



A. L. F. ('Leo') RIVET

Albert Lionel Frederick Rivet 1915–1993

ALBERT LIONEL FREDERICK RIVET, 'scholar, cartographer and archaeological critic' (thus he wished to be styled), was born in Streatham, London, on 30 November 1915 and died in Newcastle under Lyme, Staffordshire, on 6 September 1993. He was the only son and second surviving child of Albert Robert Rivet and his wife Rose Mary (née Bulow). His father, who was bi-lingual, had been born in England shortly after his own father Pierre had become a British national (subsequently he became a Freeman of the City of London) but his business activities took him frequently to France and his children were educated partly in Paris. Rose was the third of six children: her grandfather Johan Joachim Christian Bulow was born in Schleswig Holstein but settled in London. Both her father and her brothers were involved in the Baltic Exchange.

This Memoir falls into three parts: the first is an account of Rivet's early life, education, war service and post-war years until his appointment in 1952 as Assistant Archaeology Officer of the Ordnance Survey; the second describes his professional and academic career, in the Ordnance Survey from 1952 and then from 1964 as a member of the Classics Department of Keele University, where he continued to live after retirement in 1980 from his Chair of Roman Provincial Studies; the final part offers an assessment of his scholarly achievements, both through his own published work and through his influence on the work of others. Throughout most of his life he was known to all as 'Leo' Rivet, a name bestowed on him by friends at Oxford, although his parents and their generation preferred to call him Lionel.

Proceedings of the British Academy, 101, 489–509. © The British Academy 1999.

I

He was still an infant when Albert and Rose Rivet moved their young family to Westcliff-on-Sea, where he attended Alexandra College. During his first day he was challenged by another child to throw a stone and break a window, and proceeded immediately to do so! At seven Rivet became seriously ill with a mastoid infection that was followed by meningitis and, although he made a good recovery, the attack left him with a spinal weakness and progressive scoliosis. In middle age this necessitated his wearing a surgical corset when walking or standing. He professed a detached view of the infirmity: nothing could be done so therefore it should be ignored. Many were unaware what the loosely hanging tweed jacket concealed but over the span of his life he lost several inches of height. Application and removal of his 'thing' on arrival or prior to departure was a routine familiar to friends and close colleagues, and he was more than willing to recount the tale of essential repairs being carried out, in the course of an archaeological congress excursion, in the workshop of the bus garage at Beersheba in southern Israel, on the Sabbath!

In 1923 the family moved to Hillcrest Road, Purley, Surrey, by which time his elder sister Beatrice was eleven and the younger Jessie three, where Rivet attended Falconbury Preparatory School in Purley, and was a boarder from 1925 to 1929. On Sundays he sang in the choir for St Mark's Church, Woodcote, provided by his school, and only after service could he make his weekly visit home, though it was barely one mile distant. His Purley home lay close to the perimeter of Croydon airport and from this time dates a lasting interest in aircraft and their history, though the ambition of a nine-year-old to become an airline pilot was dashed when the need for spectacles was diagnosed. Many years later in Edinburgh he learned that Kenneth Jackson, historian of the languages of early Britain, had also grown up near Croydon airport and shared the same interests. In 1929 Rivet gained a scholarship to Felsted School and in 1934 entered Oriel College, Oxford for the four-year degree course of Honour Moderations and Literae Humaniores (Greats).

At Oriel he began lasting friendships with several contemporaries and near contemporaries, notably Richard Goodchild and Martin Jope both destined, along with Rivet, for distinguished careers in archaeology. In Rivet's second year it fell out that the three were located on the same floor of the same staircase of the Rhodes Building and the three

undergraduates, Rivet reading Mods, Goodchild Modern History and Jope Chemistry, would regularly lunch together in the latter's rooms on a huge Wensleydale cheese supplied by Jope's Lincolnshire grandfather. All three came from northwest Surrey, Rivet from Purley, Goodchild from Guildford, and Jope from Wallington. Expeditions were made to archaeological sites, including the temple site at Farley Heath with which Goodchild was already engaged. Rivet's Third Class in Mods was a profound disappointment and seemed to remain so for the rest of his life, not least because he felt that he had received less than was his due from those charged with his tuition. It may have been that relative failure which directed Rivet's academic ambitions towards history and archaeology, where he showed greater promise. Contemporary testimony to the quality of his work is on record from his Greats tutor Marcus Niebuhr Tod, doyen of Greek epigraphists. In October 1937 he wrote that 'his class in Moderations is to me an insoluble enigma'; and in April 1938 (shortly before he gained an excellent second in Greats) Tod judged that over the past two years 'he was one of the most interesting and rewarding pupils I have taught since the War. The keenness of his interest, the soundness of his judgement, the attractiveness of his presentation of his materials in essay-form, the thoroughness and competence of his research into the problems which he has discussed with me and his unfailing regularity and considerateness have caused me constant pleasure, and he has shown an unusual power of dealing with the archaeological as well as the literary evidence.' Tod's tuition proved a lasting inspiration to Rivet. The Oriel undergraduate had first-hand acquaintance with Oxford scholars of great distinction ('I heard Syme's *Roman Revolution* as a course of lectures in 1937'), among whom R. G. Collingwood's lectures on Roman Britain made a lasting impression; but it was the memory of Tod that throughout his life nourished the rigour and exactitude he strove to achieve in his writings and addresses.

