to have had the financial means and time for their study. Since Diodorus clearly never went near the Cornish peninsula it is usually assumed that for the sections discussed below Diodorus is following Pytheas' work although he does not mention him by name during the book. Whether he is referencing the lost text directly or reading it from a secondary source such as Posidonius or Timaeus is unclear. It is tempting to assume a secondary filter because there is no reference to Pytheas and because we know that Posidonios and Timaeus were used by Diodorus elsewhere and were significant sources in their own right.⁵⁰³ On the other hand, Diodorus does offer one of the best potential sources for

⁴⁹⁸ A. Burton (1972) pp.2, 9 and P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp. 6-14 esp. 11.

⁴⁹⁹ This is the central argument of K. Sacks (1990). This idea is somewhat alluded to in C. Rubincam (1987) esp. at 328 and more rounded in (1998a); See also P. Green (2006) pp.29-30.

⁵⁰⁰ I.e. Diodorus is largely to be found in footnotes.

⁵⁰¹ Consider J. M. Bigwood (1980); For a general discussion of scholarly hypotheses on his sources see P. Green (2006) pp. 25-34.

⁵⁰² P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp. 6, 49-50.

⁵⁰³ On Posidonius as a source for the west see both evidence from Strabo (See above pp.108-109;

Pytheas on this area. Other key informants for Diodorus' work include Agatharichides⁵⁰⁴ and Hecaeus (of Abdera)⁵⁰⁵ but these are less likely as sources for Cornwall, partly because of their relative obscurity and partly because of the supposed focus of these writers. Generally, it should also be assumed that Diodorus had access to any of the Cornish/British material hinted at but not outlined by Polybius and, due to some of the similarities in tone and content, it must also be presumed that at least some of this source-material is comparable to Strabo's sources.

Diodorus states that his plan for the first six books is to deal with the events and legends of the world in the run up to the Trojan War; the first three are non-Greek and the next three predominantly Greek⁵⁰⁶ and as we have them those books act as a historical and geographical summary of the known world. The section containing material about Cornwall covers the entirety of chapter twenty-two of book five. Diodorus himself titles book five 'On the Islands'⁵⁰⁷ and it covers the myths of several major islands including Sicily, Rhodes and Crete as well as the habits and customs of smaller and lesser-known places. From chapter nineteen he begins to discuss places beyond the Pillars of Hercules. Diodorus explains that the Phoenicians controlled the straits from ancient times and that the Carthaginians attempted to prevent people from sailing out to find lands beyond Libya because they wished to reserve it for themselves.⁵⁰⁸ This appears to be consistent with Strabo's comments as seen earlier.⁵⁰⁹ He then turns his attention back towards Europe and, hence, Britain as the largest island lying off its shore. Diodorus tells us that the reason it is not well-known is because it was not conquered by any hero (like Hercules) or leader before Gaius Caesar. At this point he promises the reader that he will deal with the conquest itself at the appropriate historical point⁵¹⁰ but from what survives it seems unlikely that he ever achieved that.⁵¹¹

Diodorus then goes on to describe the physical characteristics of the island, shape

discussed further below p.130) and for Timaeus see evidence from Pliny (above pp.82-83). On this topic more generally see: R. Drews (1962); D. Nash (1976).

⁵⁰⁴ On Agatharichides as source for 1.37-41 see A. Burton (1972) pp. 20-25; Also esp. in Book 3 - C. Rubincam (1998a) pp. 71-73. (Note that *On the Erythraean Sea* is about the Red Sea not the Atlantic regions).

⁵⁰⁵ Who wrote an ethnography of the 'Hyperboreans'. On modern and older *quellensforschung* of Book 1 see C.E. Muntz (2011).

⁵⁰⁶ Outline of the work – 1.4.6 – 1.5.1; C Rubincam (1987) & C. Rubincam (1998b) n.13.

⁵⁰⁷ Diod. Sic. 5.1.2; See also S. Bianchetti (2011).

⁵⁰⁸ Diod. Sic. 5. 20 & 5.36.

⁵⁰⁹ Strab. *Geog.* 3.5.11 above pp.109-113.

⁵¹⁰ Diod. Sic. 5.21.2.

⁵¹¹ A. Burton (1972) pp.40-41; C. Rubincam (1998b) p.229; P.J. Stylianou (1998) p. 18; Note that Diod. refers at several points to the deified Caesar (e.g. 1.4.7).

and size, and offers a basic description of the inhabitants. He, however, declines to describe the customs in detail beginning chapter twenty-two thus:

ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν νομίμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἰδιωμάτων τὰ κατὰ μέρος ἀναγράφομεν ὅταν ἐπὶ τὴν Καίσαρος γενομένην στρατείαν εἰς Πρεττανίαν παραγενηθῶμεν, νῦν δὲ περὶ τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν φυομένου καττιέρου διέξιμεν. τῆς γὰρ Πρεττανικῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τὸ καλούμενον Βελέριον οἱ κατοικοῦντες φιλόξενοί τε διαφερόντως εἰσὶ καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων ἐπιμιξίαν ἐξημρωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγάς. οὗτοι τὸν καττίερον κατασκευάζουσι φιλοτέχνως ἐργαζόμενοι τὴν φέρουσαν αὐτὸν γῆν.⁵¹²

But we shall give a detailed account of the customs of Britain and of the other features which are peculiar to the island when we come to the campaign which Caesar undertook against it, and at this time we shall discuss the tin which the island produces. The inhabitants of Britain who dwell about the promontory known as Belerium are especially hospitable to strangers and have adopted a civilised manner of life because of their intercourse with the merchants of other peoples. They it is who work the tin, treating the bed which bears it in an ingenious manner.⁵¹³

In this section Diodorus introduces his intention to talk about the tin trade rather than Britain in general, suggesting instead that he will talk about other aspects of Britain when they become of historical interest. In keeping with his descriptions of other places in this book he also focuses attention on the people and resources of the island and he immediately identifies the production of tin as a significant characteristic of Britain. It is the practical issues, extraction and means of trade, that he chooses to discuss over the course of the chapter perhaps because he considered it useful to his readers or else, more likely, to be sufficiently unusual to capture their attention. Chapter twenty-two is especially important because of the clarity and level of detail it provides on Cornwall and tin-mining.

This passage is quite different from the ones looked at earlier in the chapter. It goes further than mentioning a source for tin - it offers a more precise location and

⁵¹²Diod. Sic. 5.22.1: Text from F. Vogel (ed.) (1890) p.33.

⁵¹³Translation from Loeb Classical Library:C.H. Oldfather (trans.) (1939) pp.154-157.

specifically the chapter talks about a place where the tin-extraction is done and trade occurs. Diodorus clearly and correctly places the tin-producing region in Cornwall which he calls the promontory of Belerion, already described as being the south-western corner of the triangle.⁵¹⁴ The accuracy of the location implies detailed knowledge of the region (though not necessarily personal research) but the lack of further investigation seems to reflect a lack of interest for discussion in the non-financially viable aspects of the area. The detail in the description suggests it probably comes from a report based on first hand interactions rather than a 'Chinese whispers' effect caused by rumours channelled through foreign traders or those trying to maintain a monopoly, such as the Phoenicians. That is, however, not to say that an accurate source means regular or sustained Greek contact – where it is as plausible that an explorer might travel with local entrepreneurs.

Furthermore, Diodorus makes no direct reference to the activity of Greek traders or to Greek contact with Britain. Although he specifically mentions Caesar's invasion of Britain there is no comment about Roman trade either. Instead the traders are referred to as strangers (or foreigners) to the inhabitants of Belerion (τῶν ξένων ἐμπόρων – *tōn xenōn emporōn*). Diodorus is characteristically unspecific about the source of his information for the location and mining practices that follow. Whilst it would be unusual in this context to mention anyone by name except famous or well-respected individuals it is notable that Diodorus does not mention the inhabitants of a particular city or even members of a tribe as being the key controllers of the tin trade. Combined with the fact that he later talks about a trade route through Gaul,⁵¹⁵ it could also suggest a local trading arrangement or series of merchants rather than direct contact with the peoples of the Mediterranean generally.

More interestingly, however, the description of the traders as strangers may be a deliberate reiteration of the idea that the inhabitants of Belerion are φιλόξενοί (*philoxenoi* - people who are stranger-loving, often translated as hospitable)⁵¹⁶. This is an important marker of cultural propriety for the Greeks⁵¹⁷ and emphasises his further comment that they have adopted a civilised way of living (ἐξημρωμένοι τὰς ἀγωγὰς) which must mean one that it is (semi-) acceptable to a Greek way of thinking. The use

⁵¹⁴Diod. Sic. 5.21.3.

⁵¹⁵Diod. Sic. 5.38.4.

⁵¹⁶*LSJ* p.1938.

⁵¹⁷Especially evident in Homer see e.g. S. Reece (1993) pp. 6-8 & 204 [footnoted as based on Most (1989)]. Note Plato's four categories of strangers/guest (Laws 12:952d-953e) and K.D. O'Gorman (2007); See also Livy -L.J. Bolchazy (1977).

of these terms, thus, perhaps suggests that the traders were comfortable in their commerce and there was nothing notably barbaric (non-Greek) to report. Belerion therefore does not conform to the picture of the hostile extremities and although it is also not utopian (probably precluded by its regular contact with civilisation)⁵¹⁸ it is non-threatening in contrast to some depictions.⁵¹⁹ This further implies that the expectations for the area were less favourable than the experience and moreover that this particular area was expected to be less civilised than, for example, the areas of Gaul where no comment on the topic was made. Perhaps this comment on the civility of the Cornish therefore offers one view of the assumptions the Mediterranean world made about other cultures it dealt with. Nonetheless the praise of the inhabitants' behaviour is surprising when compared to other areas discussed and is particularly picked up on by later (especially Cornish) writers.

Diodorus continues by saying that the same people who are well-mannered also do the extraction in a particularly skilful way (φιλοτέχνως - philotekhnōs) and continues the chapter with further practical details of that process of extraction and the preparation and sale of the tin. Presumably the section sets out to explain what is special about the process and therefore interesting to readers. The level of complexity of the information about mining is unusual given that the overall tone of the *Bibliothēke* is more general education and social, rather than scientific, theory.⁵²⁰ This is especially true if Diodorus is not going to explain the importance of these facts later – such as suggesting the process changed trading patterns or prompted people to come looking for the origin of the resources. However, it must be considered in the context of providing entertainment through descriptions of curiosities.⁵²¹ To a modern audience it is interesting in terms of its factual information about what was going on in Cornwall at this time. Diodorus, directly following the previous section, comments:

αἴτη δὲ πετρώδης οὕσα διαφυὰς ἔχει γεώδεις, ἐν αἷς τὸν πόρον
[τωρον] κατεργαζόμενοι καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν. ἀποτυποῦντες δ'
εἰς ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς κομίζουσιν εἰς τινα νῆσον προκειμένην μὲν
τῆς Πρεττανικῆς, ὀνομαζομένην δὲ Ἴκτιν; κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ἀμπώτεις

⁵¹⁸See e.g. J. Romm (1992) *passim*. G. Woolf (2011) etc. Above pp.66-73.

⁵¹⁹Consider e.g. Caesar on British polygamy Caes. *B. Gall.* 5.14; Note also Strabo's Furies on the Cassiterides Strab. *Geog.* 3.5.11 above pp.109-110.

⁵²⁰Diod. Sic. 1.3-5; A. Burton (1972) pp.35-36; P.J. Stylianou (1998) pp. 3-4 & 86-89 (which particularly notes the role of geographical knowledge).

⁵²¹As discussed in relation to Hdt. and Strab. above.

ἀναξηραιομένου τοῦ μεταξύ τόπου ταῖς ἀμάξαις εἰς ταύτην κομίζουσι δαψιλῆ τὸν καττίτερον.⁵²²

This bed, being like rock, contains earthy seams and in them the workers quarry the ore, which they then melt down and cleanse of its impurities. Then they work the tin into pieces the size of knuckle-bones and convey it to an island which lies off Britain and is called Ictis; for at the time of ebb-tide the space between this island and the mainland becomes dry and they can take the tin in large quantities over to the island on their wagons.⁵²³

The first two key points are that the tin is extracted from seams and that it is worked into ingots rather than sold as ore. The second key point is the naming and description of a trading-point called Iktis. Furthermore this section must be examined in more detail on several points both literary and in terms of defining factual content.

The translation offered above somewhat extends the normal meaning of the Greek or rather it explains some of the description within acceptable mining terminology. The translation of διαφυὰς (*diaphuas*), meaning 'joints' or 'divisions',⁵²⁴ as 'seams' is an unnecessary, albeit logical, extension of the idea Diodorus is putting forward about the variations between rocky and earthy sections in the area being worked. This tells us that mining in the region involved actual extraction (rather than sieving river-beds) probably by a method known as streaming and that they also worked the ore/smelted the metal (καὶ τήξαντες καθαίρουσιν)⁵²⁵ to make it into a more valuable saleable form. These ideas offer a comprehensible direct connection (rather influenced by the choice of terminology in translation) to more recent practices and suggest to archaeologists the opportunity to search for smelting furnaces and ingots.

The most difficult phrase to be certain of the sense of is τὸν πόρον; as it appears in the Teubner edition shown above.⁵²⁶ In the Loeb edition, Oldfather gives τὸν πῶρον instead. He glosses the manuscript variations as demonstrated by Vogel's edition and notes that he has gone against all other editors in picking a word meaning 'marble' which he then translates as 'ore' following an example from elsewhere in the

⁵²²Diod 5.22.2: F. Vogel (1890) p.33.

⁵²³C.H. Oldfather (1939) p.157 – There are some issues with this translation. See pages following.

⁵²⁴From διαφύη *LSJ* p. 419 which also gives stratum or vein in Theophrastus.

⁵²⁵From τήκω – melt or dissolve (*LSJ* p. 1786ff.) and καθαίρω – cleanse, purify, wash off. (*LSJ* p.849).

⁵²⁶F. Vogel (1890) p.33 [Teubner edition – based on I. Bekker and L. Dindorf's previous editions].

Bibliothēke.⁵²⁷ However, Vogel's reading which is literally 'a path' implies a 'way or means of achieving something' or 'resource'⁵²⁸ which could be rendered 'the source of their revenue' as Oldfather footnotes, and this seems to be more logical choice especially since it seems to derive from the primary codex.⁵²⁹ In the Cornish authors there is clearly some confusion about the degree of emphasis to put on this word – if we choose it to mean 'ore' there is a distinct tie between the location and the mining but a more passive sense of 'source of revenue' could be either rock or finished metal and allows for the Cornish to have been processing the tin themselves.

There is another key translation issue which should be mentioned with the words ἀστραγάλων ῥυθμοὺς (*astragalōn rhuthmous*).⁵³⁰ A common meaning for *rhuthmos* might be 'condition' or 'shape'.⁵³¹ The word *astragalos* is usually translated as knucklebone.⁵³² This plural implies a term that might be more modernly translated as dice, but the word also means a neck vertebrae or the ball of ankle-joint; knuckles then is more like a joint of meat from which early dice were made, though certainly not exclusively so in Diodorus' time. These different meanings all imply a particular shape, something with flat 'top' and 'bottom' and specifically two concave sides opposite each other which would be a feasibly sensible shape for an ingot (and was considered reasonable by later historians) but presumably one that most Greeks would have thought unusual or comment-worthy.

In his 1939 Loeb edition Oldfather translates these words as 'the size of knucklebones'. Given the similarity of the shape that is implied it is odd that Oldfather chooses to translate the word *rhuthmos* as size rather than shape unless he assumed it too repetitive. Furthermore, it also seems odd that Oldfather would assume an ingot to be something so small. However, since no ingot definitely of the appropriate era⁵³³ has been found in the area we must rely on inferences from archaeological evidence further afield to help translate. Liddell and Scott do not identify a word primarily meaning ingot

⁵²⁷“Literally, 'marble' or 'limestone'. All the MSS. but one read 'the source of their revenue(?)'; but compare Book 3.12.1, where quartz-rock in the gold mines of Nubia is called 'marble'.” - C.H. Oldfather (1939) p.156 n.2.

⁵²⁸ *LSJ* pp. 1450-1451.

⁵²⁹ According to Dindorf et al: D – Vindobonensis Codex.

⁵³⁰ For a variety of possible interpretations of this phrase see I.S. Maxwell (1972) p. 300 n.29.

⁵³¹ *LSJ* p. 1576.

⁵³² *LSJ* p.262. Also used in Diod Sic. at 20.71.2; See also I.S. Maxwell (1972) p.300 n.30.

⁵³³ One ingot that might match the description was dredged out of St. Mawes harbour in 1823 but is badly corroded and undateable, it is investigated in (amongst others) *The Annual Report of the Royal Institution of Cornwall 1863* [see esp. below pp. 167-171] but rejected by many subsequent writers including Hencken (1932: pp.166 &171) and R.D. Penhallurick (see pp. 142 & 231-233).

but suggest three words most notably *πλίνθος*/*plinthos* (after Polybius 10.27.12) to give a sense of either the shape or structure of a block of metal.⁵³⁴ This need not imply any more than a lack of consistency in traders' choice of shape of product and not invalidate the description as being like knuckle-bones. Furthermore, known ingot shapes from the earlier Mediterranean include 'oxhide' as well as 'bun' and 'pillow' shapes of approximately 20kg offering plausible variety around a loosely compatible shape but certainly not at 'die' or knucklebone size.⁵³⁵ With so little surviving evidence it is difficult to guess what Diodorus meant from this section. Therefore, whilst it may be of interest to both Diodorus' ancient and modern readers what sort of ingots were typical, caution must be placed on the translation.

There has also been considerable debate about the location of Iktis. The nuances of this issue will become more evident in Chapters Three and Four of this thesis.⁵³⁶ For example (and perhaps typically), Oldfather suggests that the island of Iktis is probably modern-day St. Michael's Mount and he gives justifications and references.⁵³⁷ In order to make better sense of the debates surrounding Diodorus' meaning but without committing on their accuracy it is worth noting the specific features of Iktis as described by Diodorus that form the basis for any conclusions. The most obvious point to make is that it is described as an island, except at low-tide when it can be reached by wagon – this is the primary requirement for the location especially since Diodorus then explains to his readers that this happens on several 'islands' between Britain and Europe.⁵³⁸ However, Diodorus also only describes Iktis as an island off Britain rather than specifically beside Belerion, opening up a number of potential candidates for its location. On the other hand the list of potential sites is then reduced again by Diodorus description of the route merchants took with the tin after it left Iktis. Diodorus tells his readers that the foreign merchants transported the tin across to Gaul or Galatia and then moved it overland on horseback to the mouth of the Rhone which took about thirty days.⁵³⁹ Later on in book five Diodorus again mentions tin from Britain and in that

⁵³⁴LSJ p.1422: See also *χύμα* and *γλῶσσα*.

⁵³⁵See H. Mangou & V. I. Panayiotis (2000); J.D. Muhly (1985) pp. 278-281; R.D. Penhallurick (1986) pp. 142, 225-236.

⁵³⁶See esp. below pp. 222-223 and 271-272; Potential locations mentioned include Isle of Wight, Isle of Thanet, St. Michael's Mount (Marazion, Cornwall) and Mount Batten (Plymouth).

⁵³⁷“Almost certainly the present St. Michael's Mount, an island in Mount's Bay of Cornwall; this is connected with the mainland by a causeway which is passable only at low tide. Cp. T.R. Holmes, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, 499-514; R. Hennig, *Rheinisches Museum*, 83 (1934), 169” C.H. Oldfather (1939) p.157 n.3.

⁵³⁸Diod. Sic. 5.22.3: Oldfather identifies these as some islands off Brittany (p.157 n.4)- although why he needs to specify a location is unclear.

⁵³⁹Diod. 5.22.4.

section he says that it is taken on horses through Celtica to the Massalians and to the city of Narbo (Narbonne):

πολὺς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῆς Πρεττανικῆς νήσου διακομίζεται πρὸς τὴν κατ' ἀντικρὺ κειμένην Γαλατίαν, καὶ διὰ τῆς μεσογείου Κελτικῆς ἐφ' ἵππων ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἄγεται παρά τε τοὺς Μασσαλιώτας καὶ εἰς τὴν ὀνομαζομένην πόλιν Ναρθῶνα: αὕτη δ' ἐστὶν ἄποικος μὲν Ῥωμαίων, διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐκαιρίαν [καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν] μέγιστον ἐμπόριον ἔχουσα τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις τοῖς τόποις.⁵⁴⁰

...And tin is brought in large quantities also from the island of Britain to the opposite Gaul, where it is taken by merchants on horses through the interior of Celtica both to the Massalians and to the city of Narbo, as it is called. This city is a colony of the Romans, and because of its convenient situation it possesses the finest market to be found in those regions.⁵⁴¹

Locations for the island are then restricted by the plausibility of the overland route from that start. Thus, although Iktis only appears in this section, the text suggests a designated market area which was located within easy reach of both the area of the discovery and preparation of tin and the onward route for the traders. Its key features were vital for later theorists.

Modern historians have problems agreeing on this location. Partially this is because if Pliny's statement⁵⁴² is also examined, the descriptions of the journey do not tally. There are two main interpretations of the information which will be seen in Chapter Three. Firstly that Pliny (or one of the subsequent copyists) has mis-transcribed 'Ictis' for Vectis, referring to the Isle of Wight, and that Diodorus gets his facts wrong; secondly that Pliny has confused two separate pieces of information about an island (called Iktis and described by Diodorus) and the six-day distance of Cornwall itself from the areas mainly populated by the Romans at this time (e.g. Kent or perhaps France) by boat.⁵⁴³ Generally, the name Vectis for the Isle of Wight and that island's use by ancient peoples is well attested whereas Iktis is lesser-known and therefore more plausibly fictional which suggests that the Isle of Wight is a plausible trading point

⁵⁴⁰Diod. 5.38.5: F. Vogel (1890) p.56 (brackets in the Teubner text).

⁵⁴¹C.H. Oldfather (1939) p.203.

⁵⁴²Plin. *HN* 4.30 (above p.82).

⁵⁴³C.F.C. Hawkes (1984) pp.213-4; W. Ridgeway (1890) pp.95-98.

especially since it correlates with power-centres of ancient Britain and a known channel crossing. Whether or not Cornwall was a six day journey (by boat) from a British trading-centre is not clear but on the other hand Diodorus' description is strikingly clear and articulate and it does seem to match some south-western locations. This makes it hard to dismiss.

It is also worth noting that book five of the *Bibliothēke* is our first mention of an overland tin route from Britain. This may mean that by this point in time the Cornish tin that was being gathered and processed was sufficiently important and in sufficient quantities for traders to have established an alternative route to the risky sea passage via the Pillars of Hercules (as suggested in narratives about the Cassiterides). As such a land route might mean either an attempt to get around monopolies existing in the region, such as Phoenician trade around Spain,⁵⁴⁴ or it might simply represent different trading groups with differing opportunities. Like other aspects of Diodorus' description of the tin trade what strikes the modern reader is the plausibility of the description: that is the time scale is not wildly inaccurate and Diodorus' assessment of the markets also seems feasible and this encourages us not to disregard the whole segment as fictionalised guesswork based on travellers' tales.

During these early books of his narrative Diodorus seems to make an attempt to describe important economic features of the regions he is describing as well as investigating mythological customs and in fact in the subsequent sections in book five on Gaul and Celtiberia he considers their mining.⁵⁴⁵ Diodorus says that the mines in that part of the world were particularly rich in gold and silver and that is why they were so important to the Mediterranean powers. The text especially goes into detail about the abundance of the Spanish mines and the influence of the Phoenicians on their trade. Diodorus says that even unskilled workers could mine silver in Spain, a point in direct contrast to the *tekhne*⁵⁴⁶ that the Cornish require to extract tin, but he does also discuss practicalities such as the use of slaves in Spanish mines and the process of removing water from the mines. Such activities imply a massive difference in scale between the Cornish and the Spanish operations. Having discussed the riches of, especially, silver, Diodorus mentions that tin is also found in Spain. At which point he rather confusingly mentions the use of the name Cassiterides for the islets of Spain:

⁵⁴⁴As mentioned Strab. 3.5.11; See Also M. Cary (1924) pp.168-178; D.W. Roller (2006) pp. 22-31.

⁵⁴⁵Diod. Sic. 5.27.1-4 & 5.36-8.

⁵⁴⁶Skill – as implied by (φιλο)τέχνης Diod. Sic. 5.22.1.

γίνεται δὲ καὶ καττίτερος ἐν πολλοῖς τόποις τῆς Ἰβηρίας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εὕρισκόμενος, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τινὲς τεθρυλῆκασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος καὶ χωνευόμενος ὁμοίως ἀργύρῳ τε καὶ χρυσῷ. ὑπεράνω γὰρ τῆς τῶν Λυσιτανῶν χώρας ἔστι μέταλλα πολλὰ τοῦ καττιτέρου, κατὰ τὰς προκειμένας τῆς Ἰβηρίας ἐν τῷ ὠκεανῷ νησίδας τὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος Καττιτερίδας ὀνομασμένας.⁵⁴⁷

Tin also occurs in many regions of Iberia, not found, however, on the surface of the earth, as certain writers continually repeat in their histories, but dug out of the ground and smelted in the same manner as silver and gold. For there are many mines of tin in the country above Lusitania and on the islets which lie off Iberia out in the ocean and are called because of that fact the Cassiterides;⁵⁴⁸

This section is clearly parallel to Strabo 3.2.9 where Posidonius is cited as a source.⁵⁴⁹ Diodorus specifically contradicts other (unnamed) historians' idea that tin was available on the surface and says it was dug out and smelted in a similar way to the mining of gold and silver although he does not compare that to the method of digging he has already mentioned as occurring in Belerion. In this section the Cassiterides are clearly separate from Britain and located, as they are in Strabo, off the coast of Spain. Furthermore it is this segment which leads directly into the discussion of the overland route that tin took from Britain to Massalia. It follows the same structure as Strabo's comment (not on surface; contra other historians; tin from Spain, Cassiterides and Britain; British tin travels to Marseilles) but turns the focus away from the Spanish mining and back to British tin. Combined with the fact that Diodorus does not, as Strabo does, otherwise describe the Cassiterides in detail this perhaps allows readers to see a connection between these islets and the island of Britain further across the ocean.⁵⁵⁰ Nonetheless, although the connection to Strabo suggests that Posidonius may be the source of Diodorus' Spanish information, it is not sufficient to connect either Posidonius with Diodorus' description of Belerion (which surely would have been equally available to Strabo) or to connect the Cassiterides with anything at all.

Generally, Diodorus is a very important author for the study of classical relations to

⁵⁴⁷Diod. Sic. 5.38.4: F. Vogel (1890) pp. 55-56 [lms. 24-26 & 1-5].

⁵⁴⁸ C.H. Oldfather (1939) pp. 201 & 203.

⁵⁴⁹ See above p.108.

⁵⁵⁰ Leading Oldfather to comment (with no apparent evidence) that the ancients believed that the Scilly Isles were easily accessible from Spain C.H. Oldfather (1939) p.203 n.1.

Cornish tin because he presents his readers with more information than any other texts. The *Bibliothèque* gives the earliest and most extensive description of both alluvial mining and of trading networks that is extant from before the second century CE. However, although Belerion is comfortably identified with Cornwall, his evidence in combination with Strabo's suggests that if the ancients believed in tin-islands at all they regarded them as an adjunct to Spain and no connection at all to Cornwall or the Isles of Scilly. As we shall see in Chapter Three this has made his work very important but difficult for Cornish scholars, prompted searches for his predecessors and encouraged theorists to attempt to justify his assertions.

2.3: Beyond the Texts

One key aspect of the interpretation of both ancient and more modern texts is the plausibility of the claims. There are several key ideas that need to be covered: whether Cornwall was capable of producing tin for trade; whether Greek and Roman traders ever travelled into the Atlantic and the role of local trade networks. However, ideas such as the location of Iktis have been considered in modern archaeology but the conclusions are uncertain and do not significantly help interpretation of the ancient texts.⁵⁵¹ This thesis does not attempt to gather together or critique all of the archaeological evidence for Bronze and Iron Age mining⁵⁵² in Cornwall or for mercantile activity around the Mediterranean⁵⁵³ but this section briefly draws attention to some of the key scholarship on the topics.

Modern scholarship has determined that extraction of tin definitely was part of Roman and pre-Roman activity in Cornwall⁵⁵⁴ and finds from the eighteenth century onwards of antler and bone tools as well as coins in tin streams have confirmed late neolithic interest.⁵⁵⁵ It has proved more difficult to gauge the scale and productivity of the early Cornish mines and likewise the extent of local smelting and metal-working is still unknown. This is partially because of extensive later re-workings of the same tin-

⁵⁵¹G. de Beer (1960); B.W. Cunliffe (1983); C.F.C. Hawkes (1984); R.D. Penhallurick (1987) pp.143-146 &c.

⁵⁵²Expertly done by R.D. Penhallurick (1987) and awaiting updating with modern scientific analyses beyond the skills of this researcher.

⁵⁵³Most recently considered by I. Malkin (2011).

⁵⁵⁴See P. Budd & D. Gale (eds.) (1997) – various articles; S. Gerrard (1996).

⁵⁵⁵Note that Carew, Borlase and Whitaker (as mentioned later) all detail finds made in tin streams. For a detailed survey of relevant finds see esp. R. D. Penhallurick (1986) pp. 139-140 179-180, 191-194 (incl. an early horn pick) 219-221 and more.

grounds and the secondary use of slags. Archaeologists have attempted to use the identification of smelting fires to analyse the type of ore being worked and to make guesses about what type of ore was accessible based on modern geological understanding, however there is still a great deal of work to be done on this area.⁵⁵⁶ This means that it is difficult to judge whether enough tin was being produced to supply more than local needs and what type of products or ingots were created.

Recent archaeological studies have confirmed that the most likely form of early mining is based partially on a system of panning (rather like that done for gold) and that this was then followed by a process of separating ore from other rock by following seams that ran along the surface. This did involve some digging but that hard-rock mining and extensive open cast was not prevalent in the county until the early modern period.⁵⁵⁷ Diodorus' text seems to suggest that the second method was prevalent in the first century BCE since he carefully talks about extraction and separation between rock and earth⁵⁵⁸ rather than simple 'discovery' but he does not suggest that large scale digging is required. Likewise, on Strabo's *Cassiterides* the metal is to be found at a shallow depth, and deeper mining is brought by the arrival of Crassus and Roman involvement.⁵⁵⁹ Although Strabo specifically says that Spanish tin is dug up and not found on the surface, this appears to be a direct refutation of other authors' protestations about the metal being so abundant it was available on the ground.⁵⁶⁰ Thus, it is clear that the ancient historians, although they do not demonstrate a strong understanding of the technical processes of mining, make some plausible suggestions about its extraction. Finally, the evidence demonstrates that there was regular mining for tin in Cornwall but there is not sufficient work done to assess whether or not it was being worked for trade.

Generally, the existence of specific trade in tin is difficult to prove archaeologically.⁵⁶¹ There is little to no evidence of coinage or of luxury imported goods in Cornwall until the late Roman period nor are there surviving ingots or a great deal of local bronze or tin artefacts.⁵⁶² Nonetheless absence of proof is not proof of absence especially where it is reasonable to assume, as Strabo suggests, that trade may have

⁵⁵⁶R.F. Tylecote, E. Photos & B. Earl, (1989).

⁵⁵⁷P.T. Craddock & B.R. Craddock (1997) pp.1-4; Also Budd P. et al (1992) pp.677-686.

⁵⁵⁸Diod. Sic. 5.22.2.

⁵⁵⁹Strab. *Geog.* 3.5.11.

⁵⁶⁰Strab. *Geog.* 3.2.9.

⁵⁶¹That there must have been some is apparent purely from the quantity and spread of bronze and pewter artefacts.

⁵⁶²Artefacts: R.D. Penhallurick (1986) pp.219-221; Ingots: M. Todd (1987) p.232; Coins: R.D. Penhallurick (2009).

been in easily biodegradable and reusable comestibles. Furthermore, local metal artefacts are very likely to have been re-smelted rather than discarded and only prestige items tend to be preserved as grave goods. One suggestion for means to prove the distribution of Cornish tin include the idea of metallurgical analysis of the chemical composition of bronze artefacts across the Mediterranean world but this expensive process has yet to be undertaken extensively. It follows then that studies in local trade have focused on its viability by considering the sailing capabilities of the local tribes, the degree of need for staples and evidence of interaction. With regard to Cornish trade in the classical texts two things should be considered – the feasibility of an overland route through France as described by Diodorus and hinted at by Strabo and the role of Phoenicians in maritime activity.

Evidence for trade⁵⁶³ with Gaul is very limited for the reasons outlined above although practically speaking it not only seems possible but likely that both sides of the channel interacted extensively. A key area of contention is the location of channel crossings.⁵⁶⁴ Some early historians were unconvinced by the feasibility of crossing from Cornwall to Brittany in a coracle and preferred to suggest that coastal navigation up to England and crossing made from Kent and East-Anglia as demonstrated in Caesar and Tacitus was more plausible. This suggestion especially influenced ideas about the location of Iktis and was much favoured by those who preferred to identify it with the Isle of Wight as opposed to St. Michael's Mount. There is currently no reason to suppose that crossings to Brittany were impossible⁵⁶⁵ and this probably suits Diodorus' proposed route for the subsequent journey of the tin more closely. All discussion of crossings and further movements affects investigations into the tribes involved in trade and possible goods exchanges. A number of the Cornish writers attempt to show possible routes across the continent, potentially following the major rivers, and writers such as Ridgeway made a case for such a route based on imperial and Greek coin distributions⁵⁶⁶ and Cunliffe suggests that amphorae remains also demonstrate river-based movement.⁵⁶⁷ However, it does not seem achievable to prove that there was a tin route to Massalia/Marseilles by land. Thus, the details of any non-maritime route are largely either dependent on Diodorus' and Strabo's texts or based on argument from

⁵⁶³On trade generally see N. Morley (2007).

⁵⁶⁴See esp. C.F.C Hawkes (1984) pp.226-228 & B. Cunliffe (2005) pp.472-481.

⁵⁶⁵See P.R. Davis (1997) and R.G. Winslade (2000-1).

⁵⁶⁶W. Ridgeway (1890) pp.98-107; See also C.F.C Hawkes (1984) pp.228-231.

⁵⁶⁷B. Cunliffe (2001) pp.14-15.

probabilities.

Other trading networks are even less easily proven, Diodorus does not talk of inter-British trade and nor is it mentioned by Strabo, Caesar or Tacitus. As commented in Chapter One there has been a growth in the work on British trade networks but little has been concluded from remains of metal goods.⁵⁶⁸ The only other traders discussed by ancient writers with regard to tin, albeit only in connection to the Cassiterides, are the Phoenicians.⁵⁶⁹ Modern scholars are largely unconvinced by the notion of a direct Phoenician connection to Britain mainly because of the contrast between the absence of evidence in Cornwall and the clarity of evidence of their influence in parts of Spain.⁵⁷⁰ Modern evidence shows that they had a strong naval presence in the western Mediterranean and that they maintained close ties between the colonies and the home city-states. Based on accounts of the voyages of Hanno and Himilco it also appears that they explored along the west coast of Africa⁵⁷¹ but there is no clear evidence they also went north. However, the Phoenician colonies in Spain would have been well placed to capitalise on Iberian mineral resources⁵⁷² and transfer it back to home cities on the African coastline or sell it to other interested parties. Herodotus tells us that there was rich cargo to be had the other side of the Pillars at Tartessos in Spain⁵⁷³ but the Greeks do not seem to have had much access to it and certainly accounts do not survive.⁵⁷⁴ If Strabo is to be believed, the Phoenicians/Carthaginians may have attempted to prevent the access to any sea routes that would lead west past the Pillars of Hercules until Pytheas' voyage or a little before and probably afterwards too.⁵⁷⁵ This secrecy and control may account in part for the lack of Greek knowledge about the details of the tin trade and also explains the emphasis put on the Phoenician civilisation by later writers.

As Strabo and Pliny demonstrate, Spain was an important ancient source for minerals and this is supported by current archaeological understanding. According to Herodotus, the inhabitants of Spain were also key trading partners with the

⁵⁶⁸Above pp.37-40. D.F. Williams (1995); B. Cunliffe (2005); T. Moore (2007); S. Rippon (2008) &c.

⁵⁶⁹Often conflated with the (later and more specific but tribally and politically related) Carthaginians. See M.E. Aubet (2001) pp.12-13.

⁵⁷⁰M.E. Aubet (2001) pp.257-272, 279-285; B. Cunliffe (2008) pp.265-275; G. Markoe (2000) pp.102-105; B. Treumann-Watkins (1992).

⁵⁷¹D.W. Roller (2006) pp. 10, 24-43.

⁵⁷²M.E. Aubet pp. 258, 272.

⁵⁷³Hdt. 4.152.1-3 (though note we do not know what this cargo was).

⁵⁷⁴Early (pre- 500BCE) Greek explorers who may have gone into the Atlantic incl. Colaeus (Kolaios) of Samos (who appears in Hdt. 4.17) the elusive Euthymenes and Scylax (a later work bearing his name exists but probably does not draw on his own account).

⁵⁷⁵D.W. Roller (2006) pp. 22, 57; See also B. Cunliffe (2008) pp.297-302.

Phocaeans.⁵⁷⁶ The key trade port Massalia (Marseilles), home of Pytheas and a tin-market as mentioned in Strabo and Diodorus,⁵⁷⁷ was founded by Phocaeans. It is possible that these Greeks migrating into the western ends of the Mediterranean were explicitly utilising existing networks of trade.⁵⁷⁸ This might imply that they could purchase any tin being mined in Spain or coming along the coast from Brittany or Cornwall and as such made the westerly connection implied by Herodotus. Over time the Massalians established wider trade relations with the Carthaginians and with their western Gaulish neighbours (and thus perhaps established interests in an overland trading route).⁵⁷⁹ The importance of Massalia in the movement of goods from the west across the Mediterranean is clear and it is possible that merchants from the city were key sources of information for the surviving ancient writers. However, given the proximity to Phoenician trade-networks and Iberian resources there is no reason to suppose that they were necessarily dealing with British tin and certainly not exclusively.

The evidence, therefore, suggests that there was significant but low key mining activity in Cornwall. It does not point to North-African traders transporting tin from Cornwall by sea but it does suggest that they monopolised and obscured coastal routes making it difficult for historians to get evidence for source locations. On the other hand land-routes to the Mediterranean for goods from Britain seem both plausible and likely if not proven. Thus, although it has not been able to demonstrate conclusively the location of Iktis, prove the existence of tin-islands or identify an individual named Midacritus the research does show that Cornish tin production and trade with the continent existed. It also shows that there were other western tin resources and that it is unlikely that there was a Cornish monopoly and that the ancient writers make a nuanced if inaccurate representation of a variety of sources.

2.4: Summary

This chapter has collected together a number of sections of classical texts spread across almost six hundred years and compared the evidence that they offer relating to

⁵⁷⁶Hdt. 1.163.1-2.

⁵⁷⁷Strab. *Geog.* 3.2.9; Diod Sic. 5.38.5.

⁵⁷⁸I. Malkin (2011) p.154.

⁵⁷⁹B.W. Cunliffe (2001) pp.12-14; I. Malkin (2011) p.154; M. Dietler (2010) – choice of location for founding city based on Spanish trade links p.106; on the European spread of Massalian wine and ceramics see pp.120, 153, 197-198.

the tin-trade and especially its connection with Britain. It has principally shown that literary evidence for a direct connection between the ancient Mediterranean civilisations and Cornwall is as good as non-existent but that there is tentative suggestion of the existence of a Cornish tin-trade that was both known about to varying degrees by the ancient writers and exploited by merchants. After considering some of the problems and themes of ancient history the chapter introduces some of the key ideas, such as the Cassiterides and Iktis, that has been taken forward by later authors and looks at why multiple interpretations are possible if attempts are made to reconcile all the different surviving texts, which demonstrate greater or lesser connections between the classical authors and Cornwall.

A number of important themes connect the authors, for example: the existence and relevance of the Cassiterides, the relationship between Britain and tin, the means and ease of extraction of the metal and the people and places connected with its trade. However, the authors frequently disagree about details. Thus Herodotus and Strabo both talk about the Cassiterides and Diodorus and Pliny mention them (or it in Pliny's case) and whilst Herodotus' Cassiterides are mythical, Diodorus' and Strabo's are located somewhere off the coast of Spain albeit not necessarily very close to the mainland. Strabo and Diodorus both directly mention Britain and Pliny talks about British traders but although Diodorus gives a great deal of details tin does not even feature in Strabo's main consideration of the British Isles. Likewise Pliny's (M)ictis and Diodorus' Iktin are both tin-trading islands frequented by merchants but at very different distances from the mainland and the source of the tin. On the other hand Diodorus, Strabo and Pliny all broadly agree on the method used to extract tin but all three give different details about the people and places involved in the trade including Britons, Gauls and Phoenicians.

Although there is nothing which formally connects the sections of Herodotus, Polybius or Strabo with Cornwall, their conflation of tin, the west and particularly the western ocean has been considered by some of the writings that are analysed in Chapter Three to be sufficient to tie the pieces to Cornwall. The overall western ocean connection in Herodotus and Polybius has allowed partisan writers to suggest their favourite tin-producing candidate and various interpretations of the geographical information provided by Strabo have been used to pinpoint different island groups as those that he is describing. It is clear that, whether or not Herodotus invented the word Cassiterides, his use of it probably encouraged his successors to consider it appropriate

terminology to describe a variety of western regions, including Cornwall, in a rather misleading way. The Cassiterides, however, are not the only reference to tin and although our main sources for Britain disregard tin as a resource, Strabo and Pliny do loosely connect the island and the metal. Furthermore, although Strabo clearly separates the Cassiterides from Britain, some Cornish historians have clearly preferred to disbelieve his geography rather than disregard the information about tin that he offers and this is in part due to the evidence found in Diodorus.

Diodorus' *Library of History* is the longest and most interesting piece of evidence about Cornish mining. Not only does it explicitly link Cornwall with tin-mining but it also puts forward a route for that tin to reach Greco-Roman markets and even describes the inhabitants of the region. It is primarily through his work and by connecting the writing by other authors to Diodorus' description that Cornish tin has been given such a strong classical history. However, beyond the interpretative issues raised by the body of the text (such as the location of Iktis, the form of the ingots and the question of who the traders were) there are problems with uncovering where Diodorus obtained his information and analysing its reliability.

Unsurprisingly, the earliest pieces, those of Herodotus and Polybius, are the most circumspect about the accuracy of the evidence that they are able to offer to their readership and the least confident about the location or nature of western tin resources. The two authors that offer the most detailed information tin extraction and the tin-trade, Strabo and Diodorus, are themselves unclear about the sources that they use and extremely unlikely to have personal experience of the region. It is clearly established that eye-witness accounts of the far west before Caesar no longer survive first-hand but that their accuracy was much contested in ancient times. Hence it is possible to hypothesise that there were one or two root texts of exploration (certainly Pytheas and maybe another) and several missing re-workings of these texts (at least Timaeus and Eratosthenes, maybe Posidonius and probably more). However, it is obvious that each of the authors examined trusted different aspects of the testimonies and interpreted their material accordingly, probably in line with their own uncredited, unidentified and socially unacceptable sources, such as merchants, and certainly with reference to their philosophical systems. As such it is difficult to judge the faithfulness of their reproduction of information in the material we do have and work out what has been reworked, inserted or made-up. The chapter therefore concludes that not only that there

is very little that modern authors can rely on for accuracy since the classical authors had a great deal of uncertainty and scepticism about their own information, but also that this makes those facts that the ancient writers choose to share particularly interesting.

In order to demonstrate the fact the specific details have particular relevance this chapter has considered the contexts for mentioning each section. It shows therefore that the authors all have an interest in demonstrating geographical and ethnographical material and that they specifically add material about the Cassiterides or Britain to these sections but also that the material is not usually part of the overall theoretical or philosophical scheme of each work. In both Strabo and Diodorus the relevant paragraphs form part of a structured circuit of the world with each individual part adding tidbits deemed to be particularly entertaining or educational about that region. In Pliny each of the segments is part of a wider theoretical exposition on metallurgy, origins and geography respectively and whilst they are clearly required to complete each of his tropes Pliny deliberately adds something unusual in order to stop his readers getting bored. Herodotus and Polybius both include their brief comments in digressions and use them to illustrate a point. Polybius mentions the tin trade precisely because he believes it to be irrelevant to his narrative because it allows him to demonstrate his skill as a historian and criticise other writers. Herodotus similarly suggests that his refusal to commit to the existence of the Cassiterides demonstrates his skill as a historian and specifically as an investigator. Additionally he uses them as part of trope that stresses the wonders and unusualness of the extremities of the known world.

Across the authors as a group, therefore there is a tendency amongst modern scholars to regard the sections being considered as an interesting aside or as an addition to the already established pattern, albeit one not extensively critiqued. However, this underestimates the fact that a discussion of tin or its sources was chosen to ornament the text instead of any other topics and that each of the authors makes a distinct effort to consider what makes that subject unusual. Despite appearances, the existence of literature on the topic of the ancient tin-trade at all suggests an interest being taken in the unknown and unusual. This is especially true if we believe Polybius' assertion that many authors discussed it. Furthermore this chapter suggests that the far western regions of the *oikoumene*, and as a consequence the Cassiterides and Cornwall, were particularly suitable for the enactment of the philosophical trope of physical extremities as examples of extremities of human behaviour and of unusual resources. This

manifests itself not only in Herodotus' and Pliny's discussions of the origins of resources but also in both Strabo's and Diodorus' descriptions of the local inhabitants. This assertion about the importance of the theoretical ideas must then be fed back into notions about the reliability of the texts because it opens up room for authors to consciously tailor their information to this specific trope.

Overall the chapter shows that the ancient texts cannot be used to prove a direct trade between the Greeks and the Cornish but that by the first century BCE Greek writers were aware of the existence of Cornish tin. Although Strabo could suggest direct links with the Phoenicians and Rome his testimony is not sufficiently supported to make any firm conclusions about their trading partnerships. On the other hand, the texts seem to suggest that a local network which operated amongst tribes in Britain and Gaul supported the extraction and trade of tin and may have moved it as far as the Mediterranean by this period. Furthermore the chapter shows that far from being a simple topic, classical authors offer a broad range of information about the western tin-producing regions from a number of sources and require careful consideration.

Chapter Three: Modern Variations

Historical Texts and Analysis

The overall intent of Chapter Three is to highlight trends in the framing of the Cornish historical narrative that deals with ancient Cornwall. It shows the importance of classical source-material in descriptions of the county and how the material's usage varies over time and according to context. The evidence of the previous chapter is built on by showing the places where that evidence has been collated by historiographical writers interested in the topic; that is, in what type of texts do the classical texts or commentary appear and what sort of environments produce these texts? The references made to the classical sources that were analysed in the previous chapter are examined in detail across a variety of works which focus on Cornwall. This investigation thus showcases the types of texts using the primary material, their favoured sources and preferred 'story'.

It is intended that a close examination of the text and conceptualisations of individual pieces of writing will look at discourse on the classical period of Cornish history and especially what distinct references are made to original source material, translated or otherwise, that was previously discussed and what commentary of secondary analysis of the ancient material is made. Each commentary will then show the conclusions that the author makes and how they include that in a narrative. From these details it is hoped that a picture will emerge of the intentions of each writer in referring to the classical period and what is achieved by his use of sources and thereby give an insight into how these things were manipulated to create a particular image of Cornwall. It must be noted that this chapter does not attempt to address early editions and translations of the classical texts since these are more concerned with the nuances of language and clarity and elegance of expression as these things relate to their classical antecedents rather than the narrative of events and cultural characteristics of the things being described. Similarly, it has not made a detailed study of the manuscript tradition or non-Cornish texts that were utilised by many of the Cornish historians being considered because not only would this be unwieldy in a work of this size but it would also distract from the focus on works with a broad impact on popular notions of Cornishness. The Chapter has also avoided discussion of purely fictive works in order to focus on the modes of historiography.

