

The Romans in Cornwall

Good evening, and thank you for coming, before I begin, I would like to thank Roger Collins and Paul Buet for suggesting this talk and convincing me that I had something worth saying. Particular thanks must go to Cynthia Gaskell-Brown



(second from the left) who has given me enormous help in the production and formulation of this, my first presentation. For anyone interested this photograph was taken around 1963 at Sycarth, a motte and bailey castle we were excavating near Oswestry.

I am most grateful to the following for their assistance, advice and permission to reproduce photographs and drawings from their publications, without their help the presentation would have been impossible: Peter Nicholas, Henrietta Quinnell, Norman Redhead, Dr Christopher Smart, Carl Thorpe, Anna Tyacke, Dr David Woolliscroft.

When the idea of this talk was first mooted the title “The Romans in the Tamar valley” was suggested, I quickly realised that if I had kept that title the talk would last about 10 minutes because there is not a great deal of evidence for any Roman presence in the valley so I’ve widened this to “The Romans in Cornwall”. Even so it would be difficult to keep within our familiar County boundary as so much was going on to the East of us and in any case it would seem that the Roman military

and civil service considered modern Devon and Cornwall as one administrative area.

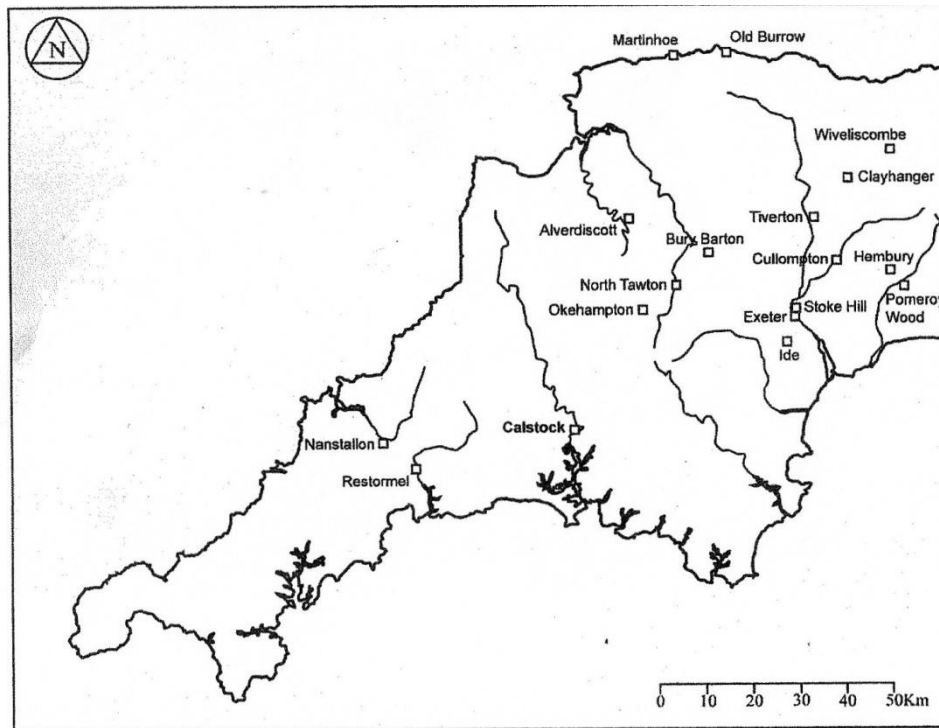
When I first came to live in Cornwall in 2002 the evidence for Roman occupation at least in the military sense was very sparse, we could boast one fortlet at Nanstallon just East of Bodmin and several suspected civilian settlements.



Now we have forts at Restormel and Calstock plus important finds of pottery and coins and at least one Roman hoard near Padstow, Hayle has also sprung to the fore with a great deal of Mediterranean type wares and artefacts revealed by field walking. Nearer home we have a possible military or religious site at Menheniot and a very beautiful and exciting find on Rame Head, however more about these later.

I think it important to look briefly at why the Romans invaded Britain and pertinent to us why they came to Cornwall and what for? The year was AD43 and to set the time in context Christ had been crucified some 10/12 years previously. The Emperor Claudius desperately needed to prove himself a worthy successor to Julius Caesar and his great uncle Augustus, it was also critical that he kept the loyalty of the Legions who had been instrumental in raising him to the purple. So with the excuses of treaties broken and friends of Rome expelled from Britain, the lure of more slaves, hunting dogs and alleged mineral wealth he invaded with 4 legions of some 40/45000 men and came ashore on the Kent coast. They headed towards the Thames and on to the capital Colchester. At some point one Legion was split off and headed West, according to a Roman historian took 20 forts and subdued 2 tribes. By AD 55/60 a huge legionary base holding some 4/5000 men

had been established at Exeter and for some years scholars had been satisfied that was where the Roman military push west ended and perhaps it did for a while as the military seemed content to pause and take stock on a line running from York down Ermine Street to Gloucester and on to Exeter. Probably due to the incursion from the numerous hostile tribes west of this line the Romans decided to push forward on all fronts and occupy the rest of the island. This map



Courtesy of Chris Smart.

shows the number of military sites west of Exeter and more than likely indicates the route in to Cornwall via North Tawton, Oakhampton and North of Dartmoor.