While an undergraduate Rivet had acquired an experience of field archaeology through participation in Wheeler's excavations of the great Iron Age fortress at Maiden Castle, overlooking Dorchester in Dorset. He also joined a cruise of the Hellenic Travellers' Club at the student's concession rate of £22 but did not enjoy the experience at all. Conditions on board were appalling and he was convinced that the ship was unseaworthy. Signs of Rivet's later pleasure in anarchic humour, so engaging to some while no less irritating to others, appeared in the early stages of his friendship with Peter Tizard, later

Professor of Paediatrics at Oxford, with whom he shared lodgings. They organised Tiddleywink tournaments, while on another occasion Tizard organised Rivet's participation in a ward round at the Radcliffe disguised as a medical student. On leaving Oxford in 1938 Rivet obtained a teaching post at Kingshott preparatory school near Hitchin, Herts., that left him sufficient time to study for the post-graduate diploma in Archaeology offered by London University's recently established Institute of Archaeology, then housed in the elegance if not comfort of St John's Lodge on the Inner Circle of Regent's Park. If Mortimer Wheeler, supported by William Flinders Petrie, had been the inspiration of this pioneering venture to train academically qualified students in the practicalities of field archaeology, the driving force was its secretary Kathleen Kenyon. While Wheeler sought through his Verulamium excavations, that included not only the Roman city but the nearby hill-fort of Prae Wood, to demonstrate the truth of Haverfield's contention that most of the Roman cities of Britain represented a social continuity from pre-Roman times, Kenyon was at work on the theatre of the city, disentangling its long and complex structural history. Later she sought to recover more supporting evidence for the thesis of Haverfield through excavations at Wroxeter, Shropshire, coupled with work at the pre-Roman hill-fort on the summit of the nearby Wrekin. Rivet took part in the 1939 season on the Wrekin and enjoyed the experience. Though in the event it proved to be his last first-hand involvement with excavation, that summer confirmed an interest in the history and archaeology of Britain, both before and after the Roman conquest, that was to remain central to much of his later work.

The years at Oxford had brought to his notice a wider world of which an upbringing in suburban Surrey had given him little inkling. A vacation spent at a camp in South Wales for unemployed miners brought home to him the extent of social and economic distress in the industrial regions of the country caused by the great post-war depression. Yet it was the fascist advance in Spain following the outbreak of civil war in 1936 that made the greater impression; and for a time he considered joining the International Brigade for military service in Spain. He joined the Communist Party of Great Britain and remained a member until his return to England from war service in 1946 (Rivet's only contact with the party leadership was hardly memorable: 'Tea, comrade Pollitt? Got some, thanks'). Thereafter he voted Labour until his later years when he became a supporter of the Social

Democrats (SDP), then the Liberal Democrats, although he was never active in the affairs of either party.

The outbreak of war found him living at home in Purley and he immediately joined Civil Defence as leader of a stretcher party, while awaiting call-up for service. He made no reference to his Officer Training Corps experience (he had obtained Certificate A) but joined the ranks as a gunner in the Royal Artillery and was sent to a unit responsible for coastal defence. Later he was transferred to the ciphers branch of Signals and in the spring of 1941 was posted to East Africa. Here he remained for six years, first in Abyssinia (Ethiopia) and subsequently in Kenya, where he rose to become chief cipher officer, East Africa Command.

In East Africa Rivet witnessed at close quarters a European colonial regime where power was mainly in the hands of white settlers who formed a minority of the population (in 1945 the official census figures for Kenya were 32,000 Europeans, 61,000 Asians, 19,000 Arabs and 3,825,533 Africans). Society was racially segregated but economically integrated to the extent that the Europeans controlled the country through land ownership, while transport and commerce were largely in the hands of the other immigrant groups. He drew much on this African experience for his writings on the theme of the interaction between Romans and natives in Britain and made regular comparisons between the organisation of the twentieth-century colony and the first-century province. He observed the entire artificiality of the limits, in regard to ethnic geography, set by the British to their Kenyan colony, straight lines on the north with Somalia and on the south with the former German Tanganyika, where the boundary severed the lands of the Masai tribe. The expansion of the settlers and their demand of the imperial authorities for an increase of their own power were also instructive. Construction of the railway inland from Mombasa at the end of the nineteenth century had opened up the heart of the country in the manner of a Roman highway across Europe or North Africa. This coincided with the failure of rains that proved disastrous to the economy of the Kikuyu who were then decimated by an epidemic of smallpox. After 1902 land began to be assigned to settlers, with compensation being paid only for land that was at the time actually in cultivation. Large numbers of natives became squatters on the lands of the settlers and among these communities there was a breakdown of tribal discipline and morality. British policy towards the native peoples was, like that of the Romans, to achieve indirect rule through native

tribal structures but this form of local government was confined to defined tribal reserves. Here local courts applied justice according to tribal traditions, under the control of native chiefs whose selection by the tribe was subject to government approval (the British found it difficult to cope with the fact that in some tribes, including the Kikuyu, the authority of chief was invested in two men operating in the manner of Roman consuls).