To some extent stylisations are influenced by the different types and/or conceptions of historiography over diverse times contrasting, for example, thematic versus events-based narrative or the change from antiquarian schematic histories to archaeological focus which will be explored in more depth in Chapter Four, but additionally there is a more complex set of associations and political motivations for choice of phraseology and evidentiary requirements which are illustrated by this chapter. Further historical details about the background of the author and texts are to be discussed with specific reference to each individual piece. This will cover, for example, where a text is written by a prominent member of society and any relevant roles of the author within associations or the local community and thus demonstrate the possible influences on the author and impact the work might have subsequently. Within the analysis of the works themselves if information about 'ancient Cornwall' is falsely, erroneously or misleadingly ascribed to particular authors or of uncertain provenance a note will be made and possible reasons for linking it to what we know and the sources we have access to will be discussed. It can, therefore, be indicated where the conclusions of the author appear to significantly deviate from the modern story of ancient Cornwall and how that relates to the background and possible intentions of the author. The comparison of those specific choices of ancient evidence made will also illustrate emerging patterns in the interests of writers and particular thematic concerns that are peculiarly Cornish. This allows these patterns to be mapped against the deeper political and cultural contexts for the writings in Chapter Four.

A total of twelve authors with works ranging from 1586 – 1905 are considered and of these three have more than one work included in the analysis.⁵⁸⁰ The earliest works to be examined, Camden and Carew, are specifically included because of the influence that they had on local histories written later, especially during the later nineteenth century from where much of the writing is gathered. Little work on the topic appeared between 1650 and 1800 and only one author, William Borlase, is discussed in detail here.⁵⁸¹ However, the early nineteenth century saw the publication of two major historical publications about Cornwall, those of Polwhele and Hitchins. Furthermore, in the second half of the century there is an abundance of material written that focuses on regional identifiers and historical antecedents which is when most of the texts discussed were published. It particularly shows the rise of research and opinion papers published

⁵⁸⁰ Brief comments on a further eleven authors also appear.

⁵⁸¹ W. Pryce's 1778 *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* being primarily a scientific rather than historical treatise is only dealt with briefly (below pp.167-168).

after presentation to scholarly associations, such as work by Edmonds and Copeland Borlase or in the form of pamphlets. At the end of the nineteenth century and early into the twentieth century a new disciplinary and professional movement gathered and became distinct from the popular surveys largely explored here. Writers after the start of the twentieth century are consciously excluded from the study because they represent a change in the approach to classical texts that was associated with the developments in historical studies and new critiques of grand state narratives which meant that social and economic history was increasingly brought into the realm of professional historians.⁵⁸² As such they require a separate and detailed consideration that is not possible in this context.

Within the chapter the writers have been arranged into thematic groups according to their apparent style of writing and its purpose, within which themes there is a broadly chronological framework. These sections include early antiquarianism and proto-archaeology, generalist narrative history and shorter scholarly papers and scientific writing which focus on the topic of ancient Cornwall specifically either because they aim to make a point about ancient tin trade and/or mining through textual reasoning or because they wish to show the county in a particular manner. Clearly these ideas and styles have a number of overlapping points, above and beyond a shared use of text, such as their preferential treatment of the Cornish role in the ancient world and the favouring of certain texts for the elucidation of their material. Additionally, particular topics are often repeated by authors: the most common recurrent interests and controversy are the origins of the local tin trade, the involvement or not of Phoenicians, the location of the Cassiterides and the location of Iktis. These points will be treated thematically at the end of the chapter.

3.1: Local Writers

3.1.1: The First Wave: Camden & Carew

William Camden (1551 - 1623) is not a Cornish writer and neither does he focus specifically on the region. He was by no means the only non-Cornish⁵⁸³ writer to talk

⁵⁸²See G. Iggers & Q.E. Wang (2008); G. Iggers (1997); P. Levine (2002).

⁵⁸³See above p.9 for the definition of Cornish used in this thesis.

about a classical tin-trade with Cornwall or to reference the ancient authors⁵⁸⁴ but he is the only one discussed in this thesis.⁵⁸⁵ This is because Camden's place in the history of historiography and his role as an authority either as proof or to be disproven means that his work helps make sense of the Cornish texts. He directly influences the first Cornish author, Richard Carew, and continues to be a starting point for later historical surveys, indeed he is referenced by several of the other Cornish writers to be discussed, and like Herodotus his work helps shape the approaches taken by these later writers.

Camden's *Britannia* was first published in Latin in 1586. It was so popular it had seven editions by 1607 and was first translated into English in 1610⁵⁸⁶ by Philemon Holland.⁵⁸⁷ Later editions were greatly expanded and appear in references from the other writings. It is a comprehensive work on the whole country's history and customs. The idea of creating a national history was not new but it had come under considerable pressure from the humanist and scientific revolutions on the continent and Camden's project was to involve a new level of research and style of evidentiary presentation steeped in a firm background of classical learning and augmented by a variety of correspondents and sources. It is seminal in its synthesis of material and textual evidence and seems to have been conceived by its author as a departure from the established historical field towards antiquarianism (including in this context particularly a focus on social history) and chorography (regional geography/topography).⁵⁸⁸ It also diverted from the conceptions of political history into nascent fields of socio-economic recording. Camden's work kick-started a new level of interest in Roman Britain and created an ancestral geography and genealogy of Ancient Britain that was influential for several centuries.⁵⁸⁹

The breadth of the text is best demonstrated by Camden's own section divisions;⁵⁹⁰ the first part of the book being dedicated to the origins of the name of Britain and the

⁵⁸⁴Special mentions must go to John Twyne (1590) *De Rebus Albionis*; Aylett Sammes (1676) *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata, or the Antiquities of Ancient Britain, derived from the Phoenicians* and Samuel Bochart (1646) *Geographia Sacra*.

⁵⁸⁵Except Rev. Whitaker (below pp.197-199) whose addenda were specifically published with a Cornish work.

⁵⁸⁶Latin ed.: W. Camden (1607) <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/> (accessed 31/10/12)
Hereafter Camden. English ed.: W. Camden & P. Holland (1610)
<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/> (accessed 31/10/12) Hereafter Holland. (page references are to the web pages).

⁵⁸⁷Note that Philemon Holland also produced the first English Translation of Pliny's *Natural Histories* in 1601. See J. Newsome (ed.) (1964).

⁵⁸⁸From the Greek *χορος* – c/khoros (place).

⁵⁸⁹On the importance of Camden in conceptions of Roman Britain see R. Hingley (2006).

⁵⁹⁰W. Rockett (1995).

customs of the people followed by a general history of the native peoples and the invasions of the land from the Romans to the Normans. This part of the book is then followed by a description of how and why the country is divided before moving to a description of England and Wales and then extensive sections on Scotland and Ireland. Camden's decision to write at length on the Roman history of Britain can be seen as his means of linking the different disciplines of antiquarianism together since he not only uses the literature available but also looks at the etymology of place names and catalogues coins and medals from that period.

Camden's *Britannia* was commented upon, extensively criticised, and then later edited, by a field of scholars with access to similar material. By the late eighteenth century Camden was regarded as the hero of the antiquarian movement and works were frequently compared unfavourably to the scope and depth of his study. In terms of its influence on scholars in this chapter, several editions should be mentioned as particularly relevant. The initial Latin text is almost certainly what was read by Carew and must be considered the foundation for all others and the Philemon Holland translation which was done with Camden's approval is perhaps the most commonly accessible text. In fact by the time of the production of Edmund Gibson and team's⁵⁹¹ revisions in English in 1695 and 1722, *Britannia* was becoming a staple of the antiquarian diet and by that stage it had reached two volumes and included maps by Morden. It had further grown to four volumes by Gough's 1806 edition. Sweet comments "It was probably the most widely available of antiquarian works, to be found in gentlemen's libraries, subscription libraries and book clubs, and it enjoyed a magisterial reputation as the ultimate authority on all things antiquarian."⁵⁹² Gibson's later edition demonstrated a wider knowledge of Roman antiquities than Camden's initial text, particularly with reference to Roman roads which had been the work of a number of scholars over the half century or so before his revisions and also included more political material.⁵⁹³ Although Camden (and his successors) are referenced directly or indirectly by most of the Cornish authors, editions and page numbers were rarely given and caution must be used in attributions. It is important to note that because of this ubiquity and importance it is difficult to assess which variant of the text any

⁵⁹¹In the preface alone Gibson thanks Pepys, Evelyn, Tanner, Thoresby, Kennett and Nicholson amongst others. W. Camden (1722) at <http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/c/camden/william/britannia-gibson-1722/part3.html> (accessed 31/10/12).

⁵⁹²R. Sweet (2004) p.173.

⁵⁹³R. Sweet (2004) p.189; R. Mayhew (2000).

individual later antiquarian might have worked with.

From the very beginning of *Britannia* it is clear that Camden intends to reference classical texts extensively as he does so in order to give background for the reader on the overall shape, location and climate of the British Isles. Indeed he begins his section on the customs of Britain with a series of quotations from classical sources: Caesar, Strabo, Diodorus, Pomponius Mela, Tacitus and more. In the Latin text he gives the quotations in original language to the best of his ability⁵⁹⁴ and in the Philemon Holland text they are all translated into English. Throughout the work he rarely leaves Greek text for his readers, preferring to offer a Latin translation even when he does have the Greek which implies that he did not expect his readers to be familiar with the Greek texts or comfortable in that language. Camden is also inconsistent in his use of referencing, a practice which had not been formalised at that time, and thus it is difficult to discern either the editions he used as sources or which authors he expected his audience to know intimately.

The key section within the text is that which focuses on (the County of) Cornwall which is the first part of the description of England and Wales. Camden comments that he has chosen to begin in the far west of the land and work through the counties in order because that best matches the methods of ancient geographers such as Strabo. This follows the basic assumption of the era that the classical writing is the supreme model to be adhered to in matters of style and taste, even if fashions relating to particular authors varied. Camden chooses to begin his discussion with an overview of the location and physical features of the land – a practice very reminiscent of Strabo's style – and having first mentioned the coastline he says that the centre is full of tin and that plenty of tin is mined there for the profit of all in two different ways. He says:

That the antient Britans practised these tinne-works (to omit Timaeus the Historian in Plinie, who reporteth that the Britans fetched tinne out of the Isle Icta in wicker boats covered and stitched about with leather)⁵⁹⁵ appeareth for certaine out of Diodorus Siculus, who flourished under Augustus Caesar. For hee writeth that the Britans who inhabited this part digged tinne out of stonie ground, and at low

⁵⁹⁴It must be noted that not all of his attributions match current editions and that his pool of available resources must have been smaller but that he does make an effort to gloss critical disagreements

⁵⁹⁵A side note in the text cites "Pliny, *N. H.* VI. 8-9," However this section corresponds to our Plin. *HN* 4.30 discussed pp.86-87 (see also Plin. *HN* 34.47 discussed above pp. 79-80).

water carried the same in carts to certain Ilands adjoyning, from whence Merchants transported it by ships into Gaule, and from thence conveied the same upon horses within thirtie daies unto the spring-heads of the river Eridanus [Po], or else to the citie Narbone, as it were to a Mart.⁵⁹⁶

Camden uses the ancient evidence to move his text towards historical narrative rather than description by relating the contemporary practice of tin-mining to something that happened in ancient times. He offers a paraphrase of Diodorus' text as the clearest proof for the antiquity of the tin-trade in Cornwall. However, it is worth noting that he offers no clue to the reader as to where to find Diodorus' Greek perhaps because he assumes they would know or more likely, given that he does give references for other works, because he was working from a Latin edition and since he glosses information about Diodorus' dating it was sufficiently rare that he expected his readers to trust his interpretation.

As well as commenting on Diodorus, Camden also comments that he is putting aside evidence from Pliny and in doing so simultaneously offers it as evidence for his readers. This trope of mentioning something by saying that you do not wish to discuss it appears regularly in classical literature.⁵⁹⁷ Thus, Camden perhaps puts the comment attributed to Timaeus and appearing in Pliny⁵⁹⁸ about tin-trade and wicker boats in parentheses because Pliny does not clearly relate it to Cornwall and Camden does not wish to analyse the text or perhaps because Diodorus' material is older and more detailed.

It is also particularly notable that Camden makes no attempt to relate the 'Icta' that he attributes to Pliny⁵⁹⁹ to Iktis as mentioned in Diodorus nor does he attempt to ascribe a particular position to the 'Ilands adjoyning'. However, in a later part of *Britannia* where Camden is discussing the "Minor Islands" of Britain he discusses the Scilly Isles

⁵⁹⁶Holland: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambric/cornwalleng.html> "Section 3". Camden reads: *Veteres Britannos stanariis his operibus elaborasse (ut Timaeum historicam apud Plinium taceam, qui Britannos navigiis utilibus corio circumsutis stannum ex Icta insula petiisse memorat) certum est ex Diodoro Siculo, qui sub Augusto floruit. Prodit enim ille Britannos qui hunc tractum incoluerunt ex terra saxosa stannum effodisse, in insulas quasdam adiacentes aestu recente curribus deportasse: hinc mercatores in Galliam navibus transtulisse, et inde equis triginta diebus ad fontes Eridani vel ad Narbonam urbem tanquam ad emporium subvexisse.*

<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/cornwalllat.html>.

⁵⁹⁷This trope is usually associated with poetry (on use of classics in Renaissance poetry see e.g. A. Fowler, (1993)) For discussion of poetry in the life of Camden see G. Burke Johnston (and W. Camden) (1975) pp. iii-143.

⁵⁹⁸Plin. *HN* 4.30 [Above p.82].

⁵⁹⁹Contra Mictim.

at length and this section includes discussion of the Cassiterides and Iktis. During this section the text mentions several classical authors and suggests different possible names for the isles.⁶⁰⁰ The examples he offers include the 'Hesperides' as mentioned by Dionysius Alexandrinus and the 'Ostrymnides' from *Ora Maritima* by Festus Avienus both of which he quotes in original Greek with added Latin translation and in original Latin in his original Latin text and all translated into English in Holland's English text.⁶⁰¹ Camden is uncertain as to whether Pliny's Mictis is one of the islands but he is more firmly convinced that the Scilly Isles are also the Cassiterides because of their number and location:

But that I should avouch these to be those Cassiterides so often sought for, the authority of the ancient writers, their site, and the mines of Tinn are motives to perswade me. *Full opposite unto the Artabri, saith Strabo, (over against which the West parts of Britaine doe lie) appere those Ilands Northward which they call Cassiterides, placed after a sort in the same clime with Britaine.* And in another place, *The sea betweene Spaine and the Cassiterides is broader than that which lieth betweene the Cassiterides and Britaine.* [...] And Diodorus Siculus, *In the Ilands next unto the Spanish sea, which of Tinn are called Cassiterides.* [...] Now seeing these Iles of Silly are opposite unto the Artabri, that is, Gallitia in Spaine, seeing they bend directly North from them, seeing they are placed in the same clime with Britaine, seeing they looke toward the coast of Celtiberia, seeing they are disjoyned by a farre broader sea from Spaine than from Britaine, seeing they are next unto the Spanish sea, seeing they lie hard by another toward the North, and ten onely of them to be of any good account, [...], and that which is most materiall, seeing they have veines of Tinn as no other Iland have beside them in this tract, and considering that two of the lesse sort, [...], may seeme to have taken their name of Mines, I would rather thinke these to bee Cassiterides than either the Asores, which beare too far West, or ...⁶⁰²

⁶⁰⁰Holland: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleseng.html#1> [Camden: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleslat.html#neal1>] "Sections 37-9".

⁶⁰¹Text is footnoted: *dixit Dionysius Alexandrinus Dionysius Periegetes Orbis Descriptio 561ff.* And *dixit Festus Avienus Ora Maritima* pp.95-96 & 112-113. Camden tells us that he is using the Paris Edition of Avienus and in a side note he gives variant readings of the text.

⁶⁰²Holland: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleseng.html#1> "Section 39"[Camden reads:

[Italics in the text used]

Camden's argument here is primarily that the Scillies are the most plausible location for the Cassiterides from the ancient textual evidence and that any inconsistencies with the texts should be disregarded. Two key arguments are made that the Cassiterides lie north from Gallitia (Galicia) in Spain and that it is further from Spain to the Cassiterides than it is from the Cassiterides to Britain. As we have seen in Chapter Two, the first is a logical conclusion from Strabo's text but the second is more uncertain.⁶⁰³ Camden's text begins from a positive position and points out the areas that match rather than taking a critical stance. He continues by arguing that any disparity in the number of islands with Strabo's text should be ignored because there are equivalent errors in ancient descriptions of the Hebrides and Orkneys and readers must consider modern ignorance regarding for example 'New Guiny'. He further insists that it is not a surprise that Herodotus was uncertain about their location since he was ignorant of the far western reaches of Europe.⁶⁰⁴

Camden also mentions Pliny's reference to Midacritus⁶⁰⁵ and includes the long quotation from the end of Strabo's third book discussed in Chapter Two.⁶⁰⁶ He uses Strabo's description partially to introduce his own illustration of the nature of the islands and partially as further potential explanation for the lack of certainty about the location of the Cassiterides in the ancient world. There is however no commentary on that ancient text specifically and the section moves from the quotation straight into Camden's own description of the isles.

Quod autem has esse Cassiteridas toties quaesitas dixerim facit antiquorum autoritas, ipsarumque situs, et stanni venae. *Atabris* (inquit Strabo) *quibus Britanniae occidentales partes e regione adjacent ad aquilonem opponuntur insulae quas Cassiteridas appellant, quodammodo in Britannico climate constituta.* Et alibi, *Amplius est mare inter Hispaniam et Cassiteridas quam a Cassiteridis ad Britanniam interiectum.* [...] Diodorus Siculus: *In insulis oceano Ibero proximis, quae a stanno Cassiterides nominantur.* [...] Cum vero hae Sillinae *Artabris*, id est *Gallitiae* in Hispania oppositae sint, cum ab illis in aquilonem ad amussim vergant, cum in Britannico climate constituantur, cum Celtiberiae latus spectent, cum longe ampliori mari ab Hispania quam a Britannia disiungantur, cum sint oceano Ibero proximae, cum contiguae sint ad arctum et melioris notae tantummodo decem numerentur, [...] et, quod caput est, cum stanni venas habeant ut nulla aliae hoc tractu insulae, et a fodinis duae minores [...] duxisse videantur, malim ego has Cassiteridas existimare quam vel Asores, quae nimis in oceanum propectae sunt, aut .. at

<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleslat.html#neal1>].

⁶⁰³ See above pp.112-114.

⁶⁰⁴ Camden reads: *Quod vero Herodotus has non noverit neutiquam mirandum est. Fatetur enim ipse se pro comperto nihil habere quod de Europae extremis referat Primum tamen plumbum in Graeciam hinc delatum erat. Plumbum (inquit Plinius libro VIII capite de rerum inventoribus) e Cassiteride insula primus apportavit Midacritus.* (<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleslat.html#neal1>).

⁶⁰⁵ Plin. *HN* 7.57 See above pp. 80-82.

⁶⁰⁶ He gives the whole Strab. 3.5.11 (broken down above pp.114-118) Holland:

<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleseng.html#1> "Section 41" Note that in Camden he gives the quote in Latin (<http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/isleslat.html#neal1>).

There is one other comment from Camden that pertains to the texts we have examined in Chapter Two and that is a quote of Diodorus' assertion that the Cornish are courteous to strangers. In his description of Cornwall, Camden states:

And yet is Cornwall nothing happier in regard of the soile than it is for the people, who as they were endued and adorned with all civilitie, even in those antient times (*for by reason of their acquaintance with merchants sailing thither for tin, as Diodorus Siculus reporteth, they were more courteous toward strangers*)⁶⁰⁷

Camden chooses to depict the nature of the inhabitants of the county by using Diodorus as a classical precedent and suggesting that there had been continuity from ancient times. In the *Britannia* generally Camden's descriptions of the peoples living in different areas tends to be related to his discussion of the name of the tribe that the Romans say lived in that region, but this is a separate piece of information and instead forms the opening for a discussion of the peculiar strength and bravery of the people. Camden's phraseology implies familiarity with a Latin edition of Diodorus⁶⁰⁸ which is typical of the work.

Overall the work demonstrates an ease with the classical material. The section on Cornwall also shows a fondness for the place and a depth of research that is not always evident in the sections on the different counties. This may be in part because his background education had already covered these unmentioned topics from a different angle and didn't require his personal elucidation or perhaps because he had received extra information when writing the work from the Cornish resident Richard Carew he was able to take a more intimate viewpoint.

Richard Carew

Richard Carew is perhaps the most influential of the older historians of Cornwall. He published his *Survey of Cornwall* in 1602/3.⁶⁰⁹ Carew is a gentleman historian who uses his education in classical languages and texts to augment his discussions on his

⁶⁰⁷Holland: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/cornwalleng.html> "Section 6" [Camden: Nec tamen solo quam viris Cornwallia foelicio, qui ut omni humanitate exculti etiam priscis illis temporibus: *Mercatorum enim usu qui stanni gratia eo navigant, ut habet Diodorus Siculus, humaniores erga hospites erant.* <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/cornwalllat.html#cornwall1>].

⁶⁰⁸Poggio's Latin edition was produced in 1455 and was probably easily accessible in London.

⁶⁰⁹References unless otherwise specified given according to the folio reprint: R. Carew (2004) (hereafter Carew).

home county. The *Survey* is a comprehensive study of the situation, climate, topography, population, famous people and minerals of the county stretching to two books. Camden mentions Carew's work in *Britannia* and describes him as an invaluable source⁶¹⁰ and Carew clearly offers the most comprehensive historical text on the state of Tudor Cornwall.⁶¹¹ It is one of the earliest descriptions of mining in English and a fascinating source of folk customs. As such a valuable resource the survey has been republished several times.⁶¹² Not only do several of the later authors mentioned in this chapter use his observations but they appear in works by various natural historians, such as Edward Lhuyd (the naturalist & linguist) and John Stackhouse (the botanist),⁶¹³ and it still frequently appears as a reference for the county in that period.⁶¹⁴

Born to a local gentry family in Cornwall in 1555, Carew went up to Oxford at a young age. After Oxford, he went to Clement's Inn and then Middle Temple in London to study law before returning to Cornwall as an adult to take up his seat in Antony. He was linked by birth and marriage to several of the key Cornish families and took an active part in local law and politics, serving as a JP, sheriff, deputy lieutenant, militia captain and as an MP twice.⁶¹⁵ Thus, it seems that Carew was moderately typical of a country gentleman of his time; well-educated and active within his home county. Such involvement can only have helped him gain first-hand knowledge of the county as a whole, his subject-matter, as well as offering him access to records, but it probably left him with little time to do research in London.

The beginnings of the ideas about the worth and methods of antiquarianism that influenced Camden's text must have also filtered to Carew despite his distance from the capital. The idea of localised historical-style study was still quite new, but at this time there was work beginning to be published about localities such as London and Kent⁶¹⁶ which must have given Carew a model from which to work. Carew was a contemporary

⁶¹⁰ Holland: "But more plainly and fully instructed we are in these points by Richard Carew of Anthony, a Gentleman ennobled no lesse in regard of his Parentage and descent, than for his vertue and learning, who hath polished and perfected [perfected] the description of this countrey more at large, and not in a slight and meane manner, whom I must needs acknowledge to have given me much light herein." <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/cornwalleng.html#cornwall1> -"Section 24".

⁶¹¹ Though it must be noted that we now have access to much better data.

⁶¹² Incl. 1723, 1769 & 1811.

⁶¹³ Referenced in S. Naylor (2002) pp. 497-498; See also V. Jankovich (2000a) p.80

⁶¹⁴ E.g. P. Payton (2004) pp. 81-82, 114, 122 &c; M. Stoye (1996) p.301; *idem.* (1999) pp.432-433.

⁶¹⁵ For more information see the biographical introduction in F.E. Halliday (1953) pp. 15-71; And J. Chynoweth (2004) pp. 1-4.

⁶¹⁶ E.g. Lambarde *Perambulation of Kent* (1570) – on antiquarian histories in this period more generally see S.A.E. Mendyk (1989) and A. Vine (2010); See also Chapter Four Section 4.1.1 below pp.229-235.

of Camden's at Christchurch, Oxford⁶¹⁷ and it is probably partially through his encouragement that Carew chose to publish. Additionally, Carew was elected to the Society of Antiquaries in 1598 and probably met several of the other members in London (including Camden) such as John Stow and John Dodderidge.⁶¹⁸ This was quite a prestigious involvement in the growing intellectual milieu and will certainly have given him access to the most modern research being done in the field. It seems reasonable to assume that he chose the topics of the *Survey* partially for their familiarity to him and the ease with which he could conduct such research. However, Carew was also a dedicated Renaissance scholar who had good Greek and Latin⁶¹⁹ (though his Cornish was poor to non-existent). He translated Juan de la Huarte's *Examen de Ingenios* (via the Italian) some of Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered* from Italian and he also wrote a respected work on the English language.⁶²⁰ From the level of detail he offers within the *Survey* it is easy to surmise that he was widely read on the variety of subjects he tackles, including the classical histories, and his own acknowledgements show that he consulted various people he knew for more information.⁶²¹ This impulse towards collation and analysis is enhanced by the overall tone of the book which gives the reader a sense of his desire to record and preserve a picture of his home for his successors (both familial and scholarly).

The *Survey of Cornwall* consists of two volumes. In the first book of the survey Carew covers the topography and resources of the county and the historical background to its contemporary state is occasionally brought out. The second book covers material primarily from the perspective of genealogy organised by location, foreshadowing a number of parochial histories of the county. Carew's aim is not to write a history in the narrative sense and therefore his use of ancient material cannot be described in terms of the creation of a coherent time-line, nor does the work yet move towards archaeological investigation. He is part of a trend distinguishable in early antiquarian movements that emphasised the careful recording of information and, like Camden, Carew shows a

⁶¹⁷J. Foster (ed.) (1891-2) p. 237 [referenced in J. Chynoweth (2004) p.2] Carew f.102v.

⁶¹⁸Who also wrote a political tract that included the history of Cornwall [J. Doddridge (1630)].

⁶¹⁹He is recorded as being self-taught in French, Dutch, Italian, Spanish and Greek see e.g. A Walsham (2004) p. 22.

⁶²⁰Usually known as the "Excellency of the English Tongue" Published c.1605 but possibly written before. It was incl. in several eds. of the *Survey of Cornwall* (1723 & 1769) Reprinted: G.G. Smith (ed.) (1904) At *Vol. 2* pp.285-94; On Carew as scholar see e.g. D.N.C. Wood (1977) and M. Tudeau-Clayton (1999).

⁶²¹E.g. Carew cites Sir Francis Godolphin as one 'whose kinde helpe hath much advanced this my playing labour' in reference to his experience with mining Carew f.13r (also credits William Carsnew Snr & Jnr & William Treffry – J. Chynoweth (2004) p. 6). Although note he doesn't appear to reference Camden.

movement towards the description of a variety of socio-economic backgrounds and general ethnography.⁶²² Hence he presents anecdotal descriptions of Cornish past alongside his collation of parish records and taxation reports.

The key sections that refer to ancient Cornwall appear in the first book and focus around the passages in Diodorus. Beyond Diodorus we see a limited number of related classical sources. Herodotus appears as a reference for an analogy about Cyrus⁶²³ and Polybius is mentioned to explain population density.⁶²⁴ Neither of these references directly relate to the sections of the texts of those authors that were discussed in Chapter Two nor do these classical references specifically offer information about Cornwall's location or properties. Despite Camden's endorsement of the information Carew provided, Carew himself does not offer the variety of classical sources to support the idea of contact with the Mediterranean world that we see in Camden's own work; for example, although Strabo is mentioned his comments about tin are not.⁶²⁵ Numerous other classical and Biblical allusions are, however, scattered through the text illustrating both the general education of the author and providing accepted frames of reference for his audience.

Carew's casual allusion to Classics was appropriate to those with a university level education and seems to have acted to boost the appearance of scholarly skill and affiliation rather than to act as an evidentiary trail. The privileging of classical authors appears unconscious (although given Carew's evident education it is unclear whether this subtlety is in itself artful) and the use of certain authors over others is probably influenced by their potential availability (and perhaps thus scholarly popularity). Carew does not attempt to discuss or analyse the textual variations or meanings of the classical sources either because it does not enhance the points that he makes or possibly because the discipline of textual criticism was outside the purview of a local historian. Similarly the presence of Romans in the country and the campaigns of Roman soldiers are largely ignored either because they are not mentioned by the extant ancient texts or perhaps more simply because archaeological understanding was so limited.

From near the beginning of the first book Carew dedicates a large section of his work to tin, discussing matters from the discovery of ore and methods of its recovery to its processing and sale. He says that tin is the key mineral for the benefit of the Cornish

⁶²²On Carew and Antiquarianism and social status see A. Walsham (2004) *passim*.

⁶²³Carew f.2r.

⁶²⁴Carew f.57v.

⁶²⁵Carew f.54v & 96r.

and allows “[the county’s] Inhabitants [to] gaine wealth, the Marchants trafficke, and the whole Realme a reputation;..”⁶²⁶ and he mentions that local miners believed their profession to be very ancient. Within the context of a survey of the social and economic structure of the region he makes it very clear that tin-mining plays a vital part in Cornish life, discussing its unique formulation of laws and coinage as well as the practical aspects that dictate everyday working life for a mining family.

Carew says that miners attributed early work to the Jews and then he hypothesises that, since a Roman coin of Domitian had been found in early tin stream-works, Jewish workmen may have arrived during the time of the Flavians.⁶²⁷ It is not clear whether Carew credits these Jewish workman with beginning the practice of tin-mining as he suggests that some miners do. Certainly he does not seem troubled by the inconsistency of mining beginning and becoming economically viable because of the arrival of Jews in the time of the Flavian dynasty with the mention of such practices before that time in Diodorus’ writing.⁶²⁸ Therefore he has either not noticed or not considered the issue that mining must have been well-established in order to be discussed before the Flavian dynasty or he believes the folk-memory of Jews is only relevant to ancient techniques of mining and not to its origins. The idea of Jewish peoples specifically being the originators of the mining practice in the county seems unfathomable to modern scholarship. However, presumably from Carew, the idea is oft-repeated up to the early twentieth century.⁶²⁹ His reference perhaps has its origins in a folk-memory of travelling (south-)eastern merchants and of the Jewish inhabitants in the county before they were expelled from Britain in 1290 and might be related to the myth of Phoenician traders in Cornwall and their connections to Semitic tribal movements.⁶³⁰

Carew first mentions Diodorus whilst he is describing the contemporary methods miners use to extract the ore. He says:

These Loadworkes, *Diod. Sicl.5.cap.8.* seemeth to point at, where hee saith, that the Inhabitants of *Velerium Promontorie*, digge vp Tin out of rockie ground.⁶³¹

⁶²⁶Carew f.7v; F.E. Halliday’s edition offers: “*But why seek we in corners for petty commodities, whereas the only mineral of Cornish tin openeth so large a field to the county’s benefit?... thereby the inhabitants gain wealth, the merchants traffic, and the whole realm a reputation;*” R. Carew (1953) p. 88.

⁶²⁷Carew f.8r.

⁶²⁸Diodorus finished his work by 36 BCE but the Flavian dynasty did not come to power until 69CE.

⁶²⁹See P. Manning (2005) esp. pp. 218-219 (fn. 15 notes Carew and Pryce as key figures).

⁶³⁰See Chapter Four pp.236-239.

⁶³¹Carew f.10v.

The 'loadworks' (lode-workings) that he mentions are described beforehand as underground works of up to forty or fifty fathoms, and he continues by describing methods of extraction depending on the direction of the 'load'. This description of the depth of the workings is not an obvious assumption from the text of Diodorus. That text uses general words for working and tasks⁶³² rather than any relating specifically to digging or underground activity. Clearly Carew is interpreting the text to match his own evidence and experience of mining.

We also notice that Carew does not at this point describe how Diodorus or any other writer defines the 'Velerium' promontory nor does he tell his readers about Diodorus' further description. The choice of 'Velerium' as the name given by Diodorus is not derived from Camden and the only other time he mentions Velerium is at the very end of the second book where he signs off by telling the readers that he has reached Land's End, known by Pomponius Mela as Bolerium and by Diodorus as Velerium and so will stop.⁶³³ Although the section at the end of the second book makes it clear that Velerium, Bolerium and Land's End are to be regarded as the same place that statement cannot be regarded as a clarification of the comment made in the first book discussed here. Thus, the information about the specific location of Velerium as being part of Cornwall must be taken as understood by his readers or sufficiently implied so as not to require explanation, justification or proof. This means it is uncertain whether Carew expects the reader to recognise the Diodoran reference and its context and/or to accept the author's credibility and therefore assume that Cornish load-working is indeed equivalent to the inhabitants of 'Velerium' digging tin from rocky ground.

The quotation from Carew above is a casual paraphrase of Diodorus' Greek but it does include a specific reference to an ancient text and it is not clear how familiar with that material Carew expects his readers to be. Since Carew writes in English (not Latin) he might not expect his readers to be familiar with the Greek original or his source material. This section of Diodorus' work is also mentioned by Camden (above) but he does not tell us where the comment about digging up tin is within Diodorus' text, whereas we should note that Carew offers a clear citation (albeit not one that matches modern editions). This might therefore suggest Carew's audience would wish to check his comment. Since Carew does not use Camden's name or interpretation it seems likely

⁶³²E.g. ἐργαζόμενοι Diod Sic. 5.22.1 see p. 122 and κατεργαζόμενοι Diod Sic. 5.22.2 see above pp.124-125.

⁶³³Carew f.159v.

that not only did he not derive this information from Camden but rather had an independent source.

It is also worth noting that we do not know what edition of Diodorus' work Carew had access to or if he borrowed the text or reference from another writer.⁶³⁴ There were no English translations of book five available, but the 1455 Poggio translation into Latin may have been in circulation and there was a German and two Italian translations.⁶³⁵ Given that Carew, as commented above, did some translation work from Italian he may have had access to these works and preferred them to the Latin but he makes no comment about editions in the text itself. The Latinisation 'Velerium' of the Greek word Βελεριον (Belerion) perhaps implies it is based on Poggio but cannot be regarded as proof.⁶³⁶

Carew also mentions Diodorus at another later point in the text, where he comments on the nature of the Cornish people in a similar way to Camden's praise. In this section Carew, having described the “names, language, and number” of the Cornish, moves on to their “disposition and quality of mind and body”⁶³⁷ both ancient and contemporary. After quoting a poem on the brutish nature of the earliest inhabitants of the county Carew says:

But afterwards, the Cornishmen, through the conversation of forraine
Marchants trading into their countrey for Tyn, by the Diodorus
Siculus, grew to a larger measure of civility, then others their fellow,
but more remoted Ilanders.⁶³⁸

Carew's list of the achievements of the Cornish-born, including discussion of local saints and famous learned men, begins with this comment and the reader is presented the source as a form of evidence for the Cornish being special and different from the rest of Britain. Carew's tone is not one of grandiose boasting but it is clear that he wishes to make a case for a positive culture in Cornwall from earliest history and to stress the achievements of the inhabitants of the region. It is also interesting that he chooses to phrase the description in terms of comparison – the Cornish were more civil

⁶³⁴Whilst this is generally true of many of the authors examined it is especially important for the earlier writers who were working before widespread publication of translations and critical editions.

⁶³⁵R.R. Bolgar (1977) pp. 471-472; Seymour Smith (1930) p.92; Diodorus:Vogel (1888) pp. xxi-xxvi.

⁶³⁶Editions of Poggio seen by this author suggest that he places the section on Britain in Book Six.

⁶³⁷Carew f.57v.

⁶³⁸Carew f.58r; Carew adds the reference L.5 cap 8 in the margin which correlates with his previous reference.

after their interaction with merchants and more civil than other inhabitants of Britain. It is notable that later Cornish writers also make a point of drawing out Diodorus' comment about 'civility' as evidence that the ancient inhabitants of the county rose above barbarism early in terms of the development of the country and they are even more explicit in their motives of promoting Cornish identity than Carew is here.

Carew's *Survey of Cornwall* shows a genuine affection for the county in which he lived and must be regarded as an enterprise designed to showcase people and places for the benefit of interested parties (mainly Cornish subscribers). The work as a whole highlights unique characteristics of the Cornish people and places and its historical elements demonstrate the progression of civilising ideas and individuals. Carew picks out two key classical passages which are relevant to his description of the activities and character of the Cornish people but avoids becoming involved in interpretation or commentary on, for example, the Scilly Isles. The emphasis on Diodorus both with regard to the process of mining and the character of the Cornish is an especially important precedent for the usage of classical material in Cornwall and overall Carew's representation of Cornwall is a vital step in the process of local Cornish historical writing.

Camden and Carew represent the earliest phase of British writings about ancient Cornwall. Both authors are themselves important to the development of local historiography and are probably often primary sources for writers with less confidence in the classical material. Neither author uses classical texts to construct a narrative history of the county, instead, in keeping with their antiquarian style,⁶³⁹ they offer geographically organised social commentary on the contemporary Cornish and use the ancient material to demonstrate examples of continuity and similarity. They provide a model for this style of use of classical material and a platform for interpretation of the individual texts, especially Diodorus, which is evident in the extent of the references to both in later histories.

3.1.2: Empiricism and Early Archaeology

One means or reason for incorporating classical material into texts about Cornwall

⁶³⁹For further discussion of the stylistic role of antiquarianism in the construction of Cornish historiography see Chapter Four.

is their use as supplementary evidence, collaboration and potential explanation for physical remnants within the county. Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a strand of writing that specifically analysed the physical world with reference to what it could teach about the past developed into a discipline. Theoretical archaeologists, such as Trigger, have emphasised the growth of a scientific method in recording and presenting information over this period and historical commentators such as Grafton and Sweet have considered the way that empiricism changed approaches to historiography and referencing.⁶⁴⁰ Thus, within the works being considered there was an overall movement towards multiple types of historical explanation, critical analysis and clearer attribution of sources.

An interest in material remains is certainly a defining part of the antiquarian movement in contrast to the philosophical treatises of narrative historians over the 'long eighteenth century'.⁶⁴¹ However, during this period rules of approach were only beginning to be formulated and so we see a variety of methods and subjects coming under this sort of heading. Early development of this genre focused on the collection of evidence and illustration of finds without extensive interpretation or cross-referencing and gradually built on the developing scientific principles of classification and recording.⁶⁴² In Cornwall this was particularly the illustration and excavation of prehistoric stone monuments but it also included the recording and comparison of Roman remains such as coins and milestones. Greco-Roman authors appear within these contexts only rarely because they contribute little to the descriptive enterprise and more importantly because there is very little apparent correlation between the ancient written evidence and the physical remains in the county. That is there is little reference to settlements or burial customs that might be related to the excavations.

Academic interest in recording the world not only considers topography and material items but also includes attention to natural phenomena such as storms and the description of geological oddities. These subjects not only occur for the sake of recording the unusual⁶⁴³ but also begin to be used to create explanatory models of the

⁶⁴⁰B.G. Trigger (2007) pp. 57-60, 64-67 & 106-110; R. Sweet (2004) p. 9; S. Piggot (1989) p.24. See also A. Grafton (1999) esp. pp. 34-65 (See also below pp.230-233).

⁶⁴¹“**The long eighteenth century** is a phrase used by many British historians to cover a more *natural* historical period than the simple use of the standard calendar definition. They expand the century to include larger British historical movements, with their subsequent 'long' 18th century typically running from the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to the battle of Waterloo in 1815. Other definitions, perhaps those with a more social or global interest, extend the period further to, for example, 1660–1830” (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Long_eighteenth_century)

⁶⁴²See A. Momigliano (1950); See also S. Naylor (2003); A. Vine (2010) pp.111-114 & 200-203.

⁶⁴³Compare θωμαστὰ in Hdt. above pp.99-101.

world and its changes.⁶⁴⁴ In Cornwall, in relation to the ancient world, material evidence of prehistoric inundation of the coasts and the Scilly Isles is used to help prove the suitability of historical descriptions of the Cassiterides and Iktis by accounting for variations in the historical account. The scientific mindset not only encouraged a systematic recording of historical information but also demanded standards of proof for explanations. Frequently, therefore, the same authors who write about meteorology, flora and fauna, and geology are dedicated (proto-)archaeologists who show an interest in philology and aspects of historical theory as well.

Cornish Archaeology Begins: Borlase

William Borlase is perhaps the most pre-eminent of those antiquarians whose primary contribution to the knowledge of the county was 'scientific', he worked extensively in his home county collecting and recording data. His work on *Cornish Antiquities*, which particularly covers stone monuments, is similar to Carew in terms of ubiquity and perhaps even more influential to later writers when it comes to number of references made to the text. Pool describes it as “an essential item in the working library of any Cornish Scholar” and “a pioneer work, the first chronological account of the antiquities of the county, the first book to describe, illustrate and classify any significant number of them.”⁶⁴⁵ Borlase was born at Pendeen in Cornwall in 1696 and died in Ludgvan in 1772.⁶⁴⁶ He was educated at Oxford from 1713 and in 1719 he was ordained, then in 1722 he was presented to the rectory of Ludgvan. The rich copper works and abundance of mineral and metallic fossils of his own parish led him to study the natural history of the county more generally in minute detail. He sent collections of mineral and fossil specimens to the Ashmolean museum in Oxford and to a number of natural historians in Europe and was also part of a group of antiquarians who collected information about the Cornish language that were based around Penzance in the first part of the eighteenth century.⁶⁴⁷ In 1750 Borlase was admitted a fellow of the Royal Society after recommendation by Emanuel Mendes da Costa who had come to Cornwall to study minerals with him.

Like Carew, Borlase particularly felt his separation from the seats of learning up country and even petitioned for a library in the county. To counteract this distance he

⁶⁴⁴See, for example, V. Jankovich (2000b).

⁶⁴⁵P.A.S. Pool (1986) p.146.

⁶⁴⁶Biographical information from P.A.S. Pool (1986) and D.B. Haycock (2004) [accessed 20 Aug 2012].

⁶⁴⁷Including John Keigwin and members of the Boson family - P.A.S. Pool (1986) p.71.

maintained extensive correspondence with a number of the leading literary men of the time, including Alexander Pope.⁶⁴⁸ He especially kept a detailed correspondence with Charles Lyttelton, who was the Dean of Exeter and acted as a sort of patron for Borlase. Some of this correspondence was later published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, and largely consists of accounts of excavations, meteorological observations and other curiosities. These letters provide, in parallel with his broader publications, a fascinating insight into the breadth of his interests and the processes involved in the research. In one letter to Thomas Birch in 1753 he describes the physical and historical changes that have occurred on the Scilly Isles.⁶⁴⁹ In another to Lyttelton dated 4th December 1758⁶⁵⁰ he describes excavation in the county with a description of the items he found and his reason for believing the fort to be Roman in design. Borlase's interest in the physical environment of the county led to his famous monograph *The Natural History of Cornwall*, published at Oxford in 1758,⁶⁵¹ which as well as discussion of the metals of the county also includes a proto-anthropological chapter on the inhabitants and their native language that makes up about one ninth of the whole.

In 1754, after encouragement from his mentors, he published, at Oxford, the first key text for the consideration of ancient historiography - *Antiquities Historical and Monumental of the County of Cornwall*.⁶⁵² The *Antiquities* was widely recognised as having a great deal of significance in the study of antiquity generally as well as in Cornwall specifically. It covers a wide range of topics; its own title's remit dividing the antiquities of the region into the historical and the monumental by which, in this context, the author seems to mean to make the clear decision to include but divide written sources and physical remains. It was split into four books. In the second book Borlase discusses the customs of druids in Cornwall which he was particularly interested in; the whole of book three comprises a record of what physical monuments he could investigate and of those the focus is on prehistoric and in the fourth book he looked at Roman and later antiquities as well as coin hoards found.⁶⁵³

The beginning of this key work, however, is a series of general British historical observations that lead the reader into the more direct discussion of Cornwall. Borlase

⁶⁴⁸For whose grotto at Twickenham he furnished the greater part of the fossils and minerals.

⁶⁴⁹W. Borlase (1752).

⁶⁵⁰W. Borlase (1758a).

⁶⁵¹W. Borlase (1758b).

⁶⁵²Quotations and page references throughout the thesis are from the 2nd edition: W. Borlase (1769) – hereafter in text body *Antiquities* and in footnotes Bor. *Antiq.*

⁶⁵³Chiefly Books 2 and 4 respectively.

begins by discussing the origins of the British people and the idea of a Trojan settlement in Britain; he dismisses the idea of an invading force conquering the aborigines and suggests instead that there may have been an intermingling of peoples and customs. These ideas come to Borlase from the medieval chroniclers and form an established tradition about the earliest movements of people to the British Isles. Borlase's writing relies on the weight of such tradition to act as evidence, commenting that since he has found 'no improbability' to the story it must be supposed true.⁶⁵⁴ However, it is clear that Borlase feels more confident about the fact of the arrival of the Phoenicians, if not the date.⁶⁵⁵ Borlase bases most of his conclusions at this point on the work of the French biblical scholar, Samuel Bochart, who wrote a geographical work that focused on the Phoenicians. A dedicated linguist, Bochart's fascination with the Phoenicians strongly influenced both Biblical studies and Celtic philology for many years; he is frequently referenced by Borlase and his name adds a touch of European erudition to the work.

For example, Borlase uses Bochart as a reference to the idea that Strabo says that the Phoenicians ventured beyond the Straits of Gibraltar soon after the Trojan war. It is interesting that Borlase offers a footnote to a French work for this timing rather than attempting to find a direct classical source, especially since Bochart is later criticised for claiming that the Greeks named the Cassiterides. Borlase thinks it more likely that since in Herodotus' time the islands' location was not known the name came from the Phoenicians, whose word for tin was similar to that of the Greeks.⁶⁵⁶ Borlase also critiques alternatives for the date of Phoenician arrival in Britain whilst making hesitant suggestions of his own based on plausible dating for the journeys of Hanno and Himilco. Borlase's work here is very much an argument by critical logic. He points out different ideas about dating from other scholars such as Camden and even comments that the reliability of Avienus must be doubted. However, his own assertions are put forward as 'likelihood'; that is he states that he thinks it implausible that the Phoenicians set up trading posts in Gades without exploring further and that any southern exploration must have been matched by northern movement too. Borlase, however, stresses the uncertainty with repeated use of the words *likely*, *if*, *suppose* and *might*, stylistically this offers the reader a sense that he is creating a narrative from difficult material and it also gives him room for manoeuvre if later work challenges the

⁶⁵⁴ Bor. *Antiq.* p.26.

⁶⁵⁵ Bor. *Antiq.* "That the Phoenicians came here very early, is much better founded:" p.26 & "but the certain date of their discovering the British Isles is not to be found:" p.27.

⁶⁵⁶ Bor. *Antiq.* pp. 29-30.

hypotheses put forward.