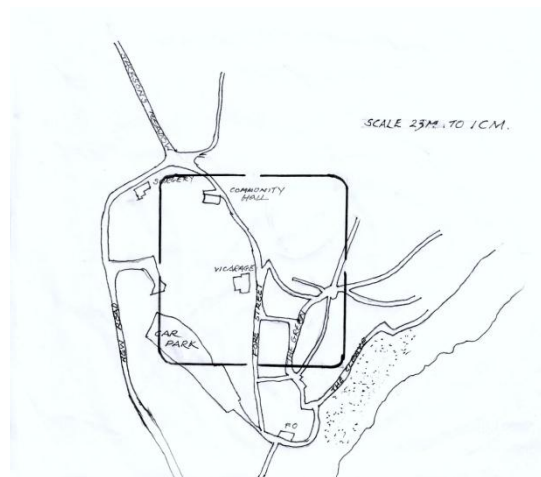
I'd like to give you a brief visual tour of the forts and although all three were built and occupied at about the same time it would seem logical that Calstock was built first. To reinforce this notion the so called "Roborough" hoard of Roman coins found by the river Tavey at Bere Alston has been dated to AD38/41 and certainly deposited before AD 50. It is exciting to surmise that the hoard was deposited by a contingent of the Roman Army reconnoitring in the area when the main battle group was still fighting its way through Dorset. It may indicate how little resistance this scouting group met in that they could operate so far forward. Then again they may have been ambushed and buried the coins to save them falling into the hands of the locals.

Calstock was discovered by a team from Exeter University while excavating for evidence of a 15th century Crown Enterprise smelting furnace and is the biggest



Aerial photograph Calstock Fort Fields. Courtesy of Chris Smart

fort we have so far. It encompassing an area including the defensive ramparts and ditches of around 170M x 160M and an internal area of some 140M x 130M. Just to help an appreciation of the size I have superimposed a sketch of the fort outlines on to a map of Kingsand



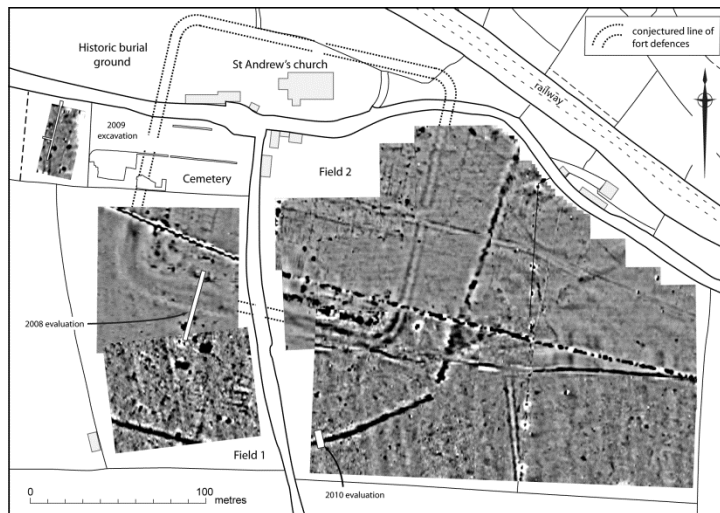
Sketch by author

It is surrounded by double ditches 2,8m deep and 3.5 M wide



Courtesy Chris Smart

This shows the geophysics of the area of the fort. The line coming from the East gate, should be, and looks as if there is, a road; the line is in fact a medieval field boundary.



Courtesy Chris Smart

An indication of buildings can be detected North of the road the function of which are unknown without further excavation but two of the barrack blocks can be seen. The Romans built their forts to an established and in many cases a prefabricated formula. The standard barrack block would contain 10 rooms each containing 8 men and 2 or 3 bigger rooms at one end for a Centurion or officer. Therefore given a fort's size and based on excavations elsewhere it is possible to work out very roughly the complement of a fort, which in this case probably around 900 men of which some would have been cavalry. From the pottery, coins and other finds made during the excavations, Calstock was probably occupied from between AD 50/55 to AD 80/85. One of the tantalising features of Calstock is the huge polygonal shaped ditch which possibly encompasses the whole fort area.



Courtesy Chris Smart

This slide gives you an indication of its depth, there would have no doubt been a rampart about 1.5 M high.