Unlike most of those in Kenya for war service Rivet made the effort to learn Kiswahili and was able to visit the homes of many Africans with whom he came into contact, something that was officially forbidden, several of whom he taught to master written English. During his period in Kenya Rivet's closest friendship came through archaeology. He met Mary and Louis Leakey who was for Rivet 'the only real white African'. Leakey was fluent in the Kikuyu language and had not only been initiated into the tribe but had become a second-grade elder in it. Through him Rivet met several leading figures in African society, including one (Harry Thuku) who had been exiled to the Seychelles for attempting to organise a union among African workers. During the years 1943–5 Rivet also took part in several of the Leakeys' excavations as his periods of leave allowed, notably at the palaeolithic site Olorgesailie, and of Iron Age huts at Njoro and Ng'iya. During these periods he enjoyed the hospitality of two Anglican archdeacons, one a fervent supporter of the settlers' cause, the other an uncompromising advocate of African welfare who on more than one occasion faced threats of violence from the settlers and who was for Rivet 'one of the finest men I have ever met'.

In January 1946 Rivet returned to England and a spell in military hospital at Harrogate to be rid of an unpleasant tropical parasite. While he maintained an ambition to work in archaeology, perhaps in museums, he was convinced that at thirty years of age he was too senior to resume his studies for an archaeological diploma or similar qualification and on demobilisation opted for bookselling, starting in Cambridge with Deighton, Bell and Co. The opening came through the friendship of Rivet's father with the owner H. A. Webb and led to a meeting with the latter's daughter. Early in the following year Rivet and Audrey Catherine Webb were married and they began bookselling in Crowborough, Sussex, but with hopes of pursuing archaeology in his spare time. They were to have two children, a son Peter (born 1949) and daughter Anne (born 1953). Soon Rivet realised that owning a bookshop and raising a family left little spare time for archaeology: his sole

experience of fieldwork on record from these years is a weekend at the Highdown hill-fort, Sussex. In 1952 he applied for and obtained the post that marked the start of his career as a full-time archaeologist, Assistant Archaeological Officer in the Ordnance Survey, then based at Chessington in Surrey. They sold the bookshop and moved to a house in Epsom within cycling distance of his office.

II

Recording of antiquities on its maps had been a concern of the Ordnance survey since the time of its first director General Roy, author of a famous map of Roman remains in Scotland. Some of his successors maintained that interest and had even attracted criticism for being diverted into the 'indefinite research of curiosity', on account of preparing maps which indicated the limits of ancient territories in Ireland. The eager interest of another was responsible for imposing on the North-Downs Trackway the entirely bogus name 'The Pilgrim's Way' and he was also censured by a Board of Enquiry for publishing a monochrome facsimile of the historic Bodleian or Gough Map. It was O. G. S. Crawford, the first Archaeological Officer of the Ordnance Survey, who created the Period Map, an attempt to reconstruct the pattern of settlement in a past age through the interpretation of historical and archaeological evidence. Crawford's term of office lasted from 1920 until the Second World War and for most of this period the output of the Survey remained at a low ebb through stringent economies in public finance. There was little for him to do in his main task of improving the archaeological record on the standard OS maps since so few of these were actually produced. That left him time to devote to developing the archaeological use of air photographs and to initiate the production of Period Maps, not to mention founding and editing the periodical *Antiquity*. The Map of Roman Britain published in 1924 was a modest production but sold so well that Crawford could produce a second edition in 1928. It marked the beginning of an entirely new tradition of archaeological mapping, not only in Britain but also in many other lands. At a meeting of the International Geographical Union held at Cambridge in July 1928 Crawford's proposal to produce maps covering the entire Roman Empire at a scale of 1:1,000,000 marked the birth of what in 1934 was formally titled the *Tabula Imperii*

Romani. The project, at first interrupted by war, was adopted by the Union Académique Internationale and a permanent committee formed under the presidency of Giuseppe Lugli, who was succeeded in 1968 by J. B. Ward-Perkins. A British committee was also formed to assume responsibility not only for the sheets covering Britain (destined to be edited by Rivet, see below) but also for several areas of the Roman Empire where the leading roles of British archaeologists made it appropriate that they should compile the relevant sheets (the history of the project up to 1984 was outlined in brief by Rivet in *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 74 (1984), 200–1). The rules for compilation of the TIR sheets, include the symbols and classification of sites were based on Crawford's Map of Roman Britain.

The success of the Roman map encouraged Crawford to venture into other periods: in 1930 appeared the Map of Seventeenth Century England and then in 1935 and 1939 the south and north sheets of Britain in the Dark Ages. His planned Map of Monastic Britain on a single sheet could not be produced until after the war. At the same time Crawford was experimenting with a variety of regional and thematic maps, including Neolithic Wessex, Long Barrows in the Trent basin and in South Wales, Celtic Earthworks of Salisbury Plain (this at 1:25,000), and a Map of Roman Scotland, all at the scale of 1:250,000. New editions of the major period maps were produced in the years following the Second World War when the now revived Ordnance Survey's Archaeological Officer was C. W. Phillips, best known for his excavation of the Sutton Hoo ship burial on the eve of the war.