Borlase does appeal directly to classical sources as well as other scholarship in this section of the *Antiquities*, specifically he also references Strabo in his own right and he both references Pliny the Elder by book and quotes the Latin. Strabo reappears first to illustrate the types of items traded by the Phoenicians with the Britons and how that relates back to the westernmost part of the land.⁶⁵⁷ In order to do this Borlase uses the section of Strabo that describes the Cassiterides at the end of book three⁶⁵⁸ but Borlase does not mention the islands at this point in the text preferring to bring them in later to show a direct relationship to the Scillies. He allows the reader to infer that Strabo makes a more direct link between the Phoenicians and Cornwall and Cornish tin than is justifiable from the Greek. Later in the chapter Borlase smooths over this conflation by explaining that since the ancient mines on the Scilly Isles 'are neither deep, nor many, nor large' they could not have sustained a trade for very long so the main tin-producing areas which cover Cornwall and Devon must have been found and included by the Phoenicians amongst the Cassiterides.⁶⁵⁹ In this he claims to be following Ortelius but his reasoning that the coast of Cornwall appeared to be like an island from the Scillies is tenuous at best. It is an idea he repeats in his published work on the Scilly Islands.⁶⁶⁰ Book three of Strabo is also appealed to here in the *Antiquities* as evidence of the Phoenician jealousy over their trading routes and Borlase mentions the story about the Phoenician captain choosing to run aground rather than reveal his source. Here Strabo is introduced to give further context and background to the problems that the Greeks and Romans had with geographical understanding.

This idea about Phoenician concealment of the location of the Cassiterides and the Greek ignorance recurs at the beginning of the following chapter 'Of the Grecians' in the *Antiquities*.⁶⁶¹ In this chapter Borlase again mentions Herodotus' scepticism and Strabo and Polybius' ignorance about things that are now known (specifically that there is sea to the South of Africa) and he again includes the section from Herodotus about his lack of knowledge of the places whence tin came. The repetition gives emphasis to the idea

⁶⁵⁷“The Phenician business into these parts was not conquest and glory, but trade; and from Gades they traded to Britain, bringing Salt, Crockery, and Brazen ware; what they came for was Tin, Lead, and Skins, but especially the former.” Bor. *Antiq.* p.28.

⁶⁵⁸Strab. 3.5.11 (above pp.114-118); Borlase's reference just says Strabo, Lib. III.

⁶⁵⁹Bor. *Antiq.* p.30.

⁶⁶⁰W. Borlase (1756) [Hereafter Bor. *Scilly*] p.18: “From this hill we were pleas'd to see our own country, *Cornwall*, in a shape new to us, but what certainly induc'd the Ancients to reckon it among the Isles, generally call'd by them the *Cassiterides*; for as an Island it indeed appears to every eye from SCILLY, as you see by the sketch..” & p.75.

⁶⁶¹Bor. *Scilly* p.72.

and this time the quotation is included translated within the text rather than as a footnote in Greek which is perhaps to give it a greater relevance to his overall argument. It is clear that the classical authors are simultaneously very important sources and fallible ones, thus Borlase discusses key information from the different ancient authors but also introduces logical issues relating to their consistency and reliability where appropriate to his own argument.

In the chapter on the Greeks, Borlase is clear that there must have been a Greek tin trade with Cornwall before Julius Caesar made his forays to Britain.⁶⁶² He reckons the beginning of northern exploration beyond the Pillars of Hercules to have been the voyage of Pytheas but has to confess that there was some argument about the dating of Greek trade in the region. This topic causes Borlase to once more find conflict with the arguments of Bochart and Camden. He uses the same argument of probability as he used in his discussion about the Phoenicians (i.e. that it is improbable that exploration was not followed by trading voyages) to cast doubt on Bochart's date of 117 BCE for the beginning of Greek trade. Then he further undermines Bochart's date by proving that it should be set at Camden's estimate or earlier. Borlase does this by referencing Pliny again and then by discussing Polybius. Interestingly, Borlase gives his readers a description of who Polybius was and when he wrote⁶⁶³ and it must be presumed that this is because he believed Polybius to be a more obscure writer; this also explains why he mentions Strabo's comments about Polybius. Furthermore, he translates the Greek phrase τῆς καττιτέρου κατασκευῆς (as "the methods of preparing Tin") for his readers which, when added to the translation of Herodotus earlier in the chapter, suggests he does not expect his readers to be confident in Greek.

At this point in the text Borlase discusses evidence for trade from non-literary sources. The first area to discuss is Borlase's use of linguistic 'archaeology' which although uncommon in modern analyses was considered to be a vital scientific tool up until the early twentieth century. Borlase dismisses the concept that Greek words in the English language must come directly from native Greeks and offers two alternative theories; namely that the use of Greek amongst the Gauls must have influenced the Britons and that there is also a similarity of terminology because of the mutual

⁶⁶²Bor. *Antiq.* p.32

⁶⁶³Bor. *Antiq.* p.33: "and Polybius, who flourish'd about 200 years before our Saviour, a Greek by nation, though a constant companion of Scipio Africanus, promis'd to write of the British Isles and τῆς καττιτέρου κατασκευῆς (the methods of preparing Tin) and made good his promise, as Strabo says; a task which so cautious a writer as Polybius would never have undertaken, had there not been sufficient materials.." Note that he doesn't reference Polybius' criticism of Pytheas, see following pages.

Phoenician connection. The second type of evidence discussed at this point by Borlase is the absence of material remains from the Greeks, something he explains by suggesting they had no reason to leave monuments since they were only trading partners and never settlers. Clearly Borlase is conscious of a need to justify his claims about connections to the ancient Mediterranean civilisations beyond the literary material which he regards as not demonstrating the whole picture. This is easier for him in the following chapter on the Roman presence in Cornwall where he mentions coin hoards in the county and refers his reader to the later part of the *Antiquities* that discusses excavations and proves their Roman origins.⁶⁶⁴

The chapter on the Romans in Cornwall aims to prove that they had a presence in Cornwall and to elucidate some of the academic ideas about the topic. Borlase comments that it is not surprising that the work of Carew and Camden did not show much evidence for, and therefore little discussion of, the Romans in Cornwall because so little had been found at that time. This clearly demonstrates how important these works were to constructing local history and suggests that Borlase feels a need to clearly demonstrate why he deviates from their discussions. In this section Borlase comments that the reason some learned men believe that the Romans didn't make it beyond the Tamar is because they themselves perceived the county to be very distant and have difficulty obtaining information about it. Borlase, however, is not only, by implication, better situated to find immediate information but can also show that it would be very unlikely for the Romans to leave it alone. He does this by commenting that there was no reason why, having conquered the rest of the southern part of Britain, Claudius would leave that one corner untouched, especially since it should have been obvious to Agricola's fleet whilst accompanying his march. This is similar to his earlier arguments by analogy to what he believes would be the logical course of action.

Furthermore, Borlase is certain that the fame of the tin production in the area must have been an enticement for Romans, who from their own acknowledgement were interested in the gold and silver mines of the country (via Tacitus). Borlase says that the advance and conquest of the Romans was a positive force in the county. Interestingly, he feels it necessary to stress this point; he says:

It is a very groundless suspicion, to imagine that the establishing this truth can do any dishonour to our country; [...] and the better sort of

⁶⁶⁴Bor. *Antiq.* Bk IV.

Governours employed themselves to introduce arts, to familiarize their own customs to the natives, and gradually to extirpate ignorance and barbarity; so that, in short, 'tis not very difficult to ascertain, whether the Britans, by losing their liberties to such masters, were not in reality gainers:⁶⁶⁵

The implication from this is that other (Cornish) writers have in the past been unwilling to accept the idea of Roman conquest⁶⁶⁶ because it dilutes the purity offered by the notion of freedom and Borlase is rejecting that because of the civilising advancements it made possible. The focus is on how history, and particularly ancient history, demonstrates positive benefit to the county. Borlase does not mention any authors who feel this way but there is no reason to disregard this theory of narrative. Sweet suggests that this positive regard for the Romans and their remains was a common feature of local antiquarianism and was often a motivating factor for studies.⁶⁶⁷

The next key publication from Borlase was *Observations on the Ancient and Present State of the Islands of Scilly and their Importance to the Trade of Great Britain*,⁶⁶⁸ as mentioned above this is explicitly an extension of his earlier published letter in the *Philosophical Transactions*,⁶⁶⁹ and is referred to as a sequel to the *Antiquities*⁶⁷⁰ in the second edition of that work. It was the product of extensive fieldwork⁶⁷¹ as well as familiar theorising. Some of the text is clearly repetition and directs the reader back to descriptions made in *Antiquities*, particularly the work on monuments attributed to the druids. However, in this work there is a slightly more complex contemplation of mining practice which references Diodorus' description and Strabo's comment about the improvements offered by Publius Crassus.⁶⁷²

Borlase also specifically discusses the ideas from Strabo about the Phoenician concealment again but in this case he uses it to strengthen his discussion of why it is sensible to include Cornwall as part of the Cassiterides. Borlase is clearly aware of the fact that the mine workings on the islands are quite limited and that this makes such

⁶⁶⁵ Bor. *Antiq.* p.37.

⁶⁶⁶ M Spriggs (2006) pp. 114-115 quotes a letter from W. Borlase to T. Tonkin which also notes local desire to be seen to be unconquered.

⁶⁶⁷ R. Sweet (2004) p.172.

⁶⁶⁸ Bor. *Scilly*.

⁶⁶⁹ W. Borlase (1752).

⁶⁷⁰ Bor. *Antiq.* p.29.

⁶⁷¹ P.A.S. Pool (1986) pp.150-156.

⁶⁷² Bor. *Scilly* p.74.

fierce competition for the resources unlikely.⁶⁷³ Thus, there is a more detailed justification of the inclusion of Cornwall as part of the Cassiterides which not only appeals to Ortelius but also suggests that Diodorus mixes the two locations when he mentions Iktis.

...and, in the last place, it must not be forgotten that the Ancients had great part of their Tin from the neighbouring Coasts of Cornwall, famous for their Tin-trade as anciently as the time of *Augustus Caesar* ; and whoever sees the land of *Cornwall* from these Islands, must be convinced that the *Phenicians* and other Traders did most probably include the Western part of *Cornwall* among the Islands called the CASSITERIDES. *Ortelius* is plainly of this opinion, and makes *Cornwall* part of the CASSITERIDES: And *Diod. Siculus*,⁶⁷⁴ does as plainly confound and in his description mix the Western parts of *Cornwall* and the CASSITERIDES indiscriminately one with the other ; for talking of the Promontory *Belerium*, alias *Bolerium*, the Tin-commerce, and courteous behaviour of the Inhabitants, he says, that they carried this Tin to an adjoining *British* Isle called ICTIS, to which at low tide they could have access. Now there was no such Island as ICTIS, on the Western Coasts of *Cornwall* in the time of *Diod. Siculus*, neither is there at present any one with the properties he mentions, unless it be *St. Michael's Mount*, and the separation between that and the Continent must have been made long since that time.⁶⁷⁵

He continues by explaining that the Scillies looked a lot like a series of peninsulas from a distance. Then he says that Diodorus was clearly confusing Belerium and the islands and that the discrepancy between Pliny and Diodorus was because of a misunderstanding about where to measure from:

This ICTIS, of *Diod. Siculus* is probably the same Island which *Pliny* [footnote: Lib IV Ch. xvi], from *Timaeus*, calls “MICTIS, about six days sail from Britain, said to be fertile in Tin;” where I must observe, that the distance here laid down is no objection to MICTIS'S being

⁶⁷³“Now, plain it is, that the few workings upon TRESCAW were not worthy of such a competition ; Whence then had they their tin?...” Bor. *Scilly* p.73.

⁶⁷⁴Borlase footnotes: Lib. IV pag.301 Edit. *Han.* 1604 [This edition contained a Latin translation].

⁶⁷⁵Bor. *Scilly* pp.76-78.

one of the SCILLY Isles, for when the Ancients reckoned this place six days sail, they did not mean from the nearest part of *Britain*, but from the place most known, and frequented by them (i.e. by the *Romans* and *Gauls*)...⁶⁷⁶

Borlase even goes so far as to claim that the lack of remaining evidence for ancient trade must have been destroyed in some great flood.⁶⁷⁷ It is clear from this that Borlase is strongly interested in finding the most suitable way to reconcile multiple pieces of source text and types of references but that there are issues with achieving this.

A different perspective on the ancient texts is given in *Natural History* where within his discussion of the nature of tin, Borlase feels obliged to discuss the ancient methods of tin preparation and in doing so shares a translation of Diodorus at length.⁶⁷⁸ This naturally leads him to attempt to answer questions such as the location of Iktis.⁶⁷⁹ In this he is adamant that Diodorus cannot mean Vectis because he is clearly talking about Cornwall and he quotes the Greek to support this. The use of Greek is unusual for the text but clearly vital for Borlase to be taken seriously. Borlase not only suggests that the traders seem to have known Cornwall quite well but also hypothesises that the reason that we have little to no evidence of the mining and trading activity is because of the destruction of remains by the sea both in Cornwall and on the Scilly Isles.

It is the sections of his work about Cornwall as part of the Cassiterides that have attracted the most external commentary and criticism, not least in Whitaker's supplement to Polwhele which is discussed below.⁶⁸⁰ The book as a whole was reviewed by Tobias Smollett (*Critical* Jan/Feb 1756) and Samuel Johnson (*Literary Magazine* 17th June 1756).⁶⁸¹ Smollett appears to have found the work dull and was more interested in the comments that Borlase makes about the contemporary strategic importance of the islands.⁶⁸² Johnson, by contrast, is much more interested in Borlase's contribution to the field of natural history and local enquiry and is remarkably positive about that, often appearing to refute Smollett's criticisms deliberately⁶⁸³ and offering the interested reader enough of a précis to gain knowledge of the subject. It seems reasonable therefore to

⁶⁷⁶Bor. *Scilly* p.77.

⁶⁷⁷Bor. *Scilly* pp. 87-8, 91-96.

⁶⁷⁸W. Borlase (1758b) p.176.

⁶⁷⁹W. Borlase (1758b) pp.176-177.

⁶⁸⁰See below pp. 197-199.

⁶⁸¹B. Hanley (2001).

⁶⁸²B. Hanley (2001) p.191.

⁶⁸³B. Hanley (2001) pp.192-193.

assume that Borlase's work reached a comparatively wide audience which certainly fits with its subsequent influence on other writers.

Borlase's texts include some very detailed accounts of excavations and depictions of stone monuments. His dedication to scientific understanding and processes is shown through the fact that more than half of *Natural History* is devoted to geology and mineralogy and his *Antiquities* is filled with detailed drawings of monuments and plans of key sites. However, although the critical analysis of texts becomes more detailed the careful recording of physical facts does not often appear with reference to the classical period until the mid-twentieth century. In Cornwall this is as much to do with the paucity of material for excavation as it is to do with the monopoly the textual tradition held over historical literature.

In the sections of texts discussed here, Borlase predominantly focuses on the correlation between the literary depictions of the Cassiterides and Cornwall's actual involvement in trade by analysing the plausibility of classical claims against known physical features. In his work Borlase demonstrates a keen eye for recording what is actually present as well as hypothesising on its functions and the changes wrought by time and so doing displays a new kind of critical approach to the texts. However, it is also evident that he was influenced by other contemporary work such as Stukeley's⁶⁸⁴ on the druids and, for example, he puts forward his own hypotheses about the druids in Cornwall that can now be rejected. The specific work relating the monuments of the county to a Celtic druidic tradition were to have a profound effect on models of identity in the following century but identity-building can hardly be described as a fundamental aim of Borlase's own text. Nonetheless Borlase's work is a strong attempt to logically explain the present state of affairs through critical analysis of the evidence for the past.

Physical Collaboration?: James' Ingot

After Borlase there were a number of monographs by Cornishmen and articles in Cornish scholarly journals that described and theorised about 'natural history' but most do not directly consider classical texts. However, a couple more pieces of discussion of material evidence are important.

Firstly, there is Pryce's *Mineralogia Cornubiensis*⁶⁸⁵ which was written a little after

⁶⁸⁴P.A.S. Pool (1986) pp.126-130; P.A.S. Pool (1966) pp.11-13 – which notes their disagreement over the religion of the druids.

⁶⁸⁵W. Pryce (1778).

Borlase's works and, as the name suggests, deals with the geological state of the county and the practical aspects of mine-workings. In addition to the extensive scientific exposition Pryce wrote a brief historical introduction which mentions speculation about the source of Phoenician tin and names the Cassiterides and 'Bolerium' as suggestions from other scholars but suggests that because of ignorance of geography by classical writers such as Timaeus, Strabo, Diodorus Siculus and Polybius controversy would continue. Pryce then dismisses the Scilly Isles as a source of tin because of the lack of evidence of lodes. He suggests that tin must rather have been mined in the far western region of Cornwall and traded from around the Falmouth bay area. He largely derived this argument from Hals' investigations.⁶⁸⁶ Pryce's work is valuable to later scholars because it offers a strong analysis of past and present physical scenarios, including the nature of subsidence in various areas (including near St. Michael's Mount), and appears in the works of general writers like Hitchins.⁶⁸⁷

Additionally, there are important comments on a block of tin found in Falmouth harbour which hypothesise that such a discovery can be used to 'cast light' on the problem of Iktis. Major-General Sir Henry James⁶⁸⁸ published two pieces analysing the block⁶⁸⁹ which was presented to Truro Museum in 1829⁶⁹⁰ and his descriptions are used by later scholars. This block or similar ones are referenced in a number of different places before James' discussion. For example, it appears in Hitchins and Drew⁶⁹¹ and in 1850, a notice was given of blocks of tin supposedly from Phoenician trading times to the Archaeological Institute by Rev. W Haslam.⁶⁹²

In the later and more detailed piece in the *Archaeological Journal*, James draws the reader's attention to the "well-known" passage of Diodorus and quotes the translation in G.C. Lewis' rambling exposition on ancient geography,⁶⁹³ thus:

⁶⁸⁶W. Pryce (1778) "and we are not singular in this thought, but are very plausibly supported by a learned collator of our own country, in whose MS. we find an ingenious etymology and topographical agreement in relation to the matter before us. (Hals)."pp. iv-v. Followed by a quotation pp. v-vii cited as Hals's Paroch. Hist.

⁶⁸⁷F. Hitchins (1824) pp. 271-272; See also R. Edmonds (1862) p.10.

⁶⁸⁸FRS & director general of the ordnance survey. James was born in Cornwall.- R.H. Vetch (2004) [accessed 29 Aug 2012].

⁶⁸⁹H. James (1863) and H. James (1871); See also N. Beagrie (1983) which argues for a medieval date for the block.

⁶⁹⁰H. James (1871) p.196. The block is still there (accession no.- TRURI: 1829.104). Museum records give a find date of 1812 do not give a name for the finder. (private correspondence).

⁶⁹¹F. Hitchins (1824) p. 650.

⁶⁹²Recorded in (1850, Feb. 01) "Antiquities" *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 2432* p. 7;

⁶⁹³Sir G. C. Lewis (ed. Date unknown) *Astronomy of the Ancients* – For further critique Lewis' theories of the ancient tin-trade see also below (pp.178-180) on G. Smith (1863).

Diodorus describes Britain as being, like Sicily, triangular, but with sides of unequal length. The promontory nearest the main-land was called Cantium (Kent); that at the opposite extremity was called Belerium, that turned towards the sea was named Orca (a confusion with the Orcades). The inhabitants of the promontory of Belerium were hospitable, and, on account of their intercourse with strangers, civilised in their habits. It is they who produce tin, which they melt into the form of astragali, and they carry it to an island in front of Britain, called Ictis. This island is left dry at low tides, and they then transport the tin in carts from the shore. Here the traders buy it from the natives and carry it to Gaul, over which it travels on horseback, in about thirty days, to the mouths of the Rhone.⁶⁹⁴

and

Timaeus mentioned an island Mictis, within six days' sail of Britain which produced tin, and to which the natives of Britain sailed in coracles.⁶⁹⁵

It is worth noting that James is either unable or unwilling to provide his own translations and that he chooses to use these quotations from an English academic figure to illustrate the source material. There are two probable explanations for this – the first being his expectation that his audience would be familiar with Lewis' work and the second being that his concern is not with the accuracy of the classical literature but on other people's interpretation of it.

After Lewis, James goes on to quote Barham's discussion and description of Iktis at length.⁶⁹⁶ He cites Barham's requirements for an island to act as Iktis, for example if it was a 'factory' then it needs to be defensible, have a good port and it needs to be near the mines and the shores suitable for moving tin. From these quotations James goes on to claim that since so many commentators have agreed that St. Michael's Mount is a likely location for the isle it seems odd that so many writers have looked elsewhere. James then begins (p.198) to address criticisms of St Michael's Mount as 'Ictis' –

⁶⁹⁴Sir G. C. Lewis *Astronomy of the Ancients* p.452 quoted in H. James (1871) pp.196-197.

⁶⁹⁵H. James (1871) p. 197 (no further ref. given in text) [G.C. Lewis p.453].

⁶⁹⁶“Dr. Barham “Memoir on the Ictis of Diodorus Siculus” *Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall Vol. 3* pp.91 & 92.” Quoted and discussed H. James (1871) pp.197-198 [possibly T.F. Barham (1828)].

specifically he considers the notion that because a submarine forest had been found in Mount's Bay and because the ancient name for the mount could be translated as “hoar rock in the woods” the Mount must not have matched the island description. James dismisses this dissonance as simply a matter of timing; claiming that any wood must have existed and been submerged before Diodorus wrote his description. The proof he offers for that idea is that other places around the British Isles show evidence of underwater woods and since this submergence probably happened at the same time as the drowning of the wood around the Mount. He argues that as Roman remains in those places seem to show the peninsulas of Britain were in a similar configuration to his present time, then the Mount was also probably in the same configuration as it was during Roman times when Diodorus wrote. Here the reasoning seems a little specious, based as it is on an assumption of like-for-like, but it shows an interest in the complexities of dating as proof.

Only after this discussion does James begin to address the block itself. He comments that the form of the block of tin is best described by the illustrations in the paper⁶⁹⁷ and gives the reader the dimensions. Here James tells the readers that Diodorus says that the inhabitants of Belerion cast tin into 'astragali' and quotes the Greek. Then he appeals to the authority of 'Professor Owen'⁶⁹⁸ to assert that this particular block is in the shape of an astragalos or 'knuckle-bone'. It is not clear from the text why this particular shape is associated by the professor with the knuckle-bone shape. Instead James focuses on the possible practical reasons for shaping tin into the shape of the dredged block. The argument says that the X or H shape of the block and certainly the shape and weight would make it suitable for carrying both in small boats and by pack-horses as Diodorus suggests were used for the route to Marseilles. He comments that: “[this] shape strikes one as an admirable adaptation to purpose” and he offers diagrams of a similar block in a boat and one on the side of horse to illustrate his point. These diagrams and analysis of ancient tin transportation are perhaps the most lasting legacy of James' text.⁶⁹⁹

James is very clear in his opinion that:

It is impossible to look on this block of tin, and see how admirably it

⁶⁹⁷H. James (1871) p.199.

⁶⁹⁸No further reference is given in James' text – He is perhaps referring to the anatomist Sir Richard Owen (1804-1892) who used the term astragalus to mean knuckle-bone but this author can find no corresponding reference to Diodorus' use of the word

⁶⁹⁹See for example A. Way (1866) pp. 287-8; J.D. Muhly (1985) p.289.

is designed for transport both by land and water, without arriving at the conclusion that we have here before us one of the astragali described by Diodorus, and seeing the perfect and most remarkable agreement of his description of Ictis with St. Michael's Mount, can we doubt, that it was from that place that this block of tin was embarked?⁷⁰⁰

Despite any confusion there may have been with the name Vectis, James is also adamant that Timaeus' (Pliny's) Mictis is the same as Diodorus' Iktis and that that isle was St. Michael's Mount and not the Isle of Wight because of its dissimilarity with both Diodorus' and Pliny's descriptions. In this he refers the reader to a passage from Lewis which suggested that the name Mictis may have been a corruption of Vectis which is Roman name for the Isle of Wight but that word confusion is not the same as the place being identical. In order to show that he this hypothesis is supported by Barham and Lewis, James goes as far to quote from a letter from Lewis expressly suggesting that he did not believe that 'Ictis' was the Isle of Wight and that he was himself very convinced by Barham's argument for 'Ictis' being the Mount⁷⁰¹ and satisfied by James' account of the block of tin. It is also interesting to notice that despite the authority of Pliny his name is not mentioned in connection with Iktis and by citing Timaeus instead not only does James place the age of the comment further back in time (to a more ancient Cornish tin-trade) but it also exonerates Pliny from error – though whether the confusion is then imagined to lie with a medieval copyist or the ancient historian's research is unclear.

This article shows a number of different things. Firstly, it demonstrates that by this period (i.e. the latter half of the 1800's) the connection between physical and literary evidence is vital to a persuasive argument; James must include both types of evidence to be taken seriously. He is not only presenting the block of tin as evidence of tin trade but is also using Diodorus to show that the block was fit for purpose. Furthermore he uses the descriptions of the natural history of the area as physical evidence of the appropriateness of the region to the ancient description and the physical characteristics of the block to explain its suitability for the purpose of trade and transport. Secondly, the article shows that the interweaving of these different forms of evidence was not easily

⁷⁰⁰H. James (1871) p.201.

⁷⁰¹“All that I meant to say was that the *names* Mictis and Ictis were variations of Vectis and arose from a confusion with that name. My impression was that *both* accounts were fabulous...” Letter by G.C. Lewis (dated June 16, 1862) quoted in H. James (1871) p.202.

done – the text of the article is stilted and the reasoning circular. Thirdly, it illustrates the growing trend for referencing other scholars as proof and the use of multiple modern texts in a discussion as well as ancient texts. Thus, it is also evidence of the growth of a research community analysing the ancient texts and sharing information, for example James' communication with Lewis and subsequent uses of James' work.⁷⁰² Finally it is worth noting that this particular block of tin continued to be of interest to later scholars and, although the Phoenician connection was later rejected,⁷⁰³ James' analysis of the role of the shape of the block in transportation has remained influential.⁷⁰⁴

Overall this quasi-scientific style of writing is both hugely influential in terms of the evidence it presents and because of its changing attitudes to cross-referencing. However, despite the consistent and repeated use of archaeological information, especially from Borlase, other authors do not seem to substantially build on these ideas about the potential of remains until the twentieth century.

3.1.3: The Phoenician Myth

A completely different key feature of a number of accounts of ancient Cornwall is the role of the Phoenicians in the early years of the tin trade. This chapter has already demonstrated some arguments that discuss the plausibility of the idea that the Phoenicians traded with the Cornish before the Greeks found Cornwall in Camden and Borlase (from Bochart)⁷⁰⁵ and it is probable that a number of broader English historians also fleshed out this topic as well. This section illustrates more detailed local expositions of the Phoenician presence and the proofs that those texts offer. This trend is most popular in the early nineteenth century and it develops through several key authors, especially Hawkins and Edmonds. Additionally, of particular note is George Smith's *Cassiterides*⁷⁰⁶ which features heavily in Edmonds' work and is cited by numerous other sources including the work of Copeland Borlase.⁷⁰⁷

The idea of Phoenicians in Cornwall seems to have been derived from Strabo's description of the Cassiterides (3.5.11) where he mentions the Phoenician monopoly

⁷⁰²H. James (1871) p.202 and see R. Edmonds (1868) p.23 (below pp. 190-191).

⁷⁰³R.D. Penhallurick (1986) pp.231-233 on why he thinks it was in fact Medieval.

⁷⁰⁴T. A. Rickard (1932) pp. 195-196; J.D. Muhly (1985) p.289.

⁷⁰⁵See above pp. 166 -167.

⁷⁰⁶G. Smith (1863).

⁷⁰⁷W. Copeland Borlase (1874).See below pp. 212-217.

over the trade with the islands.⁷⁰⁸ This evidence was extrapolated onto commentary about Cornwall and, despite numerous critiques, proved popular in accounts of tin-trade and Cornish history even into the twentieth century.⁷⁰⁹ As well as Strabo, other classical authors were co-opted into the discussions where they mentioned the tin-trade without necessarily their connecting the two. Diodorus is used for the attribution of the block of tin to the Phoenicians despite the difficulty with the word *astragalos* and his discussion clearly focusing on a trade between the Cornish and Gaulish Tribes. Literary links were bolstered by supposed philological connections between the Celtic and Phoenician languages and the work of external scholars was woven into the Cornish narrative.

Hawkins' Phoenician “Observations”

The earliest Cornish work that focuses on the idea of the Phoenician influence in Cornwall is Hawkins' “*Observations on the Tin Trade of the Ancients in Cornwall and the Ictis of Diodorus*”.⁷¹⁰ Sir Christopher Hawkins was born in Cornwall in 1758; he was the second son of a landowner and later inherited the estates. He went on to buy up estates particularly as part of rotten boroughs and spent a number of years as a Tory MP for which service he was created baronet in 1791. Hawkins also got involved in a considerable amount of mine-related industry both as a consequence of his land-ownership and through partnership in the Cornish Copper Company⁷¹¹ and he was later elected Vice Lord Warden of the Stannaries which gave him considerable influence in the industry. He also acted as a patron to Richard Trevithick⁷¹² and was a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Antiquarian Society.⁷¹³

His treatise is a relatively short work, published in 1811, that aims to show that firstly Cornwall is a logical source of tin from Biblical times all the way through the Greco-Roman era and secondly that Iktis cannot be the Isle of Wight and must instead be St. Michael's Mount in Cornwall.⁷¹⁴ The text references several scholars in different

⁷⁰⁸ See Chapter 2 pp. 111-112.

⁷⁰⁹ For example: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Cornwall;

<http://phoenicia.org/canaancornwall.html>; <http://www.cornwallinfocus.co.uk/culture/celts.php>.

⁷¹⁰ C. Hawkins (1811). However, note above (pp. 165-166) in Bor. *Scilly* for brief references.

⁷¹¹ Cornwall Record Office holds estate papers for Hawkins including valuations for his interests [**J/1/780-1833**]

⁷¹² H.W. Dickinson & A. Titley (2011) pp.133-135.

⁷¹³ Biographical information from: R.G. Thorne (1986); See Also: “Obituary: Sir Christopher Hawkins, Bart.” (1829) *Gentleman's Magazine Vol. 99(1)*, p. 564.

⁷¹⁴ Hawkins is not the first to suggest this. It also appears in W.G. Maton (1797) pp. 204-206 – Maton was originally from Salisbury and his tour of the Western counties was published whilst still at university [N. Moore (2004)].

fields to back its hypotheses and is itself later quoted by other Cornish writers.⁷¹⁵ The work is dedicated to the lord of St Michael's Mount, Sir John St Aubyn, who also happened to be a fellow of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries of London, and Hawkins comments in that dedication that he hopes he has shown the importance of the mount⁷¹⁶ which may imply that he was sponsored or commissioned to write the work in order to improve its reputation – though it is unclear to what end.

Hawkins begins by establishing the use of tin in antiquity by quoting Homer⁷¹⁷ and referencing tin in the Bible, a format reminiscent of Pliny. He then expands the topic of the influence of tin in the ancient world by asserting that the brass used contained tin. This he deduces in several steps beginning with the knowledge that iron-working was still too rare for weaponry and pure copper is too brittle thus must have been alloyed when used by the Greeks. He further illustrates his point by referring the reader to analysis of ancient bronze objects done by Klaproth and other chemists.⁷¹⁸ In an extensive section that seems to be a quote or translation from Klaproth's published research there is discussion of the proportion of tin that has been found in ancient swords and serves as a scientific proof of the use of tin.

Having established that tin was used regularly by 'the ancients', Hawkins then turns his attention to the question of where that tin came from. Essentially, he says, it can be considered to have either come from the east or west; that is from either India or Cornwall which are the principle known sources of tin. Although Hawkins supposes that it is improbable that it was British tin that the Phoenicians traded with the Egyptians in the earliest days of history, he claims that he has no evidence to assert that tin did come from India whereas he can show evidence of tin going to India (from Arrian) and of Phoenician trading with Britain at a later date.⁷¹⁹ It is worth noting that the only other author who makes strong use of Arrian is George Smith who also focuses on the Phoenician aspects of the tin-trade. The key point that Hawkins makes here is that there is better surviving literary evidence for trade in the west Mediterranean and Atlantic than for trade in tin from the East. This is partially due to the evidence from Strabo

⁷¹⁵For example Hitchens and Drew reference it extensively see below pp. 200 & 204; Also W. Copeland Borlase below pp.214 & 215.

⁷¹⁶“I have presumed to inscribe to you the following Observations on the ancient History of St. Michael's Mount; satisfied, that if I have, in any respect, illustrated its commercial pre-eminence and religious appropriation, my efforts may be acceptable to you.” C. Hawkins (1811) p. iii.

⁷¹⁷Tin on Achilles' armour and shield is also mentioned by other authors [Hom. *Il.* 11.1.25 & 11.1.35].

⁷¹⁸Klaproth (1800) *Magasin Encyclopédique* p.298 quoted in C. Hawkins (1811) pp.9-17 [Note that Hawkins' younger brother studied with Klaproth].

⁷¹⁹C. Hawkins (1811) pp.19-31.

about the existence of Phoenician trade but also comes from Biblical descriptions of trade in Sidon and Tarshish.⁷²⁰ This relies on the premiss that Biblical Tarshish is the equivalent of modern Cadiz (the alternative name of Gades as evidenced by Festus Avienus is presumed clearly inter-related)⁷²¹ and therefore that, geographically speaking, trade in metals through that port could have easily included items from Cornwall.

Hawkins' argument, at this point, is one of probability (i.e. that it is more likely that tin came from Cornwall than that it came from anywhere else) rather than concrete evidence of Cornish tin or of trading posts or goods and it relies on two presuppositions. Firstly, he assumes that if there had been a tin trade from the east it would be mentioned by surviving records more explicitly and secondly, it presupposes that in order for there to have been regular access to tin in the Mediterranean references to Phoenician trading made in the Bible and Strabo must have included the tin trade. Additionally, Hawkins offers the chain of premisses as follows: that the Phoenicians traded with the Cassiterides, that the Cassiterides were acknowledged by the Greco-Roman world as the source of tin and that the Cassiterides must be a reference to the British Isles/Cornwall. Although Hawkins mentions that Strabo tells his readers that the Cassiterides were the acknowledged source of tin he does not give a quote or reference for this and there is no further reference to classical authors to confirm this opinion. There is not even a reference to the two authors that he has already used as source material - Herodotus and Pliny.

Thus, Hawkins assumes there to be sufficient proof that the Phoenicians traded with Cornwall and turns his attention to dating such a trade. His first consideration is the assertions made by other scholars and he cites as his initial authority the comments of Reverend Whitaker⁷²² and then traces these ideas back to the annalist Richard of Cirencester. The date is then further confirmed by comparing the date of the life of the Phoenician historian Sanchoniathon with the date suggested for the earliest exploratory voyages mentioned by Strabo (i.e. the initial voyage by 'Melcarthus' must have been before Sanchoniathon wrote, in approximately the reign of David, which correlates with Strabo's suggested date of 1200 years before Christ).⁷²³ Here Hawkins references Herodotus and uses him to offer a clear date (450BC)⁷²⁴ for tin from the Cassiterides to

⁷²⁰ Although he mentions Ezekiel -Hawkins gives no citations.

⁷²¹ C. Hawkins (1811) p.21.

⁷²² See below pp. 197-199.

⁷²³ C. Hawkins (1811) pp. 23-27.

⁷²⁴ C. Hawkins (1811) p.27 [Although there is some uncertainty about the dating of the publication of Hdt. *Histories* in modern scholarship this date is fairly well supported].

have reached Greece in order for it to be mentioned, even if the details were uncertain. Where the other dates may have been contestable, Herodotus offers Hawkins the certainty that he desires.

Following on from this dating, Hawkins begins to flesh out the information with an account of the voyage of Pytheas.⁷²⁵ He notes that Pytheas' account was greeted with derision by his contemporaries but seems more reasonable to a modern understanding but gives little discussion of the transmission of the information from Pytheas (or where the criticisms came from). The next paragraph comments that the 'inhabitants ... [of] Belerium.. [are] more early civilised and improved than the rest of the Briton, from their more frequent intercourse with foreign merchants'.⁷²⁶ This section serves as a reason to discuss the sort of people the Phoenicians, who offered improvements in this way, were. This is the first time 'Belerium' has been mentioned in Hawkins' text (references to Britain or Cornwall have previously been associated with the Cassiterides as per Herodotus) but no further description of the location is attempted. Furthermore, Hawkins, despite taking this phraseology from Diodorus, does not cite him at all nor does he attribute the comment to Pytheas despite mentioning him above. A casual reader without reference to the original texts would be able to see no primary source for the assertion about hospitality of people nor how it related to the tin trade. Instead Hawkins next launches into a long description of Phoenician culture as attested by various writers and an account of their history so that it relates to the Carthaginians and thence to Rome. This section therefore acts as a homage to the skills of the Phoenicians and prefigures his suggestion that the Cornish benefited from the interaction.⁷²⁷

However, he segues this panegyric into an explanation of how the Phoenician traders were able to hide the location of the source of their tin from competitors. He does this by first citing their skill as astronomers, and therefore navigators, and tying this to their voyages to the Cassiterides. Assuming they were protective of their own wealth, Hawkins offers evidence of their concealment of the islands from Herodotus' lack of knowledge and the passage from Strabo about the Phoenician captain who wrecked his ship rather than reveal his route.⁷²⁸ For Hawkins, this is sufficient to suggest that they kept a monopoly on the trade in tin for three hundred years and similarly that the Phocian Greeks (i.e. those at Marseilles) were similarly concealing their sources

⁷²⁵C. Hawkins (1811) p.28.

⁷²⁶C. Hawkins (1811) p.29.

⁷²⁷See e.g. C. Hawkins (1811) p.80.

⁷²⁸Strab. 3.5.11 Above pp. 111-112.

when they denied knowledge to the Romans.⁷²⁹

Hawkins then moves the narrative from concealment to discovery, specifically Roman discovery and again uses Strabo as his source. Although Hawkins has trouble identifying who Strabo means by Crassus,⁷³⁰ he confidently suggests that the time-period of such a discovery (he asserts that both men known by the name Strabo gives were alive under Julius Caesar) makes a description of it the likely source for Diodorus' writing (in the time of Augustus).⁷³¹ Hawkins describes the passage relating to the smelting of tin and its trade through France as evidence of keen observation by someone who had been to Britain; by implication this cannot be Diodorus himself but rather his text is comprised of 'the best sources of information'. He quotes the section of Diodorus at length but makes no comment on the translation except to say that the positioning of 'Ictis' as the Isle of Wight comes from Dr. Henry (with no further reference or any comment on that analysis).⁷³² In the passage we also see that the word *astragalos* is translated as die and specifically taken to be cubes rather than the shape of 'knuckle-bones' which of course has an impact on the sort of archaeological evidence required to back his hypotheses. Overall, the style of the text is one of interpretation and inference rather than literalism or close reading of the text.

From this point about the meaning of Diodorus, Hawkins moves on to address other evidence related to the Roman invasion.⁷³³ This begins with Caesar's assertion that the Veneti⁷³⁴ were trading tin with the Britons which Hawkins and contemporary theorists suggest was the reason for Caesar's invasion.⁷³⁵ After a brief digression on the nature of ancient Britons he begins a more detailed exploration of the location of Iktis. Hawkins declares that he will discuss the opinions of learned men and submit reasons to back his conjecture that Iktis was St. Michael's Mount. In order to draw attention to the earlier scholarship Hawkins chooses to quote Camden and Borlase's thoughts on the topics of Iktis.⁷³⁶ He specifically notes Camden's argument that Iktis and Vectis were the same from the similarity of name and Borlase's 'counter'-conjecture that Iktis, by location at

⁷²⁹C. Hawkins (1811) pp.45-46 [Presumably this relates to Caesar's lack of knowledge of British tin].

⁷³⁰Strab. 3.5.11 See Chapter 2 p.112

⁷³¹This argument is also used by S. Mitchell (1983) pp.82-82 (above p.112 n.463).

⁷³²This appears to have been Dr. Robert Henry (1718-1790) Church of Scotland Minister and historian – the passage appears in the 2nd ed. of *History of Great Britain. Book I Vol. 2* [R. Henry (1788)] at pp. 210-211 as part of a long section on Phoenician, Greek and Roman trade in tin.

⁷³³C. Hawkins (1811) pp. 50-51.

⁷³⁴Celtic tribe from Armorica/Brittany [Caes. *B. Gall.* 3.7-12] C. Hawkins (1811) p.52.

⁷³⁵C. Hawkins (1811) p.53 (See also commentaries on Caesar).

⁷³⁶C. Hawkins (1811) – On Camden pp.55-56 [Quotation does not directly match 1610 or 1722 editions but differs in language not content]; On Borlase p.56.

least, must have been one of the Isles of Scilly.

Christopher Hawkins' work despite its seeming focus on the topic of the tin trade is prone to digressions; for example, the commentary on the strengths of the Carthaginians and a comment on the blue colouring of the ancient Britons. These digressions, like the references to continental scholars, may be included with the aim of illustrating the breadth and depth of Hawkins' research on the Classics in order to appear more persuasive in his argument. Despite the rambling nature of this commentary and the quite wide-reaching conclusions it draws Hawkins' work attracted widespread attention and commentary both in later Cornish works and outside the county. For example, it receives favourable comment and quotation in the *Classical Journal*,⁷³⁷ however a review of this work in *Literary Panorama*,⁷³⁸ calls for further research on the topic because the reviewer remains unconvinced by the conclusion. It is clear from the tone and arrangement of the text that, although the work purports to be an investigation of the source material, Hawkins is beginning from a position of justifying the notion of Cornish involvement and that he has carefully selected classical texts to demonstrate the theories. Hawkins routinely translates all his quotations and only rarely gives direct citations, thus it seems that he expects his readers to trust his analysis.

Smith's *Cassiterides*:

George Smith was born in 1800 near Camborne and died close by in 1868. He was an active and successful businessman who was not only involved in patenting mining inventions but was also a pioneer of the Cornish railway. He wrote extensively on biblical history and Methodism and was made a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1841.⁷³⁹ *The Cassiterides* is an extensive dissertation on the ancient tin trade, specifically written as a refutation of recent criticism⁷⁴⁰ of Cornish claims and especially Lewis⁷⁴¹ and Cooley's⁷⁴² expositions on the topic.⁷⁴³ Like Hawkins, the text begins with an exposition on the implausibility of trade from the east using evidence from the Bible

⁷³⁷ - (1812) "Literary Intelligence: Just Published" in *The Classical Journal Vol. V (no. IX)* p.231

⁷³⁸ - (1811) "Sir Christopher Hawkins on the Tin Trade of the Ancients" in *Literary Panorama Vol. X* pp. 246-251.

⁷³⁹ Bibliographical information from: W.P. Courtney (2004) [accessed 29 Aug 2012].

⁷⁴⁰ G. Smith (1863) preface pp. iii-iv & 1.

⁷⁴¹ Sir G.C. Lewis *Astronomy of the Ancients*; See comments also made by H James (1871) [G.C. Lewis (1862)]

⁷⁴² W. Cooley (1830) pp. 99-100; [quoted with page reference (but not publication information) G. Smith (1863) pp. 50-51].

⁷⁴³ G. Smith (1863) p.1.

and Arrian; before then addressing the ancient authors individually, with specific sections on Herodotus, Strabo and Pliny as well as analysis of Diodorus.

Smith claims that it is impossible to characterise early trade between the Phoenicians and Cornwall because of lack of literary material but that he must begin his consideration of events with Herodotus, who wrote when the Phoenicians were at the height of their trading power.⁷⁴⁴ This is then followed by some exposition both of the dating and extent of Phoenician power which is used to proffer parallels for the settlement at Gades which was so crucial to an Atlantic trade. Having established the breadth of the market that the Phoenicians commanded, Smith moves on to establishing Cornwall as the source for tin.

His first concern is to dismiss Spanish claims to being the source of Phoenician tin. Given the importance of this point it seems odd to modern audiences that he does so in a footnote,⁷⁴⁵ stating merely that there is no evidence that they had sufficient resources to supply the level of demand. This leads him to infer that only Cornwall could achieve such a supply. Smith skilfully avoids proving that the Cassiterides (which in his words “[were] spoken of as the place where the commodity was mined;”⁷⁴⁶) were actually the same as South-West Britain by merely saying that even G.C. Lewis agreed that tin had originally come from Britain.⁷⁴⁷ With some circular reasoning Smith then concludes that Gades must have been set up as a tin-trading station because it was close to Cornwall. As further proof for the hypothesis that the Phoenicians sailed to Cornwall, Smith uses a similar argument from exclusion to Borlase by saying that it was unlikely that having sailed to the Canary Islands⁷⁴⁸ they would ignore a region no further away but blessed with important commodities such as Cornwall.

Next Smith aims to dismiss Cooley's claim that the Cassiterides are clearly an epithet without true geographical attribution caused by lack of knowledge of the regions.⁷⁴⁹ After quoting from that author at length,⁷⁵⁰ he makes a series of counter-

⁷⁴⁴G. Smith (1863) p.28.

⁷⁴⁵G. Smith (1863) p.45 esp. n. * (continued on p.46).

⁷⁴⁶G. Smith (1863) p.46.

⁷⁴⁷“It cannot be doubted that Britain was the country from which the tin sold by the Phoenicians to the Greeks was chiefly procured.” G.C. Lewis “Historical Survey” &c. p.451 quoted and cited: G. Smith (1863) p.47.

⁷⁴⁸This is uncertain but he claims that they known to the ancients as the 'Islands of the Blessed' and some modern commentators have agreed.

⁷⁴⁹G. Smith (1863) pp. 50-51.

⁷⁵⁰W. Cooley (1830) “The name Cassiterides (Tin Islands) is evidently but an epithet, implying the want of particular acquaintance with the countries thus vaguely denominated. But as geographers feel peculiar pleasure in fixing the position of every wandering name, the title of 'Tin Islands' was inconsiderately bestowed by Greek and Roman writers, at one time on real islands in which there was

claims including the idea that the use of an epithet is no evidence for lack of general acquaintance with a region and that the inaccurate use of the term 'islands' may simply be the result of a particular author without sufficient background knowledge rather than representative of Greek understanding more generally. The text then considers the apparently contradictory locations offered by classical authors. Smith sees no reason to think that being several days sail in the western ocean is incompatible with being opposite Corunna and that both may apply to Cornwall.⁷⁵¹ This he simply explains as a misconception of the notion of opposite and dependant entirely on the north-south orientation given to the continental coast in comparison to the angle of sail out into the ocean towards Cornwall. As such he relies on two suppositions; namely that the Greeks and Romans were not expert navigators and, as more explicitly commented on in his text, that they may have been relying on second-hand information from, for example, the Phoenicians.

Finally, as a further counter to Cooley's objections, Smith dismisses the idea that because there was an overland route via Marseilles there would not have been a sea route via Cadiz/Gades.⁷⁵² Firstly, he comments that he has no objection to the notion of there being an overland route but that because Caesar, whilst aware of a trade between the Gauls and the Britons, does not find out about any evidence of movement of tin or brass in the peoples that he encountered amongst the native Gaulish tribes they cannot have been moving tin across their lands from Cornwall. Then Smith adds that he believes that the Phoenician trade pre-dates the founding of Massalia/Marseilles and therefore there is no reason to suppose that they were mutually exclusive options.

It is only after this series of arguments that Smith chooses to begin actually giving his readers literary evidence for his assertions. Throughout this section no reference is made to a translator (or specific edition) and it does seem plausible that he has done his own translation work. He begins with Ezekiel before moving swiftly to a quotation of Herodotus which he both glosses and gives a reference for.⁷⁵³ From this he quotes Caesar at length⁷⁵⁴ and then moves on to Diodorus.⁷⁵⁵ The quotations from Diodorus are even more extensive than of Caesar, however Smith deliberately coalesces several

no tin, at another on imaginary islands near the coasts abounding in that metal." &c. p.132.

⁷⁵¹G. Smith (1863) pp.53-54.

⁷⁵²G. Smith (1863) pp.54-57.