Many Roman forts have these annexes, but they are usually an extension to one side and a continuation of the symmetry of the original. I cannot find a feature like this anywhere, particularly where a vast ditch cuts off one of the main (Eastern)

gates into the base, it is definitely military and gives the impression of being thrown up in a sudden change of circumstances. Not a great deal is known about even the extension annexes I mentioned just now, one possibility is that they were used for smithing, smelting, horse tethering and a wagon and stores area, or to house an extra contingent of troops. Again there is plenty of evidence elsewhere of a civilian presence being established outside of some forts and this could be a fortification to protect them but there is no evidence yet of building within this huge compound.

Another question which has concerned scholars for many years is where did the Romans cross the Tamar? The finding of Calstock fort has led to investigations both of the banks and riverbed below the fort in to try to answer this question, nothing has been found yet. Before moving on to the next fort it may be helpful to show an illustration of what our forebears would have seen of this force which was to be so much of their daily lives. Most people here I'm sure would recognise



this fellow from television and film. He is a legionary of the first century AD but I doubt whether any of the inhabitants of Cornwall would have seen one of these soldiers.



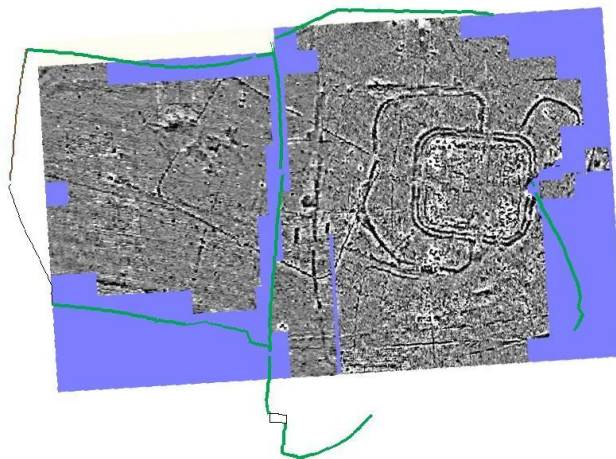
This chap as far as we know would have been the soldier who conquered and occupied Cornwall. He is a Roman auxiliary infantryman; these men were recruited from the tribes that had already been subdued by the Roman army. They would have come from areas which we know today as Bulgaria, Germany, France, Spain and Greece, and would have been attracted to the Roman army by the promise of regular pay, the chance of Roman citizenship and a plot of land after 25 years service. Every Roman Legion had an attachment of auxiliary foot soldiers and cavalymen who were trained to the standard of the regular legionary. The soldiers in Cornwall would have no doubt come with the original invasion force and probably sent forward from the legionary fortress in Exeter.

Moving onto Restormel, this slide



Courtesy of Carl Thorpe HES Truro

shows what can be seen on the surface. The site was officially recognised as a Roman auxiliary fortlet in 2002 as a result of the large number of finds made by field walking. In 2007 the Saltash Heritage Trust started a geophysical survey of the whole site and this is the result.



Courtesy Peter Nicholas

As you can see we have the usual shape measuring about 100M x 90M. Almost square as are the other two forts which is how we can deduce that we are dealing with auxiliaries rather than Legionaries who would construct forts in a playing card shape. There is a single rampart and two ditches and three known gateways-there may be a fourth on the eastern side but the steepness of the slope plus general metalwork (fencing) precluded investigation there, anyway not ALL Roman forts had four gateways. Within the perimeter are traces of possible buildings as yet unidentified although there may be an indication of a barrack block. The black patches could be traces of smelting hearths or simply where the soldiers cooked their meals. The garrison of this fortlet would have been perhaps around 480 to 500 men. On the South side there seems to be more buildings perhaps a bath house. You will recall the polygonal shaped ditch around Calstock well it looks as if Restormel has the same sort of thing but without excavation we are unable to tell whether the Romans cut across an earlier enclosure or whether it is an annexe to the fort. To me it appears that the structure acknowledges the fort's presence as it meets the ramparts exactly above the North and south gateways. Note that there is a smaller enclosure to the North East but the full layout of this cannot be fully traced. On the western slope is the shape of a temporary marching camp which

would usually be used for one or two days while advancing in to hostile territory, or could it have been the camp to house the soldiers while the fort was being built?

From the surface finds so far the occupation dates of Restormel are attested from about AD 55 and going on in to the third or even the fourth century, this would indicate that the fort and surrounding area continued as a civilian settlement considerably longer than the other two sites. Indeed Restormel could be the site of Uxella a town referred to by Roman historians as west of the Tamar.

To bring Restormel to life as a fort I would like to show you this excellent illustration I came across the other day. This is the site as it looks today



Courtesy of Norman Redhead. Copyright Manchester Archaeological Unit

and this is the reconstruction following excavation.



Illustration by Graham Sumner

It is about the same size as Restormel and has also been built with one side over a steep incline. All the features are here, the barrack blocks, the commandant's house, a granary and other buildings and workshops.