Rivet's service with the Ordnance Survey lasted from 1952 until 1964 and these were to prove, as regards British archaeology, his formative and most influential years. He remained at Chessington until 1958, overseeing the enlargement of the great card-index which in computerised form remains the principal database for the archaeology of the British Isles. He was also charged with overseeing the third edition of the Map of Roman Britain. The single-sheet Map, with accompanying dossiers, appeared in 1956 with a Foreword by the Director General, Major-General J. C. Willis, in which it was noted that: 'Much new information has been gathered since 1928, and a careful study has been made of the whole body of the material on which the map is based by the Assistant Archaeology Officer, Mr. A. L. F. Rivet, M.A., F.S.A.' Rivet's election to the Fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries of London had taken place within the first year of his appointment at the Ordnance Survey and is an indication of how

soon his vital role in British Archaeology was realised. On his side, the meticulous examination of material and topographical questions that involved the constant reading and re-reading of Greek and Latin texts, both literary and documentary, represented a fulfilment of ambitions first formed in the tutorials with Marcus Niebuhr Tod at Oxford twenty years earlier. Rivet's knowledge of the Roman world that he portrayed on the map of Britain was wider and in many respects more profound than that of Crawford. He had thought deeply about how what took place during the four centuries of the province Britannia could be registered in the cartographic medium. The product of those first years at Chessington was the little book *Town and Country in Roman Britain* which appeared in 1958. This was written at the suggestion of Christopher Hawkes, an older scholar whom Rivet greatly admired, a classicist who had set the study of the pre-Roman Iron Age in Britain firmly on its feet. In the year his book was published the Ordnance Survey decided to open an office of its Archaeology Division in Edinburgh under the charge of its Assistant Archaeology Officer. The Rivet family settled well in Edinburgh, a world that was altogether new to them. Their house was in Corstophine, where they soon became accustomed to the roars of lions and the cries of other animals in the nearby zoo. In his professional life Rivet was rapidly assimilated into the academic circles of the Scottish capital, where he was to edit the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* for several years.

The task of recording ancient remains on the standard OS maps was significantly increased by the recording of whole landscapes of historical settlement in remote and upland areas, mainly by the Royal Commission using aerial photography. For the archaeologists the volume and the diversity of these remains was a welcome challenge to those engaged in the reconstruction of pre-industrial societies and their economies but for the map-maker hard decisions had to be made regarding how much should be entered on maps intended for general use. While Rivet was in Edinburgh yet another reviewing board had reached a judgement that the level of recording currently undertaken by the archaeologists of the Ordnance Survey appeared 'over-meticulous', echoing the warning of the Board of Enquiry a century before regarding the 'indefinite curiosity' exhibited by the map-makers. It was clear that difficult times lay ahead as the Edinburgh Office began to plan its work on one of the most demanding areas, the county of Sutherland in the north-west Highlands.

On a happier note the Edinburgh years saw the completion of

Rivet's own venture while in the service of the Survey, the publication in 1962 of the Map of Southern Britain in the Iron Age, perhaps the most specialised of the period maps. The problems of what is now often termed the 'Late Pre-Roman Iron Age' had interested Rivet since Oxford days when he joined Wheeler in the excavation of hill-forts at Maiden Castle (1937) and in France (1938–9) and Kenyon on the Wrekin (1939). Once the work for the third edition of the Roman map had been completed Rivet could turn full-time to the Iron Age and its problems, making regular contact with two leading authorities of the day, Christopher Hawkes and his close friend Derek Allen the authority on the pre-Roman coinages of Britain. The latter had, like Hawkes, begun his career as an assistant keeper in the British Museum but chose not to return there from wartime secondment to the Civil Service. Allen continued his numismatic studies and at Rivet's invitation contributed a section titled 'Celtic Coins' to the Iron Age Map. In later years, when Allen had succeeded Wheeler as Secretary of the British Academy, he became Rivet's closest academic confidant, a source of encouragement and frank judgement sorely missed after Allen's death in 1975. In 1958 Rivet contributed to the conference held in London when Hawkes and his circle revised their interpretation of the Iron Age in southern Britain. While based in Edinburgh, Rivet chaired part of the similar gathering concerned with the Iron Age in Northern Britain held in October 1961 and then edited a volume of the proceedings published in 1966. Around this time also Rivet joined the hill-fort study group though he attended few of their meetings.

By the early 1960s Rivet was a leading figure among archaeologists of Britain whose work began to be recognised outside the UK, notably in 1960 with election as Corresponding Member of the German Archaeological Institute. Since the appearance of the Roman Map and the companion volume on Town and Country two years later Rivet was much in demand as a speaker to local societies, extramural weekends and academic colloquia. He was never sought to report new finds but to offer judicious comment on the new evidence and the new ideas of others. From this period began his long career in the role of 'summing-up' at the end of a conference. While Rivet relished the challenge of composing an 'on the spot' analysis of what had been achieved, this unusual persona led some to regard his role of 'archaeological critic' as being too engrossed with matters of detail, more often than not hair-splitting digressions on the correct use of technical and historical terms, from the standpoint of one who enjoyed a thorough command of Latin

and Greek, an approach that did not always appeal to the majority of his audience. Rivet was aware of this and sought to offer his advice, tactfully and in confidence, to any younger colleague whom he judged to be in danger of error through lack of acquaintance with the Greek and Roman world.