⁷⁵³G. Smith (1863) p.59 [ref. given is Thalia (an alternative name for Book 3) cxv – which corresponds to our text. See above p.99].

⁷⁵⁴G. Smith (1863) pp.59-61 [ref. given: "Wars," v.,12].

⁷⁵⁵G. Smith (1863) pp.61-66.

different segments namely, the Phoenicians, Britain and the Cassiterides⁷⁵⁶ as if they were continuous. Since he only gives one reference (v., 2) it is possible that his edition also links the text, however, he does separate it into appropriate paragraphs which perhaps demonstrates some sense of possible variations. With no further comment Smith moves directly into noting and quoting Strabo;⁷⁵⁷ like on Caesar, Smith makes no comment in the main body of text but glosses the similarity between Tacitus' and Strabo's comments on British clothing being like that of the Furies and also comments on what Strabo might mean about the distance of the Cassiterides from Spain.⁷⁵⁸ Finally, before moving on to his analysis, Smith also picks out a series of comments from Pliny's *Natural History* including descriptions of islands and the nature of metals.⁷⁵⁹

After offering his readers this information Smith then suggests some implications for Cornish tin based on his readings of the classical texts. He begins by asserting that Herodotus' lack of knowledge is proof that there was no overland trade during the time-period of Herodotus' composition and that this 'proof' is also evident in Caesar's lack of knowledge – Smith is adamant that if the route through to Marseilles had existed during their lives they would have known and written about it. Thus he claims that the nature of the tin trade changed dramatically between Caesar and Diodorus.⁷⁶⁰ Smith says that the stability of Roman rule in Gaul was the deciding factor in making an overland route possible⁷⁶¹ and swiftly moves to resolving other debates. Specifically, he devotes a couple of pages to the Iktis-Vectis debate and then refers to the location of Strabo's Cassiterides that he mentioned before.⁷⁶² It is not surprising given the overall tone of the work that Smith firmly dismisses the notion of tin being transported to the Isle of Wight and favours St. Michael's Mount. Furthermore, he casually asserts that he has already proven that the Cassiterides must geographically match Cornwall (only briefly footnoting the idea that Strabo was simply confused about whether or not Cornwall was part of the islands) and instead draws the reader's attention to Strabo's comments about the long-standing nature of the Phoenician trade and the issue of dating both the story of the wrecking and Publius Crassus. Finally this section analysing the classical texts

⁷⁵⁶Respectively: Diod. Sic. 5.20.1-3 [but not 4]; 5.21-22; 5.38.4.

⁷⁵⁷G. Smith (1863) pp.66-68 Strab. 3.5.11 [ref. given the same].

⁷⁵⁸On Strabo/Tacitus and the Furies see above p. 110 (see esp. n.455); On the relative distances between Spain, Cassiterides and Britain see pp.112-113.

⁷⁵⁹G. Smith (1863) pp.68-73. Respectively: Plin *HN* 4.30; 4.36; 34.47-49.

⁷⁶⁰G. Smith (1863) pp. 77-78.

⁷⁶¹A point he repeats in more detail G. Smith (1863) pp.146-149.

⁷⁶²G. Smith (1863): On Iktis -pp. 78-9; On Strabo's "across from Corunna" p. 78 [previously pp. 53-54. see above].

moves onto Pliny. Mostly Smith focuses on the ineptitude of Pliny's geography although he is inclined to believe the accounts of the method of finding tin in streams and the assertion that tin was not brought from India. This final point allows him to go back to his discussion of more ancient trade and therefore the Phoenicians.

The rest of the book⁷⁶³ is dedicated to a history of the Phoenicians and their navigators. Smith continues to use and reference classical sources throughout this but only a few relevant points arise. Firstly, Smith reiterates his comment that it would not be surprising for the Phoenicians, and therefore subsequent writers who were relying on their testimony, to mistake Cornwall for an island because peninsulas that are insufficiently explored sometimes appear that way and mentions more recent maps that have made similar mistakes.⁷⁶⁴ Secondly, he draws out the name Midacritus (which appears in Pliny) and suggests that it is equivalent to Melcarthus who was a well-known Phoenician hero.⁷⁶⁵ Finally, Smith includes a section about the items being traded with Britain which is based on Strabo's comments and the location for that trade based on Diodorus.⁷⁶⁶ Smith appears to add these comments in order to offer the readers information and not as part of a debate since he feels most of that has already been covered. Although interestingly he does point out that there has been a great deal of debate over Pytheas' value as a source of information both in antiquity and more recently.⁷⁶⁷

Like Hawkins, Smith shows how important demonstrating background information to assertions was. For example, he uses many pages of the work to illustrate the datings for Phoenician colonies and the development of navigational techniques related to extensive travel. *The Cassiterides* is a more coherent work than Hawkins' *Observations* and shows tighter correlation of ideas, such as the interrelation between Phoenician expansion and exploration with their specific role in the Atlantic, which means that it seems more persuasive. Furthermore, in contrast to his predecessor, Smith both directly quotes from the ancient materials and cites them carefully. In part this represents changing attitudes to scholarship generally but in part it also demonstrates his skill and familiarity with the texts themselves which itself offers a more convincing narrative. Smith is also conscious of the limits of his information both critiquing the ancient

⁷⁶³G. Smith (1863) pp. 83-154.

⁷⁶⁴G. Smith (1863) pp.107-108.

⁷⁶⁵G. Smith (1863) p.110. See also above pp.80-81.

⁷⁶⁶G. Smith (1863) pp.112-114.

⁷⁶⁷Smith notes that Grote thinks he was an important source but G.C. Lewis thinks him unbelievable- G. Smith (1863) pp. 136-139.

writers and acknowledging that they may not have access to all of the possible information. He even suggests that it was deliberate commercial practice not to release detailed information about sources of trading goods⁷⁶⁸ which means that it is possible for him to use arguments about practical issues without expecting everything to match the literary material. Furthermore he is clearly aware of questions that he is unable to answer and that makes him feel even more confident in the research and effort that he has put into his 'proof' that the Phoenicians and Greeks came to Cornwall for tin. All of these things combine to explain why his analysis and translations are frequently referenced by other Cornish authors.

Edmonds and Land's End

The next key Cornish author who focuses on theories about the Phoenicians is Richard Edmonds. He wrote several pieces of interest, specifically explaining his belief that there was a Phoenician trade with Cornwall, arguing his point vehemently and apparently directly responding to authors from outside the county. Edmonds appears keen to put forward a positive view of the Cornish people and of the place in which he grew up. His research can be a little confused in places and his is not the view of a detached academic but a man with a passion for the subject-matter that gives his work a sense of proto-nationalism that was developed by later writers. Edmonds is described in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*⁷⁶⁹ as a scientist and a qualified attorney. He was born in 1801, his early life was spent in Penzance and Helston and he tells us that he lived on the Land's End peninsula. Later in life he moved to Plymouth and died there in 1886.

Edmonds seems to have been active in the various intellectual milieux of Cornwall at that time and interested in a variety of topics from geology to archaeology and from natural history to anthropology. He was a member of the Geological Society of Cornwall from 1814 and contributed eleven papers to their transactions between 1843 and 1869. We also know that he was a member of the Cambrian Archaeological Association, since he tells us that he acted as the corresponding secretary for Cornwall for that organisation on the frontispiece of his 1862 publication and he wrote on the antiquities of Land's End for their journal in 1858. His name appears in the

⁷⁶⁸E.g. G. Smith (1863) p.142.

⁷⁶⁹R. Hunt (2004).

Transactions of the Penzance Natural History & Antiquarian Society 1880-85 for whom he also wrote a number of papers. Summaries of his addresses to the annual meetings of the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society were included in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*.⁷⁷⁰ Furthermore, articles were sent to the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*, *Royal Irish Academy* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. Some of these articles about the physical and cultural background of the Land's End peninsula he then extended and had published in 1862.⁷⁷¹ Most of the ideas relevant to the discussion of the Cornish tin trade then appear again both in an Edinburgh journal⁷⁷² and with responses to his critics in the publication of a lecture to the Plymouth Institution in 1868.⁷⁷³

The preface to Edmonds' 1862 monograph on the Land's End district tells the readers that it begins by reproducing the 1857 and 1858 papers in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*⁷⁷⁴ about the antiquities to be found around Penzance. Those papers focussed on archaeological remains in the area, primarily Celtic in origin and bases much of the analysis on Borlase's descriptions. They offer minimal direct consideration of classical connections. The 1862 preface then tells us that the monograph follows the 1857 and 1858 papers with more previously published material on natural phenomena and the final section of the text is described as a tour round the district. Edmonds shows no doubt as to the individuality of the Land's End district/Penwith within the British Isles and across Europe and he uses the book to demonstrate this distinctive character.

The text begins with a comment on what it will be covering and the uniqueness of the local environment and people, including their ancient language. This covers quotations from travel writers about the nature and character of the Cornish and his comments agree with what was recorded by Diodorus Siculus. He quotes Diodorus as being positive about the British and specifically saying that the inhabitants of this district "excel in hospitality" and are "civilised in their mode of life" and footnotes that he will quote the whole passage later on.⁷⁷⁵ These snippets of quotes are selected to match the more contemporary quotes⁷⁷⁶ given beforehand and as such their purpose within the text is clear. It seems that Edmonds wants to illustrate the continuity from

⁷⁷⁰– (October 13, 1848) "Penzance Natural History & Antiquarian Society" In *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 2364* p.1; – (October 12, 1849) "Penzance Natural History & Antiquarian Society" In *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 2416*. p. 6;

⁷⁷¹R. Edmonds (1862).

⁷⁷²R. Edmonds (1863).

⁷⁷³R. Edmonds (1868).

⁷⁷⁴R. Edmonds (1857) and *idem.* (1858).

⁷⁷⁵R. Edmonds (1862) p.5.

⁷⁷⁶Specifically Edmonds quotes from Warner (1808) p.348; and footnotes Wilkie Collins (1851) pp.91, 92

ancient times in the area from as early as possible within the text. He draws this theme out here by following the quotes about civility from Diodorus with comments about how the advantages of ancient times have followed through to the modern era. This theme is also particularly evoked by the chapter about folk customs which he describes as 'some of the remotest antiquities'.

Edmonds continues the first chapter by telling his reader that the focal point of the whole Land's End district is St. Michael's Mount. This he partially explains through its visually striking nature and proceeds to explain various historical associations in order to illustrate its enduring importance. He makes the claim that the Mount is the site of the earliest known port in Britain and host to 'Druidical' rites and Phoenician traders. However, the key point for the thesis is that Edmonds claims that St Michael's Mount is the same as the 'Iktin' mentioned by Diodorus and that it correlates with all other discussions of tin in the area. The entirety of the passage from Diodorus book five, which he mentioned before, is then quoted from "The inhabitants of that extremity of Britain which is called Belerion, ..." to "...they bring their burdens on horses to the mouth of the river Rhone." Edmonds tell his reader that he is using the translation by Dr. Barham⁷⁷⁷ and highlights the Greek text referring to the name of the island for the benefit of the reader.⁷⁷⁸

This footnote into the Greek begins a discussion about the word Iktis/Iktin (which is an argument he reiterates forcefully in his subsequent work). Edmonds suggests that authors who refer to the island as Iktis are 'Latinising' the word where they should not and there is no evidence to make Iktin the accusative rather than the nominative.⁷⁷⁹ It is difficult to know why he is interested in this question but feasibly it is because he wishes to reduce any confusion between Iktis and Vectis that arises because of the similarity of the sounds. Certainly he dismisses the notions of other possible locations for 'Iktin' as speedily as possible in order to concentrate on the implications of a connection between Iktin and St. Michael's Mount. He says that the island is 'now generally allowed to be St. Michael's Mount' and that no other "corresponds with the description of the Greek historian"⁷⁸⁰ by which he must mean that it matches Diodorus' description. He footnotes various arguments in his favour, specifically citing Carne

⁷⁷⁷R. Edmonds (1862) pp. 6-7. Reference given as: Dr. Barham Transactions of the Royal Geological of Society of Cornwall, iii p.88; [T.F. Barham (1828) pp.88-89.]

⁷⁷⁸Barham puts ικτις in brackets and Edmonds footnotes that the original reads: εις την νησον προκειμενην της Βρεττανικης, ονομαζομενην δε Ικτιν.

⁷⁷⁹A view shared by G. de Beer (1960) p.162.

⁷⁸⁰R. Edmonds (1862) p.7.

contradicting Borlase about the possibility of tin in the Scillies⁷⁸¹ and discussing the fact that the Isle of Wight could never have been accessible by land-bridge. Additionally, Edmonds dwells on the etymology of the name of the island arguing that the word originally meant 'tin-port',⁷⁸² building on this concept he then derives the name Britain from bre-tin here meaning 'tin-mount'. In doing so he gives the Land's End district, and St. Michael's Mount in particular, a huge level of significance for the country as a whole (this is another notion he repeats with vigour in his later work) by tying it explicitly to the trade in tin. His evidence for which is then tied to his readings of the ancient authors and their implication of trade. Therefore it seems that this section particularly uses the classical authors to suggest an important role for Cornwall in wider British history.

Edmonds continues by illustrating material evidence to back up his theory that there was trade between the Cornish and Phoenicians. Notably, he gives details about his own excavation of what he believed to be a Phoenician bronze smelting furnace near Mount's Bay.⁷⁸³ Edmonds describes removing sand around brick remains in order to expose ancient pottery and fragments of a bronze vessel. He then offers a breakdown of the metals found (copper, tin & iron) and claims that he also found a large amount of ash and charcoal. Edmonds makes an assumption of a Phoenician link based on the fact that he did not know of any copper mining prior to the Roman conquest and that both Strabo and Caesar mention that bronze implements were imported to Britain.⁷⁸⁴ This he then follows with a very brief description of how such a smelting-house might have been used to cast the metal into cubes based on its mismatch to the description of the purification of tin in pits in Pryce's *Mineralogia Cornubiensis* and also to the similarity to casting houses used at smelting houses during the present time. More modern commentators are less convinced about this smelting-house's antiquity and he appears to have interpreted the excavation of the site more with reference to his own assumptions rather than offering any evidence to illustrate why it was contemporary to Diodorus or earlier (since the exact location for this site is uncertain more recent dating has not been done and it is difficult to assess his claims).⁷⁸⁵

At the end of the chapter he offers us an alternative form of evidence for the

⁷⁸¹R. Edmonds (1862) p.7 n. 1: He references Mr Carne "Geology of the Scilly Isles" in the *Cornwall Geological Transactions* ii p.357, and vii p.153.

⁷⁸²His justification for this seems more than a little spurious.

⁷⁸³R. Edmonds (1862) p. 9 [Note similar as described in C.V. Le Grice (1846)].

⁷⁸⁴R. Edmonds (1862) p.10: n. 7 - Geograph. Lib iii s 8 [Strab. 3.5.11 - μέταλλα δὲ ἔχοντες καττιτέρου καὶ μολίβδου κέραμον ἀντὶ τούτων καὶ τῶν δερμάτων διαλλάττονται καὶ ἄλας καὶ χαλκώματα πρὸς τοὺς ἐμπόρους]; - n 8: De Bello Gallico, lib v. s. 10 [Caes. *B. Gall* 5.12.5].

⁷⁸⁵R.D. Penhallurick (1986) p.216.

Phoenicians trading with Cornwall by making a reference to a bronze artefact attributed to Phoenician traders in a Report of the Royal Institution of Cornwall and the *Journal of the Archaeological Institute*.⁷⁸⁶ Allegedly this bronze bull was found in St. Just in 1832, however its provenance disputed and it is more likely of Egyptian origin.⁷⁸⁷ Edmonds doesn't mention that the other expert who commented on it believed the bull to be Egyptian, only that a Dr. Barham 'has satisfactorily shown' that it was of Tyrian origin.

To help his thesis that the Phoenicians were the originators of certain styles of building and cultural practices in Cornwall⁷⁸⁸ Edmonds also explicitly links Phoenicians and Jews. He says: "In the preceding paragraph I have assumed, agreeably to the commonly received opinion, that "Jews, as well as Phoenicians, were very ancient traders in Phoenician ships;" which refers to Scawen (the Cornish linguist and campaigner) as an example of widespread thought.⁷⁸⁹ Edmonds may be using this link between Jews and Phoenicians to help to create a biblical connection (and justify the biblical references given as evidence in the footnotes) and propose a date for this trade in the area. That using biblical references and discussing Phoenicians follows a broader theme in British historical iconography at this time⁷⁹⁰ is demonstrated by Edmonds' references to Stukeley's work on Stonehenge as well as to John Hawkins' paper on the topic in the *Transactions of the Royal Cornwall Geological Society*.⁷⁹¹

This section of the book allows Edmonds to demonstrate what work he has done so that he can offer proof of his thesis to the readers; in order to be taken seriously he shows fieldwork, scientific analysis and philological analysis as well as textual analysis. This shows that Edmonds was expecting an educated readership who were looking to the text for ideas and also illustrates the variety of effort co-opted to illustrate the importance of the area. On page fourteen, as a way of ending the first chapter, he reiterates the key features of his argument. That is that in the absence of other sources, Biblical lands must have obtained tin from the 'Tyrians' who got it from remote islands; that Herodotus also acknowledges unknown western islands as the source of tin; that

⁷⁸⁶R. Edmonds (1862) p.14 n. 1: - Report of the RIC 1850 p.47; *Journal of the Archaeological Institute* no. 25.

⁷⁸⁷(known as the Apis bull) Identified as late-period Egyptian by A. Dodson (20/10/2008); No finder given. Info. from records at RIC Museum, Truro (accession no – TRURI: 1865.14) private correspondence (05/11/12).

⁷⁸⁸Shown, for example, by his attribution of cliff castle design to the Phoenician style in Chapter VI - R. Edmonds (1862) p.35.

⁷⁸⁹R. Edmonds (1862) p.11 – note that he takes the quote from Buller's *St Just*.

⁷⁹⁰T. Champion (2001) *passim*; See also J. Lennon (2004) and G. Parry (1995) pp.308-330.

⁷⁹¹R. Edmonds (1862) p.14 (n.7) - Stukeley, (1740) *Stonehenge* p.32 [p.34 in Google Books edition]; J. Hawkins (1828) pp.115, 117, 120 – referenced by R. Edmonds (1862) p.14.

those remote islands signify Britain and as Cornwall is the only tin-producing region that they must have been the ones trading in tin. This is an argument formulation that is seen in several authors (with and without the Phoenician connection), however, what is particularly interesting about this account is both its explicit combination of a number of evidentiary methods and its thematic assertion of the prominence of Cornwall in overall British history. The sense of the importance of this area to the wider world permeates the entire work and classical sources are used to justify and give authority to these claims.

In the rest of the book, chapters II – VII chart the physical ancient monuments and remains of the area. They cover standing stones, burial sites, cliff castles, iron age villages and local beliefs about them - all in descriptive depth and often illustrated and some compared with examples from Europe and the near east. Chapter VIII is dedicated to Roman remains in the area, which include a number of coin hoards, a Roman camp at “Bosense” and inscribed stones. It includes transcriptions from various stones and a number of diagrams as well as discussing the possible introduction of Christianity to Cornwall during this period. Edmonds owes a lot of his descriptions and analysis during these chapters to Borlase's work on *Antiquities* and includes a number of references to Hitchins and Drew's *History of Cornwall*. As such it is very much in the style of early archaeological enquiry including in some instances his own sketches and excavations. Chapter IX is on customs and folklore and a further seven chapters illustrate natural phenomena and especially geology. The work is concluded with a detailed history of Penzance which especially looks at buildings and individuals and an appendix on Trevithick.

Edmonds' work is restricted by a self-imposed limited geographical and temporal scope which informs both his focus and likely audience as such he joins a body of work that focused on the far western parts of Cornwall and was often aimed at wealthy travellers.⁷⁹² The antiquities section was initially written for the Cambrian Archaeological Association and therefore specifically aimed at similarly interested (amateur) antiquarians although it is clearly extended for the monograph. The text severs Penwith from the rest of the British Isles and only acknowledges its connections to the English in terms that make it the more important part (except at the end where he mentions the railways and the opportunities that they bring to the area which has resonance for the importance of Cornish-born Trevithick). Similarly he does not offer a

⁷⁹²Including e.g. J.A. Paris (1824); J.T. Blight (1861) and J.O. Halliwell (1861).

history of events after the Roman conquest and mentions little of English encroachment. He clearly enunciates within the title of the book the focus on antiquities and natural history and the preface describes how he has amalgamated several articles into one book. Edmonds' interest clearly covers different technical genres as they relate to his home area but it does not spread to political or economic trends as might be expected from a less narrowly focused history. This may be because he knows little about them or because he believes them to be irrelevant to the work. It is not atypical of an antiquarian to combine the areas of natural history and pre-Roman archaeology and philology but it also leaves an impression on the modern reader either that there is little else of interest or importance. By contrast it also highlights that it is these features which create the unique nature of the area and this second reason seems more apposite for Edmonds.

His later paper on the "Phoenician Tin Trade,"⁷⁹³ allows Edmonds to respond to his critics on the specific subject of Phoenician involvement in Cornwall and goes into slightly different detail to the monograph. There is a notable difference in tone due to its intended audience. This paper was given to and then published by the Plymouth Institution and Devon and Cornwall Natural History Society; since many of the members of the societies to whom it was addressed would have been resident in Cornwall or at Devon a closer interest in the subject can be assumed in contrast to the book's intended wider audience. He opens the piece by saying:

IT has been immemorially believed in Cornwall that Mounts bay was, in prehistoric ages, the resort of the Phoenicians for tin; that St. Michael's Mount is the Iktin of Diodorus Siculus; and that Jews anciently were connected with the tin trade, and carried on tin mines in Cornwall. These facts have lately been questioned by writers of eminence, but are now established beyond the reach of future scepticism.

He then goes on to specifically reference the earlier material on antiquities that he had published (and is discussed above) by recapping his statement about Herodotus' mention of tin islands and the assumption that this refers to Britain. He also repeats the lengthy quote from Diodorus that he used in the earlier monograph from the section on the inhabitants of 'Bolerion' to the part about trade along the Rhone, this time with portions of the Greek text with it. In this article Edmonds extends his discussion of the

⁷⁹³R. Edmonds (1868).

Greek texts by suggesting that Diodorus was ignorant of the fact that Belerion was mentioned in various other texts referenced within the *Library*⁷⁹⁴ including as far back as Hecateus. According to his analysis Hecateus' reference to the Hyperboreans is also directed towards the Mount's Bay area.⁷⁹⁵ However, during the rest of the paper classical authors are removed to the background (with the exception of the phrase “Diodorus' *Iktin*”) until the concluding sentence brings us back to Herodotus ignorance of the position of the Cassiterides.⁷⁹⁶

A key feature of the central portion of the article is its role as a response to criticisms made of his previous publications. For example, Edmonds extends his previous description of the 'smelting-house' near Marazion by referencing a paper given to the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society⁷⁹⁷ which suggested that the use of mortar in the construction shows it to be Roman in origin. Edmonds refutes this assertion simply saying that it is possible for the ancient Britons to have used mortar of their own accord or under instruction from the Phoenicians.⁷⁹⁸ He also then launches into discussion about other critiques of his previous work. There is a brief mention of George Lewis' assertion that Phoenician tin came from India and, on page twenty, the refutation of that author's work by George Smith;⁷⁹⁹ which he first outlined in his Edinburgh paper.⁸⁰⁰ Then the 1868 article outlines his disagreement with a reviewer's comment on the location of Iktin as published in the *Saturday Review*⁸⁰¹ and details his counter-argument for a further three pages in almost identical terms to his 1863 comments.⁸⁰² Principally, Edmonds believes that the reviewer misunderstood Diodorus with respect to the idea about high and low tides and further that the reviewer makes some unsupportable assertions about the overland trade route in order to dismiss St. Michael's Mount as a possible location.

Edmonds' further reasons for his belief that St. Michael's Mount was the trading post Iktin fill most of the rest of the article. The key new point that Edmonds references

⁷⁹⁴R. Edmonds (1868) pp.20-21.

⁷⁹⁵Because the region of Hyperboreans is across the sea from Gaul and can sustain two crops a year – which is also true of that region of Cornwall – Edmonds claims he also argued this in a paper to the RIC in 1863 (this idea also appears in R. Edmonds (1863) p.174).

⁷⁹⁶R. Edmonds (1868) p.37.

⁷⁹⁷In text reference, R. Edmonds (1868) p. 19 gives: “J.T. Blight (1867) “Account of the exploration of subterranean chambers, at Treveneague, in the parish of St. Hilary, Cornwall” *Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society Report* p.25”.

⁷⁹⁸R. Edmonds (1868) pp. 19-20.

⁷⁹⁹G. Smith (1863) *Cassiterides* (p.1 &c) see above pp. 178-183.

⁸⁰⁰R. Edmonds (1863) pp.173-174.

⁸⁰¹In text reference, R. Edmonds (1868) p. 21 gives: “8th Nov 1862 p.563”.

⁸⁰²R. Edmonds (1863) pp.176-178.

in this work is James' pamphlet on the block of tin dredged up from Falmouth Harbour.⁸⁰³ Edmonds says he saw the block itself. Although this text forms a note at the end of the 1863 work,⁸⁰⁴ Edmonds has not fully integrated it into his ideas until the later papers. He describes the size, weight and shape of the block using direct quotes⁸⁰⁵ and follows James closely in the analysis that it plausibly matches the description of trade according to Diodorus.

As with his 1862 monograph, Edmonds uses some etymological/linguistic arguments to back up his claims for Phoenician activity⁸⁰⁶ but here they are used more directly as evidence, and are more convincingly and succinctly expressed (albeit no more likely). He also uses geographical and geological explanations why the Mount would make not just a convenient location for trade but would also more clearly match the description given by Diodorus. The arguments include his own work on subsidence and drift and several other papers presented to learned societies in Cornwall. Like before Edmonds demonstrates the importance of multiple methods of proof and specialist knowledge both of the topic and of scholarship more generally.

This article directly references several other writers (including some discussed in this thesis) who work on the subject of the location of Iktis and the Phoenicians in Cornwall; three of whom he works to refute and four who he names in support of his theories.⁸⁰⁷ The works mentioned are published in a variety of different sources and not simply limited to the transactions of a single or pair of local associations. Thus, the paper offers a very clear view of the fact that there was a range of debate surrounding Cornwall's place in trade in antiquity at this time. The whole style of the paper is designed as an academic rebuttal of critics and (re)evaluation of the evidence, especially the classical texts but also material evidence and philological links, and we notice this particularly in comparison to the earlier work.

It is the interplay of the scholarly intent of the article with his expression of affection for the land and insistence on its importance which makes this work interesting for this thesis. Whilst the work itself may not necessarily be described as

⁸⁰³H. James (1863) [See also H. James (1871)] – above pp.167-172.

⁸⁰⁴R. Edmonds (1863) pp.179-181.

⁸⁰⁵R. Edmonds (1868) p.23.

⁸⁰⁶On the derivation of Marazion versus “Market-Jew” See esp. R. Edmonds (1868) pp.31-34 [Compare R. Edmonds (1862) pp.13-14]; On tin-etain-stean etc. see R. Edmonds (1868) pp.33-34.

⁸⁰⁷Besides Lewis and the anonymous reviewer against his work Edmonds mentions: M. Müller [R. Edmonds (1868) p.31] And as well as Smith and James, Edmonds mentions the following in support of his arguments: - W. Pengelly (5th Apr 1867) & (23rd Jul. 1867). [referenced R. Edmonds (1868) p.25]; J. Bannister (1867) [referenced R. Edmonds (1868) p.31].

politically active, it has the effect of separating Cornwall from other areas and placing strong emphasis on the role of the location on British development firmly rooting Cornish history in the context of wider classical historical activity. Classical evidence, often of specific texts, is used throughout the sections on antiquities in order to lend authority to the claims. The mixture of research with opinion forms an ideally persuasive discussion, particularly for those antiquarians who were interested in defining the individuality of their own area. This is borne out by the frequency with which his work occurs in other places. Edmonds himself does not straightforwardly act to create a shared Cornish sense of history because of the limitations of expectations of his audience, yet he must be considered as part of the general atmosphere of identity building as source material. He offers a positive 'cornu-centric' interpretation of history and the classical evidence and he sets out seemingly academic indicators in the way of original texts and excavations for a central role for the Cornish in British and World history.

All of the texts in this section focus explicitly on the tin-trade and on the Phoenicians – unlike the general histories below the texts have all been written with the ancient world in mind and as such represent a niche type of publication. However, the number of references to these works demonstrates that they were hugely influential and indeed regarded as having done the research in lieu of less academic composers. Both Hawkins and Edmonds make use of scholarship from outside the county and appeal to specialist scholars from different fields. In Hawkins' work the use of continental scientists to show the importance of tin to bronze-making is a notable feature and in Edmonds' text there is commentary and critique of other antiquarians. Similarly Smith's work is framed as a refutation of alternative viewpoints. Although the theses put forward in these works are not universally accepted in scholarly circles, the diversity of comment about them and their clear interaction demonstrate both the importance of the idea of the Phoenicians in Cornwall (which does of course appear in other works) and the extent to which writers were interested in the origins of trade in Cornwall more generally.

Modern interpretation of archaeological excavations has failed to see any discernible stylistic influences from the Phoenicians in Cornwall let alone direct

material traces.⁸⁰⁸ Nonetheless, in the discipline's infancy classification was less accurately made and often reflected the narrative built up by literary and linguistic commentators who may have been one and the same. In general the idea of Phoenician influence in Cornwall fades with increasing archaeological understanding and changing attitudes towards British social development which are further explored in Chapter Four.⁸⁰⁹

3.1.4 : General and Parochial history

Another key branch or thematic group of Cornish historiography is the generic county history which builds stylistically from Carew's broad-ranging *Survey*. Some of this group draw out Cornwall's connection to the ancient Mediterranean within their remit and are hence important to this thesis. This style of generalist history covers a wide range of times and topics and tends not to focus on areas of controversy. Since they also cover a wide variety of topics, parochial histories are here considered as a sub-genre of the generalist-history category that are defined by their organisational principle. That is that parochial histories usually describe the whole county parish-by-parish in alphabetical order, remarking on topics of interest as they arise and varying between the largely descriptive or demographic and those with a more historical interest. Some of the more major ones, such as those mentioned here, begin with a section of general historical overview of the county albeit often nebulous and under-referenced. They were very popular in the mid-to-late nineteenth century.

Overall, the wider generalist works tend to aim for a broad audience who may dip in and out looking for topics of interest and so they have a less narrow and analytical style. Often they do not have a fixed temporal beginning or are arranged thematically. Primarily this genre is to be contrasted to works that focus on a specific era or a more specific location (e.g. Rowse's *Tudor Cornwall* or W.S. Lach-Szymra's *Short History of Penzance etc.*). It is also useful to note that this type of writing is clearly separate from topographical surveys, archaeological/scientific descriptions or academic papers that have a particular requirement for types of reference and tailor their language to their genre. Specifically, because the generalist county history tends to have less space dedicated to explanations of theories they typically require less references to classical

⁸⁰⁸ See above pp.131-135; Also T. Champion (2001) p.455; R.D. Penhallurick (1986) pp. 123 & 129; For a discussion of Phoenician expansion in the far west see M.E. Aubet (2001) pp.257-297.

⁸⁰⁹ See especially T. Champion (2001) and below pp.235-243.

historiography and less nuanced consideration of the texts.

The Epics: Polwhele and Hitchins/Drew

Richard Polwhele

The earliest of the key general histories is that by Richard Polwhele, a Cornish native born in 1760, who also wrote a history of Devon and a selection of poetry.⁸¹⁰ Polwhele was politically conservative and reasonably well-connected amongst literary circles during his time as a curate near Exeter. For a number of years he was a member of the Exeter Society of Gentlemen and published various pieces of poetry of an anti-Jacobin, neoclassical and satirical nature and which has since gained him notoriety for its vehemently anti-feminist views.⁸¹¹ Polwhele eventually moved back to Cornwall and, once there, he compiled a sweeping study of Cornwall and collected some information on the Cornish language.⁸¹²

The *History of Cornwall, civil, military, religious, architectural, agricultural, commercial, biographical, and miscellaneous* was first published between 1803 and 1808 and appeared in a new edition in 1816 which extended it from three to seven volumes.⁸¹³ After dividing his historical period into manageable sections each part then covers by theme, amongst others, military affairs, religious belief, architecture and mining, loosely following the pattern set out by Robert Henry's *History of Great Britain*.⁸¹⁴ The first book is defined as covering the era 'From Caesar to Vortigern' then further sub-divided into three separate sections or periods of activity – of which only the first covers from Caesar's invasion to Vespasian's conquest is relevant to this discussion. Although this would seem to consciously avoid speculation about the prehistoric state of the county and the presence of Phoenician traders in fact it leaves the author with the scope to analyse Strabo, Diodorus and Pliny as the themes dictate. Indeed, Polwhele says that he will discuss the movements of the West Britons before the Romans in order to focus his readers upon Cornwall and its situation.

Polwhele's analysis of the Roman conquest of Cornwall is subtly different to that of

⁸¹⁰For an analysis of Polwhele's place in the literary history and connections to Romanticism and classicising narratives see D. Moore (2008).

⁸¹¹His poem *The Unsex'd Females* (1798) is extensively commented on in modern Literary Criticism and his political sentiments are also clear from his work. See e.g. D. Moore (2009) pp. 739, 741-2, 752-3; Also N. Mason (2001) p.119.

⁸¹²Biographical information principally from: W.P. Courtney (2004)[accessed 20 Aug 2012].

⁸¹³Edition referenced throughout the thesis: R. Polwhele (1816).

⁸¹⁴M.S. Phillips (2000) p.3.

his most important predecessor, Borlase (who he footnotes at length). He comments that there was little Roman encroachment during the movements of Julius Caesar but argues that they were well subdued before Agricola's time.⁸¹⁵ Polwhele remarks that a lack of specific description of the conquest of Cornwall by our extant literary sources, in particular Tacitus, does not necessarily mean the capture was easily accomplished.⁸¹⁶ However, he does note that the lack of forts and the practical mercantile nature of the inhabitants suggest an agreement was quickly reached.⁸¹⁷ The tone of this narrative suggests that the Roman conquest in Cornwall was a civilised negotiation rather than the putting down of troublesome savages. This is perhaps a deliberate attempt to appropriate some sense of Roman civilisation for the Cornish people as Borlase does. Both authors reflect the conservative view-point common in the gentry that the primitive peoples of the British Isles were the perfect candidates to be improved by the advances of the Roman Empire.

On page five, Polwhele says "Of the Phenician and Greek merchants who traded with the Cornish, before the existence of the Belgae in this country, I shall speak in another place." In fact, although he comments on the influence of Phoenician and Greek on the Cornish language in chapter nine,⁸¹⁸ he addresses this topic primarily in chapter six on mining and only very briefly. Thus in his sixth chapter Polwhele explicitly sets out the notion that the fact that the Romans were interested in Cornish (and Devonian) mines is backed by the literary evidence. He footnotes Diodorus, Strabo, Polybius and Pliny as evidence of mining taking place⁸¹⁹ thereby offering a wide complement of classical writing to support him. Additionally, he posits that the Romans made improvements to the local methods⁸²⁰ and Roman mining activity in Cornwall might have been of a similar type to that used in Spain⁸²¹ which could account for the limited archaeological finds. This would support his thesis which is that there was significant amounts of ancient mining, especially in the Scilly Isles.

Despite his caution, Polwhele does make an effort to describe archaeological evidence for ancient mining (pre- and post-Roman occupation), including mentioning relevant coin finds as well as discussing the locations of slag piles, and he uses the

⁸¹⁵R. Polwhele (1816) pp. 6-7.

⁸¹⁶R. Polwhele (1816) pp. 8-19.

⁸¹⁷R. Polwhele (1816) p.14.

⁸¹⁸R. Polwhele (1816) p.197.

⁸¹⁹R. Polwhele (1816) p.174. n.† &c.

⁸²⁰R. Polwhele (1816) pp.174-179.

⁸²¹R. Polwhele (1816) p.175 n.*.

evidence of contemporary mining practice combined with texts to show that mining was unlikely to have been confined to tin but probably included iron and gold.⁸²² Polwhele thereby demonstrates that he is not unaware of the increasing breadth of scientific enquiry being undertaken in the county although his own research was not very extensive.

Interestingly, in keeping with the thematic style there is little to no comment about trade in the metals in the chapter on mining instead that is confined to the chapter on commerce⁸²³ whereupon Polwhele cites “Cesar, Mela, Solinus and other Roman authors”⁸²⁴ as evidence for a tin-trade. He goes on to mention Pliny with reference to whether the Cornish shared the distribution of tin with Spain and Portugal and to use Strabo's testimony for both type and date of local trade. He mixes Strabo's description of the trade from the Cassiterides with comments about general exports from the British Isles hypothesising a wide overlap in the general activity of the country and the specific involvement of the county.

Overall Polwhele's history displays a moderate amount of classical references but he rarely specifies book or section numbers, especially for the Greek texts.⁸²⁵ Although he quotes extensively from more modern authors there are almost no direct quotes from the Greek or Latin (although Latin does appear inside quotes from English writers) nor is there evidence of his own translation work. This appears to show that Polwhele was dependent on the work of his predecessors for the understanding of the literary evidence although he clearly draws different historical inferences. The footnotes for this book show extensive knowledge of the work of Camden, Carew and Borlase and, as well as containing some quotations, they display a fair amount of philological work and criticisms of the manuscripts of Hals and Tonkin.⁸²⁶ So, despite the fact there is little direct consideration or analysis of the classical texts in the main body of the chapter, the work shows a lively attempt to justify its claims of the existence of ancient mining practice and active trading in a variety of areas.

⁸²²R. Polwhele (1816) pp. 174-179.

⁸²³R. Polwhele (1816) Chapter 8 pp.188-191.

⁸²⁴R. Polwhele (1816) pp. 188-189.

⁸²⁵Note R. Polwhele (1816) p.174 n.¶ contains page nos. but not edition or book/chapter references.

⁸²⁶These uncompleted MSS seem to have circulated widely amongst Cornish antiquarians and were edited and published by Davies Gilbert [D. Gilbert (1838)].

Whitaker's Supplement

Although Polwhele largely avoids discussion of Greek and Phoenician involvement in Cornish trade and ignores discussion of dating early Mediterranean contacts, the topic is dealt with more substantially by Reverend Whitaker⁸²⁷ in his *supplement to the first volumes of Polwhele's History* which appeared with the second edition. Thus, in section III of the *Supplement* the author claims to 'complete' the discoveries made on the topic previously and chooses to focus on the Scilly Isles. The key argument Whitaker makes is that Borlase's assertion that Cornwall could be considered part of the Cassiterides because of the fact that it looks like part of the islands from the Scillies is nonsense. Instead he argues that the ancients must have been well-enough acquainted with Cornwall to know of the difference between the two,⁸²⁸ that even if some authors had confused the trade in one with the other that was not the same as them being equated and that the Scillies could well have sustained a trade in their own right.

The writer is very colourful in his condemnation of those who have suggested such a conflation of locations even going as far as to suggest that antiquarians must be mad to think such things plausible.⁸²⁹ Having dismissed Borlase forcefully with this assertion of the skill of the ancients, Whitaker goes on to devote twenty pages to the history of mining in the Scillies. He begins with a discussion of the Phoenicians, which he supports first with biblical passages⁸³⁰ before moving to the evidence from Strabo and Pliny. The selection of quotations are primarily used to put forward the idea that the Phoenicians deliberately concealed the location of the islands and also that the islands must have been close to Britain. The first idea the historian assumes is established fact even if he finds the idea despicable:

[The Cadizians] bought such quantities of tin into the market, from some distant isles in the Atlantick, as gained those isles among the Grecians the general appellation of the TIN ISLES ; but they concealed from all the world the exact position of the isles. [...] Nor

⁸²⁷ [J. Whitaker] (1804). See also references to R. Polwhele (1816). Whitaker published the supplement as 'The Historian of Manchester' and also wrote on religious history.

⁸²⁸ "The antients knew Cornwall too well, to make such mistakes as these. They knew it early, they knew it late. They knew it in the Phenicians at first, in the Greeks afterwards, and in the Romans at last." Whitaker (1804) p.47.

⁸²⁹ "Dr. Borlase thus takes for granted what is absolutely false in fact, and then endeavours to account for it by a logick all frivolous in itself." Whitaker (1804) p.46; Also: "Antiquaries at times take a peep into the cells of Bedlam, imagine they behold the antients there playing their anticks of frenzy, and become deranged themselves by the imagination." *idem* p. 47.

⁸³⁰ Particularly Ezekiel xxvii; Although Isaiah and Numbers are also mentioned.

was concealment all the means used by this Dutch kind of republican merchants, for keeping to themselves the whole trade in British tin. More effectually to preclude all rivals in it, with a truly Dutch spirit they falsified geography itself;⁸³¹

Whitaker's proofs for this blockade are Strabo (Προτερον μεν, [οὔ]ν Φοινικες μονοι την εμποριαν ταυτην εκ των Γαδειρων, κρυπτοντες &c &c)⁸³² and Pliny (A Graecis appellatum Cassiteron, fabuloseque narratum in insulis Atlantici maris peti,.....navigiis circumsutis corio advehi).⁸³³ It is thus Pliny's evidence that is used to prove the proximity of the islands to Britain because of the similarity between the coracles in this quote and Timaeus' discussion of wicker boats at a separate point in the *Natural History*. Whitaker makes careful footnotes of the ancient texts and includes quotations in Latin and Greek based on contemporary editions. This approach is directly in contrast to Polwhele's earlier chapters which are much less detailed but more measured in their tone.

After the discussion of the Phoenicians, Whitaker also considers the evidence from Pytheas. Again his evidence largely draws on Strabo and Pliny, although here he specifically notes the transmission of ideas through Timaeus and Posidonius. Whitaker credits reports of Pytheas' journey for the Greek knowledge of tin islands generally. This is then followed by consideration of the concealment of the islands, the voyage of Publius Crassus and improvements to mine-workings that he instigated, as credited by Strabo.⁸³⁴ Whitaker also suggests that Diodorus' comment on the civilised nature of the inhabitants of Belerion should in fact be directed to the Scilly islanders alone,⁸³⁵ proof of which he suggests is to be found in the fact that they wore tunics rather than skins and body paint. Throughout Whitaker's work we see detailed and lengthy usage of multiple classical authors which requires careful synthesis but suffers from a distinctly literal interpretation of the translations.

⁸³¹Whitaker (1804) p.49.

⁸³²He references this [Whitaker (1804) p.49] as Strabo 265, gives no accents and omits a word compared to Teubner which gives πρότερον μὲν οὐδὲν Φοίνικες μόνοι τὴν ἐμπορίαν ἔστελλον ταύτην ἐκ τῶν Γαδείρων κρύπτοντες ἅπασι τὸν πλοῦν -Strab 3.5.11 (see above p.111) Meineke (1866) p.239 gives Causabon ref. as C.175 so this does not seem to be the reference Whitaker is using.

⁸³³Whitaker (1804) p.49 – Reference given as Pliny xxxiv 16; Teubner gives: graecis appellatum cassiterum fabuloseque narratum in insulas atlantici maris peti vitilibusque navigiis et circumsutis corio advehi (see above p.79).

⁸³⁴“Some years before the entry of Caesar into, Britain, a merchant of the name Publius Crassus, who deserves almost equally with Pytheas to be recorded for the action, made his way successfully to these objects of desire and doubt.” &c. Whitaker (1804) p.55.

⁸³⁵Whitaker (1804) p.56.

Whitaker clearly believed that the evidence for Cornish connections to the ancient world was strong and convincing but he mixed evidence from different dates indiscriminately, making no effort to consider the transmission problems between descriptions of the voyage of Pytheas and the geographical descriptions proffered by Ptolemy in the second century CE five hundred years later. Similarly he explicitly related the description in Strabo of the islanders as being dressed as 'Tragick Furies' with Avienus' discussion of the Oestryminides and uses that work as collaboration for the earlier information despite potentially being derived from it. From this point Whitaker goes on to stress the importance of the tin trade for local development and to consider its effect on continental connections. He even stresses the role it played in Caesar's invasion⁸³⁶ and the extent of the distribution network on the continent.⁸³⁷ He is keen to 'correct' writers who attribute all of these features to mainland Cornwall rather than the islands through their zeal for Cornish fame and who do not, in his opinion, pay sufficient attention to evidence of tin-workings on the Scilly Islands themselves.⁸³⁸ On the other hand he dismisses Borlase's assertion that Iktis was one of the Scilly Isles (noting Diodorus' comment about the tin travelling in wagons) and favours the Isle of Wight as a location for the island suggesting that it would make his proposed overland route more accessible.⁸³⁹

Whitaker is a difficult source to analyse, his work did appear independently but must have reached its greatest audience with the publication of later editions of Polwhele. His tone is scathing of his predecessors; the commentary especially allows him to castigate Borlase and Camden for their ignorance and is frequently peppered with colourful turns of phrase. On the other hand he makes clear and considered use of ancient sources and extensive careful quotations. Overall Whitaker clearly prefers to trust the ancient texts over any British interpretations and, although perhaps too literal in his own readings, demonstrates a movement towards greater emphasis on the Classics than the antiquarian movement more generally.

Hitchins and Drew

The next important large-scale general history of Cornwall was published in 1824 in Helston. It was the work of two men, Fortescue Hitchins who did the initial research

⁸³⁶Whitaker (1804) p.59.

⁸³⁷Whitaker (1804) pp.60-61.

⁸³⁸Whitaker (1804) esp. pp.61-66.

⁸³⁹Whitaker (1804) p.65.

but died before completing the text and Samuel Drew who edited it for publication and claims to have undertaken a lot of extra work.⁸⁴⁰ The text covers a variety of topics from natural history and local traditions in the first volume to an extensive parochial history in the second. The ancient sections begin with an overview of the British Isles and their prehistoric customs before becoming more specifically interested in the arrival of the Phoenicians, the Greeks and the Romans and the remains that they left.

Drew begins the work with a preface in which he outlines the previous histories of the county, naming William of Worcester's *Itinerary* and Leland's research as predecessors to Camden and Carew.⁸⁴¹ Norden⁸⁴² is dismissed and the unfinished and unpublished works of Hals and Tonkin are lamented. Eventually, the works of Borlase and Polwhele are mentioned and Drew says that he intends to discuss these gentlemen amongst the 'modern literary characters' of Cornwall.⁸⁴³ Drew's preface also mentions several descriptions of churches in Cornwall, Reverend Whitaker's commentary, the volume by the Lysons mentioned below and Hawkins' *Observations*.⁸⁴⁴ It is noteworthy that he specifically acknowledges his debt to his predecessors and calls the work a compilation. Drew explicitly claims that the ideas are old but that the connections and style are new and that corrections have been made where appropriate.⁸⁴⁵ This suggests a tone for the book much like we might expect from the classical universal historians and encourages us to believe that controversy will be avoided.

Hitchins' and Drew's text is arranged thematically as well as chronologically. The first few sections of chapter one of the *History*, having commented on the difficulty of understanding ancient history, focus on the derivations of the names of Britain and Cornwall. They illustrate Borlase's discussions about the Cassiterides and especially the role of Bochart. In these parts of the work we see that Hitchins/Drew is interested both in the idea of Phoenician and Celtic origins for Cornish words⁸⁴⁶ and peoples and also that critiquing the work of the major preceding theories especially those of Borlase and Polwhele⁸⁴⁷ is very important to the overall discussion. However, despite frequent

⁸⁴⁰G.C. Boase & W.P. Courtney (1874-1882) comments that the Drew did most of the work and notes that it was published in a number of parts because of the poverty of the publisher – *Vol I* p.120 (on S. Drew generally pp.119-121 on F. Hitchins pp.242-243).