8 kilometres away to the North West is our third fort and for many years the only Roman fort in Cornwall. Nanstallon which is just west of Bodmin was partially

excavated in the 60s and this is a plan of the site with a Restormel geophysics to compare,

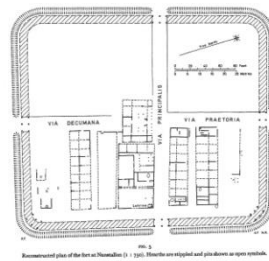


Figure 3: The Roman fort at Nanstallon excavated by Fox and Ravenhill shows a similar layout to that initially indicated at Restormel (Fox *et al.*, 1972, 117)

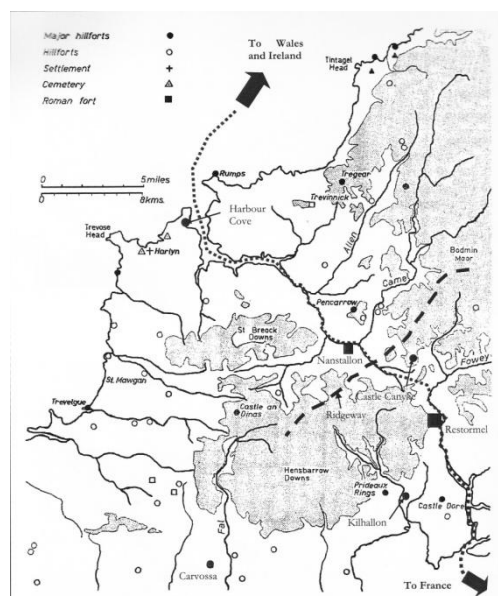


Courtesy of Peter Nicholas

again established around AD55, the barrack blocks can be clearly seen, as can the Commandants house and the headquarters building. As with most forts corner towers are evident as are the four gateways and a V shaped ditch dug to 1.6M with two ramparts and the whole structure of wood. One interesting point, although not unique is that the fort had been systematically dismantled- gate posts etc had been cut at ground level, rubbish and spare wood burnt and the site cleared in about AD85. There is a possibility that the garrison could have been moved up to Restormel because the expectations of high mineral yields in the area were not fulfilled but there is also the possibility that decisions and stirrings elsewhere in the Empire were having a domino effect on this outpost of Empire. Ancient historians relate that around AD85 the Empire was suffering incursions by barbarians in the Eastern provinces. Nearer home fresh major offensives were opening up against the Scottish and Welsh tribes, all this turbulence made heavy demands on the Legions. Although speculative it is probable that Calstock and Nanstallon were decommissioned because of these demands on the legions and the auxiliary units were needed to fill the void. The crack Second Legion had left Exeter for Caerleon in Wales, a few years before and the fort area had already expanded into a Roman civilian settlement which was evolving into the seat of central government for the peninsula. As we shall see later this handing over of administrative responsibilities probably happened in Cornwall as well. Archaeological evidence attests that the

forts at Oakhampton and Tiverton were also abandoned at this time. This is not to say that every auxiliary unit in Cornwall upped sticks and left, I'm sure that the mineral deposits which were the personal property of the Emperor would need some protection, I mean rather that the army was being tightly stretched.

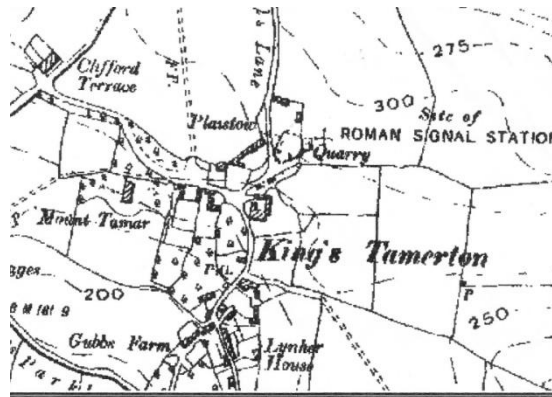
Apart from the shape there are a few other similarities shared by all three forts they are situated near major iron lodes and although there is no direct evidence of smelting all sites have yielded iron slag. All three are situated at the then tidal limits of the rivers they command, Calstock the Tamar, Restormel the Fowey and Nanstallon the the Camel. To me this indicates a strong interest in the protection and policing of maritime trade and indeed in other areas of Britain it can be shown that the Roman navy were responsible for the transport of minerals. Since time immemorial carriage by water has always been more economical than transport by



Courtesy Carl Thorpe HES Truro

land. This map shows that there need be very little use of land transport while carrying goods across the peninsula. There is a strong possibility that the line on this map was a Roman political Boundary and that everything west of here was a military zone under Imperial control. This prevented important mineral resources coming under civil control from Exeter. I won't go in to all the details but there is clear evidence of, for example pottery found West of this line and not East and vice versa.