By 1963 it appeared that the impending retirement of C. W. Phillips was likely to bring Rivet back south, initially to Chessington later to Southampton, as his successor in the position of Archaeology Officer. Reluctant to leave Edinburgh, Rivet knew that the senior post would not only cause his withdrawal from many of the outside activities in the world of archaeology that he found so congenial, and which had grown rapidly since he came to Scotland, but that he would have little or no chance to work on future period maps that were now a fundamental element in the historical and archaeological bibliography. He may also have judged that he lacked the bureaucratic skills to ensure that Archaeology retained the position within the Ordnance Survey that Crawford and Phillips had achieved for it. It was against this background that Rivet, increasingly depressed by danger signals emanating from yet another review committee, began to look elsewhere. He applied for a newly-established lectureship in the Classics department at Keele university. There John Charlton, one of the founding professors of the post-war University, had long hoped to include the study of Roman Britain in the Keele syllabus of Ancient History and Classics, and the long-awaited beginning of university expansion provided the opportunity. Rivet's achievement in archaeology coupled with his wide interests in the classical world made him the ideal candidate. Having dreaded the time of the inevitable departure from Scotland, Rivet and his family found a warm welcome to the campus, living there, in a succession of three houses, for the remaining thirty years of his life. It remained one of his greatest pleasures that his home and his place of work were so close together and within a largely traffic-free campus environment. He lunched at home every day and visiting lecturers were often guests in their house.

After three years he was promoted to Reader (1967) and after ten years was appointed (1974) to a personal chair in Roman provincial studies (the exclusion of Archaeology from the title was his own decision). Teaching in what was then for England regarded as the Keele experiment in higher education, a four-year degree based on a multi-disciplinary foundation year, could prove demanding to any but was particularly so for a research archaeologist in government service

commencing a career as university teacher at the age of forty-nine. Rivet was soon committed to the Keele approach. He took part eagerly in foundation courses, for which he was among the first to provide his own detailed handouts in advance of lectures, explaining technical and foreign language terms and striving to improve what he found to be the most serious deficiency in the student body, a lack of basic geographical knowledge, not only of the world at large but even of the United Kingdom. He was particularly proud of the achievement of one of his early Keele pupils, John Sedgley, who after a first degree in Geology and Latin undertook research on the petrological origins of Roman milestones in Britain that was later published. Rivet played a full part in the work of several University boards and committees but declined to engage with those which would significantly reduce his teaching or time available for travel and study. He valued above all election as deputy chairman then chairman of the Senior Common Room, where he was a popular if challenging conversationalist over coffee and tea. Among his duties in that office Rivet confessed that by far the most testing was that of proposing the toast of the University's Chancellor (one of the more colourful members of the Royal Family) on the occasion of the annual visit. During early years family holidays were spent exploring in a camper van, at first in Scotland and Ireland but, after the move to Keele, in central and southern France when holidays became a succession of planned journeys to assist the preparation of his planned volume on Roman Provence (*Gallia Narbonensis* published in 1988). Later more ambitious journeys were undertaken, far beyond the limits of the Roman world, to the Silk Route of Central Asia and a return visit to Kenya, where he found that much had changed since war service forty years before.

The move to Keele marked a significant change of direction in Rivet's scholarship. Any first-hand acquaintance he may have lost with the accumulated archaeological record from Britain was more than offset by the freedom to range widely in the Roman and Greek world, although the intellectual genesis of many of his later productions can be traced back to the scholarly problems he faced in the compilation of period maps. As time passed he was less engaged in the debates of contemporaries regarding Iron Age and Roman Britain, all the more so when these came to be dominated by concepts such as cultural assimilation or resistance and core-periphery imported from anthropological and geographical theorists. At first he continued to play a major role in Roman Britain, notably as the first Review Editor of the newly

founded periodical *Britannia* from 1970 to 1976. His last major archaeological production concerning Roman Britain was the long-delayed volume on the Roman Villa in Britain published in 1969. In addition to editing the volume, Rivet contributed a chapter on social and economic aspects, and although the author is there styled 'Reader in Romano-British Studies' the work originated in the last of F. T. Wainwright's Summer Schools in Archaeology held when Rivet was still with the Ordnance Survey. He played a major role in the affairs of the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, serving as its President from 1977–80. Subsequently Rivet organised a consolidated index to the first ten volumes of *Britannia* and few were surprised to learn that on publication in 1983 it was commended in a prize competition organised by the Society of Bibliographers. Rivet had in general little interest in the Mediterranean World, except for the South of France. He did, however, give time and effort to the administration of the British School at Rome, whose fortunes were then at a low ebb, certainly compared with the present state of affairs. That was not so much the fault of those engaged in Rome as the result of uncertain direction and conflicting aims within the London administration. Rivet worked hard first as a member of the Archaeology and History Faculty from 1972, then from 1973 on its editorial committee and finally on its Council and Executive Committee from 1974–83, when long overdue changes were finally implemented.