⁸⁴¹F. Hitchins (1824) p. ii [William of Worcester (c.1415-c.1482) *Itinerarium* – According to Drew visited Cornwall c. 1464; John Leland (c.1503 -1552) *West-Country Itinerary* 1542].

⁸⁴²John Norden (c.1547-1625) in F. Hitchins (1824) p. ii.

⁸⁴³F. Hitchins (1824) p. iii.

⁸⁴⁴F. Hitchins (1824) pp. iii-vi.

⁸⁴⁵F. Hitchins (1824) p. vi

⁸⁴⁶Note the use of Lhuyd – F. Hitchins (1824) p.8.

⁸⁴⁷And indeed Whitaker's commentary.

comments about the Phoenicians and Romans, direct reference to classical texts is rare. Similarly, although the next section of the text considers the distribution and origins of the local Celtic tribes it does not reference very many ancient texts except by considering their use in Polwhele, Whitaker, Borlase and Bochart.

This first chapter of the *History* also discusses the legend of the arrival of the Trojans and the plausibility of different migratory patterns at several points; both from the point of view of the dating of the first inhabitants and by investigating where those peoples came from. The authors frame many of their arguments and analyses in this section according to their belief in the Phoenician interaction with Cornwall. Particularly, they use the known dates of the Phoenicians to suggest the latest point by which there must have been an established civilisation in Cornwall with whom the Phoenicians could trade.⁸⁴⁸ It is clear that the writers place a fair amount of importance on the notion of an ancient Cornish tin trade for the Cornish people generally but also consider it a vital part of their historiographical proofs.

The second chapter⁸⁴⁹ focuses on the life-style of the ancient Britons and principally deals with the contemporary ideas about druids and their social influence (whereas the gory details of religious practices are considered in chapter three and archaeological remains are found in chapter four). It contains very little classical quotation although both Diodorus' and Strabo's descriptions of the ancient British clothing and habits more generally do appear. Like the preceding chapter, there is an emphasis on the role of the Phoenicians on the Cornish world and they, together with the Greeks, are credited with introducing various arts and crafts to the region. Hitchins/Drew particularly comments on the probable impact of seeing Phoenician ships on the natives.⁸⁵⁰ However, interestingly the writers clearly do not believe that these incomers had a significant effect on the type and quantity of production of metalwork.⁸⁵¹ This chapter and the two subsequent ones do not substantially add to the discussion of the classical connections in Cornwall but they do continue to illustrate the way that the classical authors were interwoven with many historical ideas and discussion.

However, in chapter five the authors explicitly address the idea of the Phoenicians visiting Cornwall. They begin with a general overview of the nature of the Phoenicians and comment that it is likely that the exploring merchants who ventured as far as the

⁸⁴⁸E.g. F. Hitchins (1824) p.48.

⁸⁴⁹F. Hitchins (1824) pp.49-72.

⁸⁵⁰F. Hitchins (1824) pp.62-64.

⁸⁵¹F. Hitchins (1824) p.64.

Scillies were in fact inhabitants of colonies in Spain. The writers then move on to a discussion of the availability and value of tin. Interestingly the first direct reference to an ancient literary source (excluding the Bible and an oblique reference to Homer) is to book four of Pliny's text⁸⁵² and actually forms part of a quote of Whitaker's supplement.⁸⁵³ Furthermore, a comment about the types of goods being traded for tin clearly based on Strabo's description of the Cassiterides is uncredited to either ancient or contemporary writer.⁸⁵⁴ On the other hand, a little later, after the writers mused about the advantages of this trade for the Phoenicians, there is a directly quoted translation of Diodorus⁸⁵⁵ – based on the evidence of classical commentary demonstrated earlier in the text it seems likely that this too is borrowed from an intermediary rather than being the product of the scholars' erudition.

The work continues by describing the arguments relating to volume and style of trade in Bochart and Borlase and then an extensive description of the ancient methods of extracting and preparing tin for sale. Eventually this leads to a discussion of Strabo and Diodorus' evidence which particularly focuses on the role of Publius Crassus in improving mining techniques in the Scilly Islands and Cornwall. However, the authors also choose to emphasise the fact that there was a form of mining practice before his intervention. Although they give a variety of possible processes of metal extraction, the writers suggest that they cannot offer a clear description of what exact means the Cornish might actually have had to process the ore into metal. Partially, they say, this is because of missing evidence from Polybius and instead suggest that the best option for understanding the process is the comments from Diodorus.⁸⁵⁶ The writers tell us that he only addresses the issue in general terms, which seems to fit the broad-ranging approach of his writing, and they paraphrase his statements about the way that miners work seams and then purify the ore. This does generally seem to fit with modern interpretations of ancient Cornish mining. In the same section they also say that the blocks were cubic, which is clearly their chosen understanding of the word *astragalos*. Throughout this section no attempt is made to discuss the doubts that might exist about the hypothesis or to discuss the types of gaps in the evidence.

The next part of the work tries to investigate whether Cornwall or the Scilly Isles

⁸⁵²Plin *HN* 4.30. See above Chapter 2 p. 82.

⁸⁵³Whitaker (1804) p.49 see above pp.197-198; At F. Hitchins (1824) pp. 239-240.

⁸⁵⁴F. Hitchins (1824) p.241.

⁸⁵⁵F. Hitchins (1824) pp.241-242.

⁸⁵⁶(Diod. Sic. 5.22.2 above pp.124-126) F. Hitchins (1824) p.250; It is not clear why they think that Polybius would have given information on mining.

were the primary source of ancient tin.⁸⁵⁷ It clearly joins the debate engendered by Whitaker's criticism of Borlase. The authors' key conclusion is that mining began earliest in the Scillies and spread eastwards as time went on and the reserves on the islands grew smaller. They also suggest that land subsidence and the encroachment of the sea has caused the loss of a number of mining works and potentially obscured Phoenician remains; this is an idea that seems to have been surprisingly popular with early nineteenth century writers. These authors even use this process of flooding to explain how the Scillies changed from being ten islands (as per Strabo's Cassiterides) to a hundred and forty.⁸⁵⁸ The 'digression' on the nature and causes of the flooding continues for several pages and then leads into the related claim that flooding also occurred at the same time in Mount's Bay.

The writers are then able to consider what ports the Phoenicians might have used that still survive. In particular they say that the evidence of Diodorus is the only useful material to work with but that it has spawned a wide variety of theories. Hitchins/Drew quote Borlase's translation of Diodorus and naturally move into a discussion on the location of Iktis. They initially raise the idea of the Isle of Wight as a location before discussing the problems with that hypothesis such as distance and tribal rivalries and quote Borlase's objections to the suggestion at length. This includes his discussion of why Pliny's Mictis should be considered to be the same as Iktis.⁸⁵⁹ Then the text looks at other writers' objections to the Isle of Wight theory including Pryce and Hals' theories favouring Falmouth as a trading port.⁸⁶⁰ It discusses the extensive philological ideas that relate Greek and 'Phenician' words to old Cornish place names with a fair degree of imagination. On the other hand, the authors also provide the counter-arguments of Whitaker in favour of Isle of Wight, including his suggestion that roads and trade were specifically diverted in the time of Augustus and therefore that is what is referred to by Diodorus.⁸⁶¹ It is clear that Hitchins and Drew are not entirely convinced by this hypothesis but they prefer it to Polwhele's suggestion of St. Nicholas' Island near Plymouth because it fits better with their theory that tin mining and trade spread east from the Scilly Islands towards Devonshire rather than west to east as a trading post near Plymouth would suggest.⁸⁶²

⁸⁵⁷F. Hitchins (1824) pp. 252-267.

⁸⁵⁸F. Hitchins (1824) p.259.

⁸⁵⁹F. Hitchins (1824) pp. 270-271.

⁸⁶⁰W. Pryce (1778) p. iv-vii; See also above pp.167-168.

⁸⁶¹F. Hitchins (1824) pp.277-278.

⁸⁶²F. Hitchins (1824) pp.279-282.

At length, the authors move onto Hawkins and the suggestion of St. Michael's Mount as a location for Iktis.⁸⁶³ This assertion is troubling for the writers because of issues around the flooding or subsidence of the land surrounding the Mount. The writers are convinced that this change in relative sea-level must have happened significantly later than the Phoenician traders' activities in Cornwall (which they mentioned earlier on and repeatedly use Borlase to prove). Thus, they conclude again that all evidence for such a port must have been destroyed by the sea and that any proof for Iktis' location that remains is still to be discovered at the time of writing.

Finally, with regard to the ideas investigated in this thesis, the work considers the arrival of the Greeks in Cornwall and their impact.⁸⁶⁴ As might be expected the narrative begins with a description of Greek maritime activity generally and a description of the voyage of Pytheas, much of which is derived from Borlase. The writers suggest that soon after Pytheas, the Greeks were also involved in trade to the Scilly Isles and it was this period that led to the islands being named the Cassiterides - in this they are explicitly following Whitaker's analysis. Hitchins and Drew suggest that the Greeks collaborated with the Phoenicians to hide the source of their tin from the Romans. The writers offer a variety of classical material from numerous periods of history to strengthen their discussions. Pliny, Timaeus, Herodotus, Posidonius and Athenaeus are all named as source material for the period between the founding of Marseilles and the Roman conquest of Britain. They also talk in depth about Ptolemy's *Geography* and the names given to parts of Cornwall as evidence of the extent of Greek knowledge of the region before considering Strabo's description of the islands.

Interestingly, the authors say that the idea of the inhabitants of the Cassiterides dressing like Furies in fact demonstrates that they were actually more civilised than the rest of Britain and that this was backed up by Diodorus' testimony.⁸⁶⁵ They interpret the Strabo's comment as showing that the islanders were using imported and dyed wool rather than dressing in skins and covering themselves in paint and that the term 'furies' is therefore only a visual illustration and not a judgement on their behaviour. In common with their previous comments, however, they attribute these achievements to the interactions with the Phoenicians and Greeks – an idea supported by Diodorus. However, the nature of prehistoric civilisation in Cornwall and the Scilly Islands is not

⁸⁶³Hawkins' work is discussed at length above pp.173-178; On Iktis particularly see C. Hawkins (1811) pp.55-56 above at p.177.

⁸⁶⁴F. Hitchins (1824) pp.295-310.

⁸⁶⁵F. Hitchins (1824) p.304 [on this idea see also Whitaker (1804) p.56 – above p.198].

explored in a great deal of depth and instead the writers focus on discussion of archaeological remains and their effectiveness as proof for mining and trading activity.⁸⁶⁶

This final section of this sixth chapter begins by reiterating the literary references to Cornwall in the classical writers.⁸⁶⁷ For the first time the writers mention the historical sequence of the authors – they use the dating for Herodotus' comments and Polybius' lost text to demonstrate that the Greeks must have been at least vaguely aware of Britain long before Camden thinks that they came to the country. Nonetheless the writers are conscious that there is nothing firm to date either the Greeks first arrival in Cornwall nor the duration of their contact either in literature or in the archaeological record. Instead Hitchins/Drew finds the only surviving traces of Mediterranean contact in philology, in place names particularly, and suggests that the reason for the absence of material survivals is twofold: firstly that trade does not inspire permanent and enduring structures like fortifications and secondly that the Phoenician monopoly kept classical influences to a minimum.

This *History of Cornwall* is a rich compendium of ideas, 'facts' and earlier literature. At times the thematic organisation and links between topics can be difficult to follow and although the writers have collated and critiqued a good number of earlier writings on Cornish history their analysis is strongly biased. It is possible that the circumstances of the composition of the work has meant that a number of the sections are more fragmented, derivative and under-developed than might have been intended. Nonetheless, throughout the text the idea of a connection to the Mediterranean in ancient times through Phoenician and Greek traders is a strong theme and this affects the way that the authors present and review their evidence. There is almost no demonstration of a first-hand knowledge of the classical texts and it seems clear that throughout the work their relevance is filtered through the key historians of Cornwall and industry generally. This demonstrates both the importance of the other writers and the extent to which Cornish writers felt that it was appropriate to re-present this information to a new audience.

⁸⁶⁶Incl. possible mine workings, tools used and found subsequently and coins – extensively.

⁸⁶⁷F. Hitchins (1824) p.306.

Minor Generalists

As well as the influential writers considered above, there are a number of surviving historical works that have received less attention from subsequent writers. This category of work includes several of the writers mentioned by Drew above, such as the Lysons brothers and Davies Gilbert who revised the manuscripts of Hals and Tonkin.⁸⁶⁸ Other texts in this style include Polsue's *Parochial History*⁸⁶⁹ and Penaluna's *Historical Survey*.⁸⁷⁰ These works are not investigated in detail in this thesis because in general the writers in this category have very little to say about the classical writers and prefer to repeat the conclusions of the more comprehensive writers.

Nonetheless, a few points should be raised. Most importantly, we find that Diodorus and Iktis feature most prominently of all the classical topics in these accounts albeit through the work of previous writers. Furthermore, we see that Borlase is the most significant source of information especially, for example, in the Lysons brothers' text.⁸⁷¹ However, not only do Carew and Whitaker/Polwhele make regular appearances but other writers like Christopher Hawkins are also used. Finally these works show a tendency to begin their narrative sections at the Roman conquest with some discussion of prehistory only in special localities where other descriptions exist and to try to avoid speculation and controversy.

One particular minor writer, Reverend J.J. Daniell,⁸⁷² who wrote a so-called *Compendium of the History of Cornwall* exemplifies the lack of analysis and broad sweep of the historical discussion in many texts. Daniell begins with a section on ancient history that moves through Phoenicians, ancient Britons, Greeks and Romans briefly summarising their nature and activities. He takes for granted the presence of the Phoenicians in Cornwall⁸⁷³ and gives an account of the concealment of trade from Strabo all of which he seems to have got from Smith's *Cassiterides* rather than through original research. The description of the ancient Britons is derived from Caesar and focuses primarily on the druids whereas the discussion of the Greeks gives only suppositions and the section on the Romans in fact emphasises Diodorus' testimony which, although it includes a quote, has no references.⁸⁷⁴ Nonetheless a summary of the

⁸⁶⁸D. & S. Lysons (1814); D. Gilbert (1838).

⁸⁶⁹J. Polsue (ed.) (1867).

⁸⁷⁰W. Penaluna (ed.) (1838).

⁸⁷¹D. & S. Lysons (1814) e.g. pp. ccxxii; ccxxxviii; 4; 144; Also D. Gilbert (1838) pp. ix, 180, 360.

⁸⁷²Rev. J.J. Daniell (1880) [Note that Thurston Peter also edited an edition of this].

⁸⁷³J.J. Daniell (1880) pp. 2-3.

⁸⁷⁴J.J. Daniell (1875) Britons: pp.4-6; Greeks pp.6-7; Romans pp.7-11.

section referring to the Greeks in his history was given in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*,⁸⁷⁵ possibly as sort of advertisement.

It is also worth noting Joseph Chattaway's *Historical Sketch of the Danmonii*⁸⁷⁶ which deals with the history of Devon and Cornwall up to the beginning of the Saxon period. After a few chapters of background mythology including the arrival of the Trojans there are chapters on Phoenician, Greek and Roman trade. It mentions etymology, the story of the protectiveness of the Phoenicians and Roman discovery of the Cassiterides (although without direct reference to Strabo) and devotes a whole chapter to the location of 'Ictis'. In that chapter, Chattaway does directly mention Diodorus Siculus and Pliny as well as talking about Borlase's and Hawkins' theories but he does not offer any quotations or direct references. Furthermore, he does not attempt to analyse or critique any of the texts. Chattaway has clearly read a number of texts but he is only interested in creating an outline of a storyline that centralises the south-west.

Minor writers, like Daniell and Chattaway, therefore tend to reflect the trends of the other generalists and writers whose texts they have compounded to create their works. Overall the generalists do not display a great deal of classical knowledge or analysis and although they demonstrate that there was an awareness of Cornish prehistory it is clear that the difficulties it presents led to either uncritical acceptance of other scholarship or avoidance of the topic. Where there is extensive description of antiquity (as in Hitchins and Drew) it is synthetic and derivative. On the other hand, the works also comprehensively show the extent of the interest in Cornish history and start to open up the range of possible uses of ancient knowledge.

3.1.5: Casual References

As well as generalist historical works and specifically adapted papers, a different sort of sketch is found within guidebooks to localities and reference books. Comments about Greek sources and tales of Phoenicians sometimes serve as a starting point for discussions. Work in this category, which is usually focused away from the specifically ancient era and more on the particular locale, has less interest in the details of textual evidence directly from the source and more on reworking other interpretations. This category of casual commentators also includes the notes and queries of educated

⁸⁷⁵ – (Feb. 15th 1856) “Miscellaneous- Cornwall and the Greeks” *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 2747* p. 7; [Note this summary is of an earlier edition than that discussed in depth in this thesis].

⁸⁷⁶J. Chattaway (1830).

gentlemen. Therefore they tend to be inclined to make off-hand references to classical writers without mentioning the texts themselves or to simply infer that ancient Mediterranean trade was proven.

As with the wider historical texts the idea of the Phoenician connection to Cornwall was particularly appealing to many writers and appears in several forms, including ninety articles in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette*.⁸⁷⁷ More importantly, in 1842, Reverend John Buller published a “Statistical account of the Parish of St. Just”⁸⁷⁸ which included an account of 'ecclesiastical and druidical antiquities'. In which it was considered clear that the Phoenicians traded tin in his district.⁸⁷⁹ Buller separately cites Ezekiel, Diodorus and Timaeus (noting that the latter is used by Pliny) as evidence for this.⁸⁸⁰ Specifically, he commented on Pliny's description of wicker boats and paraphrased Diodorus' description of the trade route. Most memorably Buller comments on a model of a 'bull' found in his area⁸⁸¹ which is cited as evidence by Edmonds.⁸⁸² However, these few short comments are the sum total of his consideration of the role of ancient Mediterranean cultures in the district.

Similarly, A.H. Cummings, a vicar of Truro, in his book on churches in the Lizard district⁸⁸³ tells his readers that the Phoenicians and Romans came to the area.⁸⁸⁴ Cummings lists his sources at the beginning of the work and they include amongst others: Camden, Carew, Polwhele, Lysons, Gilbert, Borlase, W.C. Borlase, Edmonds and the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall*. Using the various authors he describes various finds (like Roman coin hoards) and points out that although there was no evidence of permanent Phoenician settlements or artefacts there was evidence in other forms such as linguistic and cultural survivals in the civilisation of the locals.⁸⁸⁵ There is brief mention of Diodorus but no quotation or analysis.⁸⁸⁶ Both Buller and Cummings are not focusing on antiquity specifically and therefore do not dedicate much time to it.

⁸⁷⁷First published in 1803. This Figure based on a search of the 19th Century British Library newspapers database holdings [16th Mar.1811 - 27th Dec. 1900] A proportion of these refer to a Ship of that name.

⁸⁷⁸J. Buller (1842).

⁸⁷⁹“...distinctly seen in clear weather the cluster of the Scilly Islands, the Cassiterides of the Ancients, so called from the Greek word *κασσιτερος*, tin. To these islands and to the adjacent shores the Phoenicians traded centuries before the Christian æra for tin, copper and perhaps gold,…” J. Buller p.4.

⁸⁸⁰J. Buller (1842) p.5.

⁸⁸¹J. Buller (1842) pp. 6-7.

⁸⁸²See above pp. 186-187 esp. n. 787.

⁸⁸³A.H. Cummings (1875).

⁸⁸⁴A.H. Cummings (1875) pp.95-97.

⁸⁸⁵A.H. Cummings (1875) pp.103-7.

⁸⁸⁶A.H. Cummings (1875) pp.70 & 74.

One of the most significant and wide-ranging types of discussion of ancient Cornwall is the comments that appear in local newspapers. The *Royal Cornwall Gazette* not only carried advertisements of the publication of new volumes on the topic and outlines of the proceedings of the various local learned societies⁸⁸⁷ but also included comments about national antiquarian issues and correspondence considering the Phoenicians and the classical sources.⁸⁸⁸ For example, Diodorus and Tacitus are dragged into a debate on the antiquity of Truro,⁸⁸⁹ and a translation of *Ora Maritima* by a local scholar was published.⁸⁹⁰ In the first, John Bannister⁸⁹¹ claims that Truro controlled the port of Falmouth in antiquity and that since the discovery of the block of tin described by James could be linked to Diodorus' writing, it seems sensible to consider Truro to be of ancient founding and equivalent to Tacitus' Trutulensian port. The second demonstrates the appeal of classical material and desire to disseminate information more widely.

Similarly, over the course of the latter parts of the nineteenth century there is a discernible trend for actively portraying a positive, if undefined, image of a thriving historic venue. Later writers who were involved in describing the county made speeches and published enthusiastic accounts to encourage other people. In 1899, John Abraham of Liskeard was able to give a sketch of Cornwall to the members of the Liskeard Literary society which joked about the ignorance and wonder of tourists at Cornish society and history and proudly declaim Cornishmen as the descendants of a mighty race with kings of their own who held out against the English and traded in fish, tin and copper 2,000 years ago.⁸⁹² Although the speech is designed as enthusiastic hyperbole, the speaker comments on the uncertainty of the arrival of the Phoenicians and was clear that Diodorus' Iktis was St. Michael's Mount. His audience are presumed not only familiar with the material but filled with a positive love of their heritage. Similarly, in a paper on the Romans in Cornwall given at the Polytechnic in Falmouth,⁸⁹³ A.T. Quiller-

⁸⁸⁷Including the Royal Institution of Cornwall, the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, Devon and Cornwall Miners Association and the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society and occasionally notices from some papers given in Devon.

⁸⁸⁸Note that its founding publisher was also responsible for publishing Polwhele's *History of Cornwall*: See – (1960) *The West Briton and Royal Cornwall Gazette 150th Anniversary Supplement* p.7.

⁸⁸⁹J. Bannister (Jan 02, 1868) “Tacitus, the Historian, and the Antiquity of Truro” *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 3364* p. 7.

⁸⁹⁰F. Barham (Nov. 21, 1851) “Poets' Corner” *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 2526* p. 6.

⁸⁹¹Almost certainly the J. Bannister (1816-1873) curate of St. Day, Cornwall who also published in the *Journal of the RIC* (see e.g. Paper to Devonshire Assoc. -“Jews in Cornwall” see above p.191 n.807) and on Cornish language topics. [T. Cooper (2004)].

⁸⁹²Quoted in – (Apr. 06, 1899);“Cornwall and the Cornish People” in *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 4993* p. 4.

⁸⁹³Quoted in – (Aug. 30, 1900) “The Romans in Cornwall” in *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 5066* p. 7.

Couch is able to assert that the Romans did not conquer Cornwall but came to an accommodation based on trade because the Cornish would not have surrender their freedom lightly and expect a positive response.

These non-specialist writers have a lot in common with the minor generalists in terms of their casual allusion to the Classics and reliance on previous scholarship. However, it is clear that they make even less use of nuances in the ancient texts and avoid the use of Greek almost entirely. Furthermore, they make little or no effort to comprehensively cite the secondary texts that they are using. These writers were educated men who lived, worked and published in Cornwall and seem to have been heavily influenced by the weight of local bias, perhaps because of the abundance of local secondary analytical material. The inclusion of classical allusion in even the most focused of local histories is further evidence of the importance ascribed to those authors and the extent of the discussion of the ideas about ancient Cornwall.

3.1.6: Academia and Changing Attitudes

The final key aspect of writing about Cornwall's history that relates to the ancient Greek world has been done with what might be considered an 'academic' focus. This builds on the early scientific enquiries, such as Borlase, and is particularly evident in the latter part of the nineteenth century when analysis of the available details on extraction of and trading in tin was worked on in depth as a topic in its own right. Primarily this group consists of short papers that were given to or appeared in the journals of learned societies. Overall academic work done in the county details the different arguments given in other texts and demonstrates that over the course of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries there was a changing emphasis on the amount, type and quality of evidence presented to a learned audience. It also shows how amateur antiquarians both interacted with their peers but also worked to extend historical knowledge amongst the general public.

Over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries various types of associations were involved in local academic research and general education. The Royal Institution of Cornwall itself, now responsible for the Royal Cornwall Museum, received patronage in 1821⁸⁹⁴ and the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall was formed

⁸⁹⁴Initially founded in 1818 – records provided by Courtney Library.

in 1814.⁸⁹⁵ During the late 1800's these were joined by societies for the preservation of Cornish traditions and those rooted in the improvement of various towns and villages. It is especially worth noting the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society,⁸⁹⁶ the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society,⁸⁹⁷ and Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak the predecessor of the Old Cornwall Societies. The involvement of various of the authors discussed above with these societies and the dissemination of their reports in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* has already been noted.

A few key titles from the *Transactions of the Royal Geological Society*, such as those by Dr. Barham⁸⁹⁸ and by Joseph Hawkins,⁸⁹⁹ have already been mentioned where they are referred to by other writers.⁹⁰⁰ Barham not only translates and comments on Diodorus' text but he also references the breadth of argument on the topic amongst antiquarians.⁹⁰¹ Barham also comments on the relative reliabilities of Diodorus and Pliny – he concludes that Diodorus' is the more reliable witness and that Timaeus' six days should not be allowed to detract from his testimony.⁹⁰² He further decides that not only is Hawkins' advocacy for St. Michael's Mount convincing but also that suggestions that the Mount was not an island during pre-Roman times are not sufficiently supported by the evidence. John Hawkins on the other hand makes use of more classical texts but draws more general conclusions. In addition to these papers Hewitt's *Index* notes five papers on Phoenicians in Cornwall and sixteen on the Romans in Cornwall as well as having entries for Diodorus, Iktis, ancient mining and the tin trade in antiquity.⁹⁰³ Many more thoughts about ancient Cornwall were doubtless given as papers across the county without surviving into collections today.

As has been shown before in the responses of earlier writers to external criticism there was a surprisingly large amount of discussion about ancient Cornwall amongst non-local scholars that specifically addresses the tin-trade in antiquity. Articles in the

⁸⁹⁵ On the topic of the founding of the R.G.S.C. And its relationship to other provincial societies see D.A. Crook (1990) esp. pp.22-49.

⁸⁹⁶ Founded 1839; active 1839-55 & 1862-72 and revived 1880 [See <http://west-penwith.org.uk/pnhas.htm> (06/09/12)]; Activities of this group feature heavily in S. Naylor's (2003) analysis of the academic climate of Cornwall in the nineteenth century.

⁸⁹⁷ Founded 1833 - "Our History" [<http://www.thepoly.org/about-us/our-history/>].

⁸⁹⁸ T.F. Barham (1828); [Not to be confused with Charles Barham president of the RIC who wrote about the Apis Bull and Phoenicians in the 1850 RIC report].

⁸⁹⁹ J. Hawkins (1828).

⁹⁰⁰ See esp. the list given by W.C. Borlase (1874) in his preface p. vi. See below p.214.

⁹⁰¹ He lists Carew, Borlase, Hawkins, Polwhele and Hitchens (sic); T.F. Barham (1828) p.90.

⁹⁰² T.F. Barham (1828) p.111.

⁹⁰³ C.R. Hewitt (1907); Particularly in the Report for 1862-63 (the 45th). Note that R. Edmonds, H. James, C. Barham, W.C. Borlase, and T.C. Peter all have individual entries.

Geographical Journal and *Folklore*⁹⁰⁴ demonstrate both an awareness of the effort that Cornish scholars had put into researching the topic and a reappraisal of the classical texts. It is this kind of activity that eventually led to the work of Haverfield mentioned in the first chapter and to a separation between the work of gentlemen involved in the tourist industry and local adult education and the work of theorists and universities. This is an idea explored in more detail in the next chapter.

Copeland Borlase and Industry

William Copeland Borlase stands out amongst Victorian writers both as a committed antiquarian and as a political and social figure dealing with Cornish interests. He was the great-great-grandson of the William Borlase who was discussed above. W.C. Borlase was born in Penzance in 1848 educated at Oxford and called to the bar in 1882. He appears to have consciously followed in the family footsteps by showing a keen interest in archaeological work. He supervised an excavation of a prehistoric fogou 1862-4 as well as being assumed involved in numerous others.⁹⁰⁵ Copeland Borlase was also an associate of the language enthusiast Henry Jenner and was active in bringing scholarly attention to the Cornish language including distributing sections of his ancestor's work on the language.⁹⁰⁶ Copeland Borlase wrote a number of monographs, including two volumes on ancient Cornwall, *Naenia Cornubia* and work on Dolmens in Ireland and he was very active in several societies. In 1874 (when he wrote the piece we will be particularly examining) he was a member of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, a member of the council of the Royal Institution of Cornwall⁹⁰⁷ and the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall. This membership in societies aimed at gathering and furthering knowledge of the antiquities of Cornwall was fleshed out by various active involvements such as engagements with the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society and speeches and articles as well as the book publications. He was later vice-president (1880 & 1882-7) and president (1881) of the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society.⁹⁰⁸ Beyond

⁹⁰⁴C.R. Markham (1893); W. Ridgeway (1890).

⁹⁰⁵E.g. W.C. Borlase (1863) p. 14. and *ibid.* (1868); Attested by G.C. Boase & W.P. Courtney (1874) p.35 – Note further biographical and bibliographical information is given: Vol III. (1881) p.1085.

⁹⁰⁶Including a paper to the Royal Institution of Cornwall in 1866 entitled '*A collection of hitherto unpublished proverbs and rhymes in the ancient Cornish language from the MSS. of Dr. Borlase*' and an abortive attempt to form a society to publish Cornish language collections. From P. Beresford Ellis (1974) pp.140 & 143 [C.R. Hewitt (1907) ref. gives *Journal Vol. II* from p.7].

⁹⁰⁷He was also President of the RIC 1878-9 (C.R. Hewitt (1907)).

⁹⁰⁸From <http://west-penwith.org.uk/pnhas.htm>. See also S. Naylor (2003).

these intellectual pursuits he was active politically, M.P. for East Cornwall from 1880-1885 and for St. Austell after that until bankruptcy forced him to resign and he moved to Ireland. He later managed tin mines in Spain and Portugal and died in 1899.

In March 1874, Copeland Borlase gave a lecture to the Plymouth Institute and this was later published as *Historical Sketch of the Tin Trade in the Earliest Period to the Present Day*.⁹⁰⁹ He proclaimed his aim to “[link] the scattered antecedents of a traffic so vastly important to the civilisation in all ages of the community at large;... and lastly from a knowledge of the past, to inspire a hope in these bad times for better days to come” and says that all types of men were bound to be interested in the Cornish tin trade. This ambitious mission statement indicates to his audience and the modern reader that W.C. Borlase wanted to make a clear linkage between historical activity and contemporary possibilities. At this point in time, Cornwall had seen a huge decline in the profitability of their tin due to increased competition abroad. It is evident both from this opening and through the tone of the piece that Copeland Borlase regarded mining as an integral part of the Cornish lifestyle as well as their livelihood and therefore an essential area to discuss.

The sketch follows a roughly chronological order; it begins before written historical information on the county with some comments on the Phoenicians. He admits that part of the fascination of scholars with the investigation of the Cornish tin trade is the feeling that its origins are so ancient as to be almost mythical. However, W.C. Borlase tells his reader that the idea of the early tin trade which appears in the beginnings of so many books of English history is not a flight of the eighteenth century scholar’s fancy 'like druids' but something now established as fact.⁹¹⁰ Thus, we see Copeland Borlase linking his work to that of his ancestor, who ascribed most, if not all, standing stones to 'druidic' activities but also critiquing those ideas in line with the more recent trends which support his work in the paper. It is unclear whether he is also seeking to distance himself from suppositions about the Phoenicians made by authors like Edmonds as well as those about the druids. Generally, Copeland Borlase is clearly aware that some claims about Cornish practices (including the ideas of druidical sacrifices and Phoenician influences) sound fantastical and that there is limited evidence to support ideas about neolithic customs but, importantly, he was also aware of the value of a mythos based around the possibility of the extreme antiquity of the tin trade.

⁹⁰⁹W.C. Borlase (1874).

⁹¹⁰W.C. Borlase (1874) pp. 7-8.

In order to emphasise these things, W.C. Borlase very quickly draws his audience's attention to the notion of a long-standing academic controversy and he backs this up by mentioning work by other scholars who have considered the topic. He also specifically lists secondary reading on the topic at the beginning of this paper which includes Carew's *Survey*, Hawkins' *Observations* and *Cassiterides* by G. Smith as well as eight papers published by the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall* between 1838 and 1873 and three published in the *Transactions of the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall* 1818-1871. Unlike in other articles it is the arguments of his own era that form a key point of discussion within the paper. W.C. Borlase summarises the various works by looking at the historical progression from his ancestor's hypotheses and the work of Hawkins via scepticism around the 1860s with the work of Cooley and Lewis to the rebuttals of Cornish scholars. He especially discusses in detail the arguments put forward by George Smith in *Cassiterides*, and uses them as a platform to put forward his own arguments.⁹¹¹

In this paper Copeland Borlase breaks the main areas of contention into two parts; firstly the actual positioning of the Cassiterides and secondly the location of Iktis. He points out that part of the reason for the debate is the lack of information because classical authors, whilst interested, knew little about geography and even argued amongst themselves and uses Dio Cassius and Polybius to illustrate this point.⁹¹² This point is similar to Peter's commentary⁹¹³ and follows the tradition demonstrated by Hitchins and the Lysons to name as many earlier writers as is reasonably possible. Furthermore, he explains to his audience that it is clear the Cornish come to this debate eager to defend their native soil⁹¹⁴ and that in doing so, some writers have made it more difficult for other scholars to seem believable. For example, assertions about links to Trojan refugees or Jewish tribes that do not have literary or archaeological evidence to back them up when they appear with comments about Greek traders might make the second seem more fanciful to those not versed in the classical texts that act as evidence for that latter.

W.C. Borlase then begins the actual historical discussion with a few tenuous links to the Phoenicians. Although he is perhaps unwilling to ignore older commentary on the

⁹¹¹W.C. Borlase (1874) pp. 9-10.

⁹¹²W.C. Borlase (1874) p.8. Specifically footnoting Polyb. comment on multiple authors (n. 1: *Hist. lib.* iii. c. 57).

⁹¹³T.C. Peter (1909).

⁹¹⁴W.C. Borlase (1874) p.9.

topic (and indeed mentions Hawkins and Smith) the author does not fully endorse the idea of the Phoenicians visiting the county and he is especially cautious about the linguistic evidence put forward. Nonetheless he is confident that whilst other tin-producing regions may have contributed ore to the trade, Cornwall must have been the key producer and that its coastal nature and position in comparison to the continent makes it a strong candidate for the Cassiterides. W.C. Borlase feels that it is important to draw in the archaeological material but knows of little related to the Phoenicians directly except possibly the discovery of the (Apis/St. Just) bull figurine,⁹¹⁵ however he quotes other writers who have suggested that the quality of the bronze workmanship in Cornish tombs is because of the Phoenician influence.⁹¹⁶ In support of the Phoenician idea W.C. Borlase refers to Strabo's commentary on the Cassiterides and the fact that Gades was clearly a key trading post.

However, he specifically says that the inability to reconcile evidence relating to the Cassiterides, such as that relayed in Strabo, the knowledge that tin came from the 'Bretannic isles' as described by Diodorus and the fact that tin reached the Mediterranean through two routes (i.e. by sea and overland) led to a great deal of ancient, and therefore more modern, confusion.⁹¹⁷ Copeland Borlase emphasises the evidence that points to early trade through Gades and later trade through Massilia - quoting the description Diodorus offers in order to support his point.⁹¹⁸ He quotes translations of Strabo for more detail about the general nature of trade, the type of items that were being moved by the sea route and the islands themselves (including the description of the islanders being dressed like the Furies).⁹¹⁹ After paraphrasing Diodorus' text and briefly reasserting the claim of St. Michael's Mount to being Iktis, Copeland Borlase further reinforces his support for the existence of an overland route. He does this by drawing the readers' attention to James' report on the block of tin dredged from Falmouth Harbour and the conclusions that he makes regarding its suitability for transport.⁹²⁰

After this Copeland Borlase moves on to discuss later authors and acknowledges that the evidence is sparse. Although he discusses Pliny, including a mention of wicker

⁹¹⁵W.C. Borlase (1874) pp.17-18 Incl. a diagram and quoting analysis from Wilkinson and Poole.

⁹¹⁶W.C. Borlase (1874) p.18 n. 1 refers to Prof. Rawlinson's 1862 edition of Herodotus (p.417 note).

⁹¹⁷W.C. Borlase (1874) pp. 20-21.

⁹¹⁸W.C. Borlase (1874) p. 22.

⁹¹⁹W.C. Borlase (1874) p. 21.

⁹²⁰H. James (1863) [See above p.168 and analysis of H. James (1871) above pp.168-172 esp.170-171].

Referenced in W.C. Borlase (1874) pp.22-24.

boats and Smith's hypotheses about Midacritus, the general emphasis of this portion of the paper on the activity at the end of the third century C.E., which is better documented by the material evidence. From the explicit statement of purpose, the general tone and the effort that he puts into demonstrating the existence of mining even when he has reason to distrust the written work or where none survives it is clear that W.C. Borlase is interested in showing mining as an unbroken continuum in the county reaching back to the age of myth. This then allows him to make an argument for the necessity of continuing this tradition despite the poor state of the market in his time⁹²¹ and link back to his argument that by studying the history of mining economists can work out ways of adapting.⁹²²

Copeland Borlase is important to this thesis above and beyond his use of ancient material for two key reasons. Firstly the fact that he actively and explicitly synthesises ancient and modern arguments (especially by critiquing Smith) offering both a view of the key ancient evidence available and analysis of contemporary arguments proffered relating to the Cassiterides and Iktis. He also offers a limited critique of each; reminding the reader that the classical writers had an imperfect grasp of geography and pointing out where some more modern writers have drawn conclusions on scant or erroneous information as he understands it. Secondly, W.C. Borlase makes direct statements linking discussions about ancient Cornwall to its modern image and progress. He is not shy about intimating to his audience that an ancient heritage for Cornish mining gives it a prestige worth saving.

Copeland Borlase's discussion of the evidence makes it quite clear why he analyses it to make the conclusions he does. To the modern reader it seems that the evidence has been carefully selected to back up a well-constructed argument, as indeed it has, but he also uses almost all the material available to him. Furthermore, since most if not all of his audience would have been versed in the ancient texts the scope of his interpretation had to be tempered by their previous understanding. Borlase's work is perhaps the most overtly well-informed of the works looked at here. This intellectual-style approach lends weight to his conclusions and therefore strengthens the ideas of Cornish importance but it also limits his likely audience, restricting it to the elite already involved in cultural reformation despite his avowed desire to bring it to the notice of all. Copeland Borlase represents the beginning of a more cautious academic phase and the broader separation

⁹²¹W.C. Borlase (1874) p.68.

⁹²²W.C. Borlase (1874) p.7.

between the popular imagination and classical scholarship.

Peter and Education

One particularly distinctive and cautious way of approaching the topic of ancient Cornwall is shown by Thurstan Collins Peter. Peter (1854-1917) was born and raised in Redruth⁹²³ and worked as a solicitor and registrar in the area. He was a member of the Royal Institution of Cornwall council, editor of their Journal and twice their president. He contributed papers there and to the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society⁹²⁴ as well as publishing monographs on Glasney College and Cornish mystery plays. Outside of these adult and academic works Peter adapted his approach in a series of books aimed to present Cornish history to children.⁹²⁵ In those works, instead of involving himself in debate or burdens of proof, Peter is interested in constructing a collection of stories about Cornwall to act as a sort of historical inspiration. He tells the reader in the introduction to his *History of Cornwall for My Children* that it is important to know about where you are from and explains that although it is important for Cornish children to know about England in order to shape its future it is also vital for them to understand why the Cornish are different from those in other parts of England. Peter explicitly says that he believes that Cornwall has held an important place in history and this therefore seems to imply that the book that follows is designed to prove that contention.

Interestingly, despite the educational feel, Peter is not prepared to abandon discussion of myths about Cornwall. He mixes fanciful ideas with his historical quotations and running commentary. His history begins with a description of the mythical origins of the Cornish race that included Aeneas, Corineus and a comment on the Aryans before giving a description of the Danmonians as being hospitable, brave and self-reliant. Then the writer moves on to his discussion of the Phoenicians.⁹²⁶ After some description of who they were, Peter says that he has chosen to mention the idea of the Phoenicians because some people believe them to have traded tin in Cornwall and that those claims should be investigated. This then leads to an admission that there is a level of debate amongst ‘clever men’ about the topic; specifically that some scholars

⁹²³Biographical information from: – 'H.J.[Probably Henry Jenner] (1917-18).

⁹²⁴Incl. in T.C. Peter (1909) mentioned (1917-18) “A Biographical Note” p. 210 & printed in *Lectures and Essays* [pamphlet collection in Cornwall Studies Library].

⁹²⁵T. Peter (1893) 2nd ed. [1st ed. published Redruth (1891)]; T.C. Peter (1905) [& 2nd ed. (1908)].

⁹²⁶T.C. Peter (1893) pp.8-9.

think that the Cassiterides were part of Portugal rather than Cornwall.⁹²⁷ Strabo is given as an example of evidence relating to the importance of the tin trade to the Phoenicians and for explaining why (since they kept the location of the islands secret) authors have difficulty locating the Cassiterides. It is not clear whether he has any particular contemporary authors in mind in this discussion⁹²⁸ but it is worth noting that he thinks that such debate is high profile enough to warrant inclusion and he uses this as a pretext for encouraging people to draw their own conclusions.

Peter then follows this discussion with a description of the voyage of Pytheas (that does not include a visit to Cornwall) and the subsequent process of opening a trade route for tin through Marseilles. This section seems to be based on Diodorus, whose text he traces back to the writings of Posidonius and quotes for his audience. Despite his professed desire to promote Cornwall's place in history, Peter identifies Iktis with the Isle of Thanet and, contrary to earlier appearances, he states that he is confident that the quotation about the inhabitants of Belerium in Diodorus does not refer to Cornwall. Again he tells his readers that he has chosen to include this material because some people do think that they are references to Cornwall. It appears that whilst Peter feels that the evidence for Greek trade (let alone Phoenician) is not concrete,⁹²⁹ the stories themselves are an important part of Cornish heritage to be heard by the 'children' he wishes to teach. He relates these stories as folklore and in doing so further cements them in the popular consciousness. Note that he keeps his stated personal beliefs to the sceptical side but does not try to offer argumentative refutations which might be too complex for children to follow. It seems unlikely that he would deem it necessary to mention issues if he did not think them an important part of Cornish historical study but he is clearly not attempting scholarly analysis.

Peter's writing emphasises the classical connections to mining and trading the resultant products and in part this suggests he felt that a history of mining was important in building up of a sense of local identity through his avowed aim to teach people about who they were via history. Although difficult to gauge how influential this particular book might have been, it extended to at least two editions and formed the basis for the editions for schools which were suggested to the author by the Cornish Education

⁹²⁷T.C. Peter (1905) pp. 9-10 uses almost the same words but emphasises the fact that Peter did not believe that the Scillies were the Cassiterides (he favoured islands in the Bay of Vigo, Spain).

⁹²⁸T.C. Peter (1909) mentions T. Rice-Holmes (positively e.g. pp. 9 & 17) Whitaker, Smith (interesting but outdated e.g. p.18), & H. James (by proxy p.15).

⁹²⁹T.C. Peter (1909) *passim*. outlines a number of reasons for his scepticism incl. conflicting ancient accounts and the variety of possible locations both for extraction and trade routes.

Committee and therefore must have seemed worthy of repeated dissemination. This is part must be due to the author's clear language and engaging style. It is also a cleverly memorable account of the activities of the Cornish and the importance of their history. Peter, like Copeland Borlase, works hard to both put forward a positive view of the county and its role in history whilst maintaining a cautious scepticism.

3.2: Textual Patterns

In the works examined above the ancient texts that were discussed in the previous chapter have been re-presented as pointers in arguments that put forward notions of a Cornish relationship with the classical world. Several questions arise. Firstly, in what context do references to ancient Cornish mining and trade occur and secondly, what impact on the overall work do the references have for the writer or the reader-critic? Finally, does a consensus of imagery develop and if so does that change over time? Why is that the case? Broadly speaking, in the works discussed above, the classical texts are used as 'proof' of an ancient tin trade that had at least partial origins in Cornwall. The authors tend to aim to demonstrate the antiquity and continuity of mining in the county and furthermore the idea of a connection to the ancient Mediterranean via trade allows writers to posit that there was a flourishing culture in Cornwall in the pre-modern period.

Classical material is introduced into a number of different types of texts – including, but not limited to, parochial histories, local studies, archaeological investigations and papers for antiquarian groups. However, despite the variations in the aims of these different types of historical writing they show similarities in the types of scenarios that require discussion of classical source material and tend to analyse it in specific ways. Overall these patterns show both a changing attitude to the source material in line with the historiographical practices over time and also that despite those changes some sources, such as Diodorus,⁹³⁰ are more commonly used by the authors across the centuries. The patterns also demonstrate how Cornish writers tailored their writing to a Cornu-centric narrative using classical material to place Cornwall to the fore-front of discussion of pre-Roman Britain and mining practice and trade.

⁹³⁰Directly mentioned by Camden, Carew, Borlase, James, T.F. Barham, Hawkins, Edmonds, Smith, Hitchins, Buller, Copeland Borlase and Peter; Whitaker attributes most of his information to Pytheas via Timaeus and Posidonius, He is also quoted but not cited by Daniell.

Three key topics of discussion recur across the modern works: the existence and location of the Cassiterides, the existence and location of Iktis and the idea of the culture of the Cornish. By using these points as a means of comparison, this section will demonstrate the changes in the approach to and use of the classical texts.

3.2.1 - Pattern 1: The Cassiterides

The first of the themes to be examined concerns the idea of the Cassiterides that originated in Herodotus and extended by Strabo. Although the authors considering these ideas may also discuss Diodorus, his work is usually regarded as separate from the ideas relating to the tin-isles. The Cassiterides are a troublesome concept for historians of Cornwall; on the one hand they are an important part of any discussion of a western tin-trade with the Greek world since they appear in several ancient authors but on the other they are specifically referred to as islands – something Cornwall clearly is not.

The earliest identifiable pattern of referring to the tin-isles is that demonstrated by Camden who suggests that the Scilly Isles were equivalent to the Cassiterides. With this pattern the Cassiterides are literally understood to be islands with the capability to trade in tin and the assumption that they are connected to the British Isles is based on the plausibility of their matching Strabo's location. This idea does not take into account the paucity of evidence for extensive tin-mining on the Scilly Isles, perhaps because it precedes detailed archaeological excavations. It also ignores another possible island group on the shores of France, vaguely to the north of Cape Finisterre, which is usually equated with Strabo's description of the Artabrian territory. Unsurprisingly this pattern is not repeated by most of the authors but it is important because it stands in direct opposition to the second pattern.

This later trend suggests that the Cassiterides represent a construct (first identified in Herodotus) that was invented to lump together a variety of locations; this idea is best summed up by part of the entry in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*:

The unambiguous evidence about the location of the Cassiterides in the classical sources suggests that it was a partly mythologised generic name for the sources of tin beyond the Mediterranean world and not a single place.⁹³¹

⁹³¹ S. Hornblower & A. Spawforth (1996) p.299.