Turning now to my own research, I became interested in the ways that Roman forts communicated with each other after reading a book about ancient signalling techniques and seeing an old map indicating the site of a Roman signal station at



Camels Head. When we only knew about Nanstallon looking for signal sites would have been futile, as, lacking another fort I had no idea which direction the Romans would have signalled. So when Restormel was confirmed I started looking at ways the two forts could communicate. Although close to each other they are not intervisible therefore the Romans had three options, one a foot messenger, two a horse rider or three a form of semaphore or beacon. A foot messenger would take perhaps 60 or 70 minutes, a horseman at a canter or gallop about 20 to 30 minutes, both the horseman and the runner could be subject to ambush whereas even indirect signalling would only take a minute or two. The use of fire, smoke or flags is known to be used by the Egyptians and Assyrians and many references to fire signalling survive. We have a record of one of the Roman signalling systems from Trajan's column in Rome dated to the 2nd Century.



The signal station scene from Trajan's Column, Rome.

Courtesy of David Woolliscroft

As you can see it comprises a tower of wood or stone with a long arm which could pivot at about 180 degrees. The arm with or without a torch has been well described by classical writers. Hadrian's Wall has been shown to have had its forts and mile castles sited to support signalling systems along its whole length. Further North a frontier made sometime later than Hadrian's Wall contains many signal station or watchtower sites. These are the remains of a rampart and ditch on this frontier.



Barron's Pike near Bewcastle. Courtesy of David Woolliscroft

Typically there would have been a perimeter of about 30M with a ditch and rampart upon which would have been a stockade much the same as this



Drawing by author from various sources.

So where was I to look? First I decided that there was no point in observing at ground level as many of the towers and fort walls were 10M high. Consequently I managed to persuade Adam Stanford of Aerial Cam to visit both forts with me. Adam has a range Rover equipped with a hydraulically operated mast able to extend to 15M with a high resolution camera fitted to the top. The device can be rotated remotely through 360 degrees and an image sent to an onboard computer.

I had long suspected that one signalling route was via Bodmin Beacon. So using the archaeological report for Nanstallon we set up at the position of a corner tower to photograph from a 10M height at 360degrees right round the fort. This slide



Courtesy of Adam Stanford Aerial Cam Ltd

is of the Beacon from Nanstallon. As you can see the obelisk is quite clear and is just within readable semaphore or fire signal distance of 4kms

Next we went to Restormel where we photographed towards the Beacon from the assumed position of the fort's North East corner tower. This is



Courtesy of Adam Stanford Aerial Cam Ltd.

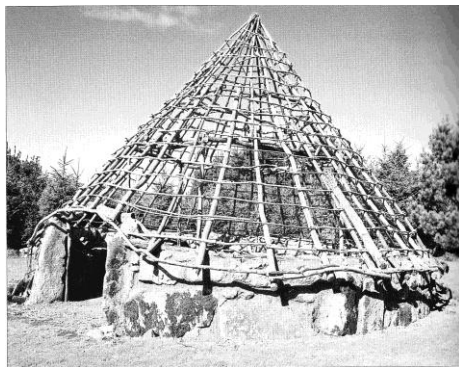
the result and again the obelisk can be seen. There is another possible route but unfortunately having achieved a suitable position south of Nanstallon I was unable to gain a line of site to Restormel as the view was blocked by a large modern reservoir which is protected by heavy security. Hopefully I can get permission to enter the area with the aerial cam system and try to pick out Restormel.

It's not so much fun as being there but I now have an amazing bit of software which enables me to place a line between any two points on an OS map which will then show me altitudes and lines of site between these two points. I have already

started to use this from Calstock, watch this space! We do not have to look far to see that semaphore signalling was still being used in the 19th century by the Admiralty from Maker church to Mount Wise, as is evident on the history group website.

Let's turn now to the likely impact that the Romans had on the peoples of this peninsula and what do we know or can deduce about the inhabitants? As there are no written records other than references by Greek and Roman writers who were aware of the mineral deposits particularly tin most of what we know comes from archaeological excavation. We do know from Roman sources that the main western tribe were the Cornovii which is thought to have meant "the people of the horn" probably referring to the shape of the extreme end of Cornwall. They could have been the people living within the Military zone mentioned earlier. The main and larger tribe were the Dumnonii who occupied the area East of that line with their eastern borders in Somerset.

The archaeological record of Cornwall shows very little change at first anyway in the lifestyle of the populace as a result of the Roman occupation. For hundreds of years the natives had lived in communal round houses such as this in enclosed



Courtesy Cornwall Editions. Photograph Fred Mustill.



Trethurgy Round near St Austell

from a drawing by Rosemary Robertson. Courtesy of Henrietta Quinnell

farms or hamlets set in arable or agricultural land referred to today as rounds, this is one of them, at Trethurgy the only fully excavated round in Cornwall, the occupants were no doubt of extended family groups.