From the early 1970s Rivet's expertise in cartography and archaeology was regularly sought by national bodies. In 1972 he joined the Cartography Sub-Committee of the Royal Society. He served on the British Sub-Committee for the *Tabula Imperii Romani*, now sponsored by the British Academy, from 1970 and was chairman, in succession to J. B. Ward-Perkins from 1981, the year Rivet was elected Fellow of the Academy. Inheriting in this fashion the TIR mantle of Crawford and Ward-Perkins, Rivet invested much time and effort to bring to completion the long-standing British commitment to compilation of an outstanding Turkish sheet, but to no avail. For one who had had a lifetime occupation with historical maps this failure was a deep wound, all the more so when the task seemed, to him at least, a simple and uncomplicated exercise in cartography. As chairman he played a leading role in bringing to completion the two British sheets of the *Tabula Imperii Romani* (published in 1983 and 1987), with full gazetteers that bear the stamp of Rivet's detailed acquaintance with the geographical sources for early Britain and the problems of their interpretation. The

first sheet, M30 and a part of M31, covered Britain south of a line through Gloucester and northwest France north of Le Mans and as far east as Paris. The marrying of French and English data to create a single map conforming to the format of TIR was a task requiring much discussion and patient diplomacy and was achieved only through the high regard for Rivet's work among French colleagues, in particular on the part of his friend Raymond Chevallier. Those involved with the second sheet, covering northern Britain and thus wholly Rivet's responsibility, recall how all the material for that sheet was produced by Rivet on time and in perfect order.

For more than a decade Rivet had attended and contributed to the regular colloquia of the Comité pour l'Étude des Cités Antiques (CICA) held in various European cities between 1971 and 1981. The scheme, as envisaged by its promoter Edmond Frezouls of Strasbourg, was to compile dossiers on all the cities of the Graeco-Roman world in a standardised format that was a more detailed version of what was provided for the TIR gazetteers. Along with his major contribution to production of the British TIR sheets he and N. H. Sitwell together compiled the map and gazetteer for the north sheet (*Britannia Septentrionalis*) that covered the entire British Isles north of latitude 52. A generation earlier such a task would have been judged appropriate for the archaeologists of the Ordnance Survey. The making and selling of maps was now subjected to commercial direction and after lengthy debate the Archaeology Division with its indexes was transferred to the Royal Commission responsible for making inventories of ancient and historical monuments in England, Wales, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. It was partly as a result of these enlarged responsibilities that in 1979 Rivet was invited to serve as a Commissioner for England. From 1981 until the expiry of his term at the end of 1985 (in that year he reached the age limit of 70) Rivet chaired the Commission's National Monuments Records Committee.

The move to Keele had led Rivet to broaden his engagement with Roman studies through planned journeys and several papers concerning aspects of Roman Gaul to the final goal of the monograph on Gallia Narbonensis, planned in the 1960s as part of a comprehensive series on the Provinces of the Roman Empire, of which only volumes on Britannia, Dalmatia, Noricum and Pannonia/Moesia Superior were to appear in the form originally envisaged. Though Roman Gaul and its problems remained an enduring attraction, his most concentrated effort since the production of the period maps was again centred on

Pre-Roman and Roman Britain. Like many of his contemporaries Rivet had been accustomed to seek guidance on ancient British place-names from the distinguished historian of language Kenneth Jackson, whose *Language and History in Early Britain* had become the first resort for all students of early Britain since its publication in 1953. By the early 1970s Rivet was planning a major work on the place-names of Roman Britain that would not only involve a fully documented lexicon with discussions of etymology and modern identifications but would also provide full accounts and discussions of the principal ancient sources, notably the Geography of Ptolemy, the Antonine Itinerary, Notitia Dignitatum and Ravenna Cosmography. In 1973 he joined the Council for Name Studies in Great Britain and Ireland and was a regular participant in their annual meetings around the country until 1987. Work on the period maps had already made him familiar with this body of material and he had already provided detailed maps showing Ptolemy's Britain and the routes of the Antonine Itinerary to accompany the third edition of the Map of Roman Britain. Both were retained for the fourth edition but sadly have been discarded in the most recent compact folding edition, presumably in the belief that those who bought the map as an aid to visiting ancient sites had little or no interest in how we can know today the names by which they were called in ancient times.

Rivet began the task with published studies of the major geographical sources, beginning in 1970 with an examination of the British section of the Antonine Itinerary that appeared in the first volume of the periodical *Britannia*, to be followed later by papers on Ptolemy. Within a few years Rivet had discovered that another scholar was planning a similar work though from a different perspective. Colin Smith had been appointed to the Chair of Spanish at Cambridge in 1968 and his interest came to Rivet's notice when a paper on the traces of Vulgar Latin in Britain was submitted for publication in *Britannia*. Within a few years they combined to produce *The Place Names of Roman Britain*, an ambitious work of reference issued by an enlightened publisher in 1979. Smith was the principal author of the introductory chapter and the chapters concerning the Ravenna Cosmography, Notitia Dignitatum and Inscriptions, while Rivet's contribution reviewed the many ancient literary sources which contained material relevant to Britain in addition to detailed discussions of Ptolemy and of the Antonine Itinerary. The lexicon which occupied more than half of the volume was a joint production, having been submitted for review to Professor D. Ellis Evans at Oxford. Though some detected a 'reforming

zeal' in the authors' approach to their subject all were unanimous that this was an outstanding work of lasting value, a model of how work of this sort should be presented. Names remained a major interest.