This conclusion arises from the inability of commentators to find any archaeological evidence to match the classical sources and an increased willingness to regard historiography as literary material rather than as fact-presentation. This pattern is found in modern commentators such as Cunliffe and Penhallurick who show that the loose idea of a tin-producing region, unclear to the earliest classical writers but that included the South-West of England as well as Iberia and France, is likely to be the most representative of actual mining and trading practice.⁹³²

However, the more common pattern amongst the texts considered in Chapter Three is something of a forerunner of the second pattern where the authors attempt to make sense of a literal 'truth' in the ancient accounts but add an extra layer of interpretation which is influenced by a desire to find interpretative methods outside of literary criticism. In Borlase's work on the *Scilly Isles* and George Smith's *Cassiterides*⁹³³ there was a deliberate conflation of Cornwall and the Scillies as both being parts of the location referred to as the Cassiterides.⁹³⁴ Borlase, in particular, is attempting to reconcile the literal understanding of tin-islands with his archaeological findings. However, his idea receives criticism in Whitaker's supplement to Polwhele⁹³⁵ and despite the respect accorded to Borlase as an author it loses prominence over time. Instead, writers like Hawkins and Edmonds drop the explicit association of the ancient texts with the Scilly Isles but continue to specifically link the Cassiterides with Cornwall in order to draw out the Phoenician connection mentioned in Strabo. This understanding of the term was used nearly as frequently in books specifically about classical literature as it was by other historians particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Note for example, that it survives into How and Wells' early twentieth century commentary.⁹³⁶ Since the influence of the Phoenicians in the county is a key argument of both Hawkins and Edmonds' work, they were anxious not to rely solely on later evidence such as Diodorus or Pliny and instead tend to look for collaboration in philological analysis.

⁹³²R.D. Penhallurick (1986) p.132; B. Cunliffe (2001) pp.73-74; B. Cunliffe (2013) p.1.

⁹³³Bor. *Scilly* & G. Smith (1863).

⁹³⁴Bor. *Antiq.* p.30 (above p.161); Bor. *Scilly* pp.76-78 (above pp.164-166); G. Smith (1863) pp.107-108 (above pp.188-189).

⁹³⁵Whitaker (1804) pp.46-47 See above pp.197-198 (esp. notes 827 and 828).

⁹³⁶How & Wells (1912) pp.292-3 iii.115: "The **Cassiterides** are identified by Strabo (175–6) with the Scilly Isles, where there is no tin. Originally, however, the name "tin islands" must at any rate have included Britain; it was afterwards applied to imaginary islands; [...] H. declines to commit himself to any of the stories, which were the result of the ignorance as to the islands. This ignorance was due to Phoenician exclusiveness; ...".

In general, in this pattern we see that Herodotean references are used to justify a broader interpretation of Strabo by allowing Herodotus' uncertainty about location to imply that Strabo might be misinformed or that the references are in fact not directly to simply 'islands' and this might allow for Cornwall to be included as part of the geographical grouping. The Diodoran reference to the Cassiterides is dropped entirely because of the distance it implies between Britain and the islands and Polybius' connection of Britain with tin gains prominence.

These patterns demonstrate a progression of ideas amongst historians whereby there is an increase in the breadth of interpretation of the texts and a definite movement towards fitting the nuances of comments to a pre-formed argument about Cornish trade. Eventually modern commentators reject the search for a single pre-Roman source of tin or a fixed location for a group of islands. On the one hand, there is therefore a movement amongst the Cornish historians towards an open interpretation of the texts and wider use of archaeology; on the other, we see that there is a retrospective fitting of evidence to narrative. This change and active re-working seems partly to be because the classical evidence is so sparse it is easy to manipulate and to fit to a pre-conceived understanding. Thus the trends illustrated in these texts represent an increasing protectiveness towards Cornish claims to have been a key location for the tin trade.

3.2.2: Pattern 2- Iktis

The next major identifiable trend in the texts in this chapter relates to the positioning of the isle of Iktis. In this pattern, the idea of the Cassiterides is sidelined in favour of foregrounding Diodorus' text in which the nature and role of the island is specifically discussed. As well as considering Diodorus' text, it often also brings in Pliny's comments. The treatment of Iktis frequently comes after mention of Cassiterides and tends to involve more detailed breakdown of the texts. The pattern comes in two forms; one argues for and the other against St. Michael's Mount being the location of Iktis. The main alternative offered instead of the Mount is the Isle of Wight, as argued for by Whitaker and several other non-Cornish writers.⁹³⁷ The two forms of the pattern often reply to each other and use the other to kick-start their argument. For example, in Edmonds' monograph he refers to the arguments of Barham, Carne and Borlase⁹³⁸ and in the later papers he addresses his critics directly and makes use of the refutation of G.C.

⁹³⁷Whitaker (1804) p.65; Above p.199.

⁹³⁸R. Edmonds (1862) pp.6-7. Above pp.185-186.

Lewis by Smith.⁹³⁹ Similarly James begins his *Archaeological Journal* article with the works of Lewis and Barham⁹⁴⁰ and Copeland Borlase specifically mentions a number of works particularly including Hawkins and Smith in his discussion. This pattern is typically highly analytical, often attempting to look at scientific evidence for smelting, likely ingot shapes or the physical possibilities of tidal flows and citing philological arguments, such as the possible Phoenician origin of place-names. In particular therefore, as well as focusing on the arguments centred around the similarity or difference between the terms Iktis (or Ictis), Mictis and Vectis, these authors directly and carefully consider the possibility of reaching the island chosen by land-bridge during the requisite time period in order to justify their position.

Discussion of Iktis appears to a greater or lesser extent in the texts from Hawkins onwards; it is less than prominent in Polwhele, for example, but features extensively in the later arguments mentioned above. It seems not to be of interest to Carew or Borlase, however, and the reason for its absence is not clear. It seems then that the publication of Hawkins' treatise was the prompt for a theoretical argument over the issue of the location of Iktis in as much as the subsequent publications such as those by Cooley, Whitaker and Lewis which dismissed the claims relating to the Mount led to a controversy arising and more interest in defending the topic. The issue continues to be important to authors up to the beginning of the twentieth century and even appears in more recent scholarly journals.⁹⁴¹

This pattern is important because the position of Iktis within Cornish territory allows the Cornish people to have been trading directly with (even if Phoenician traders are dismissed) continental peoples – either the Gaulish tribes or Greeks from Marseilles depending on interpretation of Diodorus' text.⁹⁴² Therefore, it is the Cornish who are benefiting from this interaction and obtaining goods and patterns of behaviour from the more civilised counter-parts. Furthermore it demonstrates that the Cornish are not dependent on the English traders further east. Hence the position of Iktis is about the power they have over their own activity and resources and the level of civilisation of the Cornish.

⁹³⁹R. Edmonds (1863) pp. 173-174 and R. Edmonds (1868) p.20 Above pp. 190-191.

⁹⁴⁰H. James (1871) pp. 196-198.

⁹⁴¹Incl. B. Cunliffe (1983); G. de Beer (1960); C.F.C. Hawkes (1984); I.S. Maxwell (1972).

⁹⁴²E.g. G. Smith (1863) pp.77 & 146-149. Above pp.179-181.

3.2.3: Pattern 3 - “More Civilised”

The final key pattern identifiable in the secondary works is also based on Diodorus' text and refers to the nature of the Cornish people. Diodorus' assertion about the inhabitants of Belerion being civilised by their interactions with foreign merchants appears in various formulations in the texts in this chapter. This passage seems to be used to either emphasise the interaction of the traders and locals or to highlight the fact that the Cornish were themselves noteworthy. Although it is not explicitly used to contrast Cornish people to anyone else in particular, it generally implies that there was something special about the Cornish compared to any other part of England or Britain.

This trend begins with Camden and Carew, who both use it to illustrate the character of the Cornish,⁹⁴³ and is similarly expressed by Edmonds, who directly compares Diodorus' words with observations of more recent visitors to the county.⁹⁴⁴ Polwhele only comments on the passage in a footnote⁹⁴⁵ and instead comments on the civilised negotiation with the Romans, but it is drawn out a length in Whitaker's supplement.⁹⁴⁶ Hawkins and James mention the idea obliquely, quoting the passage either without proper reference (Hawkins) or comment (James), and although Smith quotes the passage he does not comment on it.⁹⁴⁷ However the excerpt is distinctly absent from Borlase's work, perhaps because his focus is directly on physical remains rather than on the characteristics of the people.

Edmonds uses the passage of Diodorus, with the later writing, to draw out a sense of continuity from the most ancient times. Whereas in his section about the Scillies Reverend Whitaker links Diodorus' description of the inhabitants of Belerion to Strabo's description of the inhabitants of the Cassiterides – claiming that a similarity of attire to the 'Tragick Furies' as claimed by Strabo was evidence of the modesty of the dress of the islanders and thus rendered them more civilised.⁹⁴⁸ He explicitly cites Diodorus as calling those inhabitants the most civilised of all the Britons. In these examples Diodorus is mentioned by name and his work is translated/interpreted for the readers. It is clear that the writers take pride in the fact that an ancient writer praised the Cornish and wish to draw attention to the fact. However, these references to the hospitality of the

⁹⁴³Camden “Section 6” <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/cambrit/cornwalleng.html> Above p.149; Carew f.58r, Above pp.155-156.

⁹⁴⁴R. Edmonds (1862) p.5. Above pp.184-185.

⁹⁴⁵R. Polwhele (1816) pp.43-44.

⁹⁴⁶Whitaker (1804) p.56. Above p.198.

⁹⁴⁷C. Hawkins (1811) p.29 (he attributes it directly to Pytheas); H. James (1871) pp.196-197. G. Smith (1863) p.113.

⁹⁴⁸Above p.198 [See also F. Hitchins (1824) p.304 – above p.204].

Cornish and comments on the civility tend to have mixed reactions to the idea that these traits along with other developments were brought to the region by the traders (which is the suggestion that Diodorus makes). Some gloss over that part of Diodorus text (like Edmonds)⁹⁴⁹ but others (like Hawkins and Hitchins)⁹⁵⁰ are keen to demonstrate why learning from, especially the Phoenicians but also the Romans via Publius Crassus, was positive for the native Celts.

3.2.4: Patterns of Classical Reading

As we have seen in the previously identified patterns certain ancient texts and certain sections were more popular than others in the secondary material. The discussions of the Cassiterides rely on Herodotus and Strabo but largely ignore Diodorus; whereas, the discussion of 'civilisation' is entirely dependent on Diodorus' text. Diodorus is also the primary source for Iktis but is backed up and complicated by Pliny. With the exception of some of the minor writers and Peter's work for children all of the authors mention the ancient writers by name but the extent of the quotation and translation varies massively. Overall it is apparent that the majority of the Cornish writers did not expect their readers to be confident in Latin and Greek and that a reasonable proportion of them were themselves not confident enough to provide their own translations.

Although the level of scholarly competence varies, most authors are not so naïve as to claim that the classical sources are fully accurate representations of the ancient situation and can show critical judgement of the ancient material. Most notably they are aware of the fact that classical geographical knowledge was scanty and that there was disagreement and contradiction within the ancient authors themselves. However, rarely do the authors seek to analyse the classical texts, and, where they do directly dissect the text they often do so from the point of view of attempting to prove or disprove an earlier theory. For example, authors interpret Pliny's comment about six days sailing differently according to whether they think it is important and what the other contemporary scholars have said.⁹⁵¹ They also are often prepared to ignore the sections of the texts that might undermine the 'message' or apparent clarity and certainty of their argument.

⁹⁴⁹R. Edmonds (1862) p.5.

⁹⁵⁰C. Hawkins (1811) pp. 29-30. (above p.176); F. Hitchins (1824) pp.62-64 (above pp.200-201); See also Bor. *Scilly* p.74 (above p.164) and minor writers incl. Buller and Cummings.

⁹⁵¹Note esp. H. James (1871) p.202.

Nonetheless, it is obvious that the ancient history and mythos of trade was very important since it appears in such a wide range of texts and furthermore it is also obvious that the classical texts were considered a vital part of that narrative both for the stories that they tell and for the possibilities they offer.

3.3: Summary

Broadly speaking, the Cornish writers being investigated are actively looking for literary material that relates to Cornwall itself and this sometimes leads to an initial assumption of a local connection in the texts which is only retrospectively proven. Specifically, many of the writers favour Cornwall and/or the Scilly Islands as the location of the Cassiterides and St. Michael's Mount as Iktis and endeavour to convince their readers of the same. The classical texts are used as strong proofs for the assertions; although interestingly it is clear that as time goes on it becomes more and more important to use empirical evidence to back up those textual traditions. Furthermore, editorial choices show that the writers are deliberate in their choice of source-material so as to depict their subject matter in as positive a way as is possible and in some cases thereby offer Cornish claims to an ancient tin-trade better credence. Proof of such a trade can then be used by writers as evidence for an early rational civilisation and offered as a source of pride. The next chapter will look at different reasons for beginning a study of ancient Cornwall and the benefits classical connections might have for historians.

Chapter Four: In Context

In Chapter Two this thesis examined ancient texts that mentioned a western tin trade and described ancient Cornwall and in Chapter Three we looked at a variety of works that used those texts in their own narrative of ancient Cornwall. This chapter will contextualise the trends found in Chapter Three and address why they might have arisen. It aims to show that the act of referencing classical material and the mode of doing so are directly influenced by the prevailing trends in wider historiography and also that writing about Cornwall displays a distinctive series of relationships to the material because of self-conscious identity politics and interaction with power centres. Specifically the chapter shows how classical allusion evolves through the early modern period into the eighteenth and early nineteenth century both in terms of the growth in the popularity of the overall notion of an ancient Mediterranean connexion for Cornwall, and in terms of the impact of an increasing complexity of textual analysis. It will discuss the implications which this evolution had for the image of the county and it will then show how this classical link was manipulated to allow the development of an independent Celtic identity without compromising the supposed civilising impact of a classical influence, thus creating a distinctive 'Cornish Narrative'.

In order to consider the utilisation of classical material in Cornish historiography specifically it is important to evaluate the reasons for and effects of using Classics generally and then to consider the reasons why approaches to classical material have changed. Investigating patterns of usage of classical material is also the investigation of the contextual trends that influence the choice to use classical texts, the selection of specific pieces and the scholarly analysis and understanding of the material.

The specific usages and styles of historical frameworks can be radically different dependent on the peculiar combination of additional factors in their creations, such as the scholarly trends or the economic imperatives of the locals. It seems reasonable that the background history of the county itself at that time is as important as the general academic trends. The economic situation of the county, in particular, had a bearing on the sort of text being written and its role. It also affected whether writers could find parallels between those circumstances and the ancient world. Thus, for example, it follows that a Celtic nationalism movement in nineteenth century Cornwall which struggles against a dominant, pre-existing and subsuming state with its own related

national ideas has a different flash point, impetus and growth than the political ventures in eighteenth century France and consequently have different uses of classical texts. Similarly, that background is substantially different to, but has an impetus from, Borlase's early eighteenth century notion of a Cornwall much improved by the civilising presence of the Romans.

In the previous chapter the texts were broadly grouped according to their thematic focus and clearly this has an impact on the type of information that the authors were attempting to convey. However, there are a number of other factors that influence the approaches that authors have taken to writing about ancient Cornwall, and to introducing classical texts and analysing them. There are several broad categories that affect such trends including by time period, along geographical boundaries and according to education. The first category particularly affects the writings through the variations in political and economic circumstance. The second factor influences the prioritization given by the writers to local ideas and concerns. Thirdly the type of education the writers had changes issues such as access to primary material and understanding of alternative scholarly interpretations. In order to consider what impact these categories have on the texts this chapter is divided into three key sections: the changing practice of historiography and trends in non-fiction writing across the time-period investigated; the evolution in the use of Classics as source and as a discipline; and finally the socio-political contexts of specifically Cornish historiography.

The first section looks at what differentiates these examples of Cornish historiography in form and methodology from mainstream British history. It considers how the Cornish writers adapted local history as a style, how they reacted to changing ideas and practices in wider historiography and how they influenced each other. The second section looks at the impact of Classics on historiography generally and how different historian's approaches to the role of Classics and to interpreting a text affected the prevalence, influence and impact of classical references specifically in Cornwall. The third section takes as its main theme the process of identity-building in both a cultural and political context and uses that to assess reasons why particular patterns of interpretation were given preference in Cornwall during different socio-economic periods.

4.1: What is this Cornish History?

This thesis focuses on Cornish historians specifically and (largely) separately from the wider practice of historiography in the British Isles. This section attempts to reposition the texts within a wider context of historical consciousness and in doing so demonstrate how that context has influenced the historians addressed but also simultaneously to demonstrate the features that differentiate Cornish historians from their counterparts. As demonstrated in the previous chapter, there are a number of different approaches to description and explanation of the nature of ancient Cornwall which draw upon a variety of exemplars. However, it is possible to make some generalisations about the writings and to use these to identify trends in the attitudes to classical material and the potential relationship that has to the sort of history the writers thought that they were producing.

4.1.1 Antiquarianism: Approaches to Historical Consciousness

The proper business of an Antiquary is to collect what is dispersed, more fully to unfold what is already discovered, to examine controverted points, to settle what is doubtful, and by the authority of Monuments and Histories to throw light upon the manners, Arts, Languages, Policy and Religion of past Ages.⁹⁵²

The writers examined in Chapter Three predominantly fall within the antiquarian tradition. This loose body of work is characterised by an early interest in material remains, topography, genealogical enquiries and other studies of the past that did not conform to contemporary trends of narrative philosophical history especially those which aimed to offer clear moral lessons. In 1950, Momigliano differentiated the antiquarian endeavour from that of the historian by describing the historians approach as chronological and analytical in comparison to the systematic and non-judgemental organisation of the antiquarian.⁹⁵³ Momigliano's categorisation, which specifically designated local history as a form of antiquarian studies, was influential for many years, forming a vital part of Piggot's study of ancient Britons⁹⁵⁴ and has been the subject of a whole of series of essays which draw out Momigliano's contribution to the history of

⁹⁵²Bor. *Antiq.* p.v; Quoted R. Sweet (2004) p. xiv.

⁹⁵³A. Momigliano (1950) p.285.

⁹⁵⁴S. Piggot (1989) pp.13-14.

scholarship.⁹⁵⁵ The role of chorography⁹⁵⁶ and antiquarian works in the formation of modern local history has also been recently discussed by John Beckett who recognises similar divisions of style as used above.⁹⁵⁷ The early works investigated here fall specifically within this thematic style partially because they have been chosen for their subject-matter (i.e. their focus on Cornwall) which by its specialisation encourages in itself a movement away from grand-narrative and over-arching theory. Cornwall is also particularly suited to antiquarianism because of the diversity of topics that can be covered and their sense of difference from other British regions.

This peripheral position not only suits the fact that the writers were on the edges of their field and perhaps therefore operating under slightly different rules to conventional historiography but also reinforces the geographical situation that Cornish writers find themselves in with relation to the centres of learning: London, Oxford and Cambridge, that hosted the leading thinkers and primary records. Additionally, antiquarian writers are placed at the edges of mainstream literature by the stereotyping, often negative and derisory, of their activities in print.⁹⁵⁸ This could mean different things to different writers; variously an impetus to work harder to prove themselves or their ideas or an opportunity to try new processes or offer new theses.

Divisions of genre, such as those of political historiography and philosophical history, are much less starkly drawn amongst more recent scholars investigating British historiography⁹⁵⁹ and as such it would be misleading to simply dismiss antiquarianism as a subspecies of 'real' history or to assume that it had rules which the Cornish writers were solely and explicitly following. It is clear that antiquarian interests and techniques were part of a wide spectrum of historical activity in Britain many of which are represented in Cornish writing.

The practice of antiquarian study has contributed methodology as well as information to its academic big sister and has been influential in the development of archaeology⁹⁶⁰ and cultural history. However, it has now largely been subsumed into the popular history categories. Momigliano developed two key ideas over a series of influential articles;⁹⁶¹ namely his conception of the classical antecedents of antiquarian

⁹⁵⁵P.N. Miller (ed.) (2007).

⁹⁵⁶Regional geography – see Camden (above p. 143 esp. n.588).

⁹⁵⁷J. Beckett (2007) [He includes discussions of Natural History and Parochial history].

⁹⁵⁸See S. Piggot (1989) Chapter 1 and R. Sweet (2004) pp. xiii, 4, 31.

⁹⁵⁹E.g. M.S. Phillips (1996).

⁹⁶⁰Sometimes finding a formal place in the “history of archaeology” - see e.g. B.G. Trigger (2007) pp. 52-147.

⁹⁶¹See especially A. Momigliano (1990); Also *idem* (1966).

approaches and the relevance of antiquarianism to the development of historical studies. The first idea suggests that local history and regional study, like conventional history, also trace their roots to the classical writers as well as expanding the work of chroniclers.⁹⁶² This theory stresses the relevance of classical texts to the methodology of writers as well as their value as evidence. Thus, as scholars such as Mendyk have shown, British antiquarianism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries self-consciously and explicitly builds on the format utilised by Strabo that combined topological geographical work with the history of peoples and 'nations'⁹⁶³ encompassing topographical descriptions and geographical notes as well as historical events. Further, as Momigliano's second idea suggests, the methods of synthesis and the tools of analysis developed by antiquarians to cover their multi-disciplinary interests were adopted and adapted by professional academics into the twentieth century.⁹⁶⁴ This has two implications for the Cornish writers; firstly that the ancient writers served both as material and as thematic inspiration for gentlemen⁹⁶⁵ covering a broad range of topics and secondly that despite the "antiquarianism" of these non-professionals their studies, processes and conclusions had many similarities to and contributions for narrative historiography.⁹⁶⁶

What is most evident in studies of British antiquarianism is that the authors exploited a large number of practices and formats in order to present their topics. Whilst the interest in material remains and the contribution to the discipline of archaeology have been the most discussed by more recent scholars such as Trigger,⁹⁶⁷ the writers also display a keen interest in a variety of types of knowledge including documentary evidence, genealogy, numismatics and geology.⁹⁶⁸ This is also abundantly clear in the variety of proofs used in the Cornish writers; for example, etymology and coastal erosion are used alongside coin hoards as part of the literary discussion of the Cornish tin-trade. Although some of the texts considered also discuss prehistoric material remains most of the writers rely on Borlase's investigations and necessarily have little material to add to a discussion of Phoenician and Greek trade.⁹⁶⁹ Nonetheless there are a

⁹⁶² A. Momigliano (1990) *passim* esp. pp.58-62.

⁹⁶³ S.A.E. Mendyk (1989) pp. 22, 38-39.

⁹⁶⁴ P.N. Miller (2007) pp.5-6.

⁹⁶⁵ S.A.E. Mendyk (1989) p.49: Gibbon calls Camden the 'British Strabo' *Decline & Fall Vol.3* p.280. Note Borlase's ethnographic sections in the *Natural History*.

⁹⁶⁶ See e.g. the use of Carew, Borlase and Polwhele in Halliday &c. (Chapter One pp.31-32).

⁹⁶⁷ E.g. B.G. Trigger (2007) pp.32-40; 44-66; 70-86; P. Levine (2002) pp. 1-2, 70-73.

⁹⁶⁸ S. Piggot (1989) p.14, S. Mendyk (1989) p.7; A. Vine (2010) p.10; See also above pp.156-158.

⁹⁶⁹ This trend is somewhat changed by the discovery and consideration of the block of tin and the St Just (Apis) Bull.

few key trends to be mentioned with regard to Cornish antiquarianism; specifically the influence of geographical themes, the role of scientific enquiry and the place of linguistic investigations.

Since this thesis has looked at works with a specifically local focus it seems obvious that the emphasis on Place is a shared feature. However, this seems to have been a common thread in historical writing during the 'long eighteenth century' more generally. Commentators such as Vine and Mendyk have stressed the importance of the geographical/topographical frameworks of organisation and the role of travel in antiquarian writing and within the broader historiographical tradition.⁹⁷⁰ They comment on the fact that chorography was not only one of the most popular forms of historiography in sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain following on from Camden and Carew⁹⁷¹ but also that it allowed a different sort of focus than events or people which is suited to discussion of trade and the nature of ancient locals. It is clear that this form of antiquarian writing was influential both to Carew and in the later creation of the parochial surveys that seem to have been popular in Cornwall and combine place-by-place descriptions of remains with an overview of local history. Vine comments that antiquarian travel-writing owed much to the notion of the Grand Tour and was frequently classicising in tone⁹⁷² but the Cornish writers do not seem to use this framework presumably because of the scarcity of classical monumental remains. Instead what Vine describes as the notion of preservation of the antiquities in literature⁹⁷³ is more prevalent in Cornwall. Under this model writers like Borlase and Edmonds attempted to record the monuments of their home both for posterity and for the glorification of the region through the ages.⁹⁷⁴

As well as reconstructing the past there is also a clear need to attempt to explain and to educate which manifests itself in hypotheses about the builders of megaliths that are not just evocations of the pre-historic period but suggest proofs for these new theories. Although in some instances historical scepticism was slow to take hold and myths of Arthur and Brutus/Corineus continue to appear with greater or lesser influence into the nineteenth century,⁹⁷⁵ writers clearly developed both documentary and

⁹⁷⁰E.g. S. Mendyk (1989) pp.20-25; A. Vine (2010) pp.140-143.

⁹⁷¹He is specifically credited as an important influence on writers of that genre. See e.g. S. Mendyk (1989) pp.77-9.

⁹⁷²A. Vine (2010) p.142.

⁹⁷³A. Vine (2010) p.201.

⁹⁷⁴See Borlase's comments on the need to be acquainted with one's own country Bor. *Antiq.* p.v [Quoted S. Smiles (1994) p.14] Also R. Sweet (2004) p.36.

⁹⁷⁵S. Mendyk (1989) p.15; See e.g. a cautious R. Polwhele (1816) p.2 through to the mythos presented in

archaeological criticism. This is evident throughout the patterns discussed in the previous chapter. It is also symptomatic of the rise of empiricism both in its encouragement towards classification and the inter-relation of natural history with literary history. Mendyk draws attention to the way that later antiquarianism drew on a growing culture of scientific enquiry particularly after Bacon and the influence of the Royal Society.⁹⁷⁶ Jankovich has further suggested that it was the focus on the 'natural' differences of place that encouraged a growth in local natural history (such as weather patterns) in connection with the examination of the unique topographical features and antiquities.⁹⁷⁷

In Cornwall this trend towards scientific connections is not only represented by Borlase,⁹⁷⁸ who was recognised as both a naturalist and an antiquarian, but is also prominent in the works of Richard Edmonds and to a lesser extent in Hawkins and Hitchins. Generally, Cornish antiquarians regularly included items of natural history and geology amongst their interests.⁹⁷⁹ As we see in Edmonds, and similarly but less prominently in Smith, the discussion of the location of Iktis was somewhat dependent on ideas about and evidence for sea-level changes and the physical profile of Cornwall. Geological considerations also crop up in discussions of the suitability of the Scilly Isles as the location of the Cassiterides especially whether there was substantial land subsidence but also if the rock is sufficiently lode-bearing to produce enough tin to sustain major trade. Additionally growing scientific approach to methods of tin-extraction led to more attempts to explain the ancient process of mining and smelting.⁹⁸⁰ These examples illustrate some of the ways that new scientific *knowledge* was utilised by Cornish scholars but it is equally important to reiterate the impact of the burgeoning scientific methodologies. For example, the processes of categorisation and inductive reasoning lead to stronger thematic links and clearer theories about the development of civilisation and the growth of requirements for evidentiary chains and citations leads to more accurate classical attributions.⁹⁸¹

Naturally given the broad spectrum of intellectual endeavour engaged in by the antiquarian community it is not just the physical sciences that offer a means of approach

T. Peter (1893).

⁹⁷⁶S. Mendyk (1989) e.g. pp.75-6, 115-119; See also P. Levine (2002) *passim*. e.g. p.95.

⁹⁷⁷V. Jankovich (2000a) p.81.

⁹⁷⁸See for example S. Piggot (1989) pp.33-34.

⁹⁷⁹Consider, for example, the membership of and contribution to the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society as well as the diverse range of interests of the RIC.

⁹⁸⁰e.g. Carew f.10v.; C. Hawkins (1811) pp. 9-17; F. Hitchins (1824) p.250.

⁹⁸¹S. Mendyk (1989) p.118 etc. and S. Naylor (2003) *passim*; G. Iggers & Q.E. Wang (2008) pp.119-125.

to the Cornish discussions. From the early modern period onward there was a growing interest in linguistic and anthropological study. There was an increased understanding of the linguistic links between Celtic nations that were being investigated by the new ideas of philology and led to new studies in the available literature. Vine draws attention to the use of linguistic etymology in the process of creating national genealogies.⁹⁸² This process in Cornwall has political overtones as early as Carew who comments on the rejection of English in favour of the local tongue but still feels that the Cornish language needs preserving.⁹⁸³ Interest in the local language is also evident in Borlase, Edmonds and Polwhele all of whom consciously comment on the need to preserve the language heritage associated with a love of their country. Furthermore although linguistic histories and connections especially to Welsh are drawn out by a variety of writers, such as Hitchins and Polwhele,⁹⁸⁴ in the works that have been considered in Chapter Three the discussion of language is predominantly based around establishing Phoenician connections and survivals. Edmonds' etymological attempts to link Phoenician, tin and Cornish place names is the most pronounced of this type of textual genealogy but the variants in Polwhele and Hitchins comfortably mingle Celtic and Phoenician derivations.

Overall the appeal to language and place-names fits within a wider trend of using etymology to establish 'Origins' for people and things popularised in Camden but further used to promote English nationalism during the early nineteenth century.⁹⁸⁵ The Cornish adapted such practices to emphasise their own uniqueness especially working to negotiate the line between the classical and Celtic models and paralleling developments in Scottish ethnography and philology during the 1860s.⁹⁸⁶ Language and its analysis were a vital aspect of the ethnographic practice of antiquarians, allowing them to reconstruct patterns and connections between peoples and places, and the Cornish were no exception. However, it is important to remember that they also felt compelled to preserve Cornish words and forms as monuments of the past in their own right.⁹⁸⁷

As this section has demonstrated, Cornish writers broadly follow national patterns

⁹⁸² A. Vine (2010) pp.51-79.

⁹⁸³ Carew f.56r.; See esp. A. Vine (2010) pp.70-71.

⁹⁸⁴ R. Polwhele (1816) Vol. V -which also includes substantial commentary on the findings of Llyud and Tonkin.; F. Hitchins (1824) p.8.

⁹⁸⁵ A. Vine (2006) pp.1-21; P. Levine (2002) pp. 79-80.

⁹⁸⁶ C. Kidd (1995) pp. 64-66.

⁹⁸⁷ E.g. W. Borlase (1758b) pp.313-316 (and in manuscripts published by W.C. Borlase (1866) -see above p.212 n.905) and R. Polwhele (1816) *Vol. II* Chapter 9 (esp. pp.25-34).

of antiquarianism and historical consciousness in several of its many forms. It is worth noting that these forms of historical thought were not static and developed in many ways over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Naylor follows Jankovich in saying that “what distinguished nineteenth century regional study from its equivalent in the eighteenth century was not so much its emphasis on place as its ability to situate place with the context of a more general inquiry, whether spatial or otherwise.”⁹⁸⁸ Naylor emphasises the change from specificity to relativity whereby, although eighteenth century antiquaries deliberately emphasised the difference of their regions, in the nineteenth century Cornish writers began to compare Cornish antiquities to their counterparts across Europe. However, this thesis refines Naylor's idea by stressing that Cornish writers do not lose the sense of their difference but that they articulate it through subtly changing ideas over the course of the 'long eighteenth century' and reconfigure their relationships with external theories and their audiences in order to preserve their notion of specialness.

4.1.2: National Concerns and Local Theories

Hence, it follows that Cornish writers were not only using a diverse range of approaches to material and influenced by the changes to critical appreciation but were also affected by the advances in scientific, anthropological and historical scholarship. Despite their comparative isolation from the central hubs of learning and the distinctiveness of their writing and its genres, Cornish historians show interest and awareness of new scholarly theories in their approaches and in engaging with scholarship both within and beyond the county. Over the course of the eighteenth century it has been agreed that there were structural developments in the format of historiography that allowed for a thematic approach to develop away from chronologies⁹⁸⁹ and expand subject-matter to encompass local interests. It follows that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a conceptual change in the value and, thus, the appropriate topics for history. It is possible to map these changes over interests in political and social historiography and the subjectivisation of the individual and to demonstrate the consequent influence of those shifts in emphasis on theories about the degradation or progression of civilisation and the value of Greco-

⁹⁸⁸S. Naylor (2003) p.315 paraphrased from V. Jankovich (2000b) p.11.

⁹⁸⁹M.S. Phillips (2000) pp.12-25; G. Iggers & Q.E. Wang (2008) pp. 22-32, 71-75.

Roman material.⁹⁹⁰

With regard to ancient Cornwall, one of the key trends of interpretation is concerned with theories of the nature of the evolution of society and the form and culture of the inhabitants of prehistoric Britain, and Cornwall specifically. Cornish writers, it seems, were particularly interested in the type of inhabitants of Cornwall that left behind the megalithic monuments they could observe and wanted to know who the traders mentioned by Diodorus were, what happened to them when the Romans arrived and how they differed from other cultural groups in Britain. There were many theories from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries that involved discussion of how advanced the aboriginal inhabitants of Britain were and what the advantages and disadvantages were of successive waves of influence and invasion.⁹⁹¹ Therefore we see that, in comparison to the rest of Britain, Cornish writers considered similar issues, made historically congruent assumptions about the relative sophistication of the inhabitants of Cornwall to the Greco-Roman world and their progression toward modern worldliness and expertise, and drew similar (albeit differently nuanced) conclusions.

In order to answer questions about the activities of the locals, and thus their relative levels of sophistication, Cornish writers were obliged to investigate national and international theories about ancient peoples. These ideas include theories on who or what druids were and did and opinions about the influence of (Celtic) migrations on the transmission of knowledge. The variant invasion and migration theories were used to account for early populations in the country and counter-act allegations of extreme primitivism. Different hypotheses included post-diluvian re-population theories (demonstrated in Biblical genealogies that trace British tribes through Gomer); the Trojan settlement mythos (which discussed Brutus and Corineus) and the more modern considerations of movements of the Belgae across the continent into Britain.⁹⁹² Each of these finds some expression in Cornish writing; for example an account of the descent

⁹⁹⁰Histories of historiography and scholars specialising in Classics and antiquarianism have all advanced multiple important trends. For introductions to some of these topics see: G. Iggers & Q.E. Wang (2008); P. Levine (2003); M. Bentley (1999); L. Hardwick & C. Stray (eds.) (2008) – various articles; R. Hingley (2008).

⁹⁹¹S. Piggot (1989) pp. 60-61 & 87; On Roman occupation e.g. V. Hoselitz (2007); On Phoenicians: T. Champion (2001); S. Piggot (1989) pp. 101-102.

⁹⁹²Camden, for example, is interested in the ideas of the migrations of the descendants of Noah to Britain (this idea is paralleled in Irish foundation myths); Trojan rather than Biblical settlement of Britain seems to first appear in Geoffrey of Monmouth and the migrations of the Belgae is derived from Caesar – For a description of the impact of these genealogical histories see e.g. briefly B.G. Trigger (2007) pp.80-84 and generally C. Kidd (2004).

of the Celts from Noah appears in Hitchins/Drew⁹⁹³ (and he recounts arguments by Polwhele and Whitaker); the arrival of Brutus (and Corineus) occurs in Carew and is mentioned as mythical by Peter,⁹⁹⁴ and the arrival of the Belgae is mentioned by Polwhele.⁹⁹⁵

These narratives have several functions. First and foremost they create a sense of connection both with continental peoples and the main written historical traditions but they also explain the development of civilisation and mitigate notions of savagery. The descriptions of migrations and invasions are complemented by hypotheses whereby conquerors or settlers are thought to have brought with them metallurgy, education and artistic taste and the inhabitants of Britain allowed to have a level of existing civilisation before the Roman Conquest. On the other hand, corruption was sometimes considered inherent in civilisation and therefore not straightforwardly desirable. Furthermore, by attributing the advances of civilisation to various local tribes or traders any connection with the cultural cachet of the Roman empire and its improvements to Britain was diluted and this was also undesirable for certain narratives. It follows then that theories about migration, integration and contact were fraught with nuance. In Cornwall, the key discussion in this area seems to be about the civilising influence brought from abroad and is especially found in narratives on the Phoenician trade with the county.

Most importantly, there is the broader suggestion, following Diodorus, that by the Roman era the Cornish had become civilised by their interaction with traders, which appears in works as diverse as those by Carew, Edmonds and Robbins. Edmonds specifically credits the Phoenicians with the introduction of a bronze furnace and hence smelting practices⁹⁹⁶ to the county. He also suggests that the Cornish learnt mining from Jewish settlers but he does not at any point suggest that either group had long-term or permanent local presence.⁹⁹⁷ Similarly the pro-Phoenician writer Hawkins thinks that they must have gifted the Britons with a respect for law and new-found civilisation that lasted beyond their trade.⁹⁹⁸ Copeland Borlase quotes Rawlinson on the Phoenician improvements to the craftsmanship of surviving weaponry.⁹⁹⁹ Hitchins and Drew focus

⁹⁹³F. Hitchins (1824) pp. 35-40.

⁹⁹⁴Carew f.1r; T. Peter (1893) pp.1-2.

⁹⁹⁵R. Polwhele (1816) p.1.

⁹⁹⁶R. Edmonds (1862) p.10 (above p.186).

⁹⁹⁷R. Edmonds (1862) pp.11-12 & 14 [above p.194]; *idem* (1868) pp. 24, 34 [by contrast J.J. Daniell (1880) p.2 thinks it quite likely the Phoenicians settled and intermarried].

⁹⁹⁸C. Hawkins (1811) p.80 (More generally above p.176).

⁹⁹⁹W.C. Borlase (1874) p.18 (above p.215 n.916).

on the idea that Phoenician was the root of the Cornish language¹⁰⁰⁰ and the root of druidic religious practice but they also comment about that the Cornish were perhaps indebted to the Phoenicians for their mode of dress and civility of manners.¹⁰⁰¹ By contrast, rather than the Phoenicians, Polwhele suggests that practices were radically improved by the Roman influence¹⁰⁰² and that depth mining was unknown. This fits with his general choice to minimise the impact of the Greeks and to leave discussion of the Phoenicians to footnotes relating to earlier writers. This variety of comment demonstrates that although the Cornish writers emphasise different issues their discussion of the Phoenicians is largely incomplete without some discussion of how the Cornish benefited from the trade.

It is possible that the theory of the Phoenicians as progenitors (by blood or by inherited traits) of peoples in the British Isles is a 'modernisation' of early ideas of the spread of the sons of Noah after the flood. The latter notion is both an early conception of tribal migration as evidenced through archaeological finds and also a link to the only known historical record that went back to a hypothesised beginning – the Bible. It served as a convenient short-hand for how the British people could consider themselves to be eligible for the kingdom of God even after the protestant revolution. Phoenicians thus play a similar secular role in the migration of culture from the Mediterranean; note that discussion of their activity in Britain is usually supported by biblical references as well as the Hellenistic citations. This is further supported by Lennon's analysis of the use of Phoenicians as the more direct, civilised, cultural progenitor in Irish (nationalist) intellectuals of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century and the impact of such imagery on Celtic cultural idioms.¹⁰⁰³ Champion comments on the ambivalence of their role as both originators of a western cultural traditions and also as exotic, eastern and Semitic. The cultural image of the Phoenicians was mediated through the complicated portrayal of their activity in the classical world offered by the Greco-Roman authors, including the distinctions offered by Diodorus, for example, and was thus linked to Carthaginian stereotypes as well as Canaanite models. This both increases the flexibility of the Phoenician role and emphasises their alterity.

Additionally, Champion argues that one role of the Phoenicians in historical

¹⁰⁰⁰F. Hitchins (1824) pp.289-293.

¹⁰⁰¹F. Hitchins (1824) p.304 – This analysis seems to be based on Whitaker (1804) p.56 [loosely above p.198].

¹⁰⁰²R. Polwhele (1816) pp.174-179 (alluded to above p.195).

¹⁰⁰³J. Lennon (2003) pp. 130-134; See also A. Hadfield (1993).

iconography has been to provide a “valued predecessor and prototype for the industrial and maritime enterprise of nineteenth century imperial Britain”¹⁰⁰⁴ and that as such archaeological proofs were important for ideological struggles within the nationalist movements. Therefore the Phoenicians offer one means of discussing the development of the nation and a gateway to a more economic model of historical writing. As a strongly maritime region Cornwall was ideal to inherit the seafaring traits in the Phoenicians, yet this is not one of the areas alluded to by local writers and it is also obvious that several prefer to credit Roman innovation for technological advances. Therefore this thesis would argue that the Phoenicians play a role for Cornish writers over and above the roles they play in wider British historiography particularly as a cultural originator and mediator and this both leads to and complicates a conflict between the notion of the remnants of a Celtic nation and the idea of a civilised industrial Britain in Cornwall.

As well as the notion of the role of the Phoenicians in Cornish society there were other trends of interpretation that are apparent in the Cornish texts and link thematically to the role of different social groups in ancient society. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to consider the changing attitudes towards the Celt in Cornwall; however it is worth noting that until the late nineteenth century for local writers Celts were synonymous with the druids and intrinsically linked with the megalithic culture¹⁰⁰⁵ but not necessarily with mining. The number of stone remains ensured that the Celts remained important in Cornwall despite Phoenician commentary. Across Britain, especially over the course of the seventeenth century, various ideas about the nature of druidic society (including the practice of human sacrifice and/or a monotheistic patriarchal religion) were advanced by people like Stukeley.¹⁰⁰⁶ Until approximately the 1860s the druids were the key British social narrative and were hotly debated. Such discussions usually took their cue from Caesar's descriptions, but developed into complex descriptions of 'noble savages' as Romanticism took hold. Some of these ideas found their way into Borlase's work¹⁰⁰⁷ and consequently into other descriptions of Cornish stone-circles.

The Celts were difficult to characterise using classical texts¹⁰⁰⁸ and, despite interest

¹⁰⁰⁴T. Champion (2001) “Abstract”.

¹⁰⁰⁵On the use and misuse of the concept of the druids see R. Hutton (2009) esp. pp. 210-240 & 287-312.

¹⁰⁰⁶S. Piggot (1989) p.31, 129; S. Naylor (2003) p.311.

¹⁰⁰⁷On Stukeley's influence on Borlase see esp. R. Sweet (2004) pp.129, 133; S Naylor (2003) p.313
P.A.S. Pool (1986) pp.126-128 and *idem* (1966) *passim*; S. Piggot (1989) pp.129-130.

¹⁰⁰⁸R. Hutton (2009) pp.1-23; S. Smiles (1994) p.9 (who also examines how Celtic and Teutonic ideals

in language survival, native literature pre-dating Roman conquest is non-existent. This meant that antiquarians and artists were free to construct a variety of images of the prehistoric inhabitants of Britain but such uncertainty and multiplicity of interpretation led to distrust in and doubt over the value of such conjecture. As Smiles put it: “The Romans, alas, controlled the authentic evidence and to venture beyond them was to abandon history for the world of myth and legend.”¹⁰⁰⁹ Nonetheless over the course of the eighteenth century, the narratives about the druids, and by extension the Celts more generally, evolve through complex ideas about their association with Eastern or Semitic tribes.¹⁰¹⁰ It is also important that attitudes towards the Celts in Britain had variant roles in the burgeoning nationalist ideologies.¹⁰¹¹ As a concern within British historiography, the discussion of the Celts neatly represented a method of reconciling new information about indigenous tribes-people under British imperialism with the understanding of the national past.¹⁰¹²

More closely related to the issue of the conception of classical texts in the local historiography are the twin issues of the penetration of the Romans into Cornwall and the nature of 'Romanisation'. Early narratives stress the importance of the Romans to the growth of civilised behaviour in Britain¹⁰¹³ and stress the purity of British continuity of the best Roman traditions (like law), but later writers are more conflicted, finding pride in the narrative of resistance and appealing to ideas of hybridisation.¹⁰¹⁴ As mentioned in Chapter Two, Imperial Roman sources do not really discuss Cornwall and there was very little evidence uncovered of active occupation, and consequently Cornish writers tend to keep commentary minimal. However, it is worth noting that the growth of pro-Celtic sentiment coincided with pride in resistance to the Romans. Like Celticism, the details of the development of attitudes to the Roman invasion are beyond the scope of the thesis but it has been considered on a national level, particularly as it related to the growth of imperialism, in studies such as Bradley's and Hingley's.¹⁰¹⁵ Nonetheless, both

were mixed); See also J. Collis (2003) pp.13-26 & 98-128; M. Chapman (1992) pp.30-40, 165-184 and variously on the idea of the defining of 'Celts' through Classical 'Othering'.

¹⁰⁰⁹S. Smiles (1994) p.9.

¹⁰¹⁰Cf. S. Piggot (1989) pp.87-88; B.W. Cunliffe (2011).

¹⁰¹¹These ideas are introduced in S. Smiles (1994) pp.1-2 & 26-45; K. Trumpener (1997) pp. xi-xiii; R. Sweet (2004) pp.136-137 and related to Cornwall particularly in A. Hale (1997a) p. 87 (see also above p.27 n.60); Further considered below pp.266-269.

¹⁰¹²See discussion of S. Stroh etc. Above pp.46-47.

¹⁰¹³Note the comment made by Borlase (Bor. *Antiq.* p.37). See above pp.163-164.

¹⁰¹⁴Consider the role of Haverfield (1912) discussed in Chapter One p.34; also J.J. Daniell (1880) on Arthur fighting the Romans (p.24); Hitchins talks of Britons as independent subject people who eventually took things under their own control (F. Hitchins (1824) pp.340-344).

¹⁰¹⁵M. Bradley (ed.) (2010a) esp. his chapter M. Bradley (2010b) and R. Hingley (2008). See also M.

ideas are worth drawing attention to because they have an impact on the attitudes to the 'aboriginal' Cornish and to the alleged Greek and Phoenician visitors. The more positive and unproblematic the role of the Romans was, the less relevant classicising Mediterranean influences were. On the other hand strong images of uncorrupted 'noble savage' Celts did not need diluting with foreign trade but uncertainty between different positions could be mediated with discussions of classical texts.

Overall what these adaptations of national moods and theories demonstrate is that the Cornish writers were simultaneously engaged with the wider academic community and tailoring their narratives to the local situation. Cornish writers have not merely commented on these trends but they have expressed them as proof of distinctiveness. For example, whilst it is unclear if the national interest in Phoenicians derives from Cornish commentary or merely capitalises on it, there can be no doubt that the Cornish use it to discuss their own achievements exclusive of English ambitions and activity.

4.1.3: Local Academic Traditions and Networks

As the previous two sections suggest, Cornish writers interacted and reacted to national trends and discussions. The idea of a wider academic framework for the Cornish texts in Chapter Three suggests two further key points; firstly the notion of a developing tradition within which texts are formulated and secondly, the separation between this Cornish tradition and the centralised historical movement characterised by rationalist and Whig interpretations of history and developing theories such as those discussed above in London and so on. The strands of connection mean that the writers were in a strong position to relate their work to other work on the topic both by retrograde reference to evidence from predecessors' proofs and by arguments against the previous established work. This tendency is, however, reduced by the geographical and political separation of the Cornish that potentially leads to difficulty with access to material and thus delays in new ideas affecting scholarship. To counter the geographical separation antiquarians and historians sometimes demonstrate their methodological stances and concerns in letters to each other and especially to their patrons forming a kind of collaborative network and articulating a sense of development of their own methodologies.

It is clear from the texts in Chapter Three that the writers were strongly influenced

Dietler (1994); V. Hoselitz (2007); J. Sachs (2009).

by each other. This connection is explicitly demonstrated by the use of the arguments of their predecessors within the texts. On a basic level we see this reflected in the surveys of previous literature by Gilbert and Hitchins/Drew et cetera.¹⁰¹⁶ However, it is also an important part of the work of writers from Borlase onwards who choose to critique other writers in order to demonstrate their own learning and put forward new ideas. Smith and Edmonds particularly demonstrate the responsiveness to a critical environment. It is clear that despite the distance from central academic narratives and the overwhelmingly amateur nature of these Cornish writers there is a broad reach for their works.