Prior to the invasion tribal chiefs or local kings controlled tracts of farmland from defended hill or promontory forts such as castle Dore or Trevelgue Head. That their influence was strong is shown by the massive defensive ditches and ramparts protecting these sites which were probably constructed by a workforce from the surrounding area. The work was probably carried out as a form of tithe or bond in exchange for protection against other communities who might raid for cattle and slaves. The economy was based on a barter system where social standing was measured in cattle or sheep.

I do not wish to give the impression that the inhabitants were simplistic and unsophisticated, they were very aware of the outside world, trading in minerals had been going on for centuries with the Mediterranean and to other areas of Britain. This gold stater,



Courtesy of Anna Tyacke PAS

which was produced by a tribe controlling the midlands was found at Ludgvan near Marazion. Some evidence of what was being exchanged or bartered is coming to light; some sites are yielding pottery from France and Germany and even Palestine, some of the sherds of pre-conquest Roman pottery are from storage vessels and one wonders what foodstuffs they contained. Native pottery was not wheel-thrown but such was the quality it could easily have passed for such. Most of this native ware was produced on the Lizard at a site as yet unknown.



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Courtesy Cornwall Editions.

However, what the Romans brought materially and logistically would have been a complete shock to the tribe. The majority would not have seen any buildings above 3M in height, the Roman army's use of prefabricated building materials up to 4 to 6 M in height would have been nothing short of astonishing. The sheer logistical power of the Army, with cartloads of timber, metalwork, weaponry and provisions moving backwards and forwards from barges moored at the new dock on the river would have been amazing. More unsettling would be the sudden

changes in society wrought by the arrival of the soldiers. As mentioned earlier the soldiers came from many different regions, perhaps some of them black, surely something not seen before. The soldiers would have spoken a language incomprehensible to most natives; this in itself can add tension in a population unable to communicate.

Probably the only areas without great contention were that of religion and burial customs. Usually the Romans were tolerant of other religions (except where human sacrifice was involved) and would match their Gods with local deities. There appears to have been a continuity of the pre conquest funerary rituals which ranged from the laying out of the dead on platforms in much the same way as the North American Indians practised, or inhumation. Which was still favoured by many people even when the Roman tradition of cremation was adopted in the second century?

At about the time of the Romans arrival many hill forts were abandoned, although Trevelgue Head continued to be used right through the Roman period, Chun Castle and Castle Dore were reoccupied a few years later during the Roman occupation. Rounds continued to be built in the standard fashion well into the Roman period as attested by the large numbers dotted around Devon and Cornwall. When making these comments about settlement patterns I am somewhat cautious, so little excavation work has gone on in the County that where sites have been thoroughly examined such as Trevelgue and Trethurgy these are likely to set the pattern for the whole and therefore the picture can be canted or warped.

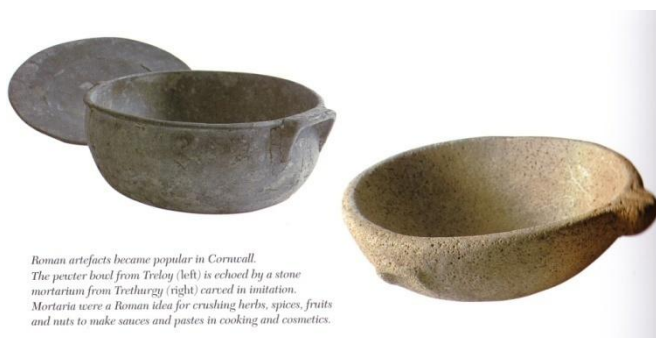
Eventually and perhaps within a very short time span the populace reached an accommodation with the Army. Human nature being what it is there were maybe three responses to Roman rule. The first made up of those who could obtain financial benefit in supplying goods and services, the second those who took on many of the trappings of Rome but remain embedded in the pre Roman socio-religious structure and thirdly perhaps the majority ignored Rome completely and carried on with life much as their ancestors had done.



Trethurgy Round

from a drawing by Rosemary Robertson. Courtesy of Henrietta Quinnell

Trethurgy continued as a thriving round where extra habitations had been added, some in the old circular configuration others in the new oval shape there is also a change showing of a difference in the type of pottery and its use. Instead of the large bowls and cauldrons of the pre Roman period small bowls and plates for personal use are appearing not only in imported ware but also native pottery, this is very different from the communal pot and quite Romanised.