For his presidential address to the Roman Society (published in volume 11 of *Britannia* for 1980) Rivet sought modern analogies for the Roman assimilation of Celtic names for what became entirely Roman settlements. An imperial element marked by the imposition of place-names originating in the personal names of leading Roman figures (e.g. Pompeiopolis, Caesarea, Augusta, and the like) could be traced to the Macedonian empire of Alexander the Great and its successor states. Some of these, both Roman and Hellenistic, remain in use even if modified for later patterns of speech. Instructive comparison was made with the short-lived European (mostly British but with a few German) names introduced in colonial territories of East Africa and with names derived from leading Bolsheviks imposed on major settlements in the republics of the now vanished USSR. Some replaced earlier names originating from personal names of Tsarist times, such as Leningrad for Petrograd, while others were introduced in a form that was appropriate to the region. As Rivet observed: 'if one wishes to imprint the new order it is best done by substituting new names for those which are especially evocative of the old order. Secondly, if one wishes to stimulate local enthusiasm, one does not impose one's own version of the name but adapts it to suit local circumstances: thus in the Caucasus and the Central Asian republics we find not Leningrad or Stalingrad, but Stalinabad and Leninakan.' So it was in the Celtic-speaking provinces of Gaul, with such compositions as Augustodunum, Caesaromagus, Germanicomagus, and Juliobona, or in Iberian Spain with Juliobriga.

Rivet's interest in names and place-names in particular stemmed perhaps less from his classical training and more from an upbringing in a literate family circle. English literature was a major pleasure throughout most of his life and he read and re-read his favourite Samuel Johnson, Rudyard Kipling, and Thomas Hardy. He could recite most of the works of T. S. Eliot and long passages of Matthew Arnold. During his Asian holiday he provided for English-speaking students an enthralling recitation of Sohrab and Rostum in Registan Square, Samarkand. He united his literary and archaeological interests in choosing 'Rudyard Kipling's Roman Britain' as the subject of his Inaugural Lecture as Professor at Keele (6 November 1976). This was a patient and learned exploration of the three Puck stories that shaped

perceptions of Britain's Roman past for more than a generation (the full text was published privately in 1980 but extracts appeared in the *Kipling Journal* for June 1978). He had a prodigious memory for quotations that was regularly exercised, and on such occasions as congress excursions his friends knew that a testing time was coming when his copy of *Nemo's Almanack* emerged from the pocket. A love of words, spelling and punctuation, carried over from scholarship into daily pleasures, all of which Audrey shared, and dominated his recreations: ten minutes sufficed for all but the most difficult of crosswords (he was on one occasion semi-finalist in a national competition) and the daily game of *Scrabble* was judged against a large archive of record scores achieved in games of the past.

When professionally engaged his manner was reserved and formal. His lectures were read from prepared texts, annotated to indicate timing of the various sections. Inadequate facilities for speaking and showing slides were for him a serious distraction, and he was ill at ease when forced to address an audience 'ex tempore'. In this dry persona, Rivet resembled in speech and appearance the post-war prime minister Clement Attlee. His other side was a delight in contemporary anarchic humour (*Marx Brothers* and *The Goons*), and he would greet fellow adherents with such phrases as 'Hurrah for Captain Spalding, the African Explorer!' and, on one occasion, from the chair of a major conference, unaware the microphone was live, there echoed through the hall 'Ding dong, billy bong'! He loathed waste and could be critical even of justified increases in spending by organisations with which he was associated. He was conservative in matters of dress, tweed jacket, green shirt and grey trousers, all replaced only when necessary. He had an eye for the subtle gesture: his volume on *Gallia Narbonensis* was dedicated to Audrey on their fortieth wedding anniversary and he took care that the publishers provided a ruby-coloured dust-jacket. Rivet delighted in the daily routine of family life, the rituals of meals and even the feeding of pets. Yet even there he relished the unpredicted and unexpected. In 1963 during a Channel crossing Anne Rivet cast a bottle into the sea, Rivet himself having determined when the ship was half-way between Britain and France. On their arrival back home in Edinburgh three weeks later there was a letter from a Dutch family who had picked up the bottle at *Nordwijk aan Zee*. Two brothers had raced to retrieve it and the younger Niels won. Fifteen years later he and Anne Rivet were married, a Dutch family connection which Rivet hugely enjoyed.

III

Rivet's lasting reputation in Roman studies will rest on the period maps of Roman and Late Iron Age Southern Britain and the books which arose from these, *Town and Country in Roman Britain* (1958), *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (1979; jointly with Colin Smith), along with the earlier papers on the geographical sources. His last major work, on *Gallia Narbonensis* (1988), was based on a core of detailed maps prepared by the author, for which in places the written text seems to offer little more than supporting annotation and explanation. All these were based on huge efforts of detailed study, based mainly on card-indexes of the pre-electronic era. This is perhaps the reason why he appears to have attracted few imitators in his format of scholarship, in Britain at any rate. Yet his influence on the study of Roman Britain has been considerable, not least on the many occasions when errors and misunderstandings in the works of colleagues and friends were corrected or dispelled prior to publication.

Rivet was fascinated with how the presentation of collected data, most of which could be assembled on distribution base-maps in more or less mechanical fashion, could be manipulated by the cartographer in the creation of an historical period map. The matter was explored by him in a 1985 address (unpublished) to the Royal Commission (England).