This amateur consciousness of scholarship was strongly bolstered by national academic societies during the eighteenth century but the tone of gentlemanly interest and co-operation was changed by the beginnings of professional university positions and the movement towards disciplinary specialisation.¹⁰¹⁷ Many of the authors in Chapter Three were involved in stratified groups of societies and institutes that constituted the beginnings of formal academia and within which the scholars published some of their work. Early writers were influenced by the workings of the (first) Antiquarian Society, of which Camden and Carew were Fellows, before it was disbanded, and then again by its later incarnation – of which Smith and Hawkins were members. They were also aware of and influenced by the publications of the Royal Society in London (Borlase, Hawkins, Gilbert and James were all Fellows) and Sweet comments on the number of papers of antiquarian interest in the *Philosophical Transactions*.¹⁰¹⁸ That Cornish writers were aware of the national movements and wider publication is further illustrated by discussion in the *Gentleman's Magazine* relating to the authors in Chapter Three.¹⁰¹⁹

More interestingly, in the nineteenth century, amateur academics in Cornwall gathered into societies, organised fieldwork and published proceedings and papers which shared ideas about such things as the county's ancient history. This reflects a national trend of broader 'middle-class' education and a desire for wider dissemination of knowledge.¹⁰²⁰ Naylor comments on the peculiarly local patriotism demonstrated by

¹⁰¹⁶D.S. Gilbert (1817) Introduction; F. Hitchins (1824) preface; W. Copeland Borlase (1874).

¹⁰¹⁷Cf. C. Stray (1993); P. Clark (2002).

¹⁰¹⁸R. Sweet (2004) p.10.

¹⁰¹⁹E.g. R. Edmonds and W. Borlase (e.g. Vol XLVIII); See also "J.C." [Joseph Chattaway] (1829) "On the site of the ancient Ictis" *Gentleman's Magazine Vol. XCIX* [letter dated Sept.12] pp.207-208 [No attribution given E.L. De Montluzin (2008) "1829" but J. Chattaway (1830) mentions the article p.42].

¹⁰²⁰C. Brooks (1998) p. 16.

these societies.¹⁰²¹ As noted in the previous chapter,¹⁰²² Cornwall boasted the Royal Institution of Cornwall, the Royal Geological Society of Cornwall, the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society and later briefly Cowethas Kelto-Kernuak.¹⁰²³ Several of these societies make clear statements about their desire to disseminate knowledge and offered programmes of lectures for the general public as well as providing forums for discourse amongst learned men.¹⁰²⁴ Thus, Cornwall was, for the later writers at least, an environment where research was encouraged by peer groups and ideas could be transmitted to the general populace. This means that foundation myths and an overall sense of local identity could be shared amongst scholars and with locals via a quasi-academic medium. Furthermore, because these societies were filled with local dignitaries and businessmen as part of the growth of the middle classes there was a sense of incorporating academic knowledge into economic and social activity.¹⁰²⁵

4.2: How to Read Classics

This thesis has particularly focussed on frameworks offered by a foundation on classical precedents. From the late eighteenth century onwards the British ruling classes used several key classical frameworks to demonstrate their own cultural actions. Broadly speaking, the example of the Roman Empire and its self-justification was a practical model for conquest and governance and ancient Greece offered an interesting mix of high aesthetics and subversion.¹⁰²⁶ Classical literature moved over the centuries from the marker of the cultural elite across Europe and a common understanding to a means to homogenise those the elite took over.¹⁰²⁷ In places like India and Africa we find that part of the movement away from the colonialism is the adaptation of this classical literature for their own purposes.¹⁰²⁸ Similarly, in Cornwall the structure of history-building is lent gravitas by its association with the civilisations most revered by

¹⁰²¹S. Naylor (2003) p.316.

¹⁰²²See Chapter Three pp. 210-211.

¹⁰²³Members included H. Jenner, T.C. Peter, J.B. Cornish and A. Quiller-Couch; A. Hale (1997b) p.103.

¹⁰²⁴S. Naylor (2003) p.317.

¹⁰²⁵See R. Perry (1997).

¹⁰²⁶This generalisation does not of course hold true in many specific examples but it is a useful starting point – some discussion of the variety of possible readings and roles of Classics was outlined in Chapter One pp.48-57; On Rome and Empire see e.g. M. Bradley (2010a); On British Hellenism e.g. S. Evangelista (2009).

¹⁰²⁷See for example R. Hingley (2005); I. Willis (2007).

¹⁰²⁸See e.g. B. Goff (ed.) (2005) esp. L. Hardwick (2005); On this process in Ireland see: N. Allen (2010).

the elite and a fundamental part of the education of all those involved in the cultural building of Cornwall.

Any use of a classical text is a complex issue. The act of choosing any text as reference within a work assigns a (cultural) value to that text¹⁰²⁹ and association with that reference influences the perception of the work. However the author both relates the reference within analogous terms to his contemporary situation, either through cultural contextualisation or implied symmetry, and offers an interpretation of its relevance to his work, moving it from its original context in the process. Hence, the text is temporally and geographically as well as linguistically (in the case of Greek and Latin material) translated.¹⁰³⁰ Furthermore, modern authors do not merely reproduce ancient texts, they also select the words used by choosing editions and often offer translations which render the words of the text literally in the terms appropriate for the historical discussion. Classical material is influenced by the works it appears in as well as having an effect on the work.

4.2.1: Why Classics? Classics and Power

If it is assumed that historiography is a series of choices, why do authors choose to include the ancient era and why do they select classical texts as source material? It is not a necessary assumption that a historical narrative must begin before or during the classical period; indeed as we have seen in Chapter Three some historians begin their narrative later. Nor is it a requirement that textual evidence should be included in every narrative. However, this thesis conjectures that because of the position of classical learning in British society, engagement with concepts and texts from the classical world allowed Cornish historians to manage and subvert reader expectations.

It is well known that there was an emphasis on Greek and Roman history and the study of their literature amongst the European elite from the Renaissance until comparatively recently and that it was seen as an essential stepping-stone to a greater understanding of the world.¹⁰³¹ Hence engagement with the classical authors was a prerequisite for 'serious history' and antiquarianism alike. A large number of scholars have commented on the society-wide influence of classical history and literature¹⁰³² and

¹⁰²⁹A. Lianeri & V. Zajko (2008); C. Martindale (1993) pp.20-29; S.L. Schein (2008).

¹⁰³⁰L. Venuti (2008) pp. 27-28.

¹⁰³¹This idea has its roots in the Renaissance and later humanist movements: cf. M.L. Clarke (1959); C. Stray (1993) esp. pp. 19-20 & 29-35.

¹⁰³²E.g. R.R. Bolgar (1977); M. Greenhalgh (1990); L Hardwick & C. Stray (2008); G Highet (1985); C.

especially its place in the British education system where it formed a common thread in both private and public teaching.¹⁰³³ Beyond that, classical reception, in particular, has addressed its effects on a wide range of institutions, including political and social institutions, and its 'decline' or re-evaluation over the course of the twentieth century.¹⁰³⁴ However, a few key points should be reiterated.

Firstly, whilst Latin and Greek language and literature formed an important part of the elite education system in Britain (i.e. until the early twentieth century), the inclusion of classical references is one type of proof of the education of the author and therefore a gauge of his respectability and trustworthiness. Hence Carew peppers his text with allusions to Pliny and Ptolemy and the authors of general and parochial history, such as Polwhele and Hitchins, include sections with this type of reference as introductory material to their works to emphasise their suitability as commentators on the rest of the history. Using classical material is a means of demonstrating inclusion within that group who understand and study it. Using classical sources added prestige to their own skills as a researcher and elevated their status as mediators of the ancient texts; this is especially true of those demonstrating their own translations.

The second key point about the prevalence of classical training is that certain classical texts were commonly learnt and memorised and thus formed a shared knowledge base amongst gentlemen without the need for lengthy exposition. For example, a comprehensive knowledge of Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* amongst the readership is assumed by most of the authors in Chapter Three and is rarely deemed to require citation. To a certain extent any shared comprehension of the Classics was complicated by a regularly changing hierarchy amongst texts whereby a quotation from Homer or Virgil might be considered commonplace enough not to require elucidation whilst retaining its elegance whereas Polybius should be contextualised for the readership.¹⁰³⁵ Naturally these relative statuses were influenced by available editions and translations and the relevance to the topics of the historiography as well as pedagogic fashion and altered over the course of the periods investigated here. Thus, for example, Pliny the Elder's descriptions of physical features lost popularity under the scrutiny of nineteenth century scientific advancement, Diodorus' sources were more important than

Stray (1993).

¹⁰³³As mentioned in Chapter One pp.53-55; See especially the works of Christopher Stray: (1996a) (1998a) (1999) (2001); also e.g. J. Connolly (2010).

¹⁰³⁴See e.g. L. Hardwick (2003); L. Hardwick and C. Stray (2008); S. Harrison (2001) pp. 1-18 and M. Reeve (2001); See also above pp.55-57.

¹⁰³⁵Bor. *Antiq.* p.33 See above p.162 esp. n.662.

his contribution for most of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and, in terms of editions published, Greek historians were distinctly less popular than Roman ones before 1700 so are more likely to need to be glossed.¹⁰³⁶ In the Cornish writers these trends manifest as the necessity for annotation on some writers and not others or preferring to refer to Pliny's work through Timaeus.

There was a related expectation about shared comprehension of facts and (to a certain extent) cultural values within readership groups. That is the authors assumed that their audience understood the same things by such words as empire, civilisation and native and that they also knew that “Herodotus was a liar” and when Cicero lived. For example, simplistically, the authors examined assume that their readers are comfortable with the chronology of the classical texts and therefore their relationship to each other and to key events in classical history (such as Caesar's invasion of Britain or Agricola's campaigns) and therefore make no effort to draw explicit temporal parallels. On a more complex level, the assumption of the trustworthiness of Strabo and the dubious nature of Avienus allows Borlase to favour one narrative over the other with little stated justification. The extent to which any given ideas were held in educated Cornish society over the 'long eighteenth-century' is difficult to determine. However, based on the texts investigated here it is possible to identify shared assumptions including (but not limited to)¹⁰³⁷ the idea that the classical writers were more interested in fact-presentation than literary appeal and that there was an underlying narrative of tin discovery and trade networks (regardless of whether or not it related to Cornwall) which could be uncovered by appropriate understanding of the ancient material.

However, any presumption of linguistic (rather than literary) understanding amongst writers and their readers was more complicated and the different types of text show a wide variation in their expectations from the readership. Some authors translate everything that they comment on; others expect Latin comprehension but not Greek and there are also those texts which rely on, not just understanding but also, familiarity with relevant texts. For example, there is a clear difference in the intended audience of Holland's translation of Camden to his original Latin text which largely preserves the original language of the quotations. Similarly Hawkins and Edmonds tend to offer their readers translations of ancient texts, only referring to language where philological

¹⁰³⁶P. Burke (1966) p.137.

¹⁰³⁷Other important assumptions include the idea that tin was in demand in the Mediterranean; that Cornish tin was accessible to local people and that ancient texts were not forgeries.

analysis is central to their arguments, but Whitaker's *Supplement* to Polwhele contains regular citations in Greek and Latin to support assertions. The use of original languages or translations can roughly be attributed to variations in the genre of the historical narrative and concomitant expectations of the level/background of the readership. That is that the minor generalists and those specialising in a very specific locale often expect their readers to be less interested in textual and linguistic nuance than those writing academic-style papers for scholarly societies.

Thirdly, the classical world offered respected models and lessons for political and social life¹⁰³⁸ and an important heritage for people to build on. Therefore, a connection between the classical world and Cornwall assigns an extra value to the Cornish activities associated with either copying these models or building on a classical relationship. In terms of the production of historical narrative the inclusion of classical material has a distinct cultural value in that it connects the text to a pre-formed canon.¹⁰³⁹ However, this value is not static but is mutually dependent with the meaning assigned to it;¹⁰⁴⁰ that is, by assuming that the classical texts and civilisations were both relevant and positive for the Cornish the role that they played in each of the other texts was reinforced. Hence, framing Roman occupation as a benefit for Cornwall assigns a value to the Roman occupation as well as suggesting Cornish progression. So, classical references in the texts could either be seen as a means of explaining the present through analogy with the past – for example, demonstrating the tendency of the Cornish to carry on a global tin trade – and/or as important antecedents, that is as a rich heritage that has passed on a respected civilisation. However, all the references allowed the authors to connect to and interpret cultural capital. Therefore as well as creating a classical place for the Cornish and engaging in social commentary, the discussion of the ancient texts is a means of engaging in the interpretation of the past and the role of the classical world for the British/Cornish people.¹⁰⁴¹

Finally and following on from the last point, the strength of the 'Classical Tradition' allows room for manipulation of these symbols in a non-standardised context. Hence, Classics are a powerful tool to negotiate identity through re-interpretation of authoritative frameworks.¹⁰⁴² With Classics acting as a standard framework,

¹⁰³⁸On classical models in political and social life see for example: G.W. Clarke (ed.) (1989); C. Stray (1996b); V. Tietze Larson (1999); A. Lianeri (2007); J. Moore & I. MacGregor Morris (2008).

¹⁰³⁹P. Cartledge (1998) pp. 26-28.

¹⁰⁴⁰L. Venuti (2008) p.29.

¹⁰⁴¹These ideas are explored on a national level by R. Hingley (2000). See pp. 10-11, 14-15, 61-63 etc.

¹⁰⁴²See amongst others: S.A. Stephens & P. Vasunia (2010); S. McElduff (2006) esp. p.190; N. Vance

marginalised people(s) have both been able to represent themselves in a comprehensible manner and to appear more subversive by manipulation of the reified system. This has particularly been true of marginal groups in western Europe during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as women or Jews, but is also typical of non-European countries (or especially non-members of the former Roman empire).¹⁰⁴³ Typically post-colonial countries have used the ancient poetic and dramatic corpus to explore themes presented in the works in a vernacular idiom and thereby challenged the dominant hegemony of centralised cultural values.¹⁰⁴⁴ However, we also see more subtle shifts in scholarly and popular trends which emphasise particular features of the classical tradition and thereby centralise particular places or ideologies at different times.¹⁰⁴⁵ This varies from a state-wide emphasis on Athenian democratic principles to Spartan discipline or the use of Antigone as a figure of resistance.¹⁰⁴⁶ Importantly, this process occurs in a broad sense across the different parts of Europe and the Near East as reactions to focused presentation of any particular regime as the 'true heirs' of the classical world (compare and contrast, for example, British and Napoleonic imperialist rhetorics).¹⁰⁴⁷ Whilst dominant cultures emphasised both their connection to and progress from a classical 'tradition' outsiders could look for alternative readings of the classical past or discrepancies in the tradition which weakened the hegemony and allowed the minority group to negotiate a separate relationship with the past. Thus in Cornwall, for example, an emphasis on Greek trade moves focus away from Roman Britain and works as a rejection of the dominance of south-east England where the Roman presence was strongest. This serves two purposes, firstly it explores a local idiom of classicism not mediated through central, English, narratives and secondly it moves away from a homogenised Roman Europe towards individual community expressions without losing the strength of the classical model.

(1999); Consider from a different perspective D.M. Hooley (1988).

¹⁰⁴³E.g. E. Greenwood (2005) p. 66; T. Rajak (1999); L. Hardwick (2000).

¹⁰⁴⁴The uses of Homer and tragedians amongst post-colonial African and Caribbean communities has been well documented -See amongst others L. Hardwick & C. Gillespie (eds.) (2007) esp. e.g. J. Gibbs (2007); B. Goff (ed.) (2005) esp. e.g. E. Greenwood (2005).

¹⁰⁴⁵For a look at some of the consequences, consider in particular the 'Black Athena' debate (Bernal Lefkowitz et al discussed B. Goff (2005) pp. 14-17). See also G. van Steen (2007).

¹⁰⁴⁶E.g. Athenian Democracy (distrusted through C18th, lauded post Grote) A.W. Saxonhouse (1993); Spartan Ideology (reviled in Revolutionary France and adored in Nazi Germany)– E. Rawson (1969); Antigone - J. Gerhard (1981), W. Raji (2005) and D. Willner (1982).

¹⁰⁴⁷V. Huet (1999); D.F. Kennedy (1999); R. Hingley (2000) pp.86-89.

4.2.2: Cornish Manipulation of Classics

In utilising ancient texts the Cornish authors were making specific statements about the type and standards of their work, they were imbuing it with the status afforded by the classical text and setting it within the body of critical work. Additionally, they were reacting to the relative status of the classical material; simultaneously reinforcing the canonical impact of the ancient texts by emphasising their relevance and reflexivity as well as being influenced by their perceptions of the classical material. For example, by opening up and continuing a narrative about the Cassiterides, Cornish historians are implicitly acknowledging the strength of Herodotus and Strabo as conduits of ideas since the use of the term automatically draws attention to their use as source material (directly or indirectly). The differing approaches to explaining the Cassiterides are, in part, determined by the respect accorded to the ancient authors and their inherent 'trustworthiness'. Early interpretations, such as Camden's, assume the goal of ancient writers such as Herodotus to be broadly similar to their own endeavours of description and explanation and hence that ideas can be translated as readily as words. However, modernist conceptions of text as art allow for a greater scope for approaching the Cassiterides as a literary construct without undermining the privilege of the position of the ancient authors as place identifiers.

Furthermore, framing discussion of historical time-periods in ancient Cornwall as pre- and post- (Claudian) Roman invasion demonstrates the scale of importance attached to the ability to relate British history to written classical record in the formation of narratives of British historiography. Potential references to Cornwall that pre-date Tacitean (or even Caesarian) narrative offer a tantalising opportunity to extend the accepted historical period of study, especially in an era that privileges written records over physical monuments as we see in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Generally the choice to begin historical (as opposed to mythological) narrative with the conquest emphasises the notion of a strong classical Roman impact on British society. Gradually greater archaeological interest and understanding led to more complex conceptualisation of early British civilisation and discussions of its development in comparison with the socio-political descriptions of the ancient Greco-Roman world. Thus the temporal division of before and after Roman conquest, evident across chronological British narrative, is blurred by consideration of the interaction of the creators of physical antiquities with the Greeks and a Roman world pre-conquest.

The widening of the historical time-frame is further emphasised in the foregrounding of Diodorus' text which raises the profile of pre-Roman Cornwall and connects it to the classical world independently of other parts of the country. The dating of Diodorus' text, in conjunction with references to Herodotus and Polybius, clearly suggests a pre-Claudian mining trade that was noticed by classical literature and therefore worthy of attention by subsequent historians. This is further extended by the narrative about the concealment of the ancient tin-routes from Strabo that suggests a trade that pre-dates classical writings about it¹⁰⁴⁸ and proposes the possibility of a flourishing community.

Diodorus is then, more importantly, used to demonstrate the distinctiveness of Cornwall in relation to other parts of Britain because of the presentation of cultural and geographical separation of the region. The geographical division between the Cornish and the English is emphasised in discussion of the location of Iktis and is used to strengthen the argument for cultural separation. This is because the further Iktis is situated from Cornish mining communities the greater the reliance on mutual co-operation between cultural groups required; but a Cornish location allows for local individuals to be involved in all aspects of the mining and trading process. Furthermore, by writing about a civilised Belerion, Cornish writers create a clear distinction between this early mining and trading community that was praised by a classical writer and the druidic quasi-Gaulish tribes encountered by Caesar and dismissed as barbarians. This separation promotes an image of a positive (Cornish) civilisation that is independent from eastern counter-parts but firmly rooted in classical writing. Cornish writers are then able to re-frame the role of the Romans in their locality by placing them below earlier traders in terms of influence and thereby to move beyond the standardised pattern for the British Isles.

Therefore as well as being part of the creation of an overarching historical scheme (that is providing a temporal structure and frameworks of comparison) classical texts are used to challenge the idea of the significant civilising impact of Roman invasion on the primitive Cornish. The use of classical material simultaneously acts as means of legitimising the narrative and the scholarship on which it is based, and offers strong ground to claim a classical heritage that is different to its neighbours. Like more prominent areas before and since, Cornish writers used the texts available to them to lengthen the time-scale and connect their heritage to the classical world without the

¹⁰⁴⁸See above p.116.

mediation of a more powerful group (in this case England/Britain/British Empire).

4.3: Politics and Identity

It is the major conjecture of this thesis that classical connections with Cornwall have been adopted, manipulated and rejected by people interested in questions of Cornish identity. This identity takes the form of a collective imagining of shared points of time and space articulated in descriptive media such as novels, newspapers, paintings and of course history. This thesis suggests that historiography has a special place within formation of identity because it operates not only as a medium for the dispersal of collective knowledge sanctioned by centralised educative groups but also acts as a creative expression of distinctiveness that can resist homogenisation and simplification by illustrating different paths taken. The thesis furthermore contends that the classical texts have a varied role within this narrative construction of place. This section will demonstrate the role of historiography in the construction of local identity and how conceptions of identity affect choices of historical material.

4.3.1: Identity Theory

Who I am is who I was

Modern theorisation posits that identity is a pattern of discursive formulations relating ideas and images to self and/or place affecting and affected by social and physical structures and that media allows reproductions of representations of such ideas and images.¹⁰⁴⁹ The popularity and longevity of the identity seems to be most effective if the representations are adaptable, include a combination of the factors that unite people, (usually by articulating difference particularly if that includes a sense of disenfranchisement), and offer a series of mutual historical/cultural reference points as framework. Bernard Deacon, the sociologist, historian and Cornish scholar, tells us:

Identity has two aspects. First, it involves understanding our own individuality – what it is that makes us different from other people – and this can apply both to an individual or a group. Secondly, and in

¹⁰⁴⁹See below for exploration of these themes. Also S. Hall (2000); R. Jenkins (2008).

contradictory fashion, we need to look at what makes us the same as others, part of a group with a shared identity. The implication of these two sides of the same coin is that, in the making of group identity, boundaries are drawn around groups and behaviours, customs, attributes that are assigned to that group. Thus, since the early nineteenth century, there has been an ongoing search to define what makes the Cornish 'different'.¹⁰⁵⁰

Like most forms of collective identity, Cornish identity is formulated, articulated and changed by the people who regard themselves as specifically of or outside that group (including the academics who write about it) and therefore Cornish writers must be considered as simultaneously defining their own boundaries and reacting/interacting to/with external conceptions. Crang has reminded us that regionalisms are dependent on the discursive formation of the concept of [a] place through the negotiations of boundaries by social practices and practitioners.¹⁰⁵¹ That is, in Cornwall, for example, not only is the decision to place a boundary around the county a conceptual choice that sets up an inside/outside dichotomy but also that the space is defined in part through its negotiations with the systems connected to it.¹⁰⁵² Thus 'Cornish' is a complex multi-level identity that also exists (and has existed) within wider identities such as British, Imperial or European.¹⁰⁵³ The process of the discussions has enabled people to formulate an identity which backs the political and social aspirations that they required or desired. Modern Cornish identity (like other regional periphery movements) in part therefore forms a reaction to a sense of a 'British Nation' (however fractured that idea may be)¹⁰⁵⁴ and it is directly initiated by an interested intelligentsia researching language, folk-lore and history who then created a narrative about the uniqueness of Cornwall, which has been adopted and adapted by the general populace but has its roots in earlier formulations.¹⁰⁵⁵

For the purpose of this thesis, Cornish identity is proposed to be subject to written and social formal characterisation analogous in the process of its formation to 'National identity' but more fundamentally tied to a cultural conception of place and less explicit

¹⁰⁵⁰B. Deacon (2004b) p.175.

¹⁰⁵¹P. Crang (1997).

¹⁰⁵²P. Crang (1997) p.167.

¹⁰⁵³For a theoretical discussion on this topic see M. Jones and G. MacLeod (2004); also B. Deacon (2001) on Paasi's theories pp.38-42.

¹⁰⁵⁴R.D. Fitjar (2010a); E. Royle (ed.) (1998).

¹⁰⁵⁵All these ideas are further explored in the sections below and have been considered in numerous texts.

in its development of political independence. Benedict Anderson in his book *Imagined Communities* characterises a nation as an imagined political community that is considered limited in its boundaries but sovereign politically.¹⁰⁵⁶ Cornwall has been able to conceptualise itself as a community bound together by shared culture and history for a long time,¹⁰⁵⁷ it also has a clear sense of its geographical boundaries and an unusual sense of political engagement. Notable in the experience of community is encouragement of the sense of kinship; that is the shared sense of history, cultural affinity and economic and political unity,¹⁰⁵⁸ and the fact that this fellowship can be extended to those of differing status to oneself and to those one has never met.¹⁰⁵⁹ Similarly a place has symbolic value to both those inside and outside its boundaries and influences personal images of self in relation to that place.¹⁰⁶⁰

Significantly for this thesis, one of the suggested key features around which (national) identities coalesce are 'Myths of Origin'. Anthony Smith supplements this concept of shared identity-signifier with the notion of communal memories of a golden age for a place or people and its subsequent decline (often but not exclusively through oppression) and a plan for resurgence.¹⁰⁶¹ In the case of Cornwall there was a change over time in the form of origin myths, from an early notion of the formation of a Cornish culture through interactions with either the Romans or the Phoenicians to a notion of an indigenous ethnic heritage oppressed by successive invasions. Nonetheless, as we see in Str ath: "the myths upon which societies ultimately rest, draw their power to legitimate from some specific connection to God, history or the truths of the social and economic sciences".¹⁰⁶² That is these origin myths are given the power to define and justify society through their incorporation into formal historical discourse. In Cornwall, therefore even where ideas about Greek interpretations are presented as myth they still have an influence on the collective sense of identity.

¹⁰⁵⁶B. Anderson (1996).

¹⁰⁵⁷What Anthony Smith characterises as an *ethnie* (A.D. Smith (1999) p. 13) For the application of this idea to Cornwall see Stoye (2002a) pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁵⁸By which it is not meant necessarily a unity of approach (i.e. as shared by a political party) but a sense of working towards a common improvement.

¹⁰⁵⁹Initially from B. Anderson (1996) pp.7 & 35-36; Community is re-framed as part of a dialectual, spatial and processual network in R. Liepins (2000); Consider also theories of diaspora – See e.g. S.P. Schwartz (2002) and incl. previously mentioned studies relating to Cornwall such as R.M. James (1994) D. Mullen and P.J. Birt (2009) [Above p.27 notes 61 & 62 respectively].

¹⁰⁶⁰E. Westland (1997) p. 2.

¹⁰⁶¹A.D. Smith (1999) pp. 56-95; on the application of this to Cornwall see C.H. Williams (2002) pp.70-71.

¹⁰⁶²B. Str ath (2000) p. 25.

Imagination and Creation

Whilst it is clear that the idea of certain types of shared duties and economic drives can be agreed upon after the creation of the nation (or shared space),¹⁰⁶³ and even that real mass social cohesion may never actually exist, in order to create this sense of kinship and community there have to be ideas or memories that people can latch onto and identify with. Anthony Smith (following on from Anderson) encourages us to think of the 'nation' as being a leap of artistic endeavour that then acquires cultural status by its interpretation by its audience, and he focuses on the symbols/myths that create a social bond. If nations (and by extension regions such as Cornwall that develop a political shape) are not fabricated/built but are imagined, it is implied that they are created in the minds of their members (or of specific individuals) and made solid and 'definite' only through political manoeuvring and social institutions. Smith glosses this idea for us by saying:

... in designating the nation as an imagined community or tradition, we do not gainsay its reality or consider it a fabrication. There is nothing contradictory about saying that something is both imagined and real ... But, if nations are not fabricated, are they cultural artefacts created in the same way as artistic monuments?¹⁰⁶⁴

This is related to the ideas discussed by Hobsbawm *et al* in *The Invention of Tradition*¹⁰⁶⁵ which emphasise the institutionalisation of cultural artefacts and historical events or 'memories'. Thus the writing of a communal history is one of the fundamental processes by which individuals and institutions can create a formal bond.

Generally speaking:

History provides us with narratives that tell us who we are, where we came from and where we should be going. It defines a trajectory which helps construct the essence of a group's identity, how it relates to other groups, and ascertains what its options are for facing present challenges. A group's representation of its history will condition its sense of what it was, is, can and should be, and is thus central to the

¹⁰⁶³ Although a desire to improve and encourage the situation is perhaps universal, focus can be guided by political systems and rarely seems to be sufficient motivation.

¹⁰⁶⁴ A.D. Smith (25 Oct. 1995) [accessed 21/11/12].

¹⁰⁶⁵ E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (1983).

construction of its identity, norms, and values.¹⁰⁶⁶

Str ath explains “the idea of a collective memory and a specific history is a tool that bridges the gap between high political and intellectual levels and the levels of everyday life.”¹⁰⁶⁷ Hence history can simultaneously be a memory-by-consensus and the formal explanation or justification of present-day social and political institutions. Scholars have also demonstrated that social representations of history tend to show agreement about key people and events across the social group but by acting as a reserve of symbols it allows for a wide range of interpretations.¹⁰⁶⁸ This means that 'An Gof'¹⁰⁶⁹ can be both a hero of the people and a dangerous reactionary and that the Romans can be cultural progenitors or oppressive forces. It follows not only that historiography is a means for the articulation of identity but also that the interpretation of historical events can be used to formulate a distinctive identity.¹⁰⁷⁰

Since, as shown above, historiography is one of the explicit media by which place identity is constructed, by writing about local history and engaging with national academic discourse about textual interpretation the Cornish writers are firmly connected to the construction of Cornwall as a place. Furthermore we can witness them negotiating with 'outsiders' (i.e. non-local historians) in order to recentralise themselves and their locality within historical and national discourses. This thesis has particularly identified Cornish individuals whose work had an impact on the cumulative growth of local identity, albeit to varying degrees. Kedourie suggests that it is disaffected intellectuals who purvey nationalist ideology through philology, folklore and the rediscovery of ethnic history and culture; Gellner favours the idea of a state apparatus using the educational framework to disseminate a dominant identity¹⁰⁷¹ and Rob Burton talks of what he calls ‘cultural entrepreneurs’¹⁰⁷² who formulate the rules for the society. Each of these rhetorical positions in part inform the premise, used here, that there was a group (mainly of intellectuals) within Cornwall separate from (albeit influenced by) central (British/English) power structures,¹⁰⁷³ utilising existing folklore and rediscovering

¹⁰⁶⁶J.H. Liu & D.J Hilton (2005) “Abstract”.

¹⁰⁶⁷B. Str ath (2000) p.22.

¹⁰⁶⁸E.g. Reicher (1992) cited by J.H. Liu & D.J. Hilton (2005) p.539.

¹⁰⁶⁹One of the leaders of the Cornish 1497 Rebellion, Michael An Gof is a popular figure amongst Cornish Nationalists.

¹⁰⁷⁰On the role of Archaeology in this process see: S. Jones (1997).

¹⁰⁷¹For a summary of types of nationalism, especially the theories of the modernists see the introduction to A.D. Smith (1999) pp. 3-10.

¹⁰⁷²R.E. Burton. (2000) [Available online - accessed 22/11/12].

¹⁰⁷³Including both political and academic norms.

‘history’ explicitly (as in the case of Edmonds, Copeland Borlase and T. Peter) or implicitly (as demonstrated by Carew) to create a local Cornish identity.

In modern society, social representation of history is partially constrained by the formal practice of historiography and its institutional practitioners' adherence to documentary investigation and notions of truth-value. The increasing dominance of an intellectual elite who control the representations of history allows narratives to become enshrined not only in academic discourse but also in public education, monuments and public holidays.¹⁰⁷⁴ On the other hand, increased contact with diverse narratives encourages negotiation and adaptation within those narratives as well as fostering specific counter-hegemonic messages. Furthermore, it cannot be forgotten that the model of influential individuals forming nationalisms, or in this case identities, fails to take into account what material factors influence people before the articulation of any form of identity. It also does not account for the power of the populace in influencing social practices and the ability of the masses to reinterpret what they have been offered by specific ‘cultural entrepreneurs’. Hence it is important to examine in more detail the experiences of the participants and social elements of narrative constructions (such as education, story-telling and tourism) and the rhetorical power held by different parts of the constructive community. That is, how do the socio-political contexts of the identity-builders and the mechanisms of distribution impact on the type of history that best serves their purposes?

A socio-economic call to arms?: Modelling Difference

Having demonstrated the idea that historiography, and especially the segments of it that deal with myths of social formation, is a key component of identity formation, it is necessary to identify the circumstances which lead to a desire to articulate a regional identity or to demonstrate a difference from a wider category and to consider how that might influence the articulation of that identity. Theorists such as Rokkan and Unwin, have identified several climates in which cultural distinctiveness is emphasised and they share the common factor of socio-economic stress and/or political administrative re-organisation.¹⁰⁷⁵ Thus, periods of rapid social change brought about by religious

¹⁰⁷⁴Durkheimian “collective representations”. Discussed by various – including E. Hobsbawm & T. Ranger (1983).

¹⁰⁷⁵S Rokkan & D.W. Urwin (eds.) (1982); and *idem* (1983) *Economy, Territory, Identity: Politics of West European Peripheries* Sage: London – for analysis see P. Payton (1992) pp.15-6, 27 &c.; Also R.D. Fitjar (2010b) pp.15-31.

uncertainty, territorial expansion, industrialisation or de-industrialisation, tend to inspire a desire to articulate shared values and retrench social boundaries.¹⁰⁷⁶ Furthermore these issues are complicated by the geographical (as well as cultural) separation from the political centre, which is emphasised in periods of turmoil where change occurs at different paces, or uncertainty in the centre leads to a narrowing of the cultural focus in order to ensure its stability and further emphasises the marginalisation of peripheral cultures.¹⁰⁷⁷

Consequently it is possible to identify a number of socio-economic, political and cultural features that act to create a localised culture in Cornwall and lead to formal articulation and codification of identity(ies). Firstly, the situation of Cornwall and its territorial relations with South-Eastern England and the related fluctuations in status of the region, both political and economic; secondly the shared experiences of social upheaval caused by mining boom and bust, emigration, tourism and intra-national migration; and finally the impact of the experiences of externally imposed narratives and perceived external threat on the desire for self-expression. These social motivations for strengthening communal bonds through performance of group identity each inspire the foregrounding of particular facets of identity that legitimise or explain relevant contemporary social institutions and will be explored further below. The features of the experiences of the Cornish historians are not static and neither are the identities that the authors conceptualise and project onto the past. Hence it is possible to discern the evolution of identity and of historical narrative in Cornwall.

In *The Making of Modern Cornwall*,¹⁰⁷⁸ Philip Payton critiques several models of centre-periphery relations before adopting a historically contingent model of phases of peripheralism, loosely following Tarrow, to explain the situation of the Cornish, politically and culturally.¹⁰⁷⁹ The approach relies on recognising the significance of industrialisation in Cornwall, an idea also developed by Deacon, and stresses the varied levels of political and economic dependence the county has experienced and the related differences of toleration and/or accommodation or centralising strategies that have been applied by the state as a whole.

¹⁰⁷⁶Social and economic upheaval as instigation: See esp. E. Gellner (2006) pp.19-39 (and critique in intro. to that edition by J. Breuilly xxxiii – xlv); also G. Delanty & P. O'Mahony (2002) pp.56- 73.

¹⁰⁷⁷Note comments in preface of M. Rowlands, M.T. Larsen & K. Kristiansen (eds.) (1987). See also B. Deacon (1997a) pp.11-12.

¹⁰⁷⁸P Payton (1992) *passim*. esp. pp. 9-19.

¹⁰⁷⁹S. Tarrow (1977). Quoted and analysed P. Payton (1992) pp.17, 26-7 &c.

Although Payton rejects the models offered by Smith and Hechter¹⁰⁸⁰ as uni-dimensional and comments on their failure to offer adequate explanation of the political situation of Cornwall it is useful to demonstrate what benefits their models might have as part of a wider scheme.¹⁰⁸¹ Smith describes how different portions of a peripheral community might react to a change in the nature of the relations between centre and periphery as the state moves from a possessive model to a “scientific” one with greater emphasis on administrative efficiency which requires a greater degree of homogeneity throughout its regions. Smith suggests that the individual in the peripheral region has the option to either accept or reject the new state model and its cultural normatizing but that if (when) the new model fails to incorporate the region acceptably or does not meet aspirations, a cultural “revival” of the regional traditions follows and further leads to call for political reform. This hypothesis has a number of appealing features in describing the experience of Cornwall. Specifically, it suggests a model for the impact of changes to the political control exercised from Westminster and reactions to imposition of English cultural practice¹⁰⁸² leading to a “double socialisation” of the intelligentsia.¹⁰⁸³ This seems to be apparent in attempts to reconcile English and Cornish cultural identities as demonstrated in universal histories of Cornwall such as Polwhele and Hitchins. However, it fails to explain the impact of economic changes and dependency which Hechter suggests can lead to framing the role of the periphery as inferior to the centre (an “internal-colonial” model) and therefore strengthen differences and lead to discontent which might be expressed through nationalism. Despite methodological issues with his analysis, this idea was applied to Cornwall by Deacon who argued that economic disadvantage in Cornwall had perpetuated a sense of difference but had not given rise to the political mobilisation that might be expected from a purely colonialist model.¹⁰⁸⁴

Perry rejects Payton and Deacon's models of the economic development of industrial Cornwall as too simple.¹⁰⁸⁵ He suggests that although central aims and projects often had the financial capital or political impetus the entrepreneurial spirit of the Cornish and their technological prowess made the people valuable in their own right

¹⁰⁸⁰A.D. Smith (1971) and *idem* (1982) p.27; M. Hechter (1975) and *idem* (1985): All P. Payton (1992) pp.12-15.

¹⁰⁸¹These summaries are largely based on P. Payton (1992) and B. Deacon (2001) – any misrepresentations are however my own.

¹⁰⁸²E.g The Rebellions of 1497 & 1549 P. Payton (1975) cited P. Payton (1992) pp. 23-24.

¹⁰⁸³P. Payton (1992) p.24 and R. Burton (1997) pp.155-157.

¹⁰⁸⁴B. Deacon (1983) cited by P. Payton (1992) pp.24-25; (See also B. Deacon (2001) pp.50-52).

¹⁰⁸⁵R. Perry (2002).

and therefore that the power dynamic was mutable. He uses this to explain the shifts of emphasis from one highly specialised industrial region to another and so on. Perry further suggests that it was the post-mining diversification that increased dependency on central agencies whereby managerial and new capital-driven technologists were brought in from outside.

The key problem with these models, other than the issue of their over-simplification of the causation of Cornish regionalism to a single factor (i.e. power-differential), is their expectation of progression to a politically-motivated nationalism which only appears to a limited extent in Cornwall and then only in the mid- to late twentieth-century. This led Deacon to adopt a model that emphasises the collective experience of changing economic fortunes on the development of local institutions which in turn strengthen a regional identity.¹⁰⁸⁶ More recently, Deacon has explored the ethno-historical aspect of identity-construction in Cornwall and posited the existence of a hybrid identity that takes aspects of both English regionalism and Celtic nationalism to form a 'third space'.¹⁰⁸⁷ This thesis follows on from these ideas by suggesting that whilst various factors contributed to the growth of local sentiment (including economic and political divergence from broader English models) this feeling was articulated and strengthened in the construction of 'origin myths' that emphasised economic and social differences. Classical Cornwall thus forms a point of origin that reflects contemporary concerns, as demonstrated in the next section.

4.3.2: Changing Patterns in Cornish Identity

Following Payton, it is possible to consider several distinct phases in the formulation of Cornish identities which have different actors and show different preferences. In his 1997 article on the topic, Bernard Deacon¹⁰⁸⁸ identifies the development of a strong internal construct of place in Cornwall between the 1770's and 1860's. He contrasts this period to the constructions imposed by external commentators before and after that period. In the earliest phase, pre-modern Cornwall maintained a variety of cultural differences because control by local elite meant the physical separation from key institutions of government and education had little impact on everyday life. Stoyle has demonstrated the existence of an early modern Cornish

¹⁰⁸⁶B. Deacon (1997a) (1998) & (2001).

¹⁰⁸⁷B. Deacon (2007) [Idea of 'third space' is from H. Bhabha (1990) p.211 referred to in Deacon (2007) p.20].

¹⁰⁸⁸B. Deacon (1997a) esp. pp. 7-10.

identity that fostered a sense of regional kinship and difference from English models.¹⁰⁸⁹ He stresses the existence of culturally distinctive attributes including those that are drawn attention to by Carew and the significance of a separate lineage to the English through Corineus that were acknowledged in English literature¹⁰⁹⁰ as well as Cornish. As outlined in Chapter One, this separation can be further characterised by the political attitude to the region that included acknowledgement of local Stannary laws and the Duchy by the central government and left regulation largely in the control of the local elite, thus creating the accommodation of a satellite type of position for Cornwall within Britain that supported the cultural variation.¹⁰⁹¹ This phase of development has left behind very little written expression of Cornish history and identity but the stages that follow had a more profound impact.

West Barbary

Deacon refers to the phase of narrative-construction before 1770 as the 'West Barbary' period. It loosely overlaps with the pre-modern phase mentioned above. Deacon, however, characterises this stage of Cornish characterisation as being dominated by the descriptions in 'Itineraries' written by travellers from South-Eastern England and suggests that these focused upon the savageries of rioting and drinking amongst the working classes.¹⁰⁹² This depiction is further echoed in Stoye's examples of literary works displaying the Cornish as 'boorish' and uncivilised.¹⁰⁹³

From the mid-1400's onward centralised commentators, however, also created a narrative representation of the Cornish people that emphasised their rural nature and lack of culture and learning and was both responded to and internalised by the inhabitants of the county. The rise of printed material and a stronger system of centralised institutions that were designed to control peripheral territories under the Tudors gradually spread linguistic and cultural norms. The nature of Cornish cultural distinctiveness and its expression began to change with the encroachment of the English language amongst the peasantry as well as the elite. Furthermore, the potential role of Cornwall in maritime policy and the various Cornish rebellions during Tudor times and

¹⁰⁸⁹M. Stoye (2002a) esp. pp.12-20.

¹⁰⁹⁰Famously Shakespeare, but consider also Boorde etc. M. Stoye (2002a) pp.30-33; See Also P. Payton (2004) pp.70-90.

¹⁰⁹¹See also Chapter One pp. 26-28. This phase is termed "Older Peripheralism" by P. Payton (1992) pp.31-72.

¹⁰⁹²B. Deacon (1997a) p.10.

¹⁰⁹³M. Stoye (2002a) pp.33-40.

through the Civil wars drew the attention of the centre to their position. Rowse in particular, but also Coate and more recently Chynoweth, have discussed the impact of Tudor and Stewart policies on the Cornish people;¹⁰⁹⁴ considering amongst other things the unrest of the Cornish during the social upheaval of increased taxation and religious changes and the uneasy reaction from the crown.

A new phase of Cornish defensiveness was beginning. Stoye claims that fear of loss of the linguistic distinctiveness precipitated the beginnings of linguistic retrenchment from 1300-1400 as demonstrated by the publication of plays in Cornish¹⁰⁹⁵ and this was backed over the next 200 years by the beginning of Cornish grammars recorded amongst scholars such as Carew and Scawen who believed that the loss of language was tantamount to the loss of identity. Nonetheless the language was marginalised more generally perhaps out of a different form of defensiveness – specifically a desire not to be considered uncivilised or to be associated with rebelliousness. Letters from members of the Cornish gentry in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century betray a desire to distance themselves from the imagery of disloyalty to the powers in London.¹⁰⁹⁶ It is with this background that Carew publishes his *Survey of Cornwall* and it is perhaps telling that one of the other major county surveys written at this time was of Kent whose people were involved in a number of major rebellions during this period.¹⁰⁹⁷

It is clear immediately that none of the internally-constructed descriptions examined in this thesis fit the 'West Barbary' model of Cornwall imposed from outside. The pre-1770 Cornish publications considered in Chapter Three are limited to Carew and Borlase, both of whom are careful in their construction of an image of a civilised and hospitable people. Both remark on Diodorus' comment about the civilisation of the inhabitants of Belerion and both suggest that the Romans had an impact in Cornwall. The tone of both pieces on the topic of the nature of the Cornish people is conciliatory and it seems that they may be reacting to the 'itineraries' that Deacon is referring to; note, for example, the clear progression in Carew's text from brutish to civilised¹⁰⁹⁸ and Borlase's distinct comment about the civilising influence of the Roman occupation of

¹⁰⁹⁴M. Coate (1933); A.L. Rowse (1941); J. Chynoweth (2002) *various*. See above p.22 n.46.

¹⁰⁹⁵M. Stoye (2002a) p.20.

¹⁰⁹⁶M. Stoye (2002a) pp. 40-45.

¹⁰⁹⁷Consider: J.M. Adrian (2006) which discusses Lambarde's interest in demonstrating structure and control in the county; On the relationship of Lambarde to other county histories see J. Beckett (2007) pp.15-18.

¹⁰⁹⁸Carew ff. 57v-58v. See above pp. 155-156.

Cornwall.¹⁰⁹⁹ This shows that at this point writers were already creating an alternate internal narrative of Cornish history that used classical material.

Economic Determinism

The next phase of identity-building, from 1770-1860, which is central to Deacon's article and is also referenced by Payton, and Perry,¹¹⁰⁰ is specifically related to the phase of industrialisation across Britain. Over the course of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Cornish economy saw massive changes in the fortunes of the mining industry, specifically copper,¹¹⁰¹ and leaps forward in its technology. This was followed in the later nineteenth century by the subsequent collapse of the mining industry and the emigrations, especially of miners, but also of whole families.¹¹⁰² Deacon highlights the importance of the imagery of mining and the strength of the local identity-builders in the process of defining the county during this time. However, this thesis illustrates the complexity of trends in the conceptualisation of Cornwall at this time. Firstly, it is important to draw attention to the issue of conformity and contrast Cornish experience with conceptions of English and British history and identity. Specifically, as well as the formal consideration of the origins of mining, the Phoenician motif has already been identified as a peculiarly Cornish topic.

The use of the idea of Phoenician contact with Cornwall begins to gain prominence at the beginning of this period and seems to be part of a wider national trend that was to emphasise British imperial ideology. Its key principle, for Cornish writers, is that the earliest trade in tin was with the Phoenicians. As shown above, this notion has resonance with national popular historiographical trends¹¹⁰³ but is not a straightforward connection for the Cornish since it bears upon ideas about their 'aboriginal' civilisation. Thus for Hawkins, the improvement of the inhabitants of 'Belerium' by the Phoenicians is unquestionable and hence he is at pains to explain the positive aspects of Phoenician and Carthaginian society¹¹⁰⁴ which were transmitted to the native Cornish¹¹⁰⁵ through

¹⁰⁹⁹See above pp.163-164 - Bor. *Antiq.* p.37.

¹¹⁰⁰P. Payton (2004) pp.183-205 (focusing on the economic achievements of that period); R. Perry (2002) pp.166-171 focuses on 1800-1860s; Other divisions have also been posited however.

¹¹⁰¹J.A. Buckley (1992) pp.21-23.

¹¹⁰²From 1815 onwards but especially during the famine, and the mining collapse see e.g. P. Payton (2005) *passim* and esp. pp.9-29 and A.L. Rowse (1969).

¹¹⁰³See above pp. 244-246 etc. Note there was a British packet ship called the *Phoenician* -her progress is followed in the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* during the 1850's; a number of other examples of iconography are given in T. Champion (2001).

¹¹⁰⁴C. Hawkins (1811) pp. 29-42.