*Roman artefacts became popular in Cornwall.
The peuter bowl from Treloy (left) is echoed by a stone
mortarium from Trethurgy (right) carved in imitation.
Mortaria were a Roman idea for crushing herbs, spices, fruits
and nuts to make sauces and pastes in cooking and cosmetics.*

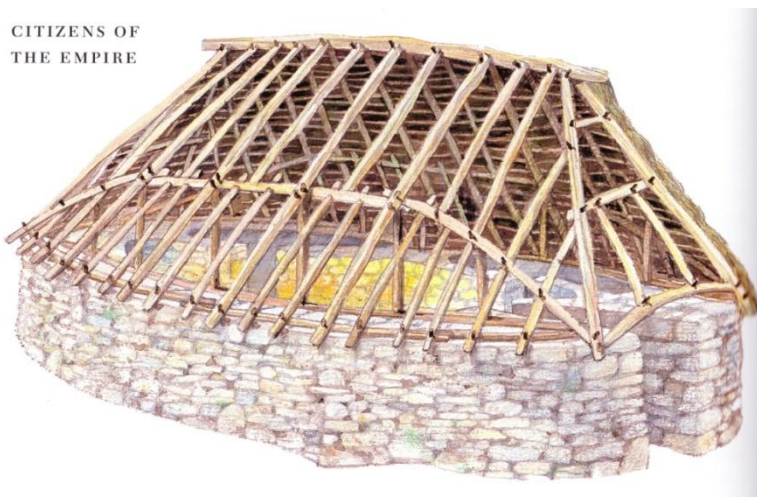
Courtesy Cornwall Editions.

At around this time enclosed single farmsteads of a rectangular shape with usually a rampart and ditch appear, at first glance they could easily be mistaken for a Roman fortlet as this example at Carvoda



Courtesy of Peter Nicholas.

But of the two or three examined they are of 2nd century date and civilian, but in design they appear to be leaning towards the shape of Roman architecture. The dwellings within these enclosures were now oval instead of round, the roofs were supported by ridge poles tied in to stone supporting walls instead of the single roof support in round houses. In West Penwith and Scilly domestic buildings unique to those areas appear in the second century, this is the courtyard house



Courtesy of Cornwall Editions.

Illustration by Eric Thomas.

of which some fine examples can be seen at Chycauster and Carn Euny, they were partitioned into what seemed to be bedrooms and living areas in much the same way as a Roman Commandants house or a Roman villa was split up.

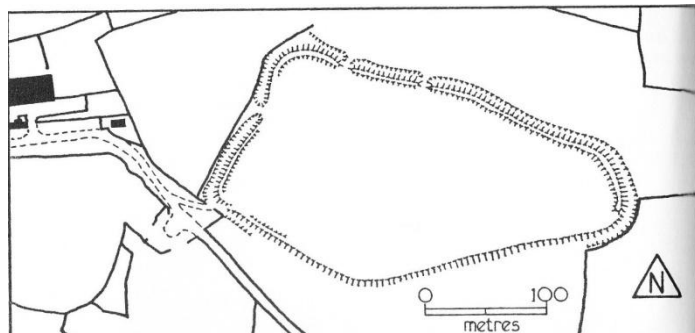


Courtesy of Cornwall Editions.

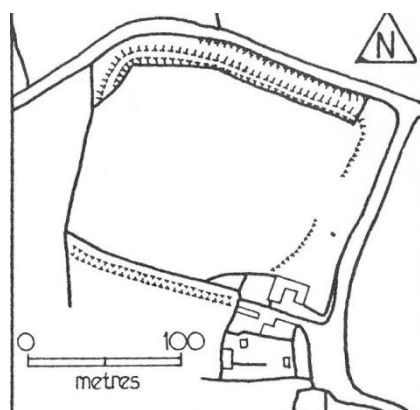
Photograph by Jason Hawkes

There are linking pathways and areas which could be gardens for domestic use. This is probably indicating a change in social pattern where people inhabit their own space with probable indicators of a requirement for privacy.

Settlements which continued in use throughout the whole Roman period were Carvossa near Probus, Trevelgue, Grambla, Grampound, Golden and St Mawgan in Pydar and perhaps Restormel probably as trading centres controlled by the chiefs and the well to do encouraged by the Roman administration. This is Golden



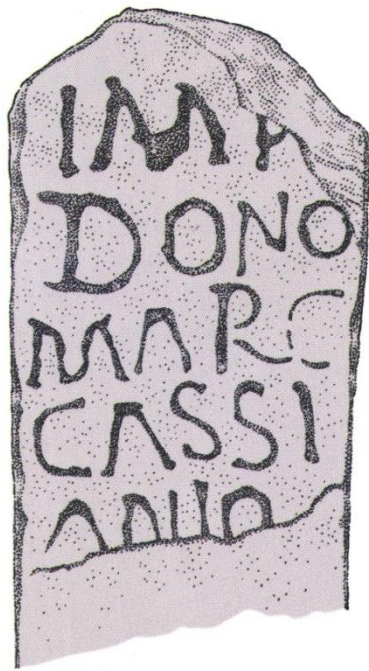
and here, Carvossa, both have taken on a somewhat square Roman look.



Courtesy of Halsgrove Publishing Ltd.

We read much of the Romans at war but it should be remembered that their ultimate aim was to bring The Pax Romana to conquered territories. Where possible they would integrate the upper classes into the military and civilian administrative structure of the Empire. They would be responsible for the maintenance of law and order, tax collection, overseeing corn supplies and all the day to day running of the community. Late in the 2nd century the tin mines of Spain were exhausted and such was the Roman Empire's demand for tin as an alloy in pewter which was greatly prized by the great and the good for table ware, statuettes and jewellery that all eyes turned to Cornwall. Again the well to do would have been encouraged to apply for mineral mining licences and the letting of mines thus enabling them to enrich themselves by selling the ore or semi finished ingots in to the State i.e. Roman controlled Imperial system.

What is not available to confirm this neat theory is that one would have surely have seen improvements in the infrastructure of Cornwall particularly of efficient road systems, but the County lacks any attested Roman road. The discovery of four “Roman milestones” in different areas would seem to indicate that roads did exist; this is an example from Breage dated to around AD 260,



Courtesy of Cornwall Editions. Drawing by David Ashby

they are not milestones as we know them but dedication stones to the emperor celebrating the completion of a section of road. As roads were generally built and maintained by the army these dedication stones are an indication of the presence of the militia in the 3rd century. There was a further need for perhaps the army, navy and marines in the 4th Century when the empire was being threatened by barbarians on practically every frontier. Roman historians refer to attacks by Irish raiders on the Welsh and Cornish coasts. To counter this there appears to be a series of signal stations or watchtowers on the north coast of the County at Morwenstow, St. Genny's and Dizzard Point the evidence for these sites is quite tenuous but with improvements in aerial photography, digital mapping and geophysical techniques there is a likelihood that some flesh can eventually be put on the bare bones of present evidence.

A thought, perhaps the geographical isolation from the main areas of Romanisation such as South East England the Dumnonii and Cornovii remained socially more stable. They had not experienced the difficulties associated with differentials in wealth experienced in these other areas. There are no villas no forums no amphitheatres. Being largely independent of a monetary economy their settlements and life style carried on way after the Romans had left Britain in the early 5th century, was it this fertile ground of non Romanisation which encouraged the arrival of a prolific number of strangely named monks and saints in the next couple of centuries? Certainly for those holy men who came from Ireland they would have found it all very familiar!

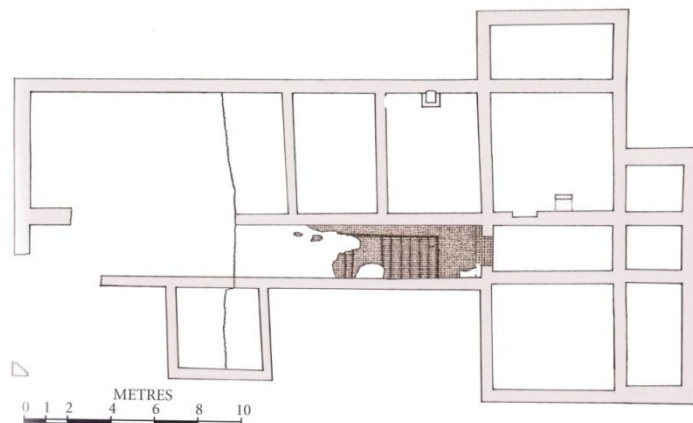
Let's now move nearer home. I would like to show how we are contributing actually and potentially to our knowledge of the Romans. Let me start with this wonderful pendant found on Rame head a couple of years ago,



Courtesy of Anna Tyacke PAS

made of solid gold and measures about 35mm from point to point. It is in the shape of a pestle of a type used by Roman women for the crushing of grains and powders for rouge and face powder although this version is unique and purely decorative. At the moment it can only be identified as definitely Roman dated sometime between AD 1 and AD400!! Because of other finds nearby of a later date my guess is that this is a votive or temple site to the local deity. Another possible temple site not too far away is near Menheniot. Here near a natural spring pottery sherds are emerging spanning a period of about 2500years including high status Roman material and pottery hitherto associated mainly with military installations.

Another intriguing possibility is the existence of a Roman building at Maker.



Courtesy of Cornwall Editions.

This drawing shows the plan of a Roman Mansio or hotel usually built for accommodating visiting dignitaries to a fort or a villa. This has been excavated and is situated at Magor near Illogen. Now the word Magor is derived from the Cornish M.A.G.O.E.R which means wall in the sense of ruins or remains, Maker also stems from the same Cornish root, do we have a villa or another roman building here? Certainly the proliferation of springs in the vicinity and the apparently fertile soil would be attractive to a farming community

Well I'm afraid that much of my talk tonight has been speculative and full of perhaps's, maybe's, and possibilities but I hope I have been able to make a little sense out of the growing corpus of information we have on the Romans in Cornwall. Thank you.

Acknowledgments

I am greatly indebted to the following for their help, advice and generosity in allowing me to reproduce their drawings and photographs:

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