For better or worse, the subliminal effect of the map is determined by the strength given to the various categories, and this is something that must be decided by someone who knows the material (and its limitations) and the history of the period; it simply cannot be left to a cartographer, whose expertise lies in a different field. It sometimes worries me what we did to the common man's idea of Roman Britain by the changes we introduced in the third edition of that map. Whereas Crawford's second edition showed a rather jungly land, more like the Congo than anywhere else, the third edition presented a highly organised and purposeful country in which one is mildly surprised to see no railways. On balance, I think our picture was a great improvement, but perhaps it went too far.

In the course of this century Roman Britain has entered the public mind perhaps more than any other period of early British history. Popular interest on a scale never dreamt of by Haverfield or Collingwood owed a great deal to Wheeler and his flair for publicising the activities of archaeologists and opening up many dusty museums. Rivet's third edition of the Roman Britain Map made a vital contribution to that

growth of interest, indicated by the fact that more than 100,000 copies were sold during its life of 22 years. Through the medium of the map Rivet could address some fundamental questions of interpreting the nature of ancient settlements merely through discussion of categories and symbols. In particular it enabled Rivet to combat the clumsy use of inappropriate terms for Roman sites as 'towns', a practice which has regrettably persisted among archaeologists. Certainly, Rivet would argue, use the term as a notion that describes for the English reader a pattern of living that can be contrasted with living in dispersed rural settlement, and he so employed the term in the title of his 'Town and Country in Roman Britain'. For Rivet the correct term was 'city', within which one could distinguish those with the legal status of Roman colony (which could be either a newly founded community of Roman settlers as at Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester, or the later practice of conferred colonial status on existing settlement, as happened in the case of York) from cities organised out of existing tribal units, the civitates as they were generally known.

One suspects that it was against Rivet's better judgement that the erroneous and misleading label 'cantonal capital', originally applied by Haverfield under the influence of German scholarship, was adopted for the Roman cities of native origin. Though he was happy to see 'cantonal capitals' replaced by 'tribal capitals' in the fourth edition he argued that the proper categorisation should be 'colonies' and 'other cities'. Smaller settlements needed no less attention. Here Rivet had played safe with terms such as 'Lesser Walled Towns', 'Other Major Settlements' and 'Minor Settlements', the last two based on material evidence for the area they covered. It was, in Rivet's judgement, an error in the fourth edition of the map to introduce the term *burgus*, which came into currency among archaeologists to describe small fortified settlements on or near major roads. These were created deliberately by the central authorities, at least in those provinces where we have documentary records, to ensure military and state security. If the term is justified, and that is questionable, the point symbol should have been coloured red, a distinction introduced by Rivet that made his third edition of the Roman map one of the most visually powerful images of the civil and military zones of Roman Britain. Yet he knew well that the Roman military presence was far from being static and for that reason legionary fortresses and forts were indicated either with open squares, in the cases of those with short occupations often preceding the development of later cities and other major settlements, or solid squares for those of

which the occupation proved to be permanent. 'The purpose of this modification, apart from its cartographic convenience where one symbol is imposed upon another, is to avoid the impression of continuing military activity in the districts where they lie' (thus Rivet in the accompanying notes to the map). To discard this cartographic refinement that had been devised to reflect recent development, as was done in the fourth edition, might seem to support imaginative novelists such as Rosemary Sutcliff, who saw a fort still in existence at Exeter in the second century AD.

Rivet was perhaps most proud of the Iron Age Map, his own creation. It was unfortunate that even before the map was published Hawkes' ABC scheme (Rivet had devised a colour-coding for the three phases) of the British Iron Age was being radically revised, not least by its creator, but most effectively by Hodson's paper in the *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* for 1962. At the same time the new map's presentation of evidence brought to a wide notice several matters that until then attracted little attention. Thus it soon emerged that multi-vallate hill-forts were not after all concentrated in the southwest, while, notwithstanding its huge contribution, an uncritical analysis of evidence of air photography for farms and similar settlements might suggest that Caesar was wrong to describe Kent as 'heavily populated'. In fact the corrective to the almost inevitable failure of air photographs to register any remains among the orchards and woods of Kent came through giving cartographic prominence to the many cemeteries known in the area.

Rivet enjoyed excellent health and was fully active until a major stroke in 1991 that confined him to hospital and closed off his world from all except immediate family and one or two friends. His devoted Audrey nursed him through the final months and death came peacefully. Those who knew him can believe that he would have wished his departure from this world, and the end of any tribute spoken or written, be marked by a favourite saying of his teacher Marcus Tod at the conclusion of a lecture, and with which he ended his own Inaugural Lecture at Keele: 'If the gentleman at the far end of the hall will fling open both flanges of the folding doors, it will considerably facilitate egress.'

J. J. WILKES

Fellow of the Academy

Note. For details of Rivet's family and early life the author is indebted to Mrs Audrey Rivet for use of a personal memoir, along with papers and other records which furnished details of Rivet's membership of committees and other bodies; also to professor E. M. Jope for his recollections of Rivet at Oxford. The passages relating to Kenya are based on a lecture delivered by Rivet at Keele in 1983 and those on historical cartography are from the text of a lecture delivered to the Royal Commission for Historical Monuments for England in 1985, both provided by Audrey Rivet. The author is grateful for comment and corrections to Richard Wallace of Keele University and to Rosemary Lambeth of the British Academy. What remains is the author's own testimony to a colleague and friend of more than thirty years.