¹¹⁰⁵C. Hawkins (1811) p.80.

long association and settlements. Likewise Edmonds presumes that the Phoenicians (and Jews) must have settled and shared knowledge. The emphasis is on ideological descent rather than genealogical (under A.D. Smith's models);¹¹⁰⁶ thus the discussion primarily surrounds the way that the Cornish inherited traits rather than genetics from the Phoenicians. As the Celtic motif grew stronger writers connected the two, with the president of the Royal Institution of Cornwall going as far as to suggest that the interaction with the Phoenicians lifted the Cornish Celts to a level beyond that of their Welsh and Breton brethren.¹¹⁰⁷ Overall, the Phoenician motif is one that emphasises a pre-Roman civilisation in Cornwall based on the evidence of biblical and classical authors (primarily Ezekiel and Strabo) that both offers a positive tradition for British writers but also separates the region from those areas unimproved by 'intercourse with strangers'.

The narrative on the origins of mining practice in Cornwall is a little more complex. There is a movement from the brief mention of a classical past prior to the Roman invasion in the early edition of Polwhele to a more extensive debate in the later edition and then the detailed exposition of a continuity of mining trade and practice as expounded by Edmonds. During the early part of the century, the overwhelming imagery of Cornwall was based around its mining growth¹¹⁰⁸ and hence we also see a rise in the interest in its mining heritage, which allowed it to differentiate itself from other industrialised regions and mark out territory against an influx of new powers.¹¹⁰⁹ A discussion of mining at its economic height allowed Cornish writers to put local industrial innovation and the prosperity of a world-beating trade at the forefront of their identification.¹¹¹⁰ Similarly, therefore the history of mining was an appropriate, powerful and useful 'Myth of Origin'. However, this imagery is at odds with another ideal of the era, aspired to by more artistic-intellectual classes, and that was the romantic notions of "pre-industrial innocence" away from the corruption and vices of the cities. The Cornish seemed to find a unique way of reconciling the two. The image of Cornish miners as hard-working, independent and 'down-to-earth' suits a narrative of industrial productivity and social conservatism but is balanced with the romance of the rural

¹¹⁰⁶A. D. Smith (1999) pp.57-58, 70-71.

¹¹⁰⁷C. Barham (1863) p.21. - B. Deacon (2007) pp. 9-11; See also S. Naylor, (2003). p.324.

¹¹⁰⁸Consider self-representations in local newspapers; Also R. Warner (1809); On positive representations of Cornish miners from external commentators see B. Deacon (2001) p.234.

¹¹⁰⁹B. Deacon (1997a) p.11.

¹¹¹⁰This is especially evident in W.C. Borlase (1874) [See above pp. 212 -217]; It is also an important theme in F. Hitchins (1824) who devotes several sections to its history and practice pp.237-259, 267-285.

Arcadia.¹¹¹¹ This imagery of idyll uncorrupted by urban politics was important especially as the mining industry went into decline, and similarly narratives of difference, such as observations on peculiarities of dialect or the peculiarly Cornish practice of tributing attracted attention from a growing Cornish middle-class.¹¹¹² Deacon contrasts the positive imagery of mining society and miners by the local writers with the depiction of Cornwall by visitors which often focuses on the harshness of the landscape associated with mining.¹¹¹³ By creating a narrative that roots mining practice in a pre-industrial age, local historians offer a view of both continuity and progression and allowed a connection to be built up with independent and civilised ancestors. Note, for example, that Drew describes Cornish miners as hospitable and industrious,¹¹¹⁴ traits worthy of an 'Industrial Age' but with a direct link to Diodoran comments over a thousand years earlier. Similarly Charles Fox in his presidential address to the Miner's Association of Cornwall and Devonshire (1861) comments on the special place of mining with which the region had been associated "long before Diodorus wrote about the civilisation and hospitality of the Land's End people."¹¹¹⁵

This economically deterministic written preoccupation with mining and industry seems to be a symptom of the increased prosperity of the middle class in Cornwall.¹¹¹⁶ The middle classes were drawn to writing about the source of their revenue and thus ability to indulge in antiquarian pursuits. Conversely, working-class identity is poorly represented by the written material that remains -where it is represented it tends to be through the lens of the gentry's interest – and it is likely that (for example) the images of fishing and farming are under-represented in the historical texts as well. Therefore it is worth considering that there were other historical narratives of importance to 'cultural entrepreneurs' beyond mining. For example, other obvious narratives from this era include the imagery of King Arthur and Celtic saints which focused attention on more political and religious identities; and discussions of the resistance to English rule, particularly on the rebellions of 1497 and 1549, which reflect a trend of independence and difference. These appear to fulfil other aspects of identity-building symbolism such as folk-heroes and struggle and do appear in some of the general histories discussed in

¹¹¹¹P. Mandler (1997) pp.157-161 and 164-168; B. Deacon (2007) p.7.

¹¹¹²B. Deacon (1997b) p.77 mentions lectures by Tregellas and Netherton's *Cornish Almanack* as key indicators.

¹¹¹³B. Deacon (1997a) pp.15-17.

¹¹¹⁴F. Hitchins (1824) p.717.

¹¹¹⁵ – (Sept. 27, 1861) "Miners' Association of Cornwall and Devonshire" in *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 3040* p. 6.

¹¹¹⁶P. Payton (1992) p.77; R. Perry (1997) pp.118-119; (See also more generally: J. Wolff and J. Seed (1988) pp. 2-3).

this thesis but are beyond the scope of this study. During this period there was a related rise in the publication of newspapers, especially local ones, which improved public access to published reports on the numerous societies and institutes, allowed advertisements of books being published, encouraged correspondence on interesting topics and even published local poetry. This not only corresponds with county and local societies aimed at promoting knowledge and fostering scholarly interaction, as mentioned above, but also has a substantial effect on the process of the dissemination of ideas and creation of a more broadly shared consciousness.

Writers in Cornwall during the early nineteenth century particularly seem to be aware of their role in articulating a positive difference about the county and feel that it was important to discuss history. Barham comments to the Royal Institution of Cornwall that he thought:

..no Cornishman could fail to feel an interest in a society for promotion of the study of the antiquities of the county. It was a subject that Cornishmen ought, perhaps more than the inhabitants of any other county, to feel interested in; they had, in Cornwall, a larger scope for antiquarian research, and could go farther back in History and Antiquity, from the Phoenicians downwards, than perhaps any other county in England.¹¹¹⁷

History was a medium for expressing a continuity of individuality that stretched back to pre-Roman times. Thus during this period whilst there is a rising pride in Cornwall, it is no coincidence that there is a lot of concurrent vociferous defence of claims that Iktis was a Cornish trading post from authors such as Dr Barham and Henry James. It was important that the Cornish were seen to be not just the miners but also involved in the trade and contact with the more sophisticated Mediterranean world without the mediation of a proto-English people. This allowed the Cornish to have their own level of sophistication and independent identity. Mining over the course of the nineteenth-century has become a dual-purpose identifier – modern and ancient – and simultaneously a means of connecting the two. In this context classical material legitimises the historical narrative as well as setting a time-frame for discussion.

¹¹¹⁷Quoted in – (May 20, 1853) “Royal Institution of Cornwall” in *R. Corn Gaz. Iss. 2604* p. 5.

Fighting Decline & New Celts

By the end of the century, the contrast in Cornwall with the rising industrial strengths of many parts of England was marked. The price of copper fell and since economic diversification was slow in Cornwall the county suffered and mass emigrations became a greater feature of many communities. Although there had been a rise in mass literacy and other middle-class phenomena associated with industrialisation, such as institutes and associations, symbols of a non-industrial Cornish region gathered a separate momentum.¹¹¹⁸ Within Cornwall, antiquarians and interested parties were simultaneously influenced by the mood of Celtic romanticism that was growing concurrently with British imperialist agendas and looking for economic improvements. Businessmen from the county were interested in reviving the economic fortunes and finding a way to unite people in new endeavours, such as tourism, or revive the old industrial fortunes.¹¹¹⁹ The economic and cultural milieu further encouraged the (re-)formation of societies aimed at furthering knowledge and bringing businessmen together, as well as those trying to prevent local culture from dissipating with the exodus of locals. It is in this environment that we see the first significant rise of Celtic revivalism in the county whereby there was a renewed interest in druidism and the monuments believed to be associated with it and an increase in discussion of the Cornish language. All of this had an impact on local historical writing and it is here that the proud linkage with the past evoked by Copeland Borlase comes to the forefront.

The latter part of the nineteenth century in Cornwall has been studied in depth. Deacon characterises this period as the beginning of the notion of the 'delectable duchy' that was largely constituted by outside individuals. External forces in this period consisted of two main forces; the growth of English historical writing, which often froze out peripheral experiences or consciously focussed on later periods,¹¹²⁰ and the growth of a strong tourist and colonial gaze. Nonetheless as Hale comments even in the later nineteenth and early twentieth century: "On top of all this external classification of the indigenous culture, there remained the sense of difference that the Cornish themselves experienced from the dominant English culture that surrounded them."¹¹²¹ In a collection of articles in *Cornish Studies Five*, Amy Hale, Ronald Perry and Gary

¹¹¹⁸B. Deacon (1998) pp.33-38.

¹¹¹⁹Important individuals in this include Bolitho and Thurstan Peter. Consider R. Perry (1997) pp.118-120.

¹¹²⁰For example, Lord Macaulay's influential 1855-1861 volumes on the *History of England* begin with the accession of James II and Green's 1874 *Short History of the English People* begins in 449.

¹¹²¹A. Hale (1997a) p.91.

Tregidga discuss the origins of and key figures in the Cornish Celtic-Revivalism movement between the 1860's and World War One. They have characterised the movement during these decades by its cultural emphasis rather than a straight-forwardly political one and noted its complex relationship to other Celtic movements (especially in Ireland and Wales). This relationship was fostered by cultural links with other Celtic groups, for example the connection between the Royal Institution and the Cambrian Archaeological Association,¹¹²² that encouraged the dispersal of ideas across regions. Like other Celtic movements, Cornwall's increased interest in its Celtic past coincided with an uncertainty about its relative position in the world. Whilst increasing diaspora communities spread an image of Cornwall around the world, the county itself was dependent both on the money sent home by their exiles and on investment from central England and tourism. Thus, the desire to articulate difference and to crystallise cultural artefacts for export was especially important at this time but the classical models were less in favour.

However, Cornish Celticism although influenced by its cousins was markedly different from movements in Ireland and Wales in a number of ways and for several reasons. Firstly, it was not heavily influenced by a separatist impulse; as Tregidga points out the heavily Methodist Cornish were nervous of a Catholic Ireland and unwilling to join forces with them and were worried that federalism might threaten their economy with its reliance on monies from the diaspora and English investments.¹¹²³ The lack of a strong political element means that stories of oppression and rebellion were not emphasised and therefore the sense of cultural difference was built on other types of stories, such as independent traders. Secondly, Cornwall's relationship with the linguistic element of the Celtic Revival was complicated. In the nineteenth century the Cornish language was extinct as a community language and surviving manuscripts were unevenly studied. Other Celtic nations during the Revival in the nineteenth century were quite disparaging about the lack of common spoken Cornish language (even suggesting that it meant the Cornish Celtic spirit was dead)¹¹²⁴ and the tension between the supposed need for a linguistic community and its absence encouraged local enthusiasts to focus on making modern grammars. Thus the gathering of existing literature and

¹¹²²Discussed B. Deacon (2007) pp.10-11 who cites C. Barham (1861). Note that this builds on Edmonds' connections.

¹¹²³G. Tregidga (1997) pp.128-132.

¹¹²⁴Although Cornwall was represented at the Pan-Celtic Conference of 1867 it was not formally accepted into the League until 1904 following long-term arguments involving Lord Castletown's insistence the language was dead. A. Hale (1997b).

writing guides for the teaching of the language was considered a vital part of the cultural process and formed the backbone of the revival often obscuring other aspects. Finally, this academic linguistic focus and distance from political aspects exacerbated the gap between popular identities, with their economic pessimism and focus on pastimes, religious feeling and festivities and the academic formulations of Cornishness. Within these contexts the place of historiography for the creation of a shared mythos was sidelined.

On the other hand, Perry identifies a common interest in both a pre-industrial past and an industrialised future for Cornwall amongst the Revivalists.¹¹²⁵ In particular, as emigration failed to slow, the idea of preservation of culture and history both so that it was not lost and might become more widely accessible¹¹²⁶ was regarded as an important endeavour. Furthermore, the increasing rhetoric of Englishness in the southern counties and the importation of British industrial 'traditions', combined with the growth of a tourist industry, meant that external characterisation of the Cornish was strong and an internal response had to develop. The Cornish responded to implicit stereotyping through their own research into the Celtic nature of their antecedents. Tourism, however, brought with it explicit characterisation in the form of advertising as it became an important industry with the development of a passenger line to the south-west.¹¹²⁷ Members of Cornish groups became involved in creating literature for visitors, even writing special guidebooks.¹¹²⁸ This more generally led to local debate on the subject of how Cornwall should be represented including where Celtic connections and mining iconography fitted into the new schemata.¹¹²⁹

Attitudes to the production of historical material at this time were mixed and there was a changing level of interest in folklore traditions and mythical origins like Arthurian stories.¹¹³⁰ Hence we see the sort of weaving of myth, legend and written record shown by a writer like Thurstan Peter, who as well as writing the *History of Cornwall for Children* also actively campaigned for Cornish Industry and surveyed monuments for Cornwall County Council.¹¹³¹ Academics and antiquarians such as Quiller-Couch, Lach-Szyrma, Enys and Cornish were involving themselves in debates about the future of

¹¹²⁵R. Perry (1997) p.120.

¹¹²⁶For example: "Gather up the fragments that are left that nothing be lost" The motto of the Federation of Old Cornwall Societies; See also S. Naylor (2003) pp. 325 and 327.

¹¹²⁷Great Western Railway opened Cornish Riviera Ltd in 1904.

¹¹²⁸For further discussion see R. Perry (1997) pp. 112-124.

¹¹²⁹R. Perry (1999) pp. 95-96 & 99-100; P. Payton (2002) pp.125-131.

¹¹³⁰E.g. W. S. Lach-Szyrma (1880) pp. 157-168; See esp. P. Readman (2005).

¹¹³¹R. Perry (1997) p.119.

Cornish economy as well as publishing historical papers in the journals of the Royal Institution of Cornwall and contributing to the *Victoria County History*. As can be seen in Copeland Borlase's work and the speeches made by Abrams and Quiller-Couch the local rhetoric shifted from the importance of early civilisation to the importance of continuum and independence. Meanwhile wider historiography in this period became increasingly institutionalised and professionalised by mass public education and the creation of History 'departments' at universities¹¹³² and it began to separate from the local antiquarians and the amateurs involved in strong identity-building projects. Thus, in Haverfield's account of Romano-British Cornwall¹¹³³ the writer touches briefly on the issue of the Cassiterides and Iktis but his work is not picked up on within an increasingly Romanticised tourist industry. The decline of mining and the focus on its heritage and imagery and the increasing focus on the Celt reduced the relevance of classical connections. Classical Celts were not as easily adapted to rhetoric of the pastoral and bardic/poetic as the Mediterranean traders had been to discussion of innovation and trade. Furthermore, changing approaches to material culture meant that the classical texts were losing their sway on the popular imagination.

4.4: Re-examining the Patterns

Having looked at the circumstances that had an impact on the historical writing considered in Chapter Three, this section examines how the themes discussed above specifically shaped the patterns identified at the end of that chapter. It illustrates how the role of Classics in society affected authorial focus on particular patterns and the relevance of the socio-economic contexts and the personal political motivations of the authors to the framing of these patterns. Further it shows how the changes in methods of textual analysis, historical theory and collaborative evidence affected authorial understanding of their sources and shifted their depictions of ancient Cornwall.

4.4.1 Cassiterides – from Herodotus to Phoenicians

In Chapter Three it was demonstrated that within the authors examined there was a

¹¹³²See e.g. D. Cannadine (2008) p.22.

¹¹³³In the *VCH* (above p.34).

gradual shift in the importance of the Cassiterides for narratives about Cornwall and that the authors show progressively less certainty about the geographical location or even existence of such a cluster of islands. In part this is due to a re-conceptualisation of the notion of Cassiterides as 'place'. Over time there is a shift between the idea of Cassiterides as description of a region whose boundaries are based on what is done there (extant only within its own terms) and therefore capable of including Cornwall and even parts of modern Devon and as a region determined by its physical and geographical markers (i.e. islands off the coast of Spain as described in Strabo). Therefore the writers go through a variety of re-imaginings of the Cassiterides both with regard to its relationship to contemporary Cornwall but also to its meaning in classical times. On the other hand, even though the use of the term Cassiterides is itself obscured over time, the Cassiterides remained obtusely linked to Cornish narrative through the prevalence of the Phoenician myths. It is (exclusively) the classical text that discusses the Cassiterides that also offers a Phoenician connection (in Strabo especially) to the tin trade and therefore the text is used in any narrative that describes Phoenician trade with Britain even where the islands are not referenced.

To explain these changes, firstly, the changing role and status of the individual classical authors who give rise to the idea of the Cassiterides must be considered. Whilst Herodotus was important for his antiquity and prevalence, his usefulness and reliability was challenged by rationalists. Furthermore as Strabo gained popularity it became more difficult to reconcile his descriptions of the islands with Cornwall. However, it is clear that the changing attitudes to the tin-islands are more influenced by the development of textual criticism of the classical material combined with the increasing understanding of the possibilities of archaeological research. This change in the style and type of research undertaken appears to have had a profound effect on the interpretation of the material. Over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a gradual build up of scholarship relating to the classical texts and their authors which led to a greater degree of patience with the idea that the writers were not themselves travellers and that their geographical understanding was limited. Additionally as the Cornish writers became more interested in scientific proofs they reassessed their analysis of the possibility of the Scilly islands or areas of Spain producing enough tin and adjusted their ideas accordingly.

Finally, early Cornish historians were keen to discuss any potential classical link. They therefore make more reference to the Cassiterides because of the early dating and

importance attached to the testimony of classical authors generally. The strength of classical inheritance and skills in discussion of the progression of local civilisation was somewhat superseded in the later writers by a greater degree of focus on the local peoples themselves, as we see below. Nonetheless the Phoenician imagery retained a romantic popularity because of its association with a maritime empire and ironically through its non-classical antiquity.

4.4.2: Iktis- Empiricism and Local Trade

Iktis takes over from the Cassiterides as the primary motif in writings about classical Cornwall and thus becomes the key area for demonstrating academic skill. Discussion of Iktis generally developed later than that on the Cassiterides and therefore shows slightly different influences in its development. Partially the change in emphasis away from the Cassiterides is a recognition of the difficulty of geographical reconciliation of the Cassiterides with Cornwall compared to the relative certainty of Belerion's position but it also allows writers to show a greater degree of emphasis on local skills. Not only is stress placed on the activity of local traders rather than the voyages of the Phoenicians but a more direct reciprocation and benefits are assumed. It is especially evident that Cornish writers deliberately and carefully refute authors who disagree with the St. Michael's Mount hypothesis, and that very few of the Cornish writers themselves claim a location outside of Cornwall. The Cornish writers counter-act the strong imagery of powerful south-eastern tribes who were mentioned as traders in Caesar with their own local actors.

The Cornish historians tend to show an interest in using as wide a range of tools as possible to prove their hypotheses within this pattern and the changing types of proof have more to do with scholarly trends than actual evidence. For example, the rise in the interest in individual words and language in analysis encouraged a greater amount of discussion on the question of whether Pliny's Mictis was the same (linguistically as well as geographically) as Diodorus' Iktin. Likewise the rising interest in geology and meteorology in the latter half of the nineteenth century is also represented heavily in this pattern of writing. However, although discussions of the location of Iktis tend to involve careful textual analysis and a great deal of argument through logical reasoning, variations in the final placement of the island seem to have more to do with the context of the historical narrative and the cultural sympathies of the author than with a change

in methodology of textual analysis.

As commented in Chapter Three, the writers dealing with Iktis in detail tend to respond to each other and as such there is a big emphasis both on the scholarly community and on theoretical developments. However, the key feature of the discussion of Iktis in Cornish writing is its defensiveness of local interest. It is significant that arguments about Iktis predominantly develop over the course of the nineteenth-century (although at least a dozen scholarly articles and books discuss the idea over the twentieth-century as well) because this is a period of improvement in Cornwall and an era in which differentiating the county from the rest of England was particularly important. The writers especially emphasise the direct nature of trade and the ability of the Cornish to interact with other cultures on their own soil and their own terms. This seems to be as important as what they were trading and with whom.

4.4.3: Our Civilisation is 'more civilised'

This centralising of the Cornish experience and emphasis on their capabilities is followed through in the use of Diodorus' text to highlight the civilisation of the Cornish people. This pattern highlights two key themes of interpretation; firstly the political and social impetus towards a distinctive Cornish identity and secondly the use of classical text to subvert a more general British historiographical trend. The notion of a civilised people in Cornwall is appealing to those interested in promoting a particular Cornish experience which, in and of itself, differentiates it from the English point of view. Specifically, it counteracts the negative comments made about the region, which seems to have been its key function in Camden and Carew. Later on, Edmonds uses the idea of Cornish hospitality to emphasise both continuity from the ancient world but also to demonstrate a specific positive image of the Cornish. This is not only relevant to a new tourist-friendly image but also serves to distinguish the Cornish from other regions more generally.

However, the use of classical text to corroborate this image deliberately takes the 'normal' English description of pre-Roman Britain as described by the reputable classical sources, that is especially Caesar's allegations of barbarity, and uses those sources to put forward an alternative history. Diodorus' inhabitants of Belerion are not the same as the rest of Britain and his commentary is markedly different from Latin narratives of conquest and rebellion. Furthermore the difference in the classical

narrative emphasises the strength of the classical tradition for Cornwall. The trend for mentioning Cornish civilisation, then, is a complex negotiation between a discussion of the improvements made by external forces, something often reserved for the Romans in eighteenth and nineteenth century British historiography, and a celebration of the ancient and continuing status of the Cornish.

4.4.4: Reading Classics – Approaches to Source-Material

Over the course of the last several hundred years the historian or classicist addressing ancient written material has come to appreciate their role in relation to the text that they incorporate and to their readers in different ways. This includes becoming more aware of the cultural baggage brought to a reading as well as the potential difficulties inherent in searching for a 'truth' upon which a text is based or investigating authorial intent. The texts were perceived as having a different role within historiography as the practice of scholarship, its tools, methodology and rationale evolved.¹¹³⁴ These changes were affected by the collective attitudes of scholarship, the dissemination of material and the perceived value of the classical.

In the early modern texts, namely Camden and Carew, we see a distinctly literalistic interpretation of the ancient material. This is partially due to the novelty of the access to some classical texts and thus the resultant paucity of critical appreciation of the texts. This attitude changed over the ensuing periods because of greater accessibility both to editions and translations and to education. However, the early literalism represents a particular historiographical approach of utilising ancient texts for factual information and an assumption of the similarity between the aims of those classical prose texts and their own historical endeavours. This was to give way over the course of the following couple of centuries to approaches that increasingly attempted to reconcile literary material with new scientific understanding and the picture illustrated by physical remains.¹¹³⁵ Thus, by the early twentieth century datable archaeological finds are vital for a narrative of mining practice in Cornwall and the texts require a new sort of collaboration. This is complemented by an increasingly selective approach to analysis and more careful tailoring of the parts of the texts presented in order to create a coherent argument.

Chapter Three outlined the changing expectations of the writers with regard to

¹¹³⁴K. Haynes (2006) p.45.

¹¹³⁵E.g. W. Borlase through to Copeland Borlase. Consider S. Piggot (1989) p.24; B. Trigger (2007) p.216.

understanding Greek and Latin and this can be linked to the changing role of Classics in society. Not only does the primacy of the classical material decline in terms of the breadth of its educational reach but its place as the defining social model is replaced with the opposition between Celts and Saxons. Towards the end of the nineteenth-century it also became less important to enforce understanding of the texts in the readership or expect criticism of the analysis based on the language, instead the writers appealed to higher scholarly authorities or tried to establish their own credentials. This was both a change in the practice of scholarship but also showed that the texts themselves were less important in identity-based narratives than they had been in more generalist scholarship and it emphasises the growing difference between amateur (and more locally-interested) writing and professional historiography.

4.5: Summary

This chapter has proposed a series of factors that influenced Cornish writers in choosing to include classical material in their historical survey of the county and in highlighting specific aspects of the classical texts. It has been shown that classical text was deemed to have a historiographical and cultural value in its own right but that over the historical period of the writings examined methods for the appraisal and dissemination of the classical texts evolved in line with scholarship. Secondly, it has been demonstrated that as the political and social situation of Cornwall changed over time so did their expressions of identity and the role of their history in the modes of expression. The social and political background of the Cornish writers encouraged them to identify themselves with a long and proud history that embraced mining and its imagery and international connections. They chose to appeal to classical references in order to distinguish between mythography and history and to offer a degree of respectability to their studies.

Since historiography of Britain and England does not necessarily cover ancient topics, in choosing to include the material Cornish writers are not simply reproducing a nation-wide model of culturally-agreed material but reflecting upon its relevance to their own identity. It is clear that all the usages of classical material in Cornish historiography must be considered to specifically apportion some degree of importance

to that era of history in the development of the county and its identity status. In general, classical texts have been shown to be an important influence on the construction of social conventions and understanding and thus a useful tool in manipulating perceptions. Cornish writers specifically appealed to important source-material and recognised the value of classical 'heritage and tradition' within their topics. Furthermore the specific example of the use of Classics in Cornish history shows that the idea of the classical is as much relevant in the use and construction of historiography as it is in using literary art forms to explore *mores*.

This chapter has also shown that not only is the formation of a shared history an important part of identity politics but also that conversely political and cultural aspirations have a distinct impact on patterns of historiography. The creation of communal history helps cultural entrepreneurs to demonstrate values and trends relevant to their aims and relationship to their audience via the focus on particular aspects of the historical canon. This builds on a mood of conscious collection of historical narrative in order to constitute a distinctive Cornish identity separate from an English or British one but not necessarily dependent on Celtic heroes or saints.

Finally the chapter has demonstrated that there was a distinct change in the conception of Cornish identities over time and that historical narrative in the county reflected these developments. Early writers in Cornwall focus on the rise of civilisation and the gentility and hospitality of the Cornish people that is demonstrated as early as Diodorus in order to contrast themselves with their portrayal in the itineraries of fashionable London writers. On the other hand, later Cornish writers were more interested in demonstrating the technical skills and natural affinity to progress demonstrated by an early interest in mining that originated before the Roman Empire. Further, a large proportion of the historiographical material examined in Chapter Three was published during the second half of the nineteenth century and shows a distinct link between the interest in a mining tradition and the contemporary economic situation.

Classical texts, thus, have an evolving role for Cornish historians by demonstrating both the nature of the Cornish people, from hospitable to technical, and documenting their activities from ancient times. The ancient texts have a distinctive role to play in the wider narrative of Cornish historiography and specifically they offer a tone of legitimacy to the process of articulating difference.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

Overall the thesis shows that classical texts offer a means to depict Cornwall as a strong pre-Roman society and to suggest a mining tradition for the county that covers more than two thousand years. It also shows that images of Cornwall as an active community with external trading links and as a mining power were very important to an internal Cornish narrative of positive difference from other parts of England. This thesis has established three key points through the chapters that build upon one another.

Firstly, in Chapter Two it was shown that there is a small albeit significant body of ancient Greek historical and geographical writing, and an even smaller body of Latin text, that discusses the Atlantic regions and the tin trade. The chapter demonstrated that collectively these texts suggest a connection between the ancient Mediterranean civilisations and Cornish miners but it also shows clearly that there are problems with attribution, translation and geographical understanding. It demonstrates some of the issues of interpretation that these texts present when approaching the topic of ancient Cornwall. Secondly, the thesis demonstrated not only that local history in Cornwall regularly engaged with the ancient texts but also that writers interpreted the evidence according to several distinct patterns that especially emphasised connections. This idea was illustrated in the third chapter through the investigation of a wide cross-section of the Cornish historical writing that deals with the classical writers discussed in Chapter Two. Finally in Chapter Four the reasons for historians using classical material were explored and the relevance of historical texts for the process of identity-building was discussed. This analysis established the importance of the texts covered in Chapter Two not just as source material for the writers in Chapter Three but also as a means towards the creation of a distinct Cornish identity. It discusses the social and historical factors that have an impact on the type of source material selected and the type of presentation choices authors made. Especially it was noted that classical material had a privileged position in British academia which made its inclusion both a requirement and a powerful tool in the expression of a mining tradition.

Therefore it has been shown that the difficult and inconclusive body of classical texts on the western tin-trade has been manipulated in a variety of ways in order to demonstrate the strength and age of Cornish mining and to show the positive impact of classical connections on the region with the result that the local identity was sharpened.

Overview

It is a key contention of this thesis that the classical texts, as well as providing a milestone within historical narrative, are integral for many historiographers' work to create Cornish identities related to mining, and that therefore they are also important more generally to Cornish identity formation. The written evidence that directly mentions Cornwall is not clear, allusions (and possible allusions) to the region are open to a great deal of interpretation and the physical evidence for trade is essentially non-existent. However, ancient evidence, as examined in Chapter Two, shows that by at least 150 BCE (when Polybius wrote) the classical world did have a conception of a tin-trading region based in the far west. The surviving texts hint at a greater body of geographic and ethnographic material now lost, but the absence of political or economic comments especially in the Roman imperial contexts suggests a general lack of knowledge and perhaps disinterest. Furthermore, this western tin-trading region is not consistently geographically located between texts, let alone regularly recognisable as Cornwall and this allows for substantial variety in the criticism and usage of such material by later writers. The second chapter collated this ancient evidence and critically discussed the context of the pieces both suggesting authorial motivation and manipulation of the subject and also drawing out key areas of 'wooliness' exploitable by readers. In doing this, it analysed the potential relationship(s) between the texts and Cornwall and suggested both that the texts, whilst having a complex network of interactions, do not show a simple temporal development of ideas but collectively suggest an image of a western trading and that they allow a conglomeration of ideas to emerge.

The second chapter shows that the idea of a connection between the west and tin is first identifiable from Herodotus as early as the fifth century BCE and is emphasised in the structure of Polybius, Strabo and Diodorus, all of whose relevant sections have a strong western geographical focus. The relationship between a tin-trade and the sea is also foregrounded throughout the texts. Although Herodotus is sceptical of a western ocean it is nonetheless a key feature of his analysis and this correlation is even more apparent by the fact that both Strabo and Diodorus specifically deal with the tin-trade as part of their narratives on islands. Neither of these things is significant enough to connect Cornwall to a tin-trade, however, especially since Spain was a major tin-producing region at this time and this ties in with the fact that Polybius' testimony

suggests that there was controversy over the details. A clear connection between Cornwall is only readily apparent in the text of Diodorus as late as the first century BCE where he specifically links a region of Britain to a trade in tin and comments on its features. Diodorus' testimony and his alleged source-material therefore has especially been used by the writers in Chapter Three to explore the potential for retrospective connections to Cornwall in the earlier texts.

The thesis also shows that these broad-brush-stroke conclusions are also complemented by more subtle commentary by the ancient authors that leaves plenty of space for later commentators to offer a variety of interpretations. The extra details given by the classical authors include information about the people who conducted the voyages of discovery and trade, the type of goods exchanged, the means of extraction of tin and the importance of coracles. These different points appear in various physical descriptions of the Cassiterides, Belerion and Iktis and Chapter Two demonstrates that the classical authors not only relate the information to Cornwall to a greater or lesser degree (including not at all) but also show a spectrum of attitudes to the collection and presentation of evidence which has consequences for our interpretations.

As noted above, the most important source for a pre-Roman conquest tin-trade in Cornwall is Diodorus Siculus which is clear both from his direct reference to tin mining in part of Britain and from the frequency with which his commentary appears in the writers in Chapter Three. Diodorus' text has several key points for the thesis. Firstly, he locates a tin-producing and trading region in the south-western promontory of Britain called Belerion. Further he describes the inhabitants as both extracting the metal and being involved in trading it to merchants. Thirdly, Diodorus describes both the venue for trading and the route followed by merchants in detail and finally he represents the inhabitants of Belerion as civilised and hospitable. Each of these points is expanded and analysed by Cornish historians as proof of the style and nature of their ancient civilisation. In fact in Chapter Three we see that he is either cited directly or paraphrased by virtually all of the modern authors investigated by this thesis despite their wide spread of topics.

However, Diodorus' description is not directly backed up by the other ancient authors. For example, as well as the section about a Cornish tin trade, Diodorus also mentions the Cassiterides as a separate entity elsewhere.¹¹³⁶ This correlates with Strabo's

¹¹³⁶See above pp. 129-130.

distinction between the islands and Britain but is problematic to those later writers who wish to attribute the Strabonic descriptions of the islands (such as the type of trading goods or the involvement of the Phoenicians) to Cornwall. It was therefore helpful not only to investigate Strabo's claims about the attire of the inhabitants and his comments about the protectiveness of the Phoenician traders, but also generally to consider the quality and reliability of his geographical information. It was concluded that Strabo's conception of the west is highly formulaic and extensively influenced by his attitude to his predecessors especially his dislike of Eratosthenes and his use of Pytheas.¹¹³⁷ This can lead to some muddled descriptions drawn from a combination of traveller's tales and scientific theorisation. This evaluation of Strabo's work has encouraged modern scholars,¹¹³⁸ to be cautious in using Strabo to find facts, especially about the lesser-known regions, and to consider the potential framework or allegory behind the description. This attitude is however often in direct contrast to the authors examined in Chapter Three. In the third chapter it is notable that much of Strabo's text becomes disconnected from context even in some cases going so far as to suppress the fact that the details relate to the so-called tin-islands rather than to Britain. Where the Cassiterides are acknowledged by the Cornish writers there sometimes appears an elaborate justification of the geographical mismatch. This demonstrates that often the 'evidence' Strabo offers is more important to the conceptualisation of the modern narratives than the accuracy of interpretation.

Similarly Pliny's text problematises Diodorus' by offering an alternative depiction of 'Iktis'. In the *Natural History*, Pliny, like Diodorus, introduces the idea of an island used as a staging post in the tin trade.¹¹³⁹ However, the text we have calls the island Mictis and makes it six days sail for the merchants. Additionally, Pliny offers an external reference for the information. Clearly this is a somewhat different proposition to an island that is approachable by wagon at low-tide as it appears in Diodorus' account. This leads to two possible suppositions; either the authors are referring to two different locations or one of the writers is confused or simply wrong. Neither Pliny's nor Diodorus' text seems to offer a more likely narrative or to be more provable than the other and so no solution to the discrepancy was offered in Chapter Two and thus only general conclusions could be made about (M)Iktis. Specifically, firstly some sort of island or sailing was associated with the British tin trade and that connection was made

¹¹³⁷See above p.107 and 108-109 (and e.g. Strab. 1.4.2-5; 2.5.8).

¹¹³⁸See esp. D. Dueck (2000) pp.158-165, 171 & 182-183; K Clarke (1999) pp.193-244.

¹¹³⁹See above pp.82-84, 127-129.

before either Pliny or Diodorus were writing and secondly Pliny's text overall offers a variety of pieces of information about tin but is tinged with hearsay and difficulties of verification. This uncertainty has been exploited by a variety of writers referred to in Chapter Three who used it to suggest that Iktis must be either the Isle of Wight or another location outside of Cornwall and back this up with the idea that Pliny's source, being earlier than Diodorus', must be more accurate.

These doubts over details, combined with a vague sense of correlation between Britain and tin, are backed-up by Polybius' testimony which, although fleeting, specifically suggests a degree of disagreement on the topics of the islands of the Atlantic and the tin-trade. However, since there is no surviving evidence to back his claims of a wide-spread controversy it is more sensible to conclude that Polybius was hinting that he was confronted with a plethora of gossip and very little evidence. From a modern classicist's perspective this encourages speculation about who these writers may have been and their potential influence on other writers such as Diodorus, Strabo and Pliny. So, although Polybius' text fails to offer any information beyond a superficial grammatical connection between Britain and tin, it is important to the study of the other pieces of text because of the insight it offers into the process of geographical and historical writing and criticism and the potential suggestions it makes for the process of *Quellenforschung* and investigations into textual allusions and the connections between pieces that are important to nineteenth and twentieth century commentators.

Chapter Two, therefore, as well as showing the existence of a tenuous literary connection, demonstrates the flexibility of the evidence and the problems of interpretation that are faced by the scholars in Chapter Three who attempted to create coherence from these texts. The adaptability of the ancient material is immediately apparent from the variety of uses the sections of text were put to as well as by the selections from them that were made. It is immediately obvious in Chapter Three that the texts were carefully selected and that certain aspects were highlighted. It showed three main recurrent topics of interest to Cornish writers, the Cassiterides, Iktis and the notion of the civilised Cornish. As well as similarities in the treatment of the classical texts, throughout the third chapter differences were highlighted which showed how the attitudes towards the Classics shifted according to the style and period of the historical writing.

Chapter Three illustrated a significant assortment of periods and types of Cornish

historical text all of which discussed a classical component to the county's past and which demonstrated the breadth of the interpretation of the classical texts across time and genre. The writings investigated range from the late sixteenth to the early twentieth century and comprise a wide range of types of writing including broad historical treatises, parochial, archaeological and specialist academic works. Their diversity demonstrates the importance of using classical texts as evidence across society and time but also shows the versatility of the snippets as support for different aims. For example, both very early historiography and late nineteenth century historical work written for children¹¹⁴⁰ mention classical authors by name and classical evidence is variously 'proof' of Phoenician influences in Cornwall and of a pre-existing welcoming civilisation. By highlighting these patterns the chapter indicated how certain interpretative ideas recurred or evolved across the authors.

The modern works place the classical material within a local context and demonstrate their value as evidence for drawing a picture of early Britain especially before archaeological investigation was wide-spread. Within the writings, the literary interpretation of the words and nuances of the classical texts were contested and remodelled for the local context and sometimes this meant that they were stripped away from the rest of the ancient author's corpus. However, it was important for creation of a coherent and convincing narrative that the texts were not divested of their own power as artefacts and the intertextuality that created an overall picture of 'classical Cornwall'. The chapter demonstrated that not only has there been an attempt to describe the ancient Cornish and their practices using (amongst other things) classical material but also the status of the Cornish was important to different types of narratives and writers so the wording of descriptions were themselves topics of debate. In particular, this thesis has emphasised the role of the classical allusions for understanding the progression of Cornish history and the expression of modern identities. Discussions of the tin-islands were used to illustrate the antiquity of the tin-trade in Cornwall and fed into ideas about the role of traders (particularly Phoenicians but also Greeks) in bringing civilisation and new skills to the region. Furthermore, argument about the location of Iktis allowed Cornish writers to emphasise their claims to an active trade and a welcoming atmosphere. All of this depends on the credibility and importance of the classical texts but it also lets the writers construct a positive picture of antiquity that can be mapped onto contemporary Cornwall.

¹¹⁴⁰Carew vs. T. Peter (1893).

As Chapter Four examined in more depth, by writing specifically Cornish historical narrative the county was deliberately separated from English or British stories and Cornish writers emphasised local mining traditions and aimed to contradict English perceptions of Cornwall as a savage backwater. The writers examined in Chapter Three do not have a consistent approach to their regional identities or their conceptions of place and likewise do not use ancient texts to stress the same issues or create the same patterns of identity. The writers discussed range from those who pre-date formal narratives of difference and who are not conscious of creating a politically or culturally separate Cornwall, like Carew, through to some individuals who were important within a cultural nationalism movement during the later nineteenth century. Thus, whilst Carew and Borlase are not explicitly adopting a political narrative of difference their works contribute to an articulation of cultural distinction from other parts of Britain both by deeming their topics relevant and interesting but also by framing the tone of their works to emphasise difference. On the other hand, later works, such as those of Hawkins, Edmonds and Copeland Borlase, were written by people who were to become or were already involved (often via local societies) in the cultural movements that formulated a sense of Cornish (Celtic) 'nationhood' and therefore their work could be appropriated within these movements. These issues have a profound impact on the tone of their work and Chapter Four showed that certain factors affected the similarities and differences between the writers' treatment of the classical material.

The key areas shown in Chapter Four to have influenced the Cornish historiographical approaches to the classical text are twofold. Firstly, the writers clearly take notice of changes to scholarly conventions and especially improvements in the depth of nuances in the understanding of text and secondly the writers were affected by pressure to describe, explain and be defensive of the locality according to political and social influences of the time such as industrial investments or Celtic connections. In the first case, the combination of a greater dissemination of texts and the tools of textual analysis with access to a critical scholarly community allowed writers from the early nineteenth century onwards to consider the nuances of the ancient authors' works in more depth. The change in writers' attitudes especially about the reliability, accuracy and relevance of the texts created an appreciable dialogue about the topics identified in Chapter Three (i.e. Cassiterides, Iktis, and the Civilised Cornish). It is also apparent that authors with either a less rigorous grounding in the classical material or with lower expectations of their audience's capability increasingly removed their commentary from

the Greek and Latin to reliance on translations. This shows both the benefits available to the scholarly community but also the increasing split between popular and academic audiences.

Additionally, this thesis has put forward the idea that the Cornish developed a historical sensibility that emphasised their past achievements and used the prestige of the classical world to extend gravitas to their community and differentiate it from other British identities. Thus, the consideration of a pre-Roman history is an integral and not an additional part of constructing an identity through shared history. Specifically it is clear that these writers are influenced by a desire to express the uniqueness of the Cornish situation, both then and now, and furthermore that they want to use their historical text to enhance the perception of Cornwall by their readers inside and outside of the county.

Chapter Four further shows that the economic and political preoccupations of the author's era had a profound impact on their presentation of the texts. The chapter shows the complexity of the situation in Cornwall and of the process of identity-building more generally. Although certain key images recur in the analyses, the emphasis of individual writings is often shifted according to the expected audience and the purpose of the text. For example, Carew is especially concerned with negating the image of the Cornish as rebellious and uncouth during an era of increasing English centralisation and Copeland Borlase is particularly interested in encouraging investment in mining through emphasising its unbroken tradition in the county during a period of economic uncertainty. The writers tend to state reasons for producing the text explicitly and although the works cover a variety of generic purposes, according to the authors, most are in some sense defending the antiquity of their area and their area's artefacts or practices. Thus, although Cornish writers are operating within a wide framework across national contexts they articulate their ideas according to a local perspective. As well as the style of writing being altered by the topics that are relevant to their locale, the regional perspective acts to focus the authorial lens on relevant political ideas. It also means that the use of the classical texts is not static and that the flexibility of the material was exploited as required by the writers.

Therefore across the Cornish historiographical tradition there was an active engagement with the classical material, albeit with varying degrees of direct connection to the texts themselves. It is also clear that the classical texts both illustrate their specific

information and also perform the function of suggesting technological enterprise, trade and civility to counter various claims about Cornwall. Furthermore, we see that a feedback loop whereby the importance of the classical texts was ensured by their use and simultaneously required that they be used had been set up. Overall, we tend to find that writers either begin their text with references to the classical world in order to reassure the reader of the significance of the location and to provide a groundwork for other historical theories or to focus on it in detail to make an argument in favour of the 'specialness' of the place.

Wider Implications

The use of classical text in this context has several implications for our understanding of the way history was written and the use of ancient material and suggests areas for further study. The thesis has shown that there are a number of related areas of interest that overlap with treatment of classical Cornwall such as the mythography of Arthurian Celts and Phoenician tales but that these do not negate the attention paid to classical material. Most importantly this thesis has shown that there was an evolution in the way that literature used classical texts both from the point of view of changes to scholarship and from the perspective of their importance and role in historiography. In the Cornish context the changes to textual criticism were slow to manifest and were clearly less important than the construction of a comprehensive narrative. However, it is interesting to see that the historians examined here use a number of tactics to approach the texts including cross-referencing other texts, etymological and philological analysis and inductive reasoning.

Although there has been some work done both on the progression of classical scholarship and on Cornish identity movements, there is still a paucity of work on where literary work intersects with the historical and on the practice of Cornish historiography. This thesis suggests that new editions of classical texts were less important to local historians than translation and commentary by other historians and theorists but that the consideration of classical texts was intrinsic to framing a narrative in at least the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This seems to have been because not only were the classical texts the model for historical writing but also they offered an entry point to written and recorded material in the British Isles.

This thesis has examined a limited number of historical texts, focussing solely on

those which directly reference Cornwall in antiquity and stopping at the beginning of the era of professionalisation of history and archaeology. A brief survey reveals that there are very few major texts that do not discuss the pre-Roman era in Cornwall at all but investigating reasons for avoiding the topic would perhaps shed additional light on the process of source selection and reveal further ideas about the role of Classics. The substantial use of classical texts as a starting point for historical surveys by Cornish authors even where not directly relevant demonstrates the power of their role as foundation points for the written record. This would also link to the trend seen in this thesis but not fully explained or explored that connects the description of the Roman conquest of Cornwall and subsequent impact with the trends discernible in archaeological theory and practice.

Similarly, it is clear that a detailed study of the developments during the twentieth century would constitute a thesis in their own right. However, it could reasonably be assumed that the trend discernible at the end of the nineteenth century of increasing polarisation between Celtic revivalism with its emphasis on pre-historic periods of Cornish history and academic investigations with their scepticism about the classical sources would have had an overall effect that this era became less important to both cultural entrepreneurs and to antiquarians in general, certainly for the first two-thirds of the century. It is clear that in modern Cornwall the texts themselves have had less impact on public imagination of the county than in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Semantic uncertainties and academic caution were swept aside by a preference for more poetic sensibilities within Celtic revivalism but nonetheless the relationships with the classical world are not completely dormant in scholarship and political rhetoric.

This thesis, as well as demonstrating under-explored patterns in historical writing by, for example, looking at the development of Cornish historiography generally and by considering non-Imperial relationships between Britain and the classical world, opens up a series of questions about how these patterns formed and developed and how they compare with other types of writing or other regions. The idea that Cornish writers find particular strength in one aspect of the classical tradition and elaborate on that area is important to our overall understanding of the use of Classics in British society because it suggests the power of classical paradigms whilst acknowledging that classical models can be used productively to illustrate ideas of (local) civilisation. However this

conceptualisation of the relevance of classical texts has more nuance and adaptability once it is contextualised and compared with other features of classical usage.

Final Thoughts

There is a particular fascination with myths and legends of the ancient times, often fading seamlessly into the uncertain history of the Bronze Age, particularly in somewhere like Cornwall with its scattered archaeological remains and lack of written material. Notions of mining and tin trade in ancient Cornwall have developed a story-pattern of their own. Over hundreds of years ideas about the early practice of streaming and about the local trade in tin have passed from popular story to academic debate and back again. This thesis has shown how some of these stories, folk tales and academic narratives, were built from classical references and other evidence. The thesis has offered a many-layered exploration of literature and especially scholarship on one period of the history of Cornwall whilst also offering a new look at less common classical material and its use. Discussion of Cornwall within discourse on ancient Britain, although so far largely unexplored, offers insight into styles of history writing and the use of the Classics outside of central elite groups as well as adding depth to discussions of the formulation of Cornish self-identity. In particular it shows that Cornish mining identity, as an important narrative, was being created well before industrialisation and that it was substantially fleshed out through careful historical conceptualisation. Furthermore the thesis has established that there were multiple approaches to using classical texts dependent on the style of writing and the reasons behind it and that the most effective usages for Cornish writers involve the synthesis of many authors and largely rely on the connection of various ideas to Diodorus' text.

In sum the thesis demonstrates that classical historiography is a powerful tool for creating a narrative within a localised space and that in Cornwall it helped legitimise and frame an identity based around mining and hospitality by creating an ancient precedent different from the rest of Britain.